COMMUNITY OF NON-BELONGING,
BODIES FOR NON-PHILOSOPHY:
INTERNCULTURAL PERFORMANCE
AND A SENSE OF COEXISTENCE

By
YURIKA TAMURA

A Dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick Rutgers,
The State University of New Jersey in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Program in
Women's and Gender Studies
written under the direction of
Dr. Elizabeth Grosz
and approved by
Dr. Allan Punzalan Isaac
Dr. Nancy Rao
Dr. Jacqueline Shea Murphy

New Brunswick, New Jersey

October 2013
This dissertation studies music and stage performances led by contemporary Japanese minority groups, primarily Ainu activists, from three theoretical perspectives: 1. Politics of representation, 2. The body and materiality, and 3. Philosophy of difference. Each perspective informs each chapter’s study of the soundscape and performance produced in lieu of verbal political negotiation. Posed as a project in performance studies and critical race theory, the dissertation analyzes cultural and political contexts of each performance as well as affect of the impact of performance.

By addressing political situations and history minority populations in Japan, and especially since most of the chapters address the issues of contemporary Ainu indigenous struggles, this project necessarily takes postcolonial and feminist approaches that criticize Japanese imperialism, colonialism, and ideological products of other disciplinary forms of nation-building, such as the social hierarchies based on race and gender.
The performances introduced in this dissertation themselves, however, take remarkably positive approaches to conceiving differences of the bodies. Rather than reverting to traditional identity politics, their performance activism seeks a new way for the various bodies and sensations to occupy shared spaces. Thus by examining their inclusive politics that is marked by avoidance of political discussions and focus on the sound elements and music sensations to activate a space of coexistence, this dissertation explores how music and bodily sensations allow us to conceive new modes of coexistence by different bodies of people.

Another question this dissertation pursues is how to conceive materiality of the body while many gender and cultural studies have studied the body as signs and symbols of identity, and not a corporeal substance. By aligning with the recent theoretical movement that focuses on the material body, this dissertation engages in theorization of the body that leverages innovative conceptualizations of living with others.

Finally, the dissertation proposes the concept of “Transnational Indigeneity,” an indigenous theorization that locates indigeneity outside and beyond national and racial borders and critiques such imperial exclusions and markings of bodies and the earth. The dissertation describes how transnational indigeneity is materialized in the new Ainu collaborative music scenes through the sound and sensations.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**TITLE**

**ABSTRACT** ii-iii

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND DEDICATION** iv

**TABLE OF CONTENTS** v

**LIST OF IMAGES** vi

**INTRODUCTION – ALAPANA** 1

**CHAPTER 1 – PIRKA KOTAN** 29

**CHAPTER 2 – UTARI** 54

**CHAPTER 3 – TONKORI** 100

**CHAPTER 4 – KAMUIMINTARA** 145
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all my mentors, advisors, teachers, and those who guided my path throughout this project.

Dr. Elizabeth Grosz is an inspiration of the beginning of this project, and the mentor throughout the writing of the dissertation, and the enabler of the completion of this project. Dr. Allan Punzalan Isaac is my precious friend and the reason I decided to stay and pursue this project and my academic career at Rutgers. Dr. Nancy Rao and Dr. Jacqueline Shea Murphy showed me how to tackle difficult issues of representations and patiently helped me in my struggles.

Very special thanks go to Dr. Kidachi Masaaki at Ritsumeikan University. Dr. Kidachi generously provided me with the alapana images and other thoughtful gifts - very useful related research materials. His gifts made this project possible.

Outside and along with the writing there were logistics of the PhD program I had deal with. Over my inadequate attempts to navigate in the program, I saw most of the navigation was carried out by Ms. Alex Bachmann, Dr. Yana Rodgers, and Ms. Suzy Kiefer, who offered me their unlimited assistance. Another major catalyst of this project, my students at Rutgers, who questioned me, challenged me, and struggled with me in reading the topics of race, representation, and culture and politics, to them I owe many thanks for making me a better thinker.

Finally, I thank Ms. Etsuko Tamura, who provided my project wonderful assistance with her superb research skills in Japanese and Ainu historical and cultural elements, and her insights in postcolonialsim and feminism that are far radical than mine.
LIST OF IMAGES

1. An ezuri sample sheet for Kimono design. Around 1910, Kyoto, Japan. 1
2. An ezuri sample sheet for Kimono design, Around 1910, Kyoto, Japan. 1
3. Japanese Hip Hop fashion. 43
4. Illustration from a blog site of a Korean-Japanese illustrator, Miryon. 65
5. Illustration from a blog site of a Korean-Japanese illustrator, Miryon. 65
6. Noriko Calderon with the Calderon’s representatives. 75
7. Minami Minegishi, after her self-shaving of hair, apologizing to her fans. 78
8. Noriko and her parents on her graduation (and their deportation) day. 83
9. Mimesis I. 87
10. Mimesis II. 88
11. An illustration by Miryon. 92
12. Connections. 102
13. The area of music exchanges for the Northern tribes. 107
14. Mukkuri. 109
15. Mukkuri being played. 109
16. Tonkori in various forms. 116
17. OKI DUB Ainu Band in a live concert. 119
18. A psychedelic poster image for one of the OKI DUB Ainu Band’s concert tours. 125
19. Imeruat. 133
20. Imeruat at a live concert. 140
21. Taizo, Standing in front of Kamuimintara lodge. 154

Alapana in classical South Indian music is an improvised, introductory movement that precedes raga, music piece, without rhythm or specific melody, without agenda other than starting the music. Alapana is just explorations of sound, preceding the music to come. Alapana often sounds random and ephemeral as there is no set development the listener can capture. Because it is random, untrained ears may interpret alapana as a tuning of instruments. Alapana precedes the beginning of what we understand as music work, it is an invocation. To be exposed to an alapana is to be tuned into the music to come and anticipate its development. Alapana in this sense sets one’s musical and sensory experience as much as providing expectation for the music development by touching on some tones or phrases that resonate in the main piece.

Listening to alapana, or being exposed to alapana is a seductive experience in which one’s aural sensory attention is gently aroused, the sense of expectation heightened, and the listener is guided into the flow and enters into the music piece as alapana leads and enter into the listener.

These images above are alapana for this project. It has elements of what this project will play in its development, but it is only a beginning tune, casting a sensory call. It is important that the alapana is absorbed without “understanding” but just be sensed first. Soon this introductory sensations turns into “understanding” by reading what it intends to signify, and the sensation may be altered. Or perhaps the pleasure of sensing this alapana remains but our understanding slips in and makes comments as we feel the pleasure. What kind of pleasure then would that be - a guilty one, incessantly commented and analyzed, or one that is utterly disturbed? Whatever it is, a commented and explained pleasure sounds like it has been already much mediated and to be differentiated from a
splash of sensation. In the spirit of alapana, in the expectation of what may or may not come, these images are just to be sensed and enjoyed at this section.

Image 1 is a bright splash of dark indigo blue, running diagonally on the frame. Because the texture of the thick lines and texture of the dots are different, it seems as if they are in different tone of indigo blue, but indeed it is one color, just in different intensities. The layout of the design cuts through the frame in half, creating an audacious and eloquent presence of the pattern as it defies the horizontal line and mocks the vertical direction, which is emphasized by the characters running on the lower right corner. The swirly brackets placed face-to-face inside the lines neatly organize the length of both lines, but in different intervals. The lines and the dots between are indeed in contrast in multiple ways. The swirly brackets seem to shine in white inside the bright blue straight lines while the soft blue of the fuzzy dots between punctuate the white space by it curves in its whimsical formations.

Image 2 is even more whimsical, or rather, intentionally scattered formation of the patterns, failing to contain itself in the upper right diagonal half, which would have been a perfect contrast to the Image 1. Image 2 is messy. The first thing that jumps out is the solitary and strong red in the large pattern, accompanied by the multidirectional mass of grey-black patterns behind it that seem to emulate the large patterns. The color red has a mat, sticky texture, almost tainted toward orange. Then the blue appears as if it falls on the picture. The blue resembles in the blue in the Image 1, however it is thinned out in grey, and is turning almost transparent in parts. The blue color may be in contrast to the red, but it is definitely weaker than the impact of the red color. As the red patterns loudly call out and is accompanied by the statement of the blue pattern, the mumbles of small
patterns echo in the back. Cacophony. The image seems messier if you notice the punctuated tears or damages of the paper on the left side. There are more nonchalant movements in Image 2, especially if compared to the Image 1, in the way the lines are straight and the patterns in dots that are neatly organized and lined up between the thick lines. If you look close, inside the blue and red large pattern, there are the same swirly brackets used in the thick lines in Image 1, filling the patterns. It is clear that the both images are part of larger images. Although two images are very different from each other, having the same elements and similar patterns make them look as if they are resonating each other.

In both images, on the edge of the frame there is a sense of incompleteness, or a continuation, implying a possible wholeness which happened to be cut out in this framing of the images. Perhaps this process of reading the images in attempt to explain the sensation it gives is also devastatingly incomplete: Colors, patterns, lines, texture, tones and intensities all speak of what we see. Nonetheless, these words express nothing of the sensations that jump to us at our encounter to these images.

The images were recently found in an antique shop in Kyoto, Japan. A bundle of old and crispy papers are called ezuri (絵刷り). An ezuri is a sample print sheet, a proof, for kimono designs and patterns. Before a kimono fabric is dyed with a design, wood pieces, that are curved with patterns that compose the kimono design, are test printed on ezuri papers in order for the technicians to see how the print appears on the surface with colors. Because ezuri are merely printing samples of designs they are treated as lesser part of kimono factories’ logistics and a mechanical aspect of production processes, and
they are often stacked and kept carelessly in the corners of a back storage in kimono factories. Sometimes ezuri papers are recycled papers with random memos and scribbles on the back, telling different narratives from the designs on the surface, or sometimes the designs printed have scribbled instructions and notes from the technicians written over it. This bundle once was one of these lesser residues of the production, but now is recovered as a historical object. The designs randomly placed on the papers just for the technical check-up, these images above are not calculated art work. However, it still induces a pleasure-sensation in the viewers.

On the contrary to the whimsical charm of lines and attractive colors, these images gathered in the bundle contain design patterns with theme of celebration of war and Japanese military actions. Around the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century when Japan was in the constant war era with foreign nations, there was a trend of printing celebratory images of war and nationalism in clothes and daily household goods such as teapots, bowls, and towels, and in some cases even on underwear. The trend has been forgotten since the end of the wars, perhaps by the help of the anti-war and anti-nationalism movement that was encouraged by the presence of the US occupation, until recently a collector and scholar, Yoshiko Inui published images of her collection of kimono with prints of war themes. Although artistically decorated and its colors and texture skillfully calculated, these kimono patterns displayed in Inui’s collection are filled with images of weapons, soldiers, Japanese flag, and battle scenes. Depending on when the kimono was made, the patterns on the kimono tell different scenes of battles, some with specific enemies and battle actions, and others more abstract. But the attitude of these works is consistent: Valorization of the Japanese Imperial army.
The bundle that contains the images of our alapana can be categorized in these war designs. 1910 is the year of Japanese annexation of Korea. The bundle of ezuri papers communicates that there was an effort to produce kimono that have celebratory images of Japan conquering Korea. For example, some show maps of Japan and Korea, and the Japanese names of the Korean cities cover the map of Korea. Another common pattern is the use of chickens that symbolize Korea and dragonflies that symbolize Japan. While the chickens are in the cage, dragonflies victoriously soar above.\textsuperscript{6} Although abstract, these patterns reveal narratives of the war cry, nationalist propaganda, and celebration of invasion as if by wearing such a kimono, citizens’ individual bodies can support the Japanese imperial government and colonization.

Even then, peculiar are the images, the visual alapana for this chapter. Instead of depicting the battle scenes or flaunting the Japanese flags, there are only some symbols of the subordinate populations decoratively combined and laid out. It is not only aesthetic, but also “multicultural.” It is peculiar because for Japan has been known for its persistent self-identification as “homogenous” nation and historically not many, if at all, Japanese nationalistic arts have included marginalized cultural groups in Japan. In Image 1, the soft dots between the lines are Hangul, the Korean characters so are all the patterns in Image 2. Hangul is distinctly of Korean national culture since it was created as part of the early Korean nationalist movements that separate its identity from China, the strongest cultural and political power and influence for the longest time in the pre-modern history of East Asia. The swirly brackets inside the thick lines Image 1 and in the large Hangul characters in Image 2 are a popular Ainu embroidery pattern, Aiushi. Also, the specific tone of the Indigo dark blue is normally used in traditional Ainu textile and embroidery.\textsuperscript{7}
Embroidery is an important aspect of Ainu culture. Although Ainu do not have written characters, their oral traditions kept their literature and theology very well, so are their designs of patterns in craftwork. Their embroidery and wood carving have artistic patterns that function as identification, prayer, narrative, spell or charm for protection, and artistic expression. Aiushi is one of the most common patterns in their artwork, and by the 18th century in which the Ainu people began forcefully integrated in Japanese culture, it was known as the identificatory symbol of Ainu people in Japan. The supposedly discrete two cultures of Korea and Ainu which historically do not have much connection with each other are merged in one design in each sample. Six among sixty-four design images in the bundle contained both Hangul and Aiushi together with the iconic indigo blue combined in the designs.

The images reveal to be even more peculiar once the intentions of the designs are read. These distinctly Ainu and Korean cultural products, the icons to which ethnic pride is attached, are merged with each other and used to celebrate and signify the name of “Japan” or “the Great Empire of Japan,” exalting the nation as the primary subject. In Image 1, the Hangul in dots read, “the Great Empire of Japan,” decorated with the thick lines filled with the aiushi pattern with the dark indigo blue which is representative of Ainu culture. In Image 2, the scattered Hangul in the backgrounds are names of the Korean cities around 1910. The red characters read “Seoul,” the capital of Korea, and the blue characters read “Japan,” showing that Korean cities, within which the representative one is Seoul, are now part of the nation, Japan. The colors in Image 2 are more representative of each nation, as the thinned out blue comes from ai (藍) or Japanese indigo, or commonly called “Japan Blue” that is distinct from the Ainu dark indigo
In addition, both patterns are filled with aiushi. They have literally been incorporated and become components of the Japanese Empire.

Here is the irony. The two cultures are beautifully presented in these artworks yet at the same time they are paradoxically subjected as colonized subordinates. These representations of the cultures are visual and symbolic. Used as symbols, the iconic cultural components that represent their ethnic pride are made to signify its marginalization. The images of paradox and irony embody questions of representation and signification, and its power that can work to execute violence of subjugation. The images seem to succeed in the impact despite or rather because of the beauty of the images. Perhaps that is another irony: that this aggressively imperialist statement of a nation over others is meant to be worn as adornment. As a set of commemorative kimono designs, these artworks are necessarily aesthetic. The vivid color combinations are calculated, and the varied texture of each part of patterns are also part of the orchestrated visual effects. Was the intention of the political propaganda first, or the aesthetic happened to find a way in the popular political discourse? Either way, it was “the era to wear the war,” Yoshiko Inui describes. As the paradigm of nations and sovereignty were overturned in the new development of the Japanese invasion, so did the paradigm of the daily goods and private clothing. Instead of using the prints of natural or abstract designs, kimono began displaying the imperial narratives.

To understand the background of the production and circulation of these designs, Inui explains that not all the manufacturers and consumers were aiming to propagate war and colonization. Those kimono made with Yuuzen dying methods are expensive, and by the end of the warring era in the 1930s and 1940s the government banned as a luxury
item. The only way to survive for the artists and workers behind the kimono industry was to print designs of the nation’s war propaganda. Often kimono with war designs were “playfully” made to reflect the national trends and incidents. As the trends were getting forged by the government, the era of wearing the war must have transitioned from the playfulness of artistic expressions to the survival of the industry.

As for this particular set of designs made around 1910, the message of colonization and its imperial ideologies surfaces only when and if the viewer knows how to decipher these symbols. Hangul, the Korean characters, was read by the educated elites in Japan at that time. The discoverer of these design sheets, Masaaki Kidachi, supposes that kimono with these patterns might have been made for such Japanese upper-class elites. The kimono until the twentieth century in Japan was not recognized as an icon of ethnic or national pride as it is today, but was considered mundane daily attire. However, since the Edo era in the mid-19th century, Western clothes gradually became popular formal attire, especially for men. Around 1910 in Japan, the kimono was identified as particularly Japanese in relation to the Western attire that was becoming predominant in Japan, and by the 1920s even symbolized a lack of modernity at the time of Westernization. At the time when Japan was striving to emulate the Western civilization the kimono posed conflicted national emotions – inferior complex to the Western competitors and nationalistic pride which competes in the expanding trend of Westernization. National pride is always about sovereignty and is an important element in colonization. Perhaps it is logical that this colonial narrative in the design was to be printed in kimono, a particularly Japanese form of cultural product -- kimono with representative patterns of the subordinates of Japan. The designs are expressions of the
perceived Japanese imperial triumph, expressed through the aesthetic symbols of perceived subordinate Others.

What does donning do to a body of an individual who choose to wear such a material? Today, donning ethnic (or for the member of the ethnicity, it is cultural, regional, or nationalistic) clothes often unifies the appearance of the crowd as a community, and the act of donning is considered as posing of a tradition, pride, or communitarian identity. But in cases of the kimono patterns, just like Ainu embroidery on Ainu clothing, the adornment and decorative designs on kimono often have meanings, narratives, and messages. On the kimono with war patterns Yoshiko Inui and Hisae Sawachi in their lecture series, *The Era of Wearing the War* (2009) explains that, during that time Japan was expanding its military invasion to neighboring nations, particularly to China and Russia, Japanese citizens were expected to support military endeavors with a unified imperialist sentiment. Donning of such kimono as a performance can turn a body into a supporter of such ideologies, participants of the imperial aggression. Wearing a message materially would turn one’s body into a representation of national (and which also means, as always, transnational) imagination and ideologies as much as into a public property of future of Japanese Empire as opposed to individual’s private body in the certain time and space of where the body is. Inui and Sawachi argue that the familiarization of war in mundane spaces was exactly the purpose of such kimono with propaganda designs, to make war (that is outside home, international and therefore public, opposite of mundane, private and domestic) real and intimate in citizen’s daily lives. Donning of kimono with war designs virtually makes one’s body feel (and also feel
with, or sympathize with) the ideologies of war in their body, or rather on their body, as the body is literally wrapped with the imperial narratives.

Within all the war design, the images of our alapana are disturbing in its particular complexity. Perhaps because it resembles the Spanish Conquest, in which indigenous temples were destroyed and its sites and debris were used to build the very missions and churches of the conquistadores. The rape of the sacred sites together with the rape of native women in the Spanish churches demonstrate the imperial tactics of subjugation that is not directly a total elimination of bodies and materials, but degradation of dignity and autonomous identity by using the very material body of the subordinate. In order for the Conquistadores to establish their power as a nation, they had to get hold of the actual bodies and materials of the subordinates. The Japanese colonization of its Others also did not entail a total elimination of the colonized bodies. Although there are numerous cases of massacres, some bodies were preserved to survive and made to function as subordinate to the imagined Japanese race. Those preserved colonized bodies became economic asset and a part of composition of the Japanese Empire as they were scattered throughout the geography of the Imperial imagination, to physically build an Empire as laborers and as a population. The images of alapana can be also read as such a composition. The Hangul and aiushi pattern were purposefully chosen in this two-dimensional representation of Imperialism as representations of the bodies, cultural signification, immaterial materials that will be degraded to materials to exalt the name of “The Great Empire of Japan.” Not elimination, but an inclusion that works as discrimination. An Inclusion that ultimately implies exclusion.
Tuning into our alapana, what one can hear is a strangely aesthetic combination of two cultures. Until very recently, representations of the two cultures, Ainu and Korea, being merged in one place as a means of art was not common. Unlike the US colonial cultures, in which distorted representations of their colonial subordinates flourished to reaffirm the imagined superiority of the dominant Whites, and the subordinates were dehumanized while they remained as objects of fascination, Japan’s attitude for the Ainu and Korea was rather detached. The visual representations of the Ainu and Koreans were limited, and in the colonies, the Japanese colonizers avoided associating with the locals, and kept to themselves in their community. However, after 1910 commemorating the celebratory occasion for the Japanese Empire, this design that features both Hangul and aiushi brought the two cultures, which are recognized as “ethnic,” together on papers as a Japanese (multi)cultural production: the difference of the two cultures from the Japanese-ness were highlighted in the signs that seem foreign or as ethnic is always is, exotic. However this display of difference works ultimately for the purpose of exalting the colonizer.

Representation of the very difference, even with the positive elements such as aesthetics or product that the culture is proud of, then may be called an act of violence as opposed to representing the two cultures with their autonomous identity. As Luce Irigaray reminds, signification of difference sketches out the power relations, from which the difference initially came from. Although Irigaray is speaking of sexual difference, especially on the difference of female sexuality, any difference, signified and specified as a diversion from the dominant standard applies to this irreversible relationship of one and its Other. In the logic of the sameness, in which there is no feminine autonomous
difference, simply a diversion or a lack of the masculine dominant, the feminine, or the Other, the secondary subordinate will not achieve the reversal of the order, but will only “revert to sameness.” Our images of alapana then transforms into a mapping of power under this notion. Using two signs that are not Japanese, that is of ethnic difference in the context of the design, the images succeed in drawing of subordination of these icons under the name of the Japanese Empire. Then wearing a kimono of this alapana design would be not only an active display of the design, but by attaching the kimono on one’s skin, wrapping the body with it, and move and inhabit the visual space which the body occupies with the images will create a performance of the kimono with the design. Such action would, regardless of intention of the wearer and manufacturer, would “result in supporting the ideologies of war (imperialism)” as Inui asserts.

The work of alapana also reminds us that ethnic symbols even in its aesthetic use can function for imperial branding of Others. When one is affected by the sensation of the artwork of the alapana, one is also reminded that the beautiful ethnic elements in the design bear the history of colonization and violence. The following affect then is more complicated than a splash of pleasure. The pleasure of beauty interrupted by the pain of historical memory - The dilemma in the aesthetic pleasure of the alapana is what mobilized this project. One part of the question is the politics of representation. While the aesthetic quality of the alapana has its own value, the image also has contexts: with the “meanings” and “political intentions” intervene, the affect of the artwork is never simple or pure. While the strokes of Hangul and the flow of the Aiushi can be transformed into affective artwork (and it destined space of function, on the body) the very artwork also subjects colonized populations. Such is the art of imperial propaganda.
Another part of the question paralleling the above observation is how the art affects our singular bodies and yet speaks to our identity and our political relation to the art’s context simultaneously. There seems to be a gap between the moment of our bodily sensation occurring at meeting the artwork and the moment of discerning what our position would be as a subject of political groupings, coalition, and identity. It seems the second part (as in a second wave or shadow of apparition) of the affect, where we make our judgment on the political intention of the alapana, does two things: One, it transforms our bodily reactions to the initial sensations into our cognizing of the art as political symbol (moving from a corporeal reaction to intellectual labor.) Taking a specific example of such affective experience in the situation of alapana, let us imagine a meeting a body that dons the kimono with the alapana design. The beauty of the pattern arranged in the specific kimono structure (on an individual body) quickly becomes about the person’s political stand, and about the nation he or she belongs and the person’s relationship to the belonging. This becoming of image demonstrates that our body has material dimension and symbolic dimension that are tightly intertwined. Our body as matter and body in matters such as clothes constantly slips into becoming multiple signs that often supports imperial classification and control of the bodies. While the material body always accompanies the symbolic dimension, the symbolic can only materialize in the situation through the material substance of the body.

Two, the alapana comments on how our singular bodies are also embedded in groups and communities. That our experience and identity shape the political affect we receive in our body from the alapana speaks of the body’s singularity intertwined with communality. Our individual bodies are singular while they are always in and of
categories and grouping; individual while constantly measured against a community, race, nation, and other forms of belonging. Analysis which the alapana image demands then is not only about how artworks speaks to the body and mind, but also about belonging and its political forces that shape our (individual and communal) art experiences and bodily affects. Creation and affective reception of art, which are done by our singular and corporeal/affective bodies, bring the question of aesthetics and its relation to politics as well as about the body and its belonging, and belonging as a way in which our body’s experience is shaped.

These notions above bring out one simple question: is there a way bodies feel art-affect regardless of or irrelevant to the politic of representation and belonging? This question can be rephrased as: Can our singular bodies experience a sensation of togetherness in the art-affect, feeling-together, or affective community without reverting back to our differences? Furthermore, does our bodily difference always have to function symbolically for the logic of Othering? Can our bodies’ difference contribute to not just logics of Othering, but also for coexistence productively? These questions can be narrowed down to more specific experiences of the Others. Influenced by Irigaray’s notion of feminine difference, this project, under the overarching questions about art and politics, lies in a search for belonging for our body matter that does not subscribe to identities, which often for ethnic subject is recourse to the logic of Othering.

Turning toward Irigaray, the questions in the above paragraph becomes more specifically about difference and Others: For feminine, and for ethnic Others, is there a way to enter into the world without relying on the imagined wholeness of the masculine and the dominant, by which the feminine and Others are judged as either lack or excess?
Can there be a way for the bodies to exist with each other without being measured against the standard of the dominant group? If the body constantly slips into the system of identification, then speaking of the materiality of the body seems to bear an important role to resist the slippage. But then again, resistance is a reactionary act. How do we live in our body and occupy the space with others without slipping into the circulatory movement of Othering (in which reaction takes the Othered subject back to the stage of difference?) Borrowing Irigaray’s voice, the question simply becomes this: is there an autonomous difference that is irrelevant to the dominance, and if so, how does the difference emerge in our material bodies? With these questions at the base, this project looks into what I call intercultural performance sites. I chose performance because I believe performance art is as much about the body and affect as art, politics, and belonging. Performance art, unlike reading literature or viewing paintings, predicates live movements of physical bodies and communal experience. This project looks both 1. what it normally seen as minority and ethnic performance and 2. music performance by artists who deploy ethnic element in order to disturb the categorization of race and ethnicity.

In the tension between the both kinds of performance, this project utilizes contemporary critical race theories produced mostly by US scholars. Although many artists and musicians mentioned in this project have some kind of lineage to Japanese and Asian cultures, I do not see this project as particularly of Japanese or Asian studies. The people and music introduced in this project mostly situated in transnational spaces voluntarily and involuntarily. This project, together with the artists who aspire to deconstruct the categories of race and nation (which are both gendered,) is set on
questioning the naturalness of identity categories and advocates transnational and intercultural spaces for bodies and their affect.

Going back to Irigaray, because this project pursues the materiality of the body as an important site for theorizing autonomous difference, belonging, and coexistence, Irigaray’s thoughts on feminine difference and imagining autonomous difference remain as the primary theoretical theme. Her work in *The Sex Which Is Not One* unfurls an elegant vocalization of the feminine that never existed before. Working out through the dilemma of desire to speak back yet trying to evade the power hierarchy that is embedded in the act of “speaking” as the feminine, Irigaray’s notion of autonomous difference speaks generally to all the project of difference that attempts to move beyond identity politics (that which, again, reverts back to the initial hierarchy of difference) today. Interestingly, even though Irigaray’s theorization of feminine difference begins with the issues of representation, symbols, and imagery, Irigaray seems to insist on the important of the body, body parts, fluids, and their contact and connection with each other. Thus reading Irigaray in this project encourages my focusing to the corporeality, and especially that of feminized subject, and also my fascination for the merging point of the body as matter and the body as the site of signs. By responding to what Irigaray aspires in her notion of the feminine difference, what has been the object of phallocentric theoretical gaze -- the body of feminized and colonized subject will hopefully not only speak autonomously in this project but move beyond the politics of the speaking back that captures the subject of difference into the position of the subordinate Other.
To think of the corporeality and the body as matter, the current trend of materialism in US cultural studies informs my discussions of matter. Scholars of materiality and phenomenology, such as and Baruch Spinoza and Henry Bergson lurk in the horizon of such discussion as this project cites scholars who take on these theorists’ thoughts, such as Elizabeth Grosz and Brian Massumi. Because discussing the materiality of matter also gestures toward topics of sensations and the matter’s virtual immanence (which is discussed in detail in the following chapters) Grosz and Massumi also assist my study of sensations and the virtual with their articulation of the works of Gilles Deleuze and Deleuze with Félix Guattari. Because Chapter 1 and throughout the dissertation art, performance, affect and sensations remain as the primary topics, Grosz and Massumi’s versatile engagement with Deleuze and Deleuze/Guattari also remain as the primary tools for my discussion of ethnic performance, the body and matter, and sensations and affect.

Chapter 1 looks into the signification of ethnic clothes and the act of donning in so-called ethnic performance in order to engage with the question of representation and the body. Departing from the image of alapana, Chapter 1 studies the site of contemporary Ainu performance in Japan and how Ainu robes and other cultural elements perform in the contemporary Ainu performance activism as ethnic symbols. The discussion of indigenous performance in Chapter 1, 3, and 4 introduces the contemporary Ainu deployment of performance as their political activism, and it does so by being aspired by Jacqueline Shea Murphy’s *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing*. Even though Native American Studies is a vibrant field that deals with representation of indigenous peoples in the postcolonial era, not many have achieved the extensive tracing of indigenous dance, performance, art and politics as Murphy has achieved in this book.
Because the Ainu studies in this project attempts to achieve more than introducing what contemporary Ainu music/dance performance offers and traces the particular bodily/sonic theorization of Ainu representation, indigenous performance studies by Murphy and Sarita Echavez See assist my writing of the case studies.

The alapana image will continue to haunt the following chapters. Chapter 2 latches on the interculturality of the alapana Image 1. The differences and minoritarian identities in Japan multiple as time goes by, birthing the abject identity of minority subjects, from Korean and Ainu, to Filipino immigrants, then to Brazilian and other Others. As the race and ethnicity become the topic of theorization, the body, again, remains the central topic of the discussion in Chapter 2. The nature of Othering that takes place in Japan seems to echo the traditional Western imperial endeavor of self-construction. Edward Said explained in *Orientalism* that the West needs its Others to imagine itself as an entity of power. Because Japan today continues to attempt building itself at the stake of its Others just like any other imperial nation, theories in postcolonial studies and today’s US critical race theories become suitable and crucial tool to analyze the complicated being and becoming of the multiple Others. My analysis of intercultural performance scenes in Japan thus takes from writings by scholars of performance studies and ethnic studies such as Sarita Echavez See and Tavia Nyong’o. Needless to say these scholars deploy and continue on the tradition of postcolonial studies, such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha. As Chapter 2 also introduces actual cases of Japanese ethnic minorities’ female bodily lacerations, it utilizes materials in the Japanese media and writings by the scholars of studies, as much as it takes from the history of

The image of alapana sees off the reader’s departing from the initial sensations they receive from the image and entering into an understanding of the Japanese colonization that instigated the imperial multiculturalism on which the alapana was born. The politics of representation within the struggles of the contemporary indigenous music activism in Japan is closely followed in Chapter 3. This chapter traces the trajectory of the Ainu musical instrument, tonkori, and its journey from Sakhalin to today’s transnational sonicscape created by Ainu musicians such as OKI. Because the chapter draws from the study of materiality of the musical instrument, sounds, and the bodies in which the music emerges, again, thinking of matter and the virtual return here in my attempt to speak with ethnomusicological perspective on the tonkori.

As Chapter 3 traces on OKI and his afro-Caribbean AINU DUB Band as a new Ainu music sphere, it necessitated a research on dub music. Michael Veal’s extensive study on dub, even though Veal himself positions his book DUB as somewhat less than other extensive dub textbook, informed an important cultural and historical aspect of DUB as much as the ineligible aspect of the role of matter in creating the particular dub music sound. In fact, Veal’s approach in his book to define dub as a culture and politics already in itself influences Chapter 3’ take on Ainu dub as a profoundly political matter. Also Chapter 3 looks at the music performance sites where the body becomes not as a material to be read but as a material to feel and sound. Chapter 3 focuses on two primary elements that speak to such goal – matters that sound (the body musical instruments, and
everything that is between) and how such matters constantly spill over from where they are and travel throughout territories and create what is called a sonicscape.

While Chapter 1, 2, 3 all deal with Japanese and other imperialism as a force to subject and regiment, but also a catalyst for intercultural encounters, the central discussion of identity, representation and imperialism all point to the critique of nation and questions of belonging. If the colonial subordinates do not belong to a nation or other public space, then in what sense can they find belonging that does not simply revert to a sovereignty battle? This is why throughout the dissertation project the chapters continue to speak of transnational connections and sonicspheres that spill out of the national and ethnic boundaries. The notion of community in connection to belonging or sharing of a space by Georgio Agamben, Jean-luc Nancy, and Laurent Berlant may not be quoted verbally, however they have informed my understanding of belonging and its possible violence and greatly influenced the development of this project.

While it maintains its transnational framework in searching for a new notion of belonging, this dissertation returns to its original question in Chapter 4: How one connects with others in the body, its sensations, irrelevant of the identity project dictated by the narrow national and imperial logic of belonging. Irigaray’s notion of feminine difference is not only echoed in this chapter but also found materialized in the site of Kamuimintara and its festival, Powwow for Peace. This chapter demonstrates that the scene of performance-festival at Kamuimintara in my particular reading does respond to Irigaray’s question. Thus Chapter 4 analyzes the event while it posits the Kamuimintara as a material (sonic-spheric) response to the question of difference and belonging.
Thus many of the theorists I mentioned above may seem unrelated, but as the question of nation, race, belonging and the body all come together in my study of intercultural performance sites, they all become closely intertwined to form connections and assemblage, and inspire new readings of the scenes I introduce in this project. Some may wonder why lack of works by indigenous scholars in this project. It is because this project learns from the particular Ainu and transnational indigenous methodologies of connection and its disagreement to the national bordering of the body and earth, which eventually question the concept of identity, rather than it aims to speak from the point of view of indigenous scholars or aims for indigenous sovereignty. However, because of their particular point of view and historical experience, today’s US indigenous scholars vibrantly offers tools to decolonize and deconstruct neo-colonial forces and continue to do so. One of the many challenges for the future of this project is how to incorporate such useful indigenous texts in order to enrich my speaking of body, music, and territory.

All the chapters have a title in Ainu language. Chapter 1’s Pirika Kotan takes from the name of the event facility I introduce. But Prika Kotan also means a beautiful village in Ainu. While the name represents the beauty of the culture, I also would like to mention that this is a State funded project and the place allocated for this facility was not what the Ainu elders requested, a central location in Sapporo city. Established a mountainous countryside, the facility enjoys the nature but does not have the kind of influential exposure they initially hoped for. The facility is indeed beautiful, but we must not forget that the volunteering members feel that the traditional representation of
indigenous peoples being close to nature and absent from the contemporary city life played a part of the decision over the location.

Chapter 2 has a title called, Utari. This word has a long and complicated relationship with the Ainu activism in Japan. Utari means comrades or fellows. When the name of Ainu, originally meaning humans, became itself a derogatory term signifying the Ainu people, they have decided to take Utari as a substitution for the name of the main tribal organization in order to dodge the negative connotation and images accompanying the term. It was only recently that they have reverted back to using the name of Ainu to represent their governing organization in their determination of reclaiming the original meaning and dignity in the word. In the Chapter 2, however, the Ainu activism is not discussed as it is reserved for the Chapter 1. Utari, in Chapter 2 signifies the neighbors, fellows, comrades of the Japanese, the immigrants in Japan from neighboring nations. I also chose the word Utari through my feminist consciousness, with which reads the gendered oppressions against immigrants and their daughters in Japan.

Chapter 3 is titled Tonkori, precisely because it deals with tonkori but also because it hopes to touch on the another meaning of tonkori – resonating together. It is still undecided what the future of the particular Ainu contemporary fusion music would be. Today it seems to thrive on a fine line between neoliberal co-optation of “ethnic” and “indigenous” music and innovative sonic activism which transforms the old understanding of Indigenous peoples and its Otherness. At any rate the tonkori in this chapter is a traveling instrument. By tracing the journey of tonkori and its musical development, we will see how the notion of borders are fiercely contested.
Chapter 4, Kamuimintara takes from the name of the event space for “whatever.” An Ainu man, Taizo Urakawa, has purchased an area of the land the mainland Japan, just to open up to people for any reason to gather and become beyond racial differentiation. The name he chose for this space was Kamuimintara: a place where gods play. The name signifies the playfulness of the space, and the feeling of community but a very loose one. I believe this space responds to Irigaray’s question, how to imagine one’s difference without subscribing to the logic of imperial and masculine difference, in a very tangible and material way. To me the answer came with the noise that did not cease through one event, Kamuimintara Pop Wow for Peace. In Ainu belief, gods are also like people, who have faults, problems, and have parallel lives with the earthly people. I would like to point to Taizo’s political philosophy behind the choice of imagery for the name of the facility and his insistence on welcoming and opening this space for everyone no matter what their relationship to global political history or power.

As I said earlier, this project does not aim Ainu sovereignty. However by casting the titles in Ainu language I do hope that the readers can sense the rich worldview behind the language. The young Ainu activists spend much time and effort learning their language. This is difficult not only because the language has become foreign to the young generations and their culture but also there are not enough Ainu speakers surviving. As one of the biggest and most difficult global postcolonial struggles, reclamation of language, should be supported and advocated in any possible occasion. But my primary intention of using Ainu titles are also theoretical, in that I want to expand my thinking toward outside of the Western cultural understanding of the body, life, and community.
My favorite word in Ainu language is charanke. It is normally translated as negotiation, conference, or a function that existed in Ainu society in lieu of legal trials. Charanke, has only one very definitive rule that is differing any trial as such: discussing until everyone reaches agreement. This means at a charanke, one does overrule by any force and one does not stop listening to the other’s claim and positions. Everyone is expected to continue to communicate through and listen until each participant of the charanke satisfies. I am not aware how actual charanke sessions took place and I am certain there were manipulations and other means of negotiatory skills were used. However, it goes without saying that this is something contemporary society can learn from. Once a scholar said the universities in the US today flaunt aggressive catch copies promising that they will raise the leaders of the world. He then remarked that no one institution aspires to raise listeners of the world. I believe writing about intercultural music sphere somewhat brings me back to this point of listening. All the elements of violence I mention in this project still have peoples who strive to be heard, and the affected parties’ claims need to be listened to. Listening as a form of connecting with others in this project can be both literally the physical action and also an analogy for the political attitude of the performers and us the readers.

I began this introduction with the notion of alapana. Even though the image object I use as the alapana is a visual material, I insist that readers listen to what it may sing. As the alapana functions before the music piece, to invite the aural attention of the listeners and heighten their sensory sensitivity, and to prepare a deeper experience of the music, I also insist that this alapana image casts many theoretical and political problems for us to turn to. These problems are neither foreign nor obsolete as they concern our body and its
ways of being. We may not achieve the politics of charanke perfectly in today’s globalizing world with so many historical baggage, but one thing we can learn from charanke and those performances I introduce is that listening can be an action of facing, dealing, and living with others. With our sensory organs open to the others’ lives and music, when we listen we are also exposed to the existence of others. So I pose this alapana, for us to begin “tuning” into the affective music and narratives these performance provide.

Please listen.
1 The images are provided by Dr. Masaaki Kidachi in Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan. Dr. Kidachi first introduced these images in his study, “Japan’s annexation of Korea on the Yuuan Ezuri pattern,” presented in the 2010 conference of Kaisai division of the Korean History Research Association in Japan. Kyoto, Japan, November 2010. Property of ARC Collection, Ritsumeikan University.
2 In some areas, the word “alap” is used to signify the same musical element.
3 Normally a Yuuzen kimono goes through multiple printing processes with many wood carving prints. The prints are layered to make up a pattern.
5 Inui, Yoshiko. Zusetsu - Kimonogara ni miru sensou. (Wars on kimono patterns.) Tokyo, Japan: Inpakuto Shuppankai, 2007. All translations on the Japanese texts are mine.
6 Kidachi. Ibid.
7 See footnote 9-11.
8 Dr. Masaaki Kidachi points that Aiushi pattern has been used in Japanese Kabuki theatre since the 17th century to mark exotic characters, that are often of Korean descent. The pattern must have been used as similar to the Orientalist icons in the US, signifying cultures of Others. (Tenjiku Tokujiro and Ainu patterns, 2010, November.)
11 Sports team uniforms are usually an easy example to see color-coding of nationalism. The uniform of the Japanese National soccer team historically uses “Japan Blue” as part of the nationalistic expression. See NHK Bi no tsubo – Aizome. Tokyo, Japan: NHK Shuppan, 2007. p10.
12 Although both Ainu and Japanese cultures have indigo blue, the plants they derive from are different. As a result, Ainu’s indigo blue clothes are much darker than the Japanese indigo dye can vary from greenish tone to grey-blue, depending on regions and manufacturing methods. For the different developments of Ainu and Japanese Indigo dying processes, see Nihon no ai denshou to shouzou. Ed. Nihon Aizome Bunka Kyoukai. Tokyo, Japan: NHK Publishing, 2002. P17-36.
13 I thank Etsuko Tamura for her extensive research on the history of indigo dying in Ainu and Japanese cultures conducted in January, 2013.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 For example, the article, “Record of Tokyo Ginza Mores in the Early Summer of 1925” by Wajiro Kon and Kenkichi Yoshida in Fujin Kouron surveys the percentage of the “modern” population by observing what percentage of pedestrian in the shopping street in Ginza, Tokyo, are wearing western clothes in 1925. The survey reveals the 67 percent of men wore Western clothes and 99 percent of women were in Japanese dress.
19 Lecture series. Sensou o kita jidai (The Era of Wearing the War). Toukai University, Hokkaido, Japan. 2009
20 Nanjing Massacre and genocides of Ainu peoples are a few of the numerous cases.
21 Peattie, Mark. R. Shokuminchi – Teikoku 50 nen no koubou (The Japanese colonial Empire, the final 50 years) trans. Asano Toyomi. Yomiuri Shim bunsha: Tokyo, Japan. 1996. The author lists the South Pacific islands where colonized subordinates, Okinawans and Koreans, were sent (p268.)
22 A rare case recorded is the Kidachi’s study (See 6.)
23 Ibid. 275, 295.

Ibid. p33.

Inui. Ibid. 136.

Jafari Allen in African American Studies at Yale University in the fall, 2011 at a post-conference chat at Rutgers University.
CHAPTER ONE – PIRKA KOTAN

Pirka Pirka,
Tanto shiri pirka
Inan kur pirka
Nunke kusne, nunke kusne

(Beautiful, beautiful,
What a beautiful day!
Who is the beautiful one?
Let me pick, let me pick.)
[An old Ainu folksong]

Notice in our alapana images, that the aiushi pattern flows in a circular motion but punctuated by the pointy sections. These pointy corners are supposed to sting. Ai (spears) Ushi (thrust, stab.) The aiushi patterns are meant to be embroidered on robes, especially around the “openings” of the robe such as sleeves, hem, and collar so that the pattern will sting the bad spirits and prevent their intrusion into one’s body. Aiushi pattern thus is meant to be a protection, to be worn on the body in the form of robe. One can easily imagine the emotional proximity of family members as one embroiders the aiushi pattern on her family member’s robe. With our contemporary logistics of clothes purchase with the global South’ manufacturing and our outsourcing the laundry to the drycleaners, we tend to forget how intimate action is the taking care of someone’s clothing. The sense of intimacy to an individual in dealing with the individual’s clothes must be caused by the clothes’ proximity to one’s physical body. Anyone who does other’s laundry knows that clothes garment contains more than the wearer’s sweat but all kinds of bodily fluid and substances. And the smell. No brand detergent with strongest chemicals and bleach or high-tech washers or driers can erase one’s particular smell from one’s clothes.

This is one reason why the alapana images were striking. It combines the nationalist ideologies and politics which are defined and conducted formally by the State
institution, with the kimono robe that is so close to an individual’s material body and everyday scenes. The theme of the war of colonization promoted and cherished in a personal space and surface – how patriotic can we be in our private moments? As mentioned in the introduction, the alapana images are part of the ezuri images that are only test prints for the manufacturers. It is not clear whether a kimono with the actual alapana image was manufactured. But suppose a kimono was made and it was worn to celebrate “the Great Japanese Empire” by the name of multiculturalism, one must wonder if there was any material residue of ideology when the kimono was taken off after the performance of imperial nationalism. The merging of the State and individual in the symbol of the design and on the body as a symbol -- but the corporeal body and its scent on the kimono certainly has no physical residue of the national ideologies. And did the wearer, once he took off the kimono, become a pre-nationalist individual? More corporeal than the body that dons the ideology? The more we seek for a bodily evidence of ideology in this performance of kimono wearing, the more lack of materiality in political ideology the kimono reveals. However, suppose there was a pressure in wearing such a kimono, then this alapana design assists us to see the ideology can be materialized in a body as a form of coercive agent of the State power over its citizen’s body.

The question of “How does it feel to wear that kimono?” will have to solicit more than one answer. Pleasurable, because it is pure silk and feels smooth and breathy on the skin, or pleasurable, because it is beautiful and valuable to show in public and validates the one’s financial status, or even pleasurable, because it aligns with what the wearer believes and hopes and boosts the pride of his citizenship? Perhaps all of them. For populations of certain privileged classes, clothing is an instrument for both feeling-
inducing and feeling-expression. Statements such as “I felt lazy today,” or “I wanted to feel sexy,” that accompany justifications of one’s clothing choice validate how our choices of clothing, even if they are limited by occasions and social norms, are closely connected with feelings, and since the feelings such as lazy and sexy are intensely corporeal, the clothing speaks much for sensation, the feeling we receive in our body. The pressure of clothing and self-fashioning dictated by the State power in many historical moments of nation-building (e.g. de-feminization of women’s attire in the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the rebellious Pachuco/Pachuca movement during the World War II when the State advocated for self-restraint in clothing for resource saving) must have used this affective dynamics (or the way our “feeling” is enhanced in our bodily sensation) of self-fashioning, that the clothing affects expression and induction of feelings. Simply put, the clothing is about affect – as much as it is corporeal it can sometimes be used for political feelings, political affects. Here is the connection of the State ideology with the body and clothes through the dynamics of affect which involves both cognitive feelings and the material, sensing, body.

Donning, feeling, ethnic patterns, signs, and bodily senses of political. If we take the act of donning sovereignty as methodologies of ethnic struggles, we understand the importance of the use of ethnic attires in the struggles by the colonized subject in the specific places where ethnic sovereignty is demanded. Given that many parts of the world values the Western clothes for the public and even daily spaces, donning one’s ethnic attire, in the context of performing ethnicity, is a performance for sovereignty. There is no doubt such a visual performance has a strong impact. But unfortunately, as the
donning of one’s own ethnic clothes (which is oxymoronic as one’s own identity should not appear as ethnic to the one, however the hegemony of the Western clothes and Eurocentrism mandates the shift of the gaze globally) will simply be using the sign of the difference in the binary system of the Occident vs. ethnic, it is most likely that the project would not succeed to radically subvert the system of Othering, or worse, it would even “revert” and highlight the system of the oppression it seeks to demolish.

Would there be any possibility of subversiveness for ethnic clothes? Can donning of ethnic signs perform more than highlighting the difference? There is an indigenous, anti-racist, and intercultural event facility in Hokkaido, Japan, where we can see another way ethnic attires perform, a performance of donning signs, that jostles the traditional understanding of their difference. Sapporo Pirka Kotan, the Ainu Cultural-Exchange Center in Hokkaido, Japan was established in 2003 by the city of Sapporo, and facility holds an indoor and outdoor museum section, and also programs that are designed to introduce Ainu culture, in the setting of “cultural exchange.” (Picture of Pirka Kotan) The Japanese government did not acknowledge the Ainu tribe as indigenous people of Japan until 2008, so the building of this facility was considered rather generous on the side of Sapporo city, although “overdue and the location is in the middle of nowhere,” according to a volunteer member in Pirka Kotan. Built next to Hot Spring spa hotels in the mountain scene of Jouzankei, a suburb of Sapporo city, Pirka Kotan is not easy to access for many local Sapporo citizens, unless intentionally planned a visit to the small museum display or the spa next door. But recently Pirka Kotan became one of the tourist spots by incorporating group bus trip visitors and school trips.
Pirka Kotan holds monthly inomi festivals, inviting the audience to visit with the Ainu volunteers and learn about Ainu culture. Inomi consists of the half-day activities of food, music, games, and arts and craft. Then the finale is a stage performance by the volunteers, consisting of upopo (round singing) and traditional dance. It is most likely that this is the first time for the visitors to witness Ainu cultural performance, unless the travelers repeat visiting Hokkaido, a major tourist spot in Japan, and intentionally seek out Ainu cultural events which are few. After the performance of several dance numbers, the visitors are invited to join the dance circle of the Ainu people. The audience at this point put down their cameras and video recorders, and leaves the seats of the viewers and stand on the same stage with the performers. The Ainu huchi (female elders) who wear the traditional Ainu gowns with aiushi and other embroidery patterns lead the dance. The audience may be shy and hesitant, but they begin timidly and eventually follow the huchi’s steps, moving the circle. The performance of the Ainu gown begins after this. After the first dance, huchi take their gowns off, and don them on the visitors. These gowns are handmade by the huchi with their time consuming, traditional embroideries. (picture of ainu robes) The gowns are made from thick layered cotton, meticulously embroidered, and thus fairly heavy. As the Ainu gowns, that used to be an ethnic sign to be viewed are now close to the audience’s skin, weighing down their bodies and move with them as they try to follow the huchi’s steps. The audience learns what it feels like to don and move with these gowns. In the first dance, it was only the huchi who were donning the gowns. But after the huchi’s casting the gowns on the audiences, what occurs is literally a switch of the signs, as if the Ainu and Western clothes are labeling the wrong bodies. The logic of this performance is explained in the huchi’s speech at the closure of
the dance: “Now that you have worn Ainu clothes and danced in a circle you have all become Ainu. You have experienced the feeling of togetherness (rather than being different.) Now that we have danced together as one Ainu group, we can continue to carry this way of being together, living together beyond discrimination and animosity toward each other.” The speech followed their statement on the term, Ainu. Since the conflicts between Ainu and wajin (Japanese) and Japanese colonization of Hokkaido, Southeast Siberia, and the Kuril islands, the word Ainu for a long time signified savage and was used as a derogatory term. The Ainu activists in their initial gathering in 1970s therefore adopted the Ainu word Utari (which means comrades or fellowship) to replace the name for themselves. However, the recent Ainu activists acknowledge the need to reclaim this word, Ainu. The huchi claimed, “in the Ainu language, the word Ainu means human.” Huchi’s closing statement, that “you have all become one group of Ainu” by all donning the Ainu robes, implies not so much of the group’s ethnic specificity, but rather a humanist statement. By using this term Ainu in its original definition, human, the statements claims that all the people in the dance circle were equally human. The performance decolonizes and recovers the meaning of the word Ainu as well as recovering agency of the Ainu people in the word.

This performance utilizes the legibility of ethnic identity, ethnic clothes, as a sign of ethnic specificity, a sign that has functioned because of its repetitions, and another sign, the word Ainu, that came to repeatedly signify the ethnic difference in the colonial paradigm shift. The circle dance event cleverly creates the performative moment, in which “the disorganization and disaggregation on the field of bodies disrupt the regulatory fiction,” borrowing Judith Butler’s phrase. Although Butler is referring to
sexual identification in her book, *Gender Trouble*, her understanding of “identification as an enacted fantasy or incorporation”⁷ applies to other form of identities of Others. The surface of a body that is legible (signified) is a site of fantasy of identification, be it race, gender, sexuality.

[A]cts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this on the surface of the body . . . Such acts, gesture, enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitutes its reality.⁸ (Emphases from the original text.)

The ethnic robe, the garment worn literally on the surface of the body and signifying the body, is then made performative, not only because it acts as a sign for its legibility, but also it acts literally as a “surface of the body” and can be switched as the huchi demonstrated. The easily switchable garment, justified with the recovery of the original meaning of the word, Ainu, metonymically shows that what is perceived as a real and natural, the ethnicity on the surface of the body, “has no ontological status.” On the surface of the body, literally and figuratively, the Ainu robe embroidered with the patterns including the same aiushi in our alapana, perform to display the artificiality of ethnic identity, supported by the colonial desires and fantasy of the Other. As Butler clarifies, “[j]ust as bodily surfaces are enacted as the natural, so these surfaces can
become the site of a dissonant and denaturalized performance that reveals the performative status of the natural itself.” The robe on the surface of the body that is identified as ethnic through aiushi pattern then becomes the tool of the performance of decolonization as much as it performs the performativity of signs.

There are further significant elements in this dance event. Because the switching of the garment was not done as a stage performance, but on the body of all the participants, the creative use of the legibility of the ethnic robe transforms the viewer into a performer. The viewers, the visitors of the ethnic site are suddenly made into the participants, the accomplice, of the performance to show that the difference indeed is a fantasy. As the huchi dons the garment on the audience, they tell the audience that each garment is handmade by the person who was wearing it. The experience of the donning is extremely intimate. As the huchi wraps the audience body explaining the embroideries, the person who is dressed is covered with the elements of the huchi, the scent on the garment, the scent of the huchi, the moisture left in the thick robe, the warmness of the huchi’s body left in the gown. The aiushi and other patterns at the close gaze turn into a tenuous continuation of stitches, conducted one by one with the hands of the huchi. The stitches have the personal traits, which is not at all machine-like. Even a slightly uneven spot or tightness on the surface seems to narrate her labor and affection on the garment. As the huchi wraps the garment and adjust on the receiver’s shoulders, he or she may remember the last time they were dressed by someone else, perhaps in the childhood by a loving family member. Indeed a body is an archive of memories as Diana Taylor analyzes, especially of intimate memories of personal experience. The intimacy
achieved in the act of dressing then literally enables the viewers to feel closer to the Ainu huchi, as close as even to remember familial care and proximity with loved ones.

The bodily memory is not the only knowledge the participants gain in this event. The dancing part evokes new bodily consciousness. The garment is rather weighty, and because of its large sleeves and the hem that hangs long around knees, it requires some adjustments in the wearer’s movement, especially in the occasion of dance, with movements of jumping and turning, the movements outside of the mundane postures and gestures in our daily routines. The donning of the robe in the dance circle then requires many adjustments in the bodily movements. The participants who are ex-viewers then must learn to move in the robe and in the dance, learn a new ways to orient themselves and allow their body parts to emulate and articulate the movements of the Ainu huchi. The new movements of the body certainly open up for new bodily thoughts, bodily knowledge. Perhaps the huchi are aware that once the viewer steps out of the audience seat and moves with them and like them, a certain new feeling-thinking and feeling-together (or sympathy) may be achieved. Thus the dancing in a circle mobilizes the affect that is made possible by the sensations felt in the bodies. These sensations are indeed corporeal. Sweat, beats, breaths, vibration in lungs at the songs, whistles, and laughter, and slap of the hair on the forehead and shoulders, the results of moving together are many corporeal and material production of sensations, materialization of feeling-together. Indeed much of the inomi was about not understanding the logic of inclusion, but simply participating in the sensation of dance. Other than the closing speech, the overall inomi was centered around singing, tasting, and dancing, where using senses was the primary function of procedure. Pirka Kotan’s dance circle in which the participants are made to
use their bodies and senses to imagine and rehearse a moment of peaceful coexistence\textsuperscript{11} is innovative. Instead of lecturing, the huchi chose the participatory way in which the participants must use their own body and feel together. This momentary assemblage may be a strategy for imagining coexistence, the line which will extend into other Ainu performance activism, of which the discussion continues later in the chapter.

Ethnic clothes, a sign of difference, is indeed able to perform against identification. The inomi in Pirka Kotan is one case where the once colonized aiushi pattern, arranged and read in the paper of our alapana, can vibrantly be materialized on the garment and expose the performativity of sign with the use of bodily sensation. The huchi’s bodily wisdom is at work and even expands outside of Hokkaido island. The following chapters traces how the Ainu huchi’s tactics using bodies and sensations to subvert the stigma in the Ainu history take various developments. One of them, a performance group, Ainu Rebels, emerged out of a huchi’s encouragement to young Ainu.\textsuperscript{12} Ainu Rebels developed the idea of performing Ainu body in Ainu gowns, to reclaim representation of the word, Ainu, in Tokyo, Japan.

The new generation of Ainu performers emerging in Tokyo, Japan, instead of Hokkaido island is quite logical; Tokyo is the second largest home for Ainu people in Japan. The population of Ainu and other indigenous peoples in the Northwestern pacific region have suffered many border and territory conflicts between Russia and Japan. Through the pre-Russo-Japan War conflicts and the territory confusion involving the US after the Second World War, indigenous peoples of the Northwestern pacific: Ainu, Uilta, Nivkh have gone through many forced migrations between Japan and Russia and many
islands between the two. As a result the majority of Ainu together with some Uilta and Nivkh people were moved to settle in Hokkaido island. Because Hokkaido has held the largest population of the Ainu people in Japan, the discrimination against the Ainu has been most rampant in Hokkaido. Many Ainu had to flee to Tokyo, a cosmopolitan metropolis, to avoid the aggressive discrimination and identification as Ainu, in addition to seeking employment. It was 1972 when Shizue Ukaji huchi, who was a young mother of two children at that time, posted on a newspaper her call for Ainu Utari (fellows, comrades) to “hold hands and get united. In the following 1973 Tokyo Utari Association was established. More than thirty years later, Ukaji asked a young Ainu to continue “inventing new Ainu culture.” The short history of Ainu Rebels (formed in 2006 until disbanded in 2010) begins with the young Ainu, Mina Sakai, who struggled between colonial representation and postcolonial identity of the Ainu people, and her transnational travel to Canada.

Mina Sakai grew up in Hokkaido as an Ainu, fearful and ashamed of her ethnic identity. Japanese colonization of the islands of Ezo, (Kuril and Hokkaido islands) took a very similar course as European colonization of peoples of America. Genocide, rape, and relocation of the Ainu were followed by the government’s aggressive assimilation policy that involved the prohibition of religious and cultural practices and reeducation of Ainu children in the boarding schools. These acts of colonization generated self-hatred common in many indigenous populations in the colonized world. Perhaps because Japan never saw itself as politically colonized by other nations, the postcolonial movements for indigenous peoples, such as indigenous studies, did not publicly exist in Japan when Mina grew up in Hokkaido, the island which has the highest population of the Ainu
people but with most discriminatory attitude against the Ainu population. For Mina, it took an indigenous youth exchange program which flew her to Canada and witnessing indigenous youths celebrating their cultures with pride in their performance of traditional dance – a major paradigm shift, Mina recalls - to think of indigenous identity with pride, and even to imagine that the same positive identification could be possible for the contemporary Ainu people. As this transnational encounter sparked a thinking that generated Ainu performance and then begun the first visible intercultural performance, it is important to note that indigenous consciousness (which is oppositional to transnational) was brought out at this transnational encounter. This transnational flows, alliances, and contagion of indigenous consciousness, and what I call “transnational indigeneity” as a mode of postcolonial collaboration are something I will return later in this dissertation.

Mina’s encounter to other indigenous tribes in Canada inspired a fantasy of the Ainu community that is not a victim of shame. In Mina’s word, the Canadian indigenous youths were “cool and hip” to proudly carry out their traditional songs and dance with such positive impact. The problem with applying the same method, a celebratory performance of traditional songs and dance, to the contemporary Ainu culture is the stigma chained with anything to do with Ainu. For any recognition of Ainu identity and even self-identification, Ainu representations have been nothing but negative until then. If being Ainu is already signified as filth, savagery, poverty, diversion and lack relative to the standard citizenship (in this case, authentic Japaneseness) in colonial history, then any Ainu performance would entail negative meanings, or at best, pity. In Japan, Ainu representation signified abjection, whether hatred or pity. To self-identified Ainu,
performing Ainu cultural heritage would be reinforcement of shame. The imperial logic of colonization worked effectively to attach the trauma of being abject to the Ainu culture so that, as common in many indigenous cultures, Ainu cultural heritage in performance forms was mostly subdued and as a result partly lost, just as their language and aural traditions by the Hokkaido Ex-savage Protection Law issued in 1988. The law mandates the Ainu to abandon “all distinctly Ainu customs and traditions” and banned the use of Ainu language.¹⁷

As the Greek etymology explains, trauma, a wound, functions as a reminder of the history of injury, and bring backs the memory of pain. The memory thus becomes painful. If identifying as Ainu is traumatized, then to many Ainu youths remembering their traditional cultures and representing the identity was retracing and re-experiencing of the pain and shame of being subjected as indigenous subordinate. This is one way colonization schematically influences one’s sense of identity. To reverse this history is not possible, although, if cultural economy ever changed and the Ainu sovereignty could be somehow celebrated, then the meaning attached to their identity might change. Mina knew this would not come so easily. Majoring in international relations in college, Mina recalls, she has been discouraged by learning of difficulties of social change in the realm of politics.

How to conceive an Ainu difference that does not signify abjection, that does not point out the victimized past? Mina’s solution to her dilemma in achieving a form of Ainu community without shame was to rework her encounter in Canada backwards. Cool and hip, was the impression Mina received from the Canadian Native youths performing their cultural heritage. Indigenous pride may appear cool to Mina, but imitating the same
action in Japan does not work for the Ainu youths because of their stigma. Mina had to
reconstruct coolness in Japanese context to apply it to Ainu cultural elements. Fusing
what is cool and what is Ainu, may achieve cool Ainuness that is without stigma. Mina’s
methodologies at the initial reconceptualization of Ainu difference was thus aiming at a
recovery of Ainu representation. Upon her return from Canada, Mina solicits a few Ainu
youths to form an Ainu hip hop music and performance unit, Ainu Rebels. What is cool
to the youth culture in Japan, and resources Mina had at that time already had some
connections. It so happened that Mina was trained in contemporary dance, and her
brother, Atsushi, was pursuing his career as a hip hop DJ in Tokyo. The black cultural
production of ethnic pride tremendously attracted Atsushi. In one sense this idea of
merging what is hip and what is Ainu had already been achieved by Mina and her brother
as they live in Tokyo with contemporary music and dance performers. However, the
process of gathering members was difficult. This was not a preceded move in the Ainu
community. Most of the members at that point had not “come out” as Ainu and have been
making efforts to conceal their physical features that “give away” their Ainu heritage.
One of the members of Ainu Rebels, Megumi Murakami, kept her eyelash trimmed and
grew her bangs to hide her wide eyes. For each member to “come out” means their family
and relatives would be vulnerable to on-going aggressive discrimination, as well as
verbal and physical attacks existent in Hokkaido. For Atsushi, leaving Hokkaido and
pursuing the Western cultural production of hip hop was to escape from his Ainu heritage
and its association with his identity as much as living a life as part of mainstream
Japanese youth. Mina’s return and call to her Ainu community to form Ainu Rebels, a
group that represents Ainu identity, must have been sensational, and as Atsushi recalls, a “groundbreaking move.”

Transnationality plays a significant role in this movement. Mina inadvertently poses her perception of indigenous pride as a contagion through her transnational communication with indigenous youths. The method Ainu Rebels understood that, to be “cool” in Japan was to adopt rap, contemporary dance, and break dance, and to aestheticize the Ainu patterns and costumes on their bodies in order to fit in the concept of cool hip hop representation, which stems from the African American youths’

Loose pants, baseball caps and gold chain necklace are indispensable items. For girls, braided hair and heavy eye make-up are necessary with the big hoop earrings. All those items seem to reflect Japanese understanding of African American ethnicity and seem to derive from their black-drag which has its origin in the 1990s’ trend of “ganguro (black face)” “soul make-up” or street dance.

subculture. To incorporate Ainu culture into coolness, Ainu Rebels spoke the already existing language of hip hop that represents sub-cultural cool. The hip hop culture among Japanese youth, as in many other nations, is fiercely popular. The trend of favoring African American representations since the 1990s in Japan laid a strong foundation for the flourishing of hip hop music. Rather than locating hip hop in a genre of world music,
Japanese music industry adopted the movement as the primary market for youths just like in many other countries, with the youthful sense of “cool” that is characterized with the rebellious attitude of hip hop aesthetics. Since then Japanese popular music departed from family entertainment and grew into J-POP that aspires to African American hip hop culture.\textsuperscript{21}

In 2008 the performance group Ainu Rebels produced festive and affirmative images of the Ainu people, rapping against the popular image of impoverished and suffering Ainu people, at the same time aestheticizing traditional Ainu dances and songs by incorporating of hip hop music, performance, and contemporary dance. The group’s alternative Ainu representation as people who take pride in performing in their once forbidden language has impacted their audience tremendously. Their media exposure followed by other Ainu and minority activisms influenced public opinion. As a result, in August 2008 the Japanese government officially acknowledged the Ainu as indigenous people of Japan.\textsuperscript{22} \textsuperscript{23} The acknowledgment qualified the Ainu to claim the Indigenous People’s Rights declared by the United Nations that was issued a year before.\textsuperscript{24} This was a groundbreaking turn in postcolonial Ainu history, as Japan supported the United Nation’s Declaration of Indigenous People’s Rights, but had simultaneously refused to acknowledge that Japan had any indigenous people within the nation.\textsuperscript{25} Perhaps the UN Declaration helped this decision by representing the international pressure through the United Nation’s Declaration. At any rate the official recognition marked the moment in which an indigenous performance brought out a tangible political result in Japanese minority history.
The success of Ainu Rebels coinciding the UN Declaration of Indigenous People’s Rights points to a distinct shift of their idea of modernity. Until the early 1900s the Japanese government’s understanding of modernity resembled the early American ideology of nation-building by colonialism and conquering of the frontier. Not only Ainu people and their culture was to be eliminated, the treatments of other indigenous populations before the mid-1900s shows that the Japanese imperial power expansion deployed intensive elimination of indigenous people and culture as a tool of modernization and Westernization. For example, Eiji Oguma in his book *Nihonjin no Kyokai* (The limits of the Japanese) delineates ways in which Japanese State and colonization in Taiwan and the South Pacific suppressed the indigenous cultures if not avoided in their policy of “Emperor’s Citizen Education” (*皇民教育*).26

The State attitude against Indigeneity perhaps followed what contemporary indigenous scholars see as the transformation of modernity in the neoliberal advocate of multiculturalism today. Since the 1990s, many cases of indigenous music and art activism are reported worldwide and they are consumed preferably by the international community.27 However this consumption is fairly compatible with the neoliberal scheme and fantasy of “cultivated” and “educated” lifestyle in which the privileged class of people with mobility and ability to purchase international cultures. Scholars such as Iddoosaa Ejjetaa and Paul Routledge describe that the emergence of such new form of modernity change the way society faces indigeneity28, in that, multiculturalism in the form of consumption turned indigenous cultural elements into the sign of education and cultivated mind. Through this trend, indigeneity or certain ethnic-ness becomes something indispensable to a cultural progress of a modern nation, not something to
demolish but to cherish by reducing it in the form of entertainment and commodity. The wide acceptance and popularity of Ainu Rebels may have derived from this trend of peculiar Westernization, in which society not consumes ethnic arts as part of their measurement of modernity. Anna Maria Kowalczyk also articulates the dilemma of indigenous music production in the neoliberal trend in which indigenous cultural elements find a way of voicing itself, but at the same time are reduced and co-opted by consumerism, and eventually made to support the oppressive force of neoliberal cultures’ global expansion. Ainu Rebels, as described below, also walked on the thin line between the indigenous branding and co-optation of their voices through hip hop consumption culture in Japan. The identity crisis of being between a rock and a hard place was not openly voiced by the members, but however we do see the struggles in which they had to make a case of the first minority music unit.

The trajectory of Ainu Rebels points to a peculiar relationship of performance and politics, in which performance and politics, while spoken as different entities, spill over to each other and become performance as politics. Mina’s project aimed to imagine a space for an Ainu community without shame, but the process of putting the performance together and the discourse in the performance itself proved to be rather the politicization of identity. Furthermore, through the whole process, the members of Ainu Rebels experienced affirmation of their identity, and the experience of performance became individually therapeutic to each members. Although what Mina aimed for was a “happy” representation of Ainu, Atsushi’s rap lyrics sang the pain of growing up while hiding his Ainu identity. (Picture, Atsushi rapping on the stage)
On the phone with my girlfriend, she talks trash on another guy,

“He is disgusting, I bet his Ainu. Don’t you think he looks Ainu?”

Words from the receiver, my body freezes, I can only freeze.
What you don’t know, I can only not say it.

“Is he Ainu? His face is Ainu!”

Ethnic difference, difference of blood,

That’s the standard. Is that your standard?

Ainu still stands, here and now. Here and now.”32

One of Mina’s performance repertoires shows her putting make-up and Ainu costume on stage. The piece reveals how one becomes an Ainu performance artist in appearance, but at the same time demonstrates the process of a person becoming a person visible for her ethnicity through the donning of the sign (needless to say, the robe with Ainu embroidery patterns) and through audience’s gaze. Both Atsushi’s rap and Mina’s make-up piece look at the process by which Ainu subjectivity is donned and read on one’s body. For both cases, the issue being dealt with seems to be about being identified, being donned a representation of ethnicity. However, the core problem here is not the negative representation itself but how that identification to the negatively represented identity is used to exclude the certain bodies: It is not the donning but being excluded from a space of belonging.
Ainu rebels’ performance consists of many pieces of various genres. It normally takes place in the style of “raibu,” live concerts of contemporary rocks and hip hop music in which target young audience. The majority of their performance pieces is hip hop oriented arrangement of traditional Ainu songs and dance. Their performance also includes the member’s comments on why they decided to form Ainu Rebels. These testimonial comments between the pieces are posed as their first public statement as Ainu, or even the ritual of coming-out. Perhaps this landscape of performance became a place for belonging to Ainu youth and other minority youth who can share equal space of being and memory of trauma. The performance accompanied by this act of testimony drew sympathy from other minority youth. Their performance was not limited in concert halls, but they took their performance around schools to offer post-performance discussion to think about racism and discrimination in Japan. Many ethnic minority children sympathized with the Ainu Rebel’s message through performance, and expressively articulated their own experience of racial discrimination in Japan.33 Thus their performance that was to recover Ainu representation also functioned as an anti-racist event and multicultural education material, and perhaps this was necessarily so.

On the one hand, Ainu Rebels’ performance achieved a great deal of empowerment for Ainu and other ethnic minority youth in Japan. Mina’s initial aim to conceive a positive Ainu community without trauma brought out the image of Ainu who bears the image of “cool” (be it aesthetic, popular, or bad-ass.) The aiushi pattern on the Ainu robe that performed on stage may have been added the image of Ainu who own their identification, Ainu who hold their autonomy to speak of their identity, and Ainu
who speak against colonial oppression. On the other hand, however, in some aspects Ainu Rebels seems to have failed the very performative effect that was achieved in Pirka Kotan. Ainu Rebels performance as activism may have aimed at the same direction as the Pirka Kotan’s huchi, to line up Ainu as living human, however, what performance achieved was the statement for Ainu sovereignty and retelling of trauma, rather than a radical subversion of signification. Take audience’ response for example, it is hard to imagine wajin or Japanese audience bodily experiencing the subversion of the viewpoint and a radical renovation of the word Ainu more than simply learning about the voice of the oppressed. Indeed a movement for sovereignty of Ainu is crucial to imagine future of more inclusive Japan. However, if Mina intended this performance group to replace the old representation with the new image of Ainu without trauma, then it is difficult to say it has succeeded. In fact, the aiushi patterns on their robe highlighted the experience of ethnic difference, and the trauma that accompanies it as much as their reaction against the trauma - pride. It was subversive to an extent that they have invented indeed positively and actively performing Ainu youth, however, the aiushi pattern raised as an identity flag was not so much shaking the logic of signification performatively as the huchi’s performance in Pirka Kotan, if it wasn’t reinforcing the signification.

Ainu Rebels, as it became famous, took on a catch phrase, “distributing Ainu culture in a cool and happy manner.” This, indeed, was achieved. Until the group disbanded in 2010, Ainu Rebels produced many contemporary Ainu voice in forms of music and dance. Mina’s most quoted statement argues, “Art has power to achieve so easily and effectively what politics has attempted to achieve in generations of negotiations, hundreds years of negotiations.” In other words, Mina believes that their
performance as a form of art resonates in the audience at a level that is seemingly outside of the logic of politics and social hierarchy, if not throughout Japan, at least among some ethnic youth. Perhaps the best way to evaluate the success of Ainu Rebels is not the way that their performance performatively dealt with signification or jostled the seemingly naturalness of identification, but the way in which the music and beat connected people: With bodies and sensations. The affect, we may call it, of the performance which seems to exclude politics (and/or images of politics as laws, formality, and politicians) achieved something like affirmation, sympathy, or feeling-together of their political intentions as the body of audience resonated with the Ainu hip hop. Perhaps it is possible to rephrase Mina’s statement, saying, “bodily sensations conducted through art activities has power to connect people so easily and effectively what the logics and linguistic efforts of politics have attempted to achieve in generations of negotiations, hundreds years of negotiations.” Strangely Ainu Rebels’ activism achieved an unintended result other than a statement for sovereignty: assemblage of various minority groups. The group began collaborating with other ethnic and interracial youth in Japan, then expanded the events to LGBT community and people with disabilities. The collaboration of this music performance activism for empowerment for minorities in Japan developed into becoming part of MixRoots Japan, the largest assembly of minority and interracial organizations. Indeed affect is a powerful tool to connect people. In one way, the definition of “Ainuness” performed by the huchi in Pirka Kotan is revived in MixRoots in its expanding circle with the particular use of body in music and rhythm, and the reclaiming of the space to occupy for certain bodies. The line of development of Ainu Rebels and MixRoots, the way in which bodies with difference became the tools of collaboration and
acquired a space for belonging through music performance, is followed in the Chapter 3, Tonkori.

As for Mina, when Ainu Rebels disbanded without revealing a reason, she moved onto another form of hybrid music collaboration, the electronic music unit, Imeruat. Chapter 3 also will trace Mina’s theoretical development on art and ethnicity of Ainu and her performance without aiushi Ainu pattern.

And as for our alapana, it will remain as our starting point to discuss sensations in art and differences brought together to create art as well as continue to haunt the sites of intercultural performance we visit.
The same question ran through my head when I saw the advertisement of national flag condom series on the internet. The same company also sells a condom case keychain with the US flag image, on which it says, “Wear it with pride.” For the nationalist ideal, the citizens are desired to religiously sustain the nationalist thoughts in the private, even sexual, moments.  

Pirka (Beautiful) Kotan (Village).


From the inomi performance on July 25th, 2008.


Ibid.

Ibid.


One of the Taylor’s lists explaining the reasons for theater performance being an effective political tool is enacting the imagination of the ideal: momentarily rehearsing the opposite of oppression on the stage. 2-6.

Because Hokkaido had the largest Ainu population, especially after the Japanese-Russian conflicts in the early twentieth century moved much of indigenous populations to Hokkaido, Hokkaido island became a capitol of Ainu population. The largest population also meant the hardest discrimination against the Ainu people. Many Ainu people today move to Tokyo to evade the stigma of being Ainu in Hokkaido.

Although, resistance by Ainu people always existed whether in a small scale or by a form of warfare. After the colonization overcame much of the resistant attempts, and the assimilation policy enforced in the “Ex-savages protection laws” issued in 1899, the Ainu resistance in the public scene became invisible.

In 1898 Hokkaido ex-savage protection law was issued, in which the use of Ainu language and “any other distinctly Ainu customs and traditions” were ordered to be abandoned. See Yamakawa, Chikara. Meijiuki Ainu Minzoku Seisakuron. (The Policy on Ainu in Meiji era.) Tokyo, Japan: Miraisha, 1996. p104.


Another example of attacks will be harassment. For instance, the house Mina grew up was often vandalized by the neighbors, with derogatory graffiti and garbage.

“Our Ainu Declaration” by NHK Broadcasting, Japan. 1/13/2008

This is so to the extent the term “hip pop” came to represent the mainstream Japanese popular music.

Ainu wa senjuu minzoku (Ainu is indigenous people – the Parliament agrees) Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper. August 8, 2008.


29 In this notion, the alapana image in the early 1900s with its celebratory flaunting of the Othered indigenous cultural symbols can been strangely seen as progressively contemporary and international.


31 “Our Ainu Declaration” ETV Specials, NHK Broadcasting, Japan. 1/13/2008

32 Ibid. From Ainu Rebels performance

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 “Just as you are.” Asahi Newspaper. Japan. 11/12/2008.

36 http://www.mixroots.jp/shakeforward.htm
CHAPTER TWO – UTARI

“And who is my neighbor?” (Luke 10:29)

The alapana images in the previous chapter are an example of colonial representation of ethnicity; it uses the signs that symbolize the particular ethnicity or nationality. Because of the imperial political intention in the designs, the images become doubly violent: It displays the effects of ethnic Otherness, the hierarchized difference of their ethnicity, as well as flaunts the forceful incorporation of their cultures into the Empire, the forceful belonging in which a subjugated space was allocated for them to exist in the dominant nation. This belonging/oppression, because it does not allow equal occupancy to the subordinates, limits the oppressed body from inhabiting the space in the same way as the dominant body. Hence one of the colonial affects of racism is this loss of the lived space and/or access and entitlement to it: the space which bodies occupy and share, the space in which living energy can vibrate without hesitation and limitation. This forceful belonging to the colonial identity thus excludes. Ethnic clothes discussed in the previous chapter, the bodies that dons the representation of the oppressed identity, functions as a reminder of the difference (which is the point from which the Ainu huchi developed the performance to erase the stigmatized difference attached to the word “Ainu;”) and this difference emerges from and consolidates the imagined boundary that constructs the “inner” and “outer.” As Judith Butler points, this boundary of the “inner” and “outer” can be maintained only by imagining the *seamless surface* of the body. The narrative of the process of minoritization here is rather a corporeal narrative: that the imagined impermeable whole body must excrete the abject outsider from the body of a
group. The abject emerges and at the same time is excluded through this act of “shitting out.”

What constitutes through division the “inner” and “outer” worlds of the subject is a border and boundary tenuously maintained for the purpose of social regulation and control. The boundary between inner and outer is confounded by those excremental passages in which the inner effectively becomes outer, and this excreting function becomes, as it were, the model by which other forms of identity-differentiation are accomplished. In effect, this is the mode by which Others become shit (170).

A community formed under an identity necessitates exclusion of certain bodies. The surface of the community which divides and separates outside from inside, the surface at which Othered bodies are excluded, is and must be imagined as a seamless cordon that determines and maintains who and what are in and out. By its force of exclusion, a community that is formed under a racial identity contains violence by its mode of forming a boundary. Created autonomously and selectively including and thus creating outsiders or imposed on the Other thus excluding them from the communitarian space of inhabitance, for the discriminated and excluded, whether by phenotypes or by any other ethnic signs such clothes that are donned (surfaces of individual bodies that are collectively used), a race community always contains violence of exclusion that is enacted on the surface of the community that is consisted of individual bodily surfaces and is imagined as an impermeable boundary.

The act of “shitting out” the Other is simultaneously a means to confirm the seamless surface of the body. The seamless in this perspective is supposedly the homogenous body of majority that does not allow variations. Needless to say this homogeneity is an illusion. However, even though the majority means a collective mass of individuals, the determination of differences as an ignoble one or a definite one
causing exclusion is a point of categorization, a sifting of inner from outer, a “shitting out” borrowing Butler’s wording of “shit.” By the act of shitting out, a community excludes the Other and consolidates what is not-Other. Butler observes this circular and mutual effect of Othering and consolidation of the dominant: “[f]or inner and outer worlds to remain utterly distinct, the entire surface of the body would have to achieve an impossible impermeability,” and therefore “‘inner’ and ‘outer’ constitute a binary distinction that stabilizes and consolidates the coherent subject.”3 In the same method and behavior of creating the Other, one builds the seemingly seamless surface of the Occident. Nation-building achieved through immigration control is an apt example for this effect of Othering. Eithne Luibhéid’s Entry Denied, for instance presents analyses of the ways in which the history of the US immigration control attempting to shape the US as a nation populated by ideal citizens.4 Luibhéid shows that the ideal of what legitimate citizens of the US should look like was already projected in the immigration law when they set the border control and excluded bodies with appearance of deviant sexuality, such as homosexual (a woman with short hair), promiscuous (Asian women who were seen as prostitutes attempting to work in the US as stated in the Chinese Exclusion Act) or over-sexual as in the fertile body of poor immigrant women (historically Mexican and in the early and mid-1900s, Japanese women.)5 Furthermore, in the practice of repetitive rejections of certain deviancies read in their bodies of the immigrants, of gender, race, and sexuality, the US national borders not only excluded those who did not satisfy the bodily legitimacy but also contributed in creating the appearance of the ideal US citizens, through the very exclusion, through the act of nation-building. Non-male, non-Anglo-Saxons, homosexuals, and pregnant bodies were classified as deviant, criminal, and even
possibly criminal, and in return the patriarchal and homophobic ideal of good citizenship was embodied by the control of the border of the nation, which used categorization of the bodies by the appearance of its surfaces. Bodies of Others in this process take a strange embodiment and disembodiment. Oscillating between abject corporeal and negative sign, the bodies of the Other occupy a space that is outside of belonging, not a vacuous nothingness out there, but a space that is indeed real and material, that stares back at the body of the non-Other, of which surface seems to be sealed seamlessly against the Other.

While Butler describes this exclusion as a figurative shitting out, in reality this excretion process can take a form much more sticky and materialistic. Exploring materially what happens to the “shit-out” body is one way to materialize the aftermath of “shitting out.” In fact, the excluded body goes through more than being “shit out” and flushed out into obscurity: it experiences and lives through the loss of belonging, loss of space, loss of owning the loss, melancholia, hysteria. Psychosomatic life-goes-on. Some of these symptoms emerge from such an obscure sense of loss, for instance, in melancholia. Sarita Echavez See reminds us that Freudian analysis of melancholia explains melancholia as a form of mourning, a loss of something which is unknown, unnamable. In a case of post/colonial subject, because they are deprived of their own language and are forced to speak only through their colonizers’ language, their attempt to name their loss to mourn is even more obliterated than a mere mourning of a loss of their history. Post/colonial melancholia therefore is “loss of lost histories.” See’s analysis of post/colonial melancholia then takes a form of performance analysis. If the language is taken away, she insists, they have “nothing left but body to articulate loss;” they can only speak through body. Unable to speak take a form of body to attempt to mourn. Anne
Anlin Cheng echoes that such relationship of one to his/her loss, including his/her following cannibalistic desire for the one’s loss as Freud observes, is an “entangled relationship with loss.” Materially speaking, the colonial body that is “shit out” which holds an entangled relationship to its own speech and loss, experiences many chokings and lacerations for being cut-out from figurative and material spaces of belonging.

Returning to the topic of the clothes and donning in this chapter, the material surface of the body, the following section considers surfaces of body that are “shit out.” In Butler’s analysis the body that becomes shit (excluded) functions as a figurative prop to retrospectively explain the process of minoritization. But what about the material bodies of the excluded subject? Instead of ending this narrative of minoritization in the conclusion of “shit,” another linguistic figuration of the subject, the following section focuses on, again, the material surface of the bodies of excluded individuals, namely, undocumented immigrants and their daughters in Japan. This is not to reiterate victimization discourses but rather to find a material sense of corporeal bodies of Othered subject after what Butler calls the “excremental process,” hoping to find a material sense in and after the symbolic violence, violence of labeling and exclusion with signs, which has no ontological reality in itself. Analysis of material surfaces of body here is therefore to seek a way that those bodies that become “shit” are brought back to the discussion of body. Cheng keenly observes that Freud and his text on melancholia itself are melancholic, in that, he is “not that interested in what happens to the object or its potential for subjectivity” (Emphasis in original). Then materiality of melancholic body of the Other may be the material to sense and speak of the Othering in a new framework, perhaps posing a new way to imagine a subjectivity, through which possibly there would
a new way to “explode” (in Butler’s word) or lacerate the allegedly seamless surface of the dominant body. At the same time, as these surfaces, clothes and hair, are snip-able and detachable, they may become a stage prop for performative plays of signs. Many parts of our bodily surfaces function as a sign of our social categories as much as they are undeniably material as in shippable, tactile, and perishable. Then what if that surface is detachable as cloths or hair? What does it do to the system of signs that categorizes bodies? As Sarita See says the colonial melancholic body has no voice but its body to speak. Then considering the materiality of the surface of the excluded body and its melancholism by focusing on the snipping and cutting of the surface may open our senses to the sticky point where the sign and body merge, and where the body can playfully take off and performs the performativity of signs.

The alapana images were printed on the kimono, one-piece garment, which wraps a body and creates a body that dons an ideology, as well as creating a body of the seemingly seamless (that is, pure, homogeneous, and exclusive) dominant Japanese community in the name of fashion. The body with the alapana images is indeed the body that inserts the imperial ideology in daily public spaces. One may argue that clothing for a fashion is an individual matter of liking, but even without the ostensible political message written on the kimono design, in a way a body is always of public, never purely private. As long as one’s body dons subjectivity, it is always of society: a body is never private. What happens if a body (which is always somewhat public) dons an abject ethnic difference in a form of fabrication, and with synthetic fabrics, in daily public spheres? How would the seamless surface face and be affected by the already shit-out signs being inserted to their daily spheres?
Lacerated Girls’ Uniforms

In the contemporary tension between Japan and Korea regarding the aftermath of the invasion, colonization, and genocide, the presence of Korean descendants in Japan poses agitation in Japan. Going into the fifth generation, Zainichi (在日 temporary resident, literally meaning “temporary existing or staying in Japan) Koreans do not belong to today’s North or South Korea, nor Japan. Many of Zainichi Koreans have never been to Korea (nor is it possible to go back in time to return to the original Chousen – the spelling and pronunciation in Japanese) and their connection to the imagined homeland is achieved through their sense of belonging to the Zainichi Korean community in Japan. This is why Korean schools (Chousen Gakkou) in Japan are an important figure for Zainichi Koreans to hold onto the belonging to the now-imaginary home nation, Chousen, because it allows Zainichi Koreans to actualize the their homeland and belonging to it through education and body of the schools. After the Japanese colonization and the Korean War that was enabled by the Japanese invasion, Chousen being cut in two pieces shed many enslaved and diasporic bodies in its laceration. The Chousen Gakkou (Korean schools) and ethnic Koreans in Japan are a reminder of the shedding of bodies scattered and incorporated in Japan. Their school uniform that takes the style of Korean traditional women’s dress then occupies a peculiar position within Japan: It signifies Chousen or Korea, the abject Other, and a disruption of the imagined seamless Japanese homogenous society. The general understanding of Korean schools in Japan is that many Chousen schools are politically affiliated with North Korea. However, Zainichi Koreans’ national affiliations and citizenship are not so simple, in fact, they are tenuous and precarious. The alternative system to citizenship, Zainichi registration does
not provide a citizenship but one’s conditional right to reside in Japan as alien. The Zainichi registration does not locate or make one belong to a nation, but only substantiates that they originate from Chousen and temporary residing in Japan: an ephemeral affirmation that they identity is aligned with the past whilst their bodies exist in Japan as Others. Today Zainichi Korean have options to either remain as of “Chousen” (whether because they hope that the nation Chousen will be united again, or they affiliate particularly with the communist North Korea) or changing their registration to South Korea in order to circumvent the Japanese animosity and discrimination against North Koreans. As a result, in the Zainichi Korean community and Chousen schools the people’s political affiliation with the North and South Korea vary. Regardless of the diverse national/political affiliations, for many older generations of Japanese, the Chousen school uniform simply signifies the existence of the abject, Chousen, or for the younger generations, the presence of imagined enemy, North Korea. Whereas the children of Korean descents with their Chousen school uniforms take a different visibility than, for instance, students of American schools in Japan. Unlike the Western style uniforms of Japanese schools, Korean school’s girls’ uniform is what Japanese would call, chima chogori (or hanbok in Korean), Korean traditional women’s dress. Here again, the clothes appear as a sign of ethnicity. On the other hand, male students do not possess this visibility for their uniform is no different from other Japanese high school’s male uniform, blazer and pants of the Western style.

Uniforms are interesting; They mark one’s body for a formal belonging to an institution. A uniformed body is a body fabricated into a body of member, uni-formed and unionized under the membership. In a large sense non-uniform attires such as suits
and business casual clothing signify one’s body as part of the corporate world, but a specific uniform of a specific school territorializes even more one’s body as a property of the institution. For the Chousen schools, their fabric uniform allows them to mark the female students’ body in multiple ways: one way as a property of the school, and another, of course, of Korea, and yet also another way is to make sure female bodies are separately marked for their sex. When Japan and its history strongly hold the notion of the abject Korea, the female Chousen school students in their uniform existing in daily public spheres such as streets, public transportations, parks, and shops cause tension for those who believe in the seamless and “pure”¹⁸ surface of Japanese national (and therefore patriarchal) and homogenously one-race body, by disrupting the surface appearance. The result is the continuous and insidious, cowardly “cutting” of the girls’ uniforms: In crowded public transportations, the girls’ uniforms are stealthily snipped by a pair of scissors or a paper-cutter of a perpetrator without the girls’ noticing.

The cases of cutting of Chousen school’s female uniform has gained visibility in the last several decades. This visibility reveals a paradigm shift has occurred in Japanese society. Physical abuses against Zainichi Koreans and other minorities are at least legally criminalized unlike right after the War when lynching of ethnic minorities did not count as news.¹⁹ Since then the uniform cutting has surfaced as on-going assaults to the bodily surface of these female students. The cutting happens so secretly that it is always found later by the students themselves or their parents. In a crowded public transportation or station, sometimes the cutting happens as just a slash on the uniform fabric. In other times it takes a form of snipping out of a portion of the clothes. These assaults happen now and so often, but the incidents become more frequent when the political tension
between Korean and Japan heightens. North Korean political movements and threats against Japan is always a strong trigger, but the recent territory issues between Japan and Korea also instigated the cutting. The reports increases when Korea, be it North, South, or Chousen, becomes visible as an enemy, abject, Other, or any reminder of the past between the three and Japan. The attacks do not conflict with the Japanese obsession of K-POP, however. While the invasion of K-POP icons in Japan does often come into the alarmed conversations of the anxious anti-Korea political groups, they are, after all, Koreans from Korea. The problem of the Chousen/Korean school uniforms to the Japanese seamless surface is that they are indeed Others who reside within Japan, who are part of Japan. They are outsiders existing in Japan for many generations, outsiders within the Japanese national community. The visibility of the girls’ uniform then becomes a sign of many entities: female, Others, young students who will be (an excluded) part of the Japanese population, and abject that insists on its existence regardless of the Othering acts.

The act of cutting may be too easily explained by some as a masculine-nationalist rage and its forceful penetration of the feminized Korean body. However, if the female uniform is understood as the temporary-surfacing, temporary surface of the abject within the Japanese national body, that is easily detachable, and if the clandestine cutting is traced as a symptom of psychiatric disease or of a repressed desire in the imaginary of seamless national surface (really, who is being fucked here?) the case of the uniform laceration takes on a complicated performance of the garment material. The donning of the uniform by the Chousen schools’ female students is both autonomous and coercive. It is autonomous because those who decide to be part of the Chousen schools take their own
agency and decision to take part in the membership of the imagined nation. At the same time, becoming part of the school means one will not be invisible in Japan, especially if one or one’s child is female and must don a female Chousen school uniform. Being part of the Chousen school as female means one must agree with the clothing regulation which would make her body stand out in the system of gender-ethnic representation. As many Japanese believe the Chousen schools teach children to hate Japan through what they call “hannichi kyouiku” (反日教育— Anti-Japan education) the visibility of the abject’s resistance on docile (uniformed) female body understandably draws some animus attention. The school life of their youth that initially aims to provide a sense of intact attachment to their community and heritage comes to force, through the uniform, experiences of the Othering on their body.

By coming into and embodying one’s (supposedly own) community, for Zainichi Korean diasporic population, one becomes foreign in one’s own habitat space; for instance, streets they share with their Japanese neighbors, while an intimate belonging to one’s own community in the foreign nation can only be achieved in a form of aligning oneself with another unseen (and outside) nation: by becoming a foreigner. An important character in the film about Zainichi Korean youth, GO, adequately expresses this dilemma. Jong-il, who normally maintains his good student’s conduct, stands up and confronts his Chousen school teacher who demands the students to respect for their own “home nation.” “Teacher,” he calls out respectfully as a good student would, but says in Japanese, “we have never had a home country.” Even though Jong-il contrasts the protagonist, Krupah (the nickname derives from the Japanese word, kuru kuru pah - idiot) in many ways, as in Krupah is aggressive, uncontrollable, and
pathetically inferior student whereas Jong-il is the opposite, by this act of iteration Jong-il finds himself aligning with Krupah and fighting the same discursive force they face.

“Hold on! This is supposed to be my story…” Krupah frustratedly repeats in the film. Each time he attempts to tell his own stories of friends and romance, his story is sidetracked and highjacked by the national histories and ethnic conflicts.21 The students in the Chousen school struggle in the film (and literally fistfight) to find their own narration of their stories. This ethnic and national narrative voice that overshadows and highjacks one’s voice, a narrative of life, is displayed in a scene of forced reiteration in the film. In the Chousen school where students are prohibited to speak Japanese, even a careless uttering by a male student, “I wanna take a crap,” is asked to be corrected and reiterated in Korean. That even a natural bodily desire of excretion needs to be translated and reiterated shows the circumstance in which the belonging is rather forcefully given

Image 4 and 5. Illustrations from a blog site of a Korean-Japanese illustrator, Miryon.22 Image 4. shows her own experience. “A stranger man/uncle” kicked her bike, shouting, “You stupid Chonko, (derogatory term for Koreans) go back to your own country!” Image 5. shows her unwillingly wearing a school jersey instead of wearing her school uniform, which was the decision made by the school to protect their female students after the incidents of uniform laceration.
and is disciplined in this circumstance. Body and language are policed to ensure its docile belonging in a form of national (non)citizenship. The Chousen school’s uniform then displays bodies’ non-belonging to the Japanese national context through its signification of an abject nation.

However, its disciplinary belonging to the imaginary nation, to which the students have never been, through the means of uniform and discipline of conduct (which is policing their bodies and speeches) also shows the students’ ontological non-belonging to the imaginary nation, from which they and their bodies must be molded into members. Under this circumstance, cutting the female uniforms of Chousen schools then can be read more than an act of invidious bullying and racial discrimination. One must touch another to lacerate. One bodily surface not so much brushes against the other as it take a strong hold of it to rip a part of the cloth material. What happens in this moment of two surfaces touching regardless of the perpetrator’s intention is quite pathological, more so than a simple bullying. When one touches this uniform of the Other (the shit-out one,) the one cannot be completely oblivious to the fact that Zainichi Koreans are a historical product of Japanese conduct. For one to have an identity of Zainichi, one has to fulfill at least two conditions: one resides in Japan and one has lineage in Korea that had a colonial contact with Japan. In fact, Koreans who are simply Korean citizens without any affiliation to Japan will not be called Zainichi. In other words, Zainichi Koreans are abject Others who are deeply part of Japanese society. For no one needs to shit out what is already outside of the body and is unrelated to one’s own body. To recognize the Other as abject, one must see the Other within: inside the community, inside one’s body.
Insofar as the logic of Othering, the perpetrators of the uniform cutting precisely located the target as part of its own, the vicinity of inner and outer (which according to Butler necessarily shakes the notion of the seamless body), the notion they will never admit. While Japan desires so much to exclude Koreans and enhance the gap between the two nations, between two ethnic groups, the material of the uniform and its contacts it make in the Japanese daily public spheres validate the entity of Zainichi Koreans as part of Japanese multicultural elements.

The act of cutting is indeed phallic. However, it is also oral/melancholic. The abject Otherness of Zainichi Koreans signals the quality of Others “within.” The Others are, always already, simultaneously part of inside. The Japanese relationship to the Zainichi Koreans thus is indeed “entangled,” and melancholic, with a sense of loss, desire, cannibalistic desire and ego -- Melancholia after all, as Cheng puts it, is a painful and disorienting status of “choking” with one’s desire:

The melancholic is not melancholic because he or she has lost something but because he or she has introjected that which he or she now reviles. Thus the melancholic is stuck in more ways than just temporally; he or she is stuck – almost choking on – the hateful and loved thing he or she just devoured (9).

Indeed, Freud’s articulation of the psychosomatic symptoms of melancholia describes more of the subject than the object of exclusion. Because of its entangled, indigestive relationship to the object, which is swallowed and incorporated, but not so easily processed or “digested,” as Cheng points out, melancholia described by Freud registers quite aptly the racial Othering and desire in this case of uniform cutting. Perhaps the perpetrators of the uniform cutting throughout Japan form a scattered corpus of the constipated and choked-up melancholics.
Furthermore, if the female uniform is understood as a symbol of discipline aiming for coercive belonging for the non-belonging bodies, then this cutting takes on a new form of iteration. The surface of the uniform being cut open can unleash two possible interpretations: the fabricated surface that is a tool to build a seamless body of Chousen citizenship (which a Japanese imperialist would surely benefit for its building a separation of the Korean surface from the Japanese surface) is cut open, literally making openings to spill outside of the Chousen containment of the female bodies. As if the perpetrator materialized a porous surface through which what is meant to be contained can flow in and out (which the perpetrator themselves released it with their own hands,) the cut uniform gestures toward one’s fluidity between nations: fluid bodies which threatens and disrupts the logic of seamless surfaces. These openings on the uniform even instigate the girls’ passing and blending in Japanese society: The cutting each time has resulted in the school’s ordering female students to cease to wear the uniform for the time being. By wearing the “second” uniform that is designed to be just like any other Japanese high school female uniforms, or wearing a school jersey to commute to school, the female students become invisible. This effect exposes the double-sided dilemma for the racist Japan: On the one hand, the second uniform will make the appearance of the public space “homogenous” and the Korean uniforms that reminds the conflict between Korean and Japan no longer disturbs their sight. On the other hand, they lose the visual marker of their Others within. This way, while the Japanese imagination of the ethnic difference rigidly divides Japanese from the Others, even to the point of one drop of blood, the second uniform allows the Korean girls’ mass passing, spilling and mixing, and their liberally inhabiting the daily public spheres are resumed. In fact, that’s what
these bodies of students do outside the uniform. Without a name or lineage donned on their bodies, they do exist like any other resident of their neighborhood.²⁶

If the Chousen uniform is understood as partially of their own history and even a mirrored image of a national body created by the logic of seamlessness, then the perpetrators of the uniform cutting who imagine themselves to be a member of the seamless Japanese national body inadvertently expose the uniform’s fabricated quality and materialize tears, holes and, ruptures of their ideals, and release the fluid bodies flowing into intimate daily public spaces. By doing so, the act also appears to be a symptomatic expression to compensate for the perpetrators’ repressed desire – to have openings on the surface, defy the impermeable surface of containment, and a homoerotic desire for being penetrated by having permeable fissures. According to Butler, the seamless surface in its masculine imagination of identity is frightened by any possibility of ruptures. This is why male homosexual acts of penetration and oral sex are stigmatized in the hetero-masculine imagination of body as a metaphor of social system, because

[i]f the body is synecdochal for the social system per se or a site in which open systems converge, then any kind of unregulated permeability constitutes a site of pollution and endangerment. Since anal and oral sex among men clearly establishes certain kinds of bodily permeabilities unsanctioned by the hegemonic order, male homosexuality would, within such a hegemonic point of view, constitute a site of danger and pollution (168). (Emphasis in original.)

As the perpetrators fetishize and materialize the ruptures of the uniform/national body surface and its logic through the openings, the heteronormative and masculine form of the imagined national body allows itself to be permeated by what it attempted to exclude – the body of Others, the logic of impermeable national body, and scattered pieces of the
garment they hate. Indeed, it is the perpetrators who are choked up with the cut-up fabrics as melancholia possesses them and they are “choked up with their own desire and loss.”

If the fingers of the perpetrator cannot help but actualize the fissures of the fabric/ated identity of the inside Others as secretively and insidiously the cutting of the uniform opens up to invite permeation of Others, Self, and some inconvenient psychoanalytical diagnoses for the perpetrators. Like the homophobic man, Col. Fitts, who represses his sexual desire and stealthily obsesses about homosexual couples in the film, *American Beauty*, the haters’ idealization of masculine dominance over the Other reveals the inconvenient factors of repression such as obsession, sexual frustration, psychological choking and constipation, as well as an exposure of fissure in their own analogous body of the Same (the masculine imagination of the nation-race.) Such a revelation will be shameful and destructive to their ideal of powerful, heterosexual, and masculine image (of both an individual and a nation) and will bring exactly the shame and self-destruction to their coward and should-be-vanished beings.

*How do undocumented immigrants’ daughters cut hair?*

As clothes such as the kimono with the alapana design and the Chousen schools’ female uniform function as material surfaces of the body and also as signs read on the bodily surface, so does hair, the used-to-be living and now dead cells, which surface from and cover over the body. Rooted in the body, these partially dead cells can be understood as both inside and outside of the body. Indeed the hair can be detached from the body rather easily as clothes, but it is also deeply part of the body and bodily cycles. Can hair function performatively as an ethnic robe does despite or because of its deeper proximity
to the body’s surface than a robe? Can hair of the Othered bodies, the senseless cells, give a sense of the corporeality of the Other? These questions surface at the two scenes of the media coverage of “undocumented” (the word which suggests both existence and nonexistence of supposedly-not-existing bodies) immigrants and their phantoms at the border control narratives. The phantoms are the cut hair of the daughters of these immigrants: Two women, two haircuts, one inside and the other out. These two cases of the visibility of undocumented immigrants and their hair-cutting daughters occurred separately and are unrelated with each other. However, together they (and the daughters’ hair) mark the bodies outside the belonging that points to the very real and corporeal “cut” of bodies from the community of belonging, and of course, of violence. But there is more to these narratives: The daughters’ hair that is removed by the haircut action exposes the stale logic of rootedness in the traditional discourse of nation and ethnicity and subverts the notion of the roots. The daughters’ haircut then becomes an act of deconstructive performance that threatens imperial politics of belonging in which citizenship is formed and dictated. As strands of our hair sporadically appear without a trace on our daily surfaces: sink, floor, and even on our shoulders, these phantoms of hair haunt the imagined surface of the national community.

Possibly one of the most hated figures in Japan in the year of 2009, Noriko Calderon was only thirteen years old when she became a media icon of illegal alien. Her parents, Arlan and Sarah Calderon had immigrated to Japan in 1997. Although undocumented, they were successful in building a life in Japan. Both of them worked in menial jobs with good reputations as diligent worker, and they eventually had a daughter, Noriko, who was growing up to be a regular Japanese teenager with a common Japanese
female name. It seemed they have blended in Japan, until in March, 2009, Sarah Calderon was stopped by a police, and asked to present her alien registration card. The police suspected that the bicycle Sarah was riding was stolen, given from her “foreign” appearance. Japan strictly mandates non-citizens to carry the alien registration card, a violation against which would be considered highly criminal and would result in problems for the immigration status of the perpetrator. This regulation became well-known in Japan through the recent controversy surrounding the possible waiving of this regulation for Zainichi Koreans and Zainichi Chinese. Many conservative right wing parties and nationalist groups are adamantly against the waiver for the Zainichi populations. Racial profiling and its maintenance including the alien registration cards need to be continued in order for the protection of the nation, they insisted.

Sarah’s arrest led to the discovery that the Calderons lived in Japan illegally on fake passports. The finding led to the arrest of her husband, Arlan Calderon, who was detained for his trespassing, an “extremely malicious” crime, according to Japanese Immigration bureau. Noriko’s first appearance in the media featured her plea to the officials when Alan was imprisoned, “Please give my dad back.” From this point the TV news coverage focused on the statements of Noriko, who spoke for her parents who were criminalized and therefore mostly silent. As Noriko functioned as the spokesperson of the Calderon family, her appearance and statements were mostly criticized as a performance scheme to fool good Japanese citizens to pardon the Calderons’ crime of being illegal and to audaciously request further for a right to stay in Japan. The criminalization of undocumented immigrants resembles other Western countries’ anti-immigrant language which equates the immigration threat to the national economic security, typically the
characteristic of the nations that took part in the former US president Bush’s “the War against Terror” scheme.

The Calderons are perhaps the first undocumented immigrants with the face and name, whose criminalized visibility was sensationally broadcasted in Japanese news media history. From Noriko’s first appearance in the media to the verdict of her parents which enforced their deportation in 2011, the Japanese media followed the vehement and highly aggressive demonstrations against the Calderon family, Noriko’s statements, and the possible verdict to reject Noriko’s continuous stay in Japan. Highly aggressive may be an ineffective description of the activism since it included the long-lasting demonstration with mobs surrounding Noriko’s house for days and rancorously shouting their slogan, “Get out” through many megaphones into their house. The signboards, fists, shouts from the amplifiers, all demanded that the Calderons leave the country immediately. With the noise turned into a weapon and the animosity was palpable from many blocks away, Noriko Calderon became the embodiment of illegal immigrants, who illegitimately claimed their space in the land of Japan. The imminent physical danger was one thing, but threatening to the neighborhood and even the children at Noriko’s school as the demonstrators also visited Noriko’s junior high school, shrieking and screaming their slogan, “Get out,” made the Calderon family lose the space to exist, not only physically but also in the network of their local community in which they had grown.

Since the future deportation of Alan and Sara was fairly certain, the official assured at the point of Alan’s arrest, the focal point of this trial was Noriko’s resident status. Noriko, who was born in Japan and was still a child, should at least be considered for a protection. From what she should be protected became unclear to some as the
vehement opposition against exonerating the undocumented immigrants’ daughter grew only louder and more violent during the two years of the trial. Until 2011 when the verdict ordered that Alan be released from the detention and both Sarah and Arlan were ordered to be deported, Noriko continued to plead in the media. “I am Japanese.” “I need my parents.” “I speak only Japanese.” “I have a dream to finish my education and have my future in Japan.” “I want to live with my family.” Each of her statement only fueled hateful reactions of anti-immigrant groups and anti-Calderons mobs. How could she know only Japanese language while she grew up in a Filipino household? How could she not know they were illegal foreigners? How could she claim this country as her own while possessing no citizenship right and having invaded the law? And how could the Calderons cannily use a child character to perform such a melodrama and hope it would influence the decision of the official? Those are the questions asked and still being asked today by the anti-Calderons groups and individuals.

The verdict allowed her parents to stay only for one month to attend Noriko’s graduation ceremony but ordered them to leave on that same day as the graduation. The verdict appeared to be only a partial triumph to the anti-Calderons mobs. Although they have asked for complete justice with the whole family deported forever, at least the officials have justified their claims that the law-breaking case of the illegal immigrants must be rectified and strict actions be taken. On the internet, continuous slanders of Noriko’s staying in Japan flourished. Some speculated Noriko’s staying in Japan was a scam for her parents to leave the daughter so that somehow they can get back into Japan in a near future. Others criticized Noriko for choosing to stay in Japan over her parents.” Then it was Noriko’s appearance in the media on her graduation day. Standing in front of
the camera outside her house with her parents and on her way to go to her graduation ceremony, the last occasion to wear her school uniform, Noriko’s wore a different look. Her former shoulder-long hair that was tied into piggy tails was cut in short bob, the layered and thinned-out end barely reaching her chin. Noriko made a statement: “From today, I am no longer a child. I will be separate from my parents and live alone. I cut my hair to show my resolution to live as an adult, responsibly and independently. I have to become strong.” Noriko was handed over to the care of Sara’s sister, who happened to be married to a Japanese man and had a legal resident status in Japan. Noriko wanted to finish high school and study dance to become a professional dancer/dance teacher. Although not technically alone, Noriko made a decision to stay in Japan, separated from her parents. Forced to grow up in a single day, Noriko literally could not let her hair down. Up to that point, any statement of behavior of Noriko was met by aggressive critiques and slanders. However, for the act of hair-cut was met with silence. Other than the TV report footages, no public response was found in any groups’ statement nor in

Image 6
Noriko Calderon with the Calderon’s representatives.
individual websites. As the Calderon incident faded out with Noriko’s parents’ deportation, Noriko’s performance of cutting her hair marked the end of the family narrative in Japan. But perhaps the Japanese public’s silence shows that her statement of independence with her performance of haircut clearly affected them as they express much animosity against her other statements.

Strangely, the same haircut performance with the same resolution is seen in the another case of a daughter of an undocumented immigrant. A famous Japanese documentary film, *Nakinagara Ikite* (Living With Tears)\(^{38}\) follows a fifteen-year long separation and struggle of one Chinese family. The documentary was initially aired as a TV program. Later, responding to the highly favorable reception throughout Japan, it was released in the movie theaters in 2006,\(^{39}\) three years before Noriko’s appearance in the media, followed by many reruns on TV. This is a very unusual and successful turn out for a TV documentary. The storyline of undocumented immigration is pretty much the same except in this Chinese family the father was the only one who immigrated to Japan, and his daughter never visited Japan except on her way to fly to the US. In her transit in Tokyo in 1997, she meets her father for the first time after eight years for only several hours. His wife has also lived in China throughout her husband’s immigration in Japan. The wife meets her husband, after twelve years of separation, also in her 24 hour transit to visit her daughter in the US, which came true after dozens of rejected visa applications. The husband, Chou Shouhyou\(^{40}\) entered Japan in 1989 as a language student, and overstayed and worked in Japan for the following fifteen years, employed in multiple jobs simultaneously to send most of his earning to his wife in China, who kept her job in China and saved the remittance for their only daughter’s college fund. The hair-cutting of
the daughter indeed appears in this documentary. Chou’s daughter first appears in the
documentary as a child with a thick pair of glasses and thick, straight long hair, living
with her mother in China and not knowing her father except in the occasional phone calls
and the photos in her house. At the end of the film she appears again; this time living in
New York in 2004, commenting on how far her parents had gone in order to place her at
where she was, the State University of New York where she was just starting her medical
career with her newly cut, short hair. “I just cannot go back,” in her fluent English,
Chou’s daughter explains that there is no retracting from her career given such sacrifice
by her parents. Just as Noriko, she must now live independently with adult responsibility,
“become and stay strong,” and reward her parents’ effort to allow her to be where she
is.41 The fact that it is the daughter’s turn to undertake what her parents had worked for
places a weighty family responsibility on the only daughter’s back, not simply for the
future financial responsibility, but also for the family status, social mobility, and perhaps
a citizenship which comes with another kind of mobility, a right to travel, a right to cross
and exist in various spaces.

To some, the two cases of the daughters’ parting with their own long hair can be
interpreted as their ceremony for parting with her parents and childhood.42 Around the
millennium Japan, the coming of age ceremony normally accompanied tying of hair,
eliminating the loose ends around the face and disciplining movements of hair as a
symbol of becoming adult. To others, the act of hair cutting may symbolize the
daughters’ renunciation of their self and yielding to their role if the haircutting is
associated with the Buddhist tradition of teihatsu: shaving of one’s own hair as a
renunciation of secular self. Shaving or trimming one’s own hair to present a statement
(often apologetic and self-negating one) or a resolution is understood in Japan as a fairly standard conduct.43 One may cut or shave hair for a new start, for a formal apology, and for showing one’s resolution to the world; i.e. “I will achieve this or that at the new responsibility at work.” Often celebrities undertake this performance. The most recent and sensational media coverage of this act was a member of a Japanese idol group shaving her own head and appearing on Youtube to “apologize” to her fans, her sponsors, and staff, after getting caught for having an over-night stay with another boy idol.44 “I was irresponsible,” she pleaded, asking to be rehabilitated into the idol group again. Shaving the hair that is a symbol of feminine beauty in East Asian cultures, this act also signals her desexualization of herself, which is a punishment for her sexual behavior.45 Given the articulation of responsibility and resolution for future self-control, and even renunciation of desire sexual or nonsexual, the daughters’ haircut seems to validate the Japanese (and perhaps East Asian) Buddhist-Confucian rhetoric of feminine self-renunciation and self-correction.

Yet in another look, however, the shortening of hair can be seen as a materialization of the narrowed space of existence for undocumented immigrants, which
influences and is passed down to the daughters to discipline and modify her occupation of space (both away from parents, which makes them estranged where they live) and obligates the daughters to take over their family responsibility for economic mobility. The haircut as a performance is undeniably about space and belonging. Perhaps it may not be a coincidence that both Noriko and Chou’s daughter pursue “occupations” that instruct and assist people how to occupy and expand their space with bodies, by using bodily movements and functions – dance teacher and obstetrician-gynecologist. Not only those occupations instruct about bodies and space but they also have much to do with female bodies and feminine spaces.

While all these readings of the act posit the daughters as the melodramatic heroines who are responsible and remorseful, we must remember that the act of cutting hair also postulates an audience, to whom the haircut is addressed. “National bodies require spaces of exclusion,” Christine Marran reminds us as she analyzes representations of female transgressions in modern Japanese culture.46 The chastised feminine body and elimination of its inhabited space materialized in the haircut show that the two cases serve a national spectacle, from which a national body of audience-hood emerges. It seems paradoxical that an imagination of a national body emerges at the stake of narratives of individual bodies. However, the logic of this dynamic is that these individual bodies are most likely Othered bodies, often with a name and face of villain, because if an individual body tells a narrative of the nation as an ideal face of the nation, then from that moment it dissolves into the national belonging, an affective community of national bodies. On the other hand, the body that performs transgressions and therefore assists the emergence of a national body of audience facing against them is a “space of
exclusion” as Marran defines. These Othered bodies are thus theatrical device for the national community and nationalist-patriarchal values to triumph. Perhaps it is because we often understand nation and national community through these personal dramas, consuming narratives of individual stigmatized bodies, such as these daughters’, that are used as a prop to tell stories for the nation, family, heterosexuality, and patriarchy, that the national bodies need to be covered by uniforms, such as in military and ethnic schools in which bodies need to be in sync, sans troublesome visibility and individual narratives of desires and resistance.

Noriko and Chou’s daughter: a similar situation –two women, two hair-cuts, one hated, and one celebrated. As similar as the two hair-cuts and the statements behind them, the receptions of the narratives are in sharp contrast. The contrast is not so illogical if they are read as the necessary plots and props of a national spectacle, in which the outsider within is loathed while another outsider is literally and ideally out forever. For the national bodies to stay in sync with imagination of mutual belonging, then the raced, classed, and gendered bodies of the immigrants’ daughters (outsiders) are useful for sketching out the border surface of inside. On these Othered bodies converged with melodrama and its cheesy affects, the national spectacle achieves a fantastic exaltation of the nation built onto patriarchal and racist values of imperialism. For instance, Chou’s daughter (whose presence in the documentary added more tears and applause from the audience to the film) functioning as a self-negating, dutiful daughter, who is willing to cut her own hair for her resolution of the economic improvement of her family, redeems her father’s undocumented history of immigration in Japan. This drama ends well with the logic of feminine sacrifice, values of patriarchal nuclear family, and a belief in social
progress and economic mobility. The similar plots are ubiquitous in Japanese Joururi and Korean Pansori, which are forms of East Asian folk performance that function as edification of the (female) audience as well as entertainment. Chou’s daughter’s shining career in the United States of America (to which Japan maintains deep colonial complex) and her shortly trimmed hair, as the emblem of the redemption, work for the Japanese national melodrama and its values, especially because she is outside Japan. In one way, she is in, because she is out. As an outsider, she performs a value of Japanese national ideology of family, gender, and economy.

Nothing is more effective than a melodrama to form an affective national community. As Laurent Berlant points out, consumption of cultural products such as melodrama postulates and forms an affective community, a community of sentimental reader-and viewership. As community is always about belonging, and the sentiments function as a bind for members of a community of affect, then a national spectacle naturally deploys this affective tool that seems to emerge organically from the Japanese folk culture: melodrama with familiar plots in the traditional folk performance. Both Korean Pansori and Japanese Joururi feature sentimental melodramas (be it of family or of lovers, but often ends with women’s sacrifice) that are posited for proletariats by often employing the mode of class conflicts. Featuring individuals, whose non-belonging brings out sympathetic affects and pleasure of the audience seeing themselves represented in the drama, creates an affective community, the imaginary “we” who feel together and therefore belong together. Cultural critics like Marran is aware why this particular focus on individual non-belonging and transgression does support the hegemony of national belonging, as the transgressive narratives are:
produced by a nontransgressive hegemonic system. . . . The community or
the writing subject can refuse or identify with the transgressor without
itself engaging in any transgressive act or behavior, without any
consequences. Therefore, perhaps especially within the context of popular
culture, transgression, subject to consumption, does not usually signify a
counterhegemonic struggle (xxi-xxii).

Thus the melodrama of poverty, class conflict, hardship overcome by virtuous members
of family, social orders, and heterosexual romance serves well for the building of a
national community and its fantasy of belonging through its bond of affective audience-
ship.

Noriko’s case, however, is more vexed. Unlike Chou’s daughter whose
appearance in the documentary framed her as a precious child mounting to a family
savior, Noriko’s appearance in the media came under the label of criminal and also an
outspoken one at that. Although Noriko’s haircut performance on the day of her parents’
departure may be melodramatic, the plot within the performance of haircut emphasizes
not so much a family melodrama but more an image of self-discipline of a criminalized
woman, the representation of which fits within the Japanese genre of *zange* (懺悔)
writing. *Zange*, translated as repentance or confession, is a genre that proliferated at the
turn of the twentieth century in modern Japan, according to Marran.48 Featuring a
wayward woman telling her real-life, sensational narratives of transgression and even
performing in theaters her own repentance and confession, the *zange* genre was a cultural
production consumed at the turn of political shift, where Japan was attempting to
establish a strong nation-state equivalent to the Western power. An incident of *zange*
performance, according to Marran, even features an incident of shaving in *The Record of
Miss Shimazu Masa’s Conversion*: 

---

48 Marran 2010, 204.
The mature, virtuous woman must refuse any sexual identity; this refusal took physical form on stage when Shimazu would dramatically remove her wig during the performance to reveal a shaved head. The exposure of her naked head literalized the transformation from perversely criminal and sexual to rehabilitated, asexual, and religious (77).

Although this genre of zange quickly disappeared as the political conflicts of Japan mellowed and the nation began focusing on assimilation to the West in daily practices, such as short hair and Western clothes for men, and other legal adjustments to make Japanese citizen appear civilized to the West, the primary plot must still affect Japanese people. The evidence is how well Noriko’s haircut was able to play this repentant woman who would discipline herself to be “rehabilitated” into the Japanese society.

It is peculiar that in zange performance one’s confession and self-negation becomes a stage performance. As a genre, zange can be read as either women’s autobiography or a literature of edification. However if one acts out her own story, playing herself, it poses the performer’s strange displacements from the very first experience and subjectivity the performers are telling. Mediated and rehearsed into a
play, *zange* performance reveals the performer, whose canny observation and mindful modification of her experience and understanding of its affect to the audience appoint the *zange* performer like Shimazu as a conscious creator of the narrative-performance. Even though the *zange* narratives are the supposedly “true” stories, crafted and repeatedly presented at the pleasure of the audience this narrative becomes distinguished from the encounter of experience itself in multiple ways and takes a form of mimetic performance – miming one’s own experience, bodily motions played replayed for self-role playing. The instance of mimesis reveals a self that observes and plays his or herself: The subject self observing and expressing the object self. This consciousness of the performer self who crafts self as an image to be presented is what Irigaray describes as “elsewhere” when women “play with mimesis”:

To play with mimesis is thus, for a woman, to try to recover the place of her exploitation by discourse, without allowing herself to be simply reduced to it. It means to resubmit herself – inasmuch as she is on the side of the “perceptible,” of “matter” – to “ideas,” in particular to ideas about herself, that are elaborated in/by a masculine logic, but so as to make “visible,” by an effect of playful repetition, what was supposed to remain invisible: the cover-up of a possible operation of the feminine in language. It also means “to unveil” the fact that, if women are such good mimics, it is because they are not simply absorbed in this function. *They also remain elsewhere*: another case of the persistence of “matter,” but also of “sexual pleasure” (Emphasis in original. Irigay 1977/1985, 76.)

For women like Shimazu, who are chastised by pursuing her deviant sexual pleasure (or simply pleasure at all, in the Japanese patriarchal tradition that which sets women’s modesty and self-negation as the highest virtues,) miming the narrative of discipline and desired feminine in “playful repetition” is more than her body replaying her past: It is understandably mimicry. Her *zange* play’s deliberate nature of conscious performance and most likely its exaggerated expressions of the narrative indeed reveal
Shimazu, who remains elsewhere in her act of resubmission to the gender and sexuality discourse. As she uncovers her shaved head, Shimazu then perhaps “unveils” such discourse. As Irigaray points, this is an opening of a profoundly subversive act. Had Shimazu taken another approach to speak and take over another powerful position to speak directly against the domination of women’s sexual desires, for instance, openly critique and contest the ways Shimazu was designated as “poisonous” in society, then it would have meant “demanding to speak as a (masculine) “subject,” that is, it means to . . . maintain sexual indifference” (Irigaray 1977/1985, 76). Such approach would only place Shimazu back to the initial dominant system of phallic hierarchy. Instead, Shimazu “resubmit[ted]” herself to the ideal that was required of her. By changing her appearance of the bodily surface, Shimazu acted out what society demanded to see: a remorseful woman self-punishing herself. By doing so, Shimazu achieved two effects. First, she became invisible (or rather, “one of us” who shed one’s criminality and visibility and sings the same song as society) and evaded further persecution successfully and “recovered [her] place.” But with that process of becoming invisible by “resubmit[ting]” herself to the idea of feminine, she exposed the supposedly invisible “ideal” of sexual hierarchy which was materialized in her bodily act of cunning resubmission: that feminine can exists only by becoming subordinate to masculine dominance; that there is no space for women and their pleasure unless they become secondary to the masculine; that there is really only sexual indifference – that is, there is no autonomous feminine difference allowed.

Second, Shimazu showed that she was not naturally, wholly, and essentially with her act of resubmission: her performance of repentance, especially in its “playful
repetition,” with props, rehearsal with the gaze of the hypothetical audience in mind, suggests (or proves) that her consciousness is “somewhere else,” objectively and cleverly observing this system and operation of masculine dominance and sexual indifference, calculating the best move for herself socially and on stage, playing what the dominant power most desires. Shimazu’s performance validates her consciousness to be separate from her bodily action; it is on its own and is capable of seeing herself from the eyes of masculine oppressors/social ideals. Mimicry thus troubles even more radically the patriarchal system in which Shimazu was stigmatized. Mimicry functions temporarily to recover a place for feminine subject, exposes the oppression of female body (“matter” in Irigaray’s phrase) and sexual pleasure while this system of oppression is best kept as a secret to smoothly function, and even validates, against what masculine ideology wants to believe, that women’s consciousness exists apart from what feminine subjects say or do for the masculine, and is even capable of manipulating the imagination of sexual indifference, which is a threatening notion to the phallocentric dominance.

Read through Shimazu and Irigaray, it is possible to understand Noriko’s haircut as a mimesis. As Noriko decides to craft her self-appearance for the media, it becomes possible that, instead of being absorbed in the Japanese phallogo-imperial ideology, her self remained elsewhere of such erasure of feminine (in other words, Othered) entity. Understanding mimesis in a biological sense, that is, how it functions in animal world as it initially appeared as a concept, also sheds light in the female politics of self-representation. Mimesis transforms bodily surface of a creature so that it blends in the surrounding in order to avoid the possible violence and attack deriving from being stigmatized and become visible. The morphing animal is agile, highly transformative and
skilled performer, as well as intellectual in first realizing its own situation, then deciphering the surrounding and calculating the best action, which I not battling or fleeing, but a form of mimesis, then transform one to the eye of what may be a threat to the animal. The recent animal studies reveal, for instance, a momic octopus uses its brain and recognizes and analyzes the background visually before miming the background landscape and the threatening animal moves on. The mimic octopus thus has an observing and calculative mind. The same approach may be applicable to female sexuality that is oppressed for our analytical purpose.

Because Shimazu and Noriko transformed their surface matter, especially the hair, they were able to blend in to the discourse, the disciplinary narrative in which dramatizes the female sexuality being silenced. Their mimesis worked well for both cases because even thought their visibility was a catalyst for the scandals, their haircut placed them in the seemingly seamless Japanese society – the media attack ceased for Noriko (and in the case of Shimazu the audience applauded). The following contended silence is actually the society’s sigh of relief at the social ideology left intact and seamless to them.
One may hold this sigh of relief if they thought the women remained *elsewhere* rather than submitting to total affirmation of the imperial and patriarchal values. Just as reading the cut-out Korean school uniform’s fabric pieces exposing and possibly exploding the system of oppression against Zainichi Korean youths, Noriko’s mimesis may be more radical than simple blending. According to Irigaray, mimicry makes visible masculine logic. Indeed the media sensation of Noriko, as it intended and pretended to expose the Calderon’s criminality, perhaps profoundly exposed the Japanese imperial attitude to the world for the first time in history -- The Calderon’s case was broadcast worldwide involving international legal representatives and NPOs, and Noriko’s haircut-statement was arguably the first international performance of feminine mimesis by undocumented immigrants in Japan. Noriko gave a “playful repetition” of the logic, and this bodily mimicry can be played again and again as hair always grows. Irigaray’s analysis of mimicry shows that there is no essence or truth in women’s subjection. As Shimazu can repeat taking off of her wig and as Noriko is prepared to play mimicry, their very bodily substance, hair, with its roots keep nurturing and regenerating the symbol.

Image 10. Mimesis II.
female sexuality and its deemed sinfulness, only plays a role to show this no-essence in their subjection, a detachment to the dominant discourse in departing from the roots.

Luibhéid points out that it is logical that at the immigration borders sexuality being probed, examined, and disciplined on the immigrants’ bodies as Foucault clarified, sexuality has become a primary domain of control of body. Biopolitics of immigration that sifts and excludes body is carried out in the control of sexuality. Even though the media accusation of the Calderons was not outwardly about controlling Noriko’s sexuality, Noriko made a correct choice in cutting her hair, the symbol of sexuality, and follows the mimicking step of Shimazu. Irigaray presses forward the notion of sexual pleasure in her discussion of mimicry, but this is not because she directs to find a distinct essential female sexual pleasure. Whether there is such an entity, the fact is that the pleasure was forbidden to exist – in language. Matters of feminine and feminine matters need to tell stories in non-linguistic ways, as in the matter (way) of speaking. Matter performance and matter’s pleasure are yet to be achieved for Irigaray, just as sexual difference and the feminine never existed. There has been only one sex, Irigaray insists, and the reason that female sexuality has not arrived is precisely because it has not had the room for being imagined in the current masculine and the only existing language. The economy of the Same. As she calls for “matter” to be paid attention, Irigaray is not essentially determining maternal/feminine body, although the importance of matter is not excluded from her discussion. Irigaray analogizes female, matter, nurture, nature, and oppressed as they had been already essentialized as such in the economy of the Same, which does not recognize the autonomous difference of the Other. As this masculine
speech economy excludes matters, Irigaray demands it be heard, but not in the economy of masculine Sameness. What would the cut-off hair speak as a matter and how?

As many political readings of Noriko’s haircut may be possible, physically speaking, Noriko, as a member of female population in contemporary Asia which values female long hair, must have simply enjoyed her hair’s weight being lifted off her shoulders. This can be a feminine pleasure as women experience the pressure for maintaining long, “feminine,” hair placed in women’s mind in many Asian cultures. When just about everything else seemed to weigh on Noriko as the only iconic daughter of the national enemies, a new feel of the edge of hair loose around her chin and the light weight that she could feel on her neck, with the time for everything else that exists around taking care of the hair as her beauty gets shortened, there must be a physical pleasure that is not separable from the media and the right wing chauvinists releasing their grasp on her. The hair strands that are cut off scatter. They scatter and expand its spheres and spaces, leaving cells, rhizome, and in some cases DNAs in the Japanese soil. Roots of no root. Even if her parents are being deported, Noriko’s hair scattering in Japan somehow re-rooted her in Japan, a becoming-foreigner, reterritorializing the space with non-belonging. Re-rooted for having no root, by hair and in nation. The bodily materials that scatter bear a witness to the notion that our geographical location in which our bodies are thought to exist is limited and does not capture the being and becoming, and becoming together that happen in the extended micro and macro scape in which bodies expands, moves, and exchanges its elements.

Why do we privilege rooted cells or organs over hair? It is a common knowledge that hair, that is both a symbol and matter of beauty, becomes an abject substance as soon
as it leaves one’s skin. Sarita See’s analysis of the installation art, *Hairline*, includes the critique of such body material hierarchy. Many artists who uses their own bodily materials and fluids, collapses the notion of precious and abject, sanitation and pollution. Unlike organs or fluid, hair and nails do not rot. They disperse. They spread. It may become a trace of someone’s passing through a space or one shoulder rubbing another human being as the one passes by the others. One only has to sweep a space to find a strand of hair emerging as if a phantom appearing in sight. Biopolitics which uses state policing of organic matters (and its organic processes) in sanitation and pollution control may be able to designate placenta as a material of biohazard. However, hair swept out of the hospital room may avoid the waste management process if it is able to go unnoticed and flow outside of the institution.

Noriko’s effort to speak in her words and her opening of her blog in order for her to ask for people’s support unfortunately failed. The website was closed by the result of what Japanese technological language calls “burning down” – hacking and over accessing of websites in the purpose of disabling it. If Noriko’s performance of haircutting instead worked more affectively to the society, which designates she and her family as hazardous, it is because as Irigaray claims the female mimicry works as an evidence of female resistance (“another consciousness and another sensibility” that exists elsewhere of submission) and an opening of subversion. Noriko’s haircut as mimicry of self-discipline opened up more matter-space for her as much as the space and affect of her representation, in which Noriko radically questioned and challenged imperial ways of speaking.
“Re-sembrance cannot do without red blood” (Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One.)

Examining a detachable surface of body reveals values and categories imposed on the material body. The importance of thinking of materiality of body is to resist the dominance of signs and symbols read on the body, which highjacks the body’s affect and subjects the body to the reading, that is, challenging the dominance of the exclusive logic of language and the mode of speaking. Focusing on the raw material flesh is not simply to strip the symbols occupying the understanding of a body/individual but simultaneously to listen to what a material object may speak autonomously. If a subject gazes a body and lets its own reading reign the relationship of the body to the world, then that is a process of objectification of the body. However, if body is literally object-ified, that is, if a body

Image 11.
An illustration by Miryon. Coincidentally the girl has Short hair and the expression of gating on with a sense of lightness.
is thought and felt as a material object, then it does not only affect and is affected, but also the body material speaks on its own ways which are not at all aligned with imperial politics of Othering. The porosity and fluidity that are vibrant in the body leaks out and denies the ways the bodies are read and thought of. Often those bodily speeches are surprisingly independent from and even against such phallogocentrism. One spits as one speaks and our breaths and handshakes pass on microorganisms. The movements, exchanges, and blurring of entities are rampant in the material-bodily existence in the world. These are inconvenient factors to the ideologies of reductive identification and documentation, scientific categorization, and rigid hierarchization, upon which immigration control and imperial race logics are founded. Where the labeling and paperwork of bureaucracy take over, body’s material vibrancy is muted and displaced. Then listening to the way material objects perform and speak, the way the material body speaks, is to give in to a way to the inconvenient illogics of psychosomatism and dynamics of our body, existing in parallel to our phallogocentric intelligence. This is not to say that the dynamics of objects, which vibrate separately to our making of the world, possess no power-relations, hierarchy, or politics. It is rather that vibrant materialist approach, as demonstrated by Jane Bennett, allows us to sense a new possibility of community, being-together, and becoming in the world through how objects, including our own bodies, encounter us, counter us, perform and mesmerize in ways that are irrelevant to our linguistic intelligence. Bennett emphasizes “the agentic contributions of nonhuman forces (operating in nature, in the human body, and in human artifacts) in an attempt to counter the narcissistic reflex of human language and thought.” This materialist approach applied onto the body as material object disorients us in our
linguistic world making and turns us away from the social as masculine linguistic effect of exclusion (the self-feeding cycle of minoritization,) and exposes us to what bodies do and do together – a completely different world (and a world-making and world-sensing) in which relationships among bodies are reorganized. While laughter and yawning and even depression travel too easily among bodies, sensing bodies by echoing Spinoza’s claim, “[I]t is never we who affirm or deny something of a thing; it is the thing itself that affirms or denies something of itself in us”57 is indeed about affect that travels among bodies. Thus thinking the body and its materiality in the two cases of cutting in this chapter gestures toward listening to how things murmur while only racial visibility is read at the same time learning how the material murmur and performance are part (if not a threshold) of the body. As the fabrics and dead cells perform, the body as a thing becomes paradoxically the body that performs and the body that affects and is capable of being affected.

As we focus on the objects that affect and perform, the distinction of inorganic and organic lives seems to blur as both are capable of bringing vibrancy to the world. In fact, life as we understand from the two cases of “cutting” in the materials of the immigrants’ bodies is that matters both organic and inorganic vibrates and interacts with each other, which creates an operation of life: It is not so much as that life give matter an organic life, but one’s life consists of movements, forces, interactions and affects, interacting with and reacting to Others. (Here is the problem of the word, “life” in English language, that it includes too many definitions: everyday happenings and existence, career, important values, organic life, consciousness, and of course vibrancy of matters.) Indeed life and materiality are not mutually exclusive to Deleuze and Guattari.
Organic or inorganic, the force and intensity are exactly the life beyond organic individual body’s status:

If everything I alive, it is not because everything is organic or organized be, on the contrary, because the organism is a diversion of life. In short, the life in question is inorganic, germinal, and intensive, a powerful life without organs, a Body that is all the more alive for having no organs, everything that passes between organisms (Emphasis in original. 1987: 499)

In this perspective of life and body, an array of minority performances using bodies as materials to feel evolves the question of being and identity into innovative statement about life, that is living and feeling with others to the open-ending future, that is, becoming. By feeling others and other matters, one is moved, affected, takes a flight, turns, changed, or, even (by a loss of others 58, for instance) becomes undone. Such life happens with encounters and accidents, changes and exchanges that bear multiple turns in one’s life which changes the courses of lives of others as well. Life unfurls as unknown. Life lies in possibilities. In this sense, vibrancy of life never exists or results in a stasis.

The next chapter, Tonkori, considers materiality of bodies that sound, used in creating a new sense of community through musical instruments, digital sound, and ever-evolving Ainu music, all centering around the immanent body of people who exists in contemporary intercultural Japan.
1 Utari in Ainu language means fellows, comrades, friends, “brothers” in a colloquial terms, someone who shares belonging to a group.
3 Ibid: 170-1.
4 Luibheid, Eithne. *Entry Denied*.
5 Ibid: Introduction.
6 Luibheid begins her book with a critique of a student’s question in a class she taught once, “How does one know someone is a lesbian by her looks?” Exclusion of deviant sexual bodies at the US border control was often done in the basis of physical appearance, the looks of the bodily surfaces.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
13 Often mundane spaces are thought as private, however if the clothes are “seen” by anonymous others in order to function as a displayed image, then these spaces need to be public. However, public in this sense does not mean official or formal. Daily public spaces can be streets, public transportations, parks, and so on. Thus I chose the term, daily public space.
14 Anne Anlin Cheng discusses Kenji Yoshino’s analysis on the examples of self-fashioning racial authenticity, such as that corn-row is policed and disciplined in professional fields. *Second Skin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.166-9.) My analysis of clothes here differs from Cheng’s in two ways: My analysis understands clothing as a detachable part of body, a bodily surface, not a “cover” on a naked body as Cheng’s project talks about human skin, nude, and visibility of people of Color. Also although Cheng might agree with me, I press forward even more strongly that self-fashioning such as corn-row is a form of belonging, that there is no individual “self” fashioning.
15 Although this statement is not about certain body parts but a body as a representation and body within the concept of individual life, it is not a coincidence or conflictive that the children’s book, *My Body Is Private* by Linda Walvoord Girard (Park Ridge, Illinois: Albert Whitman & Company, 1984) aims to teach girl children their sexual body parts need to be protected as private. Sexual assault on children often takes a form of manipulating this distinction of private and public. Sexual vulnerability of children, in this case young girls, is predicated through a multidimensional assault on their body parts, body, personhood, population, subjectivity.
16 The spelling and pronunciation of Korean and Zainichi Korean names and materials in this chapter follows the common Zainichi and Japanese language in the Korean-Japanese community, and may seem incorrect to contemporary Korean speakers. For the readers who are contemporary Korean speakers, I invite looking into the particular lingo-historical formation rather than specifying it incorrect. Please also note that Zainichi Koreans adjusted their language not only because of the colonization and diaspora, but also with agencies such as time and generational development. This is to say their linguistic adjustment shows not simply Japanization but also the different historical/cultural specificities expressed in the language as much as their ways of adjusting/survival and pertaining their linguistic elements in Japan.
17 The English-speaking, Westernized, multi-racial (but with a Caucasian touch) or Euro-American students of Euro-American schools in Japan become often visible in the Japanese desire for Whiteness. Many of these students become models, pop-singers, and TV personnel.
18 It would be redundant to note here the notorious Japanese notion that “Japan is a homogeneous nation made up with the pure Japanese race.” As delusional as this discourse is, it never leaves Japanese politicians’ public performance. Every year some politicians would insert this phrase their public statement.
Nakazawa, Shunsuke. *Chianijihou*. Tokyo: Chuukoubunsho: 2012. Nakazawa investigates the formation of the Public Security Preservation Law, in which he mentions the notorious lynching of Koreans in the Postwar Japan, even by the police force, which later contributed to the formation of the Law.


I use this term “imaginary nation” for two reasons: One is that the students have and most likely will never materialize being in the nation as they are residents of Japan physically and their connection to North Korea is only ideological. Two, Zainichi Koreans are descendants of Chousen, a nation no longer exists. While it does take a form of North Korea many times, the idea of Korea/Chousen is deferred here as the ideal of Korea united back to one as, before the colonization and war is yet to come true.


The film *GO* introduces the traditional view of Koreans and Chinese difference by Japanese. The protagonist Krupah falls in love with a girl whose family is wealthy, educated, and “open-minded.” The only races they prohibit their daughter to mingle are Chinese and Koreans, whose “blood is dirty.”

Except that they do have to carry the alien registration card. But this also is portable and detachable, and better yet, conceived unless one needs to present it.

Cheng. Ibid.

Hair, nails, skin are both inside and outside of the body, and this is so even figuratively: these tissues can be thought as a merging point of body and psyche. For instance, Franz Fanon lists one Algerian man’s hair turning into white overnight of torture in the French colonial dominance in Algeria. (Fanon, Franz. W….)

Symptoms such as trichotillomania also reveal an inseparable relationship of psyche and body. The same goes for the caged bird’s plucking their feather out of stress. I also notice my own hair turning curly when stressed. It is as if the texture of my hair is a barometer of my mental health.


Racial profiling is nothing special or illegal in Japanese police practice. Non-White foreigners are often stopped and questioned on the streets, even if or especially if the locality is well-populated by those of non-White foreigners who bear the stereotypes of criminals. In 2008 Etou-ku, Tokyo, for example held a vast community of Asians and Middle-Eastern populations. With or without bicycles, many of those “suspicious foreigners” had at least one or more experiences of being questioned by police. Although it is impossible to obtain the exact number and ratio of the questioned foreigners, at least my acquaintances who are no less than 10 people in my small social circle in the neighborhood invariably had the experience.


One example of the numerous website statements by the Right Wing anti-immigrationists can be found at http://meosamasenihonjin.blog.fc2.com/blog-entry-44.html, but also sadly too easily in any engine site by a simple phrase, “Abolishment of the Alien Registration Cards.”


The internet website statements against the Calderons are too numerous to even list in this paper. Even today when I am revising this chapter on March 2013, one has to simply put her name on any search engine. The first ten lists at least are aggressive attacks on the “criminal family” who allegedly capitalized on the media exposition.

98


Examples of numerous bashing on Noriko of course can be found by easily, again, searching her name. Today, the internet-oriented organization of the anti-immigration activisms are gaining visibility and media attention. They are called, “Netto Uyoku” (Internet/Cyber Right Wingers.) They continue cyber-attacks on the Zainichi community, immigrants, and immigrant supporters as well as organize demonstrations through online. For a closer look on the net uyoku, see Net to Aikoku. Yasuda, Kouichi. Tokyo, Japan: Koudansha, 2012.


The TV program was released in the film theaters as it is, without being remade into a film.

This is a Japanese pronunciation of his name in Chinese character.

Living with Tears. Ibid.

It is not that such ceremony actually exists in Japan. Linda Hogan’s novel, Solar Storms does mention an old Native American custom of hair cutting as a ritual of parting with someone as hair is thought to retain the memories of the lost ones.

I assume the act is originated in the Buddhist custom of Teihatsu, shaving head and shedding one’s worldly desires in order to start a new religious life.


Bonnou, is the term in Buddhist teaching; it translates as carnal desires. Shaving one’s head in Buddhist tradition derives from the idea that hair retains one’s carnal desire. It is interesting to think the women’s hair is both subject and also the object in this thinking.


Ibid. 66-77.

I think it is important to note here that Irigaray does not use the word autonomy or freedom. It is nothing but sexual pleasure that is oppressed. Because she discusses female agency within the constrict of masculine theatre of dominance, freedom or autonomy is too careless a word, too vague and too rough as a concept, and ineffective in discussing sexual difference in particular. What is oppressed at least the matter, body, and its pleasure. At the same time, Irigaray’s sensitivity in her diction, that avoids word too easy as freedom, rights, and autonomy and instead paying attention and making room for bodily pleasure, should be appreciated.


Luibhéid. Ibid. xii-xv.


See. Ibid. p


The previous chapters discussed inorganic matters, fabrics and dead cells, as part of the human bodies and the material world that becomes a landscape of life, life in which matters extend and interact with each other as they give birth to unknown possibilities, an opening to immanent potentials. That matters are part of the body, not only of the human body but also the world that consists of bodies and other materials, which is an assemblage, a theoretical model with which Deleuze and Guattari’s undo signification and subject,¹] is humbling.² Our human bodies are not the only matter that constitutes life or world, not the only matter that matters. To begin with, the human body is a compound of many matters, fluids, and parts that consist of multiple rhythms and systems, but also this body is a part of its surroundings.³ From the configuration of miniscule atoms that creates cells to the cosmic system which consists of multiple parts including body, planets, lights, and spherical systems, thinking of an assemblage of matters helps us to step back from our human centered perspective that privileges, over the matters of the universe, the human bodies and human intelligence that is supposedly caged in our material bodies. What Deleuze and Guattari paint through the model of assemblage or another imagery, Body without Organs, is a different relationship of the human body with matter.

Body with Organs according to Deleuze and Guattari resists organism or signification emerging on the surface of bodily organization. For Deleuze and Guattari, a bodily organs, organized as an organization that is supposed to be contained and completed as the while body, invites signification and subjectification on the surface of the body. What Deleuze and Guattari emphasize with the model of a Body without
Organs is a thinking of a dis-organism, in which nothing functions as a stable entity but intensities and forces pass through. Dis-organization, dis-articulation, and de-subjectification: Body without Organs pose multiple horizons of possibilities (immanence) of intensities, fluid movements and exchanges of forces which constantly shifts and alters the being of a body. To think of our physical body even as a Body without organs, it allows our imagination to leave room for multiple future bodily becomings of yet to come, what our body may be. As such, the human body is no longer a static entity and unquestionable singular property, much less the center of the universe. In fact, the idea of the center is dissolved in the assemblage of matters moving and connecting. The human body is merely a part of the matters that enact the immanent universe, and “life.” This “life” is dynamized by the multiple and complex movements and inter-affecting of the matters. Whether matter is organic or inorganic is irrelevant to the concept of “life” here. For life, as Elizabeth Grosz articulates the Bergson-Deleuzian understanding of life through matter, is:

that which does not spread from organic to inorganic but runs between them, an impersonal force of contraction and dilation that characterizes events, even nonliving events, as much as it does life [. . .] [Bergson and Deleuze distinguish] life as a complex fold of the chemical and the physical that reveals something not given within them, something new, an emergence, the ordered force of invention. (2011: 27)

Life is movements, explosions, reordering and subversion, invention and self-alteration of organic and inorganic matter. Matter is the element through which life, events, and eventfulness of the world release themselves while life simultaneously transforms matter into non-static, non-passive, and unpredictable, actants. As the famous Zen saying, “What have shapes. . .” points out, material things all have impermanent,
limited durations of existence in the form. In other words, matter is transitory entity, containing possibilities of events, of altering, and imminent becoming. This unpredictability and nature of transience are immanence, the virtualities matters contain. Through these virtualities, the unknown potentials and possibilities matters, even inorganic ones, are open to and part of life.

To consider relationship of matter and its virtuality, this chapter focuses on music and its vibration waves as energetic forces that affects and are engendered by matter, as music contains many elements that speak to the material existence. In the atomic level, miniscule elements that consist of our world are said to vibrate. For a long time scientists have believed that atoms are the smallest components of matter and the basic of the universe. The humming and rhythm of vibrations and the repetitive movements of the miniscule atoms and their gradations that sustain the material world connect sound and matter. Vibrations that sustain the material world also sustain the sound world, which
also becomes materialized and communicated by the basic vibrations, that is the basic 
element of the sounds. As we think of lights and its revelation of the visual world in 
gradation and vibration of matter, we can also think of sound as a force of making a 
world. Vibration, rhythm, and tones in humming – these are all part of the materiality of 
matter as well as the nature of the sound. To think of our material universe and its 
immanent virtuality composed of matter, music provides analytical tool for thinking of 
the body in relationship to the body, materiality, sound, and life. This chapter focuses on 
an musical instrument, tonkori, to explore the relationship of all these elements that 
possess connecting points with each other.

Often affect theories in women’s and gender studies privilege human emotions 
and experiences of human bodies, but as shown in the previous chapters, inorganic 
matter is also an element of life, which as a whole become energy, movements, and 
intensities, and which do sound and vibrate in and as life. Consider a jazz ensemble in 
Harlem. Musical instruments, that are generally thought as inorganic matters that sound, 
are practically plugged into the players’ human bodies that construct a body of music 
band, while the ensemble organizes other matters such as lights, heat, ambience, and 
sound systems, and becomes part of a stage, that is part of a building, that is part of a 
body called Harlem, which is a part of New York City. Both organic and inorganic 
matters are machinic parts of the New York music sight. Or, perhaps not quite so. 
Rather than the inorganic matters that sound are plugged into the body, it may be bodies 
of various forms of matter (wood, brass, lips, breaths, hands, brains) are put together in 
the band that creates the improvised music and its sonorous sphere, while the parts are
feeling each other and resonating with each other: a life that sounds and unfurls. To think of life as intensity and immanence of matters, a music site is very useful. The intense energy and the world that emerge in music, through the sounds and vibration of matters, are a life that one can sense. As the sound and its vibration connect to and echo in the body, this life materializes itself in the corporeal body’s sensations. Deleuze explains this concurrent relationship of life, matter, virtuality and immanence as follows:

A life contains only virtuals. It is made up of virtualities, events, singularities. What we call virtual is not something that lacks reality but something that is engaged in a process of actualization following the plane that gives it its particular reality. The immanent event is actualized in a state of things and of the lived that makes it happen. The plane of immanence is itself actualized in an object and a subject to which attributes itself. [...] It is . . . a pure virtuality on the plane of immanence that leads us into a life.

Thus our sensing body, our impermanent and uncontainable possibilities of the body to sense together makes possible a life. Sensing can be in many forms, but here if we focus on particularly as aural and sensing and sensing of beats, we see that through the reality of sounds and senses, the music-body model, for instance the jazz scene above, enables our understanding of the material-energy dynamics of the music scene in which all the matters to be functional and acting part of the scene/sphere/geography of sensation. Instead of focusing on the human body as if it is the only matter that senses (as if the humans are the only primary subject) one can sense a being in the world that is organized through music sensations, in which one becomes part of the world. In the music sensations a Body without Organs appears as the whole body of the music event while the sound, beat, and affect influence and are enhanced by the matters. This is not to anthropomorphize inorganic matters by claiming that they can perceive sound and
experience senses. Rather, this music form a Body without Organs that is a pathway of music sensations, in which all matters, including human bodies, become materials that allow sensations to affect. Thus music corporealizes sensations in sensing and vibrating matter. The music sensations, and the following sensations of having a body as matter, shiver in the corporeal body.

The music-body while it is pulsing with sensations leads to an understanding that all matter is constituted by the vibrations that temporarily hold matter and its forms, sustaining the material world (the vibration or rhythm which Deleuze and Guatarri call “refrain.”) Not only does our bodies have various cycles and beats, but also the atoms that create materials for our bodily cells are also sustained by vibrations. Our bodies in one sense are a product of rhythms and vibrations. Music also emerges and travels through vibrations. When we listen to music, the vibratory materials of our bodies are able to sense the music vibration. Thus when our bodies feel or is affected by music, it is possible to say, our bodies’ vibrations echo and are infected by the music vibrations. When the contagion occurs, it most clearly captures the nature of body-becoming-matter and matter-becoming-body. This relation between matter and its vibrations is what enables us to materially and corporeally perceive music, sensations, and affect.

The material existence is vibration. Even non-form entities such as colors are differentiated because they emit different vibrations. If, our sensing in the bodies are also in the form in which the vibration of the matter energy (which encapsules life) intensifies, then art, and in this case music, that intensifies our senses is full of vibrant energy, the vibrancy of life and the world-making. Music intensifies and materializes the matter within our bodies. As Grosz elaborates: [T]he artistic release and propagation of
sensation [. . .] is always a mode of resonance or harmonious vibration, an oscillation extracted from the fluctuating, self-differentiating, structure of universe itself. . .”

Resonance, harmony, vibration and fluctuation -- music is full of identities for the universe. Music and its sonicscape as artistic release are eloquent and sensible model of this universe and life. With the matters vibrate, music unfurls, music becomes, music is, as Deleuze and Guattari argue, difference in itself.17

In the image of alapana design in the first chapter, the beautiful yet subjecting kimono design with the Aiushi pattern fails to capture (and be captured, sense, feel) an important aspect of Ainu culture: art-music that is part of life – this was necessarily so since the Aiushi symbol in this particular design, however well-intentioned, was to reduce the Ainu people and culture into a representation by a single art element.18

Imperial representations of subordinates always work in a reductive way even if it is in a celebratory manner, that it is a reduction and displacement of the subject (and also what they become.) In this chapter, taking another inorganic matter (or ex-organic matter,) a wood piece, we begin a discussion of music and sensations that eventually designate all organic and inorganic matters of the sonicscape to be matters that sound, with its materiality creating life in sound.

Northern Sounds

The Ainu people before the Japanese colonization traditionally took musical instruments as intimate parts of their bodies and daily lives. However this term, Ainu, is quite an abstraction as in any other names of ethnic group, and what is known as “Ainu
ethnicity” is indeed quite complicated: Before the Japanese imperial modernization, there was no distinctly bordered territory or racial classification that divided the Ainu, indigenous peoples, as they were today. As the nations set borders and the regions were named, the classification such as Siberian (Sakhlin) Ainu, Hokkaido Ainu, Tohoku Ainu, emerged depending on the region they resided. Also there were at least the Nivkh and the Uilta, and three other northern Siberian tribes who were displaced to Hokkaido, Japan, who are now categorized as “the Northern tribes” in Japan. The displacements and diaspora were the results of the Japanese colonization of the Manchuria and the constant territory shifting during and after the Japan-Russo War and the World War II. All those tribes’ various traditions and their influence to each other are now recognized as part of the “Ainu” (Northern indigenous people’s) culture in Hokkaido today. Thus the songs and musical traditions introduced as Ainu music today mirror the fusion of the sounds within the Northern Siberian and Northwestern Pacific Asian tribes. Their musical instruments (and the bodies that carried them) traveled and spread, first by their nomadic

Image 13.
The area of music exchanges for the Northern tribes. Sea of Okhotsk, the Kuril Islands, Kamuchatka, and Sakhlin, next to Hokkaido and Siberia. From Kamuchatka stretches the Bering Sea, which is arched by the Bering Strait that connects the Indigenous tribes of Americas to Asia.
movements and trading of goods and cultures, then by the multiple displacements by the
governments of Japan, Russia, and intervention by other neighboring nations and
interested Western nations.

Through the histories of these movements, the musical instruments maintained an
intimate relationship to human bodies for these indigenous peoples. The bodies are not
just carriers and players of the instruments, but these instruments also play the bodies as
they echoed and vibrated with the body parts. Intimate relationships of wood pieces and
lips, tongues, breaths and fingers are thought to create the one and only original music
per person per performance. Take for instance, the most famous Ainu music instrument,
mukkuri. The mukkuri in organology is classified as an atypical variation of the jaw
harp (or Jews harp.) Instead of using metal, the mukkuri consists of soft bamboo
mouthpiece and a string. The sound is made as the string is pulled by hand and the
vibration of the string is transmitted through the bamboo mouth piece and hits the inner
oral walls, oral organs, and merges with breaths and voice. The mukkuri has elements of
both string and percussion instruments while it belongs to neither. Because of the way the
sound generates, it is classified as an aerophone. Aerophone by definition is an
instrument that vibrates the air round it. But what musical instrument does not vibrate the
atmosphere around it? After all, all sounds travel as a form of vibration. This limit or
ambivalence of the description of the mukkuri by its label, the aerophone, is the limit of
the cognition of the Western organology, a study of music instrument classification.
The knowledge production scheme of organology does not and cannot capture the sound
nor describe the body-form of the mukkuri as it occupies many spaces between those
definitions. However, in contrast to the difficulty to capture the mukkuri in the linguistic classification, many indigenous tribes in Northeast Europe, Russia, and Asia practice variations of this instrument.23

The mukkuri is easy to be carried, close to one’s body, and its sound rings like a deep vibration of a cord,24 for instance of a cello string, which develops into its own sonic world by gradually widening its range of tones, with its finicky and agile buzzing. Mukkuri, like any other music instrument, needs a player to sound, but its sounds are particularly altered, transformed, and developed into its music by the way the player’s outer and inner mouth organs are shaped and the way the breath and voice echo the sounds. In this way mukkuri designates the human body parts as part of the instrument itself. The mukkuri plays the body of the player. The mukkuri reflects the bodily differences, and sings (according to) the shapes of the oral anatomy of the players. Thus each mukkuri’s sound to the learned ears appears original and individual. In Ainu
communities, people used to identify the player (or the played) of the mukkuri by its sound.\textsuperscript{25} Because of this personalizing effect, it is said that women used the mukkuri to send sound signals and messages to their lovers.\textsuperscript{26}

As is often the case with many non-Western musical instruments, the sound of the mukkuri does not fit in the Western music notations. The mukkuri emulates sounds of water drops, songs of birds, and other sounds that surround humans. Although, here, it is important to note the human world was never considered as separate from the animal world in Ainu worldview. Ainu language does not possess the term, “nature” as the concept emerge only when human separates themselves from the nature and making the concept apart from themselves.\textsuperscript{27} To the Ainu, the mukkuri reproduces the sounds and rhythms of daily elements, and transforms the rhythms (“refrain”) of the familiar sounds into music. Instead of expressing melodies, definite tones or meters, the mukkuri emits vibrating sounds that oscillate in tones, depths, and waves. The vibration makes the sounds appear visually in its shivering of the string. In seeing the string vibrating, the sensing of the sounds becomes visual as well as aural: it is the palpable air that vibrates as much as the string and the sound. The multiple layers of pressure, the deep sound-waves hit the listener’s body. The string that stretches from the mouthpiece becomes visually ephemeral and transparent as it vibrates intensely. Listening to, or rather, feeling the mukkuri’s sound is to feel the vibration in the body as much as being mesmerized in the hypnotic spectrums of the sonic elements that are neither distinctly airwaves nor tonal sound. It is rather a strange experience to feel the sonic waves in the whole body, with the skin and gut, the surface and inside, while the vibrations dissolve such distinction.
However, as of any music, none of the descriptions above communicates the affective experience of the mukkuri-body-sound-wave machine.

Furthermore, traditionally in Hokkaido it is the women who play the mukkuri thus it is known as a women’s music instrument. Ethnic, indigenous, close to the body, and feminine. Music instruments such as the mukkuri evade and resist classification, documentation (as in archeological and historical records) of the entity, and also as in any music instrument, representation of the sound experience. The somatic yet ephemeral sound experience of the mukkuri in past has traversed and haunted the transnational regions populated with the people who are “played by” the mukkuri.

The mukkuri and other Ainu instruments traveled like their oral traditions and stories. The stories traveled with people and passed through the contact points, such as intertribal encounters and trading scenes, informally and undocumented. The stories and oral traditions such as yukar (Ainu epics which are passed down in an oratory, quasi-song, form) spread and were passed down to generations because of the intimate contacts of people, communication points, time and occasions in which narratives were repeatedly listened and performed. Stories were an intimate part of the community and were transmitted with the breath of the narrator.28 Roads, rivers and fields, the geological materials, as well as sleds, canes, and carriages were all part of the travel of human bodies and of stories and songs. At the same time, music traveled because the musical instruments which formed the music were circulating. As goods and stories (material and immaterial wealth) travelled, music also travelled through the human bodies and music instruments, and through the landscapes, through the melodies and lyrics, but mostly through what vibrates in the body: sensation.
For sensations to emerge at one’s encounter to a music, it requires the body’s capacity and material, perceptive, and nervous, functionalities. Sensations through music gather bodies and their capacity, bringing them to the sonoric pleasure. As Grosz says, “[A]rt is how the body senses most directly.” Sensation through art affects more directly to the human psyche and the “core” of the body, perhaps by bypassing the cognitive thoughts which may later follow the sound-sensing because of its characteristic of analytical inclination. This may be why Mina in the first chapter claimed art has a power to “jump over” what state and governmental negotiations cannot. The sounds and movements shared in the sonicscape created by Ainu Rebels “jumped over” the linguistic thoughts, signs, historical stigma (which are the records and textual understanding of identity), and instead their performance aimed to directly vibrate in the audience who did not recognize Ainu youth as their own. A music community thus presupposes bodies that sense, and also open up the space for existence, a space allocated for the bodies to exist and inhabit, in the vibration (creation of a sonicscape.) With the emotional power and its somatic origin, the music, to sensing and sensual bodies, alters and forms (or deterritorializes and reterritorializes in Deleuze’ term) the bodies’ territorial consciousness.

One example of this is the 1950s’ El Barrio in the East Harlem. Many literatures claim the racial hierarchy regimented in the city’s geography and in that, Spanish Harlem was positioned as the poorest. Scorned by other Manhattan residents, the residents of El Barrio, especially the youth, may have felt unsafe or unwanted outside the Barrio. But if coming back from outside the Barrio, the feeling of home and safety would reassure their sense of home, belonging, or territory. This territory for the residents was marked by the
drumming sound. The drumming session that continued all day long in El Barrio took place under the bridge/highway structure which extends to Queens, located on the 1st Avenue and 123rd Street. Under the construction, the well-known drumming sound echoed loudly and widely that it covered the “territory” of El Barrio. Not only the beat created the sonicscape which was understood as the Spanish Harlem territory, the bodies that feel the sound also became the materials that make up the sphere of existence: territory, where the body belongs and where the land belongs to the body -- a territory. In this way, the musical sense in the sensible bodies can alter, transform, or take over the sense of property and borders. The music organizes the bodies that coexist in the sound, and the body-becoming-sonicscape and sonicscape-becoming-bodies happen, which is the sonic (non-)territory that echoes and is shared.

So the soundscape can be a space of belonging. Anyone who has entered a lively concert hall performance or a heat of dance club can validate this statement. This is a strange community – at the core of sensing, there emerges a body. The membership required for the community is only one’s body to sense. The community’s sharing and coexistence last only as long as the music lasts. Temporary and non-committal, directed to the body and resisting representations, the community of vibrating music can be a community of non-belonging. The difference of bodies here is not to be classified, but only functions as multiplication and intensification of sensing together and also being in the world side by side. Furthermore, in contrast to the national imagination of majority, good citizens, justified and protected existence of the dominant body, which hopes for the body’s static, active, and impermeable and perpetual being (and its seamless surface,) the bodies in music are in many ways, disembodied, transitory, and deterritorializing and
reterritorializing. Music sensing also undoes the subject-object positioning, the point of view or gaze that is organized by power relations of the subject and object. It is no wonder that under many colonial efforts to forcefully assimilate its subordinates, music and rhythms have resisted the force, as did many of Native American songs, Polynesian drum sounds, and Afro-Caribbean music developments.

**OKI DUB**

As we have established that the musical instruments and the bodies of the players become part of each other in a music assemblage that does not privilege human body as the main object, this section argues that the genre of contemporary Ainu-fusion music deriving from the Ainu philosophical heritage, such as music by OKI and Imeruat. These artists press forward that the sensations of the material body-instrument aroused in music achieves a powerfully subversive sonic critique of nation, imperialism, and identity. These artists evolve the form of Ainu music by mixing, fragmenting, misusing the instruments, and altering, often using the devices of electronic technology. The ambiguating and decentering the sound of the Ainu musical instruments function to undo the subjecthood, entity and identity of the Ainu (or Ainu-ness). In their performance, what had once been perceived as Ainu: their clothes, songs, tools, including the musical instruments, and their particular music sounds, are all used as materials to reinvent Ainuness from a contained entity to a process of unfurling. Ainu indigeneity in their sonic theorization becomes that which fusions and is constantly self-innovating and self-altering, that contacts and smites, that expands and is filled with an immanence of new sensations, life: the virtual.
The story of Ainu musical instrument cannot be told without mentioning the tonkori, a string instrument originally of the Sakhlin Ainu. Born in the Northern Siberian forests, this wood-piece instrument has traveled and still travels through time and space, vanishes and reappears, and now is rearranged in a transnational indigenous sphere. The musician OKI’s assembling the tonkori with Afro-Caribbean music provides a materially and theoretically dynamic sonicscape that deploys the musical matters, such as the bodies, vibration, beat. This assemblage shatters the imperial understanding of indigeneity. We will see that the sound and bodily sensations echoing the tonkori vibe are made into a bodily experience of art-politics and transnational indigenous community of non-belonging. Eventually, OKI’s explosion of the category of Ainu music, using the tonkori, materializes our bodies into a sensory matter which witnesses the peculiar sonic materialization of a convivial postcolonial space, which can be called, “transnational indigeneity.”

The body of tonkori is said to be a representation of the woman’s body. Each part of the instrument is called after a human body part, such as “ears” for the string pegs, “navel” for the star-shaped sounding hole in the center of the body. The players are normally encouraged to carve their own tonkori. A tonkori crafting is never complete until a life is given to tonkori, until a glass bead, “ramat,” (or ramatuh - heart, soul) is inserted inside the body of the tonkori through the navel. The glass beads were important decorative and cultural material for the Hokkaido Ainu. The beads were originally brought by the neighboring peoples in the Eurasian continent through trading, then later by the Japanese traders. In Ainu tradition, Tamasai, the Ainu bead ceremonial
necklace, is passed down by mothers to their daughters. This maternal tradition designates the glass beads as “women’s soul” among the Hokkaido Ainu.\textsuperscript{39} Although having a woman’s body and woman’s soul, the tonkori does not specify the gender of the player like the mukkuri. The instrument originally emerged as a ritual tool for shamans; its hypnotic sound may have been used for a trance-inducing effect.\textsuperscript{40} Just as the mukkuri, the tonkori is also played mostly by one individual and it is not meant for group performance. Japanese documentations of the Ainu tonkori in the 1600s show images of the Ainu people playing the instrument alone either to him-/herself or to their sleeping children.\textsuperscript{41} One holds the tonkori vertically and very close to the body and tremors the

![Image 16. Tonkori in various forms.](image-url)
strings as he or she lulls his or her child. The skills for playing tonkori also have travelled. An old Ainu folklore tells of a traveling tonkori teacher from Sakhlin who has an affair with his student when he drops by a village in Hokkaido. Although played in solitary settings, the tonkori has always been a point of assemblage. Its body is crafted from the various local organic materials; the local tree trunks, birches, furs, and other regional plants and animal substances such as salmon skin and bones of animals. The body of tonkori mirrors the particular ecosystem of the region in which it is made. As it traveled from Sakhlin to Hokkaido, the materials for crafting constantly changed as the available and surrounding materials varied. The body of the tonkori also reflects the peoples’ trading life (such as the trading of the glass beads.) The traded goods varied depending on seasons and transitory intertribal and international relations. Thus understandably but also paradoxically enough, this “indigenous” instrument is an embodiment of cultural and ecological fusion.

The tonkori’s sound is very light and fragile: It is neither loud, deep, nor of long duration. OKI has compared it to the clear and dry air in the quiet fields of Hokkaido and Sakhlin, where even snow falls can be heard. The tonkori music is normally played with repetitions of short and simple phrases, often emulating birds’ songs, animals’ cries, or Ainu traditional songs which emulate those. Repetition is an important element in Ainu music. The Ainu traditional songs and oral traditions such as yukar (epic recitation) deploy repetitive schemes. Group songs such as upopo use the form of “round” or “canon,” to create a complicated and contrapunctural polyphony that is constructed by repetitions of phrases following each other with different start timings and durations. The sound of upopo, tonkori, and mukkuri all have been described as hypnotic. When music
is hypnotic, the sound must be in a special relationship with body, consciousness, repetition, refrain, and its vibration of lull.

OKI met the tonkori in the 1980s. A son born to a sculptor father and painter mother, was not aware of his Ainu heritage until his adulthood. After discovering his Ainu heritage, OKI left to Hokkaido, to an Ainu community, to live and learn the Ainu culture and language. Tonkori at that time was dying out in the Hokkaido Ainu community. The Ainu community saw the tonkori as an object for carving; artistic wood craft work, but not so much for its musical possibilities. OKI became interested in this string instrument, which emits “such a feeble sound.” The tonkori was beautiful but as a musical instrument it was not effective, OKI thought. Since OKI held a tonkori in his hand, the instrument altered OKI’s career, and the Ainu music scene to come.

The struggle began when OKI realized that the tonkori’s fragile sound was not suitable for public performance. From learning to play the tonkori to performing it in a form of DUB band, it took OKI a decade of trials: crafting, engineering, modifications and rehearsals. The result was an electrified tonkori that could play with a bass and a drum, an amplified and electrified tonkori sound that does not get silenced by other musical instruments, but has a leading sound that rings in conjunction with other instruments. OKI has revived the tonkori sound in Japan. While the tonkori is known as a traditional (and rather ancient) Ainu musical instrument, OKI combined it with other contemporary (and robotic) musical instruments, such as electronic sound systems and the synthesizer. The approach seemed unprecedented, yet OKI’s revolution of tonkori
performance continued. With the electric tonkori, OKI formed a transnational and multiracial Ainu music ensemble, that includes African and Afro-Caribbean musicians. “This is an authentic Ainu band,” OKI remarked. Authenticity of Ainu, according to OKI, lies not in phenotype or sanguine heritage, but in the vibrant tradition of trading. “Ainu never possessed a nation. Their territories were marked by trading and exchanges of goods and cultures with the neighboring peoples. If anything is authentically Ainu, that is the tradition of trading, exchanges and constantly developing something new out of the fusion.” In this sense, OKI argued, Ainu music could be authentically Ainu only when it is created in cultural, material, and sonic fusion, and developing into something new. In 2006, OKI DUB Ainu Band began its performance of dub music using the tonkori. Its specialty is the Ainu fusion music – rock, Afro-grove, dub, blues, reggae, anything and everything in borderless fusions expressed in the leading tonkori sound.

Image 17. OKI DUB Ainu Band in a live concert. Notice OKI holds the tonkori like a guitar, rather than the traditional position in which the player holds the tonkori like a child, vertically stood and attached to one's left shoulder.
OKI’s theoretical formation of Ainu indigeneity is innovative. On the understanding of the past, OKI’s articulation of Ainuness, or indigeneity in general, insists on the indigenous existence before the colonization and imperial expansions (as in the general definition of indigeneity claims.) But OKI also emphasizes the indigenous continual movements that run into the present: the trading and sensory expansion of territories which trespass the imagined and the later enforced national borders.

Indigeneity was originally trans-national, and so should it be in today’s indigenous existence which he materializes in the tonkori sonicscape. OKI’s formulation, which can be called “transnational indigeneity,” the sonic theorization of indigeneity beyond and against imperial concepts (linguistic formations of bordering,) is materialized in the fluid Ainu fusion sonicscape through the bodies that function as sensory material.

Transnational indigeneity defines indigenous cultures as hydraulic, non-geographical loci to defy national/imperial ideologies that dictate divisions and exclusions of people, and by doing so it transforms Ainuness from an identity or entity into movements, fusions, immediate sense of materiality, and artistic processes.

The keyword here is “encounter.” Where people encounter, musics also become influenced by each other. When the bodies encounter, musics that are carried through the bodies also affect each other. Experiencing the sensations together and exchanging the sounds, the bodies create something new. What is significant in OKI’s theorization of the musical fusions in the old inter-tribal trading is that things of immeasurable qualities encounter, dissolving the ephemeral edges of each entity as they connect with each other. This assemblage enables new becoming: music instruments becoming a body becoming a sonicscape... we do see the entity-hood of the entities less demanding the
value of itself and more working for connections. At that encounter where the material bodies echo in vibrations, there is no center or the primary subject. The apparitional movements of ambiguous borders, around which the corporeal materials of music and sensations echo with each other, contrast the phallocentric image of the nation-building and border-securing, and other bordering and branding schemes of the bodies and land, as Deleuze and Guattari remark:

The great State mathematicians did their best to improve its status, but precisely on the condition that all the dynamic, nomadic, notions – such as becoming, heterogeneity, infinitesimal, passage to the limit, continuous variation – be eliminated and civil, static, and oridinal rules be imposed upon it (1987: 363).

Music, narratives, and affects -- with these being shared, bodies become something new, art reinvents bodies and assemblages them, and sensations become a new currency of coexistence. The territory marked by such intensities has ephemeral and ambiguous boundaries and constant shifting of locations, and vibrancy which sustains itself – the characteristics of sonicscape. In the sonicscape, the bodies expand, the rhythms and tunes beat and shake the body-sphere, and the bodies touch and become immersed in the air, into each other, and to the unknown, rather than focusing on building a center with the borders which presuppose the division of inside and outside. This sensory attentiveness that feels others does not penetrate in a phallic imagination of imperialism. OKI’s music aims to recreate the sensory (non)consciousness of the Northern tribes throughout Sakhlin, Kurils, and Hokkaido, which extended to encounter, feel and listen to others by dissolving each other’s edges, and formed not a territory of property but an assemblage of sonic conviviality. OKI’s soundscape of transnational
indigeneity thus emerged in this particular indigenous musico-politics that sounds, and sustains itself in the pleasure of music and sensory vibrations.

The elaboration on the music exchanges and intercultural sonicscape of the Siberian regions, of course, is not to say there was no hostility or competition among the Northern indigenous tribes. As Grosz argues together with Alphonso Lingis, the musicality is a tool for intensifying human emotions, and thus was used for war and nation-building just as well. What Grosz and Lingis emphasize, however, is the power of music over the body and emotions. In Grosz’ argument, music as connected to territory-making:

The land itself, indigenous territories, indeed all the territories of all groups, are mapped through song and as song [. . .] A song sings the earth and sings a body, a song brings a body to earth and the land to the body, enabling one to touch the very core of the other, singing the story of a past while bringing about a new future, a new marking of the earth (2007, 50).

In the ancient Sakhlin, Kurils, and Hokkaido with their long, harsh winters, the trading must have been a way of survival as well as a common way of life. Then there is music that came with the trading. The territories as habitat spaces necessarily had to be shared and host the peoples’ trading. And music – if anyone knows how the heavy snow utterly absorbs any sound in these regions, that the sound of silence rings so deafeningly loudly, and how the weighty darkness of the winters shut out light and intensifies the wintery isolation, then music with its intensification over the body and emotions being a “bare necessity of luxury (surplus)” would be understood. It is true that music in itself does not produce materials or function more than just as music, as “surplus.” -- As Grosz argues music and art are surplus elements to human survival, the exchange of the musical
instruments and songs show the affluence of cultural materials which flourished in the Ainu territories before each harsh winter. Conviviality through the music of excess served for the tribes’ bare necessity of surplus.

Discussing the Northern aesthetics that is particularly of the environment of the Siberian region, the poet Toriko Takarabe, who grew up in the Chinese-Siberia region due to the Japanese colonization of the region, and recollects an event held in Hokkaido that contemplated on the “Northern Continental (Siberian) philosophy” by studying how the animals live in the region. The event titled, “An evening to narrate animals,” presented numerous footages of the Siberian and north-Chinese wolves, and vividly brought back to her the memories of the nightly listening to “blood-freezing howling of the wolves.” While the sound-memory still frightens her, she realizes, the writers, scholars and artists at the event who grew up or deal with the cold, dry Siberian land, and also the animals within, weave a kind of “Kyousei teitsugaku,” (共生哲学) -- coexistence philosophy. In the harsh region where survival is pursued as the primary importance, Takarabe says, the coexistence they seem to articulate is never about friendliness to each other, but about living as “feeling and sensing others.” Takarabe’s realization coming from her sensory, sonic-memory of wolves’ intense howling, the wild music of desire, seems appropriately expressing the scene of music exchanges that happened in the cold and harsh environment that necessitated the sonoric sensing of each other. After the initial success of OKI DUB Ainu Band, OKI expands his music collaboration with artists and their works of various regions and nations, the act which requires “feeling and sensing each other.” OKI’s music trajectory is the tonkori’s journey and expansion of its
sonic territory. However, the expansion is of course not by domination, but by the sonic transformation of the borders and reaching out to its musical others.

OKI’s tonkori performance together with his justification of a new “Ainuness” is not the only way to reinvent Ainu musical (non-)identity. The aesthetic choice of letting the tonkori sound ride with dub music and Afro-groove, which heavily utilize electronic operations and studio recording techniques to fusion and “remake” other existing forms of music, aligns OKI’s music with the political philosophy and histories behind Afro-Caribbean music, especially of reggae and dub. Dub, and specific trends of reggae (that are not with the popular music industry but with Rastafarian influence) were born out of the postcolonial political, social, and economic turmoil in the Caribbean, but more specifically in Jamaica. Dub, a music style known as a rebellious art form that is comparative to postmodern painting and other forms of installation arts, makes OKI DUB fusion art as a continuation of the dub musical-postcolonial statement. Dub music and its production processes contain strong characteristics that are reflective of postcolonial theoretical movements, such as fragmentation, nonlinear development that resists identification, affiliation by accidental encounters, creolization, and reckless fusion. By using the dub sounds and its production methods and collaborating with Afro-Caribbean musicians, OKI succeeds in posing his tonkori music implicitly (as in sounds and not in language) but adamantly as a postcolonial action - a critique of colonial histories that have impoverished the indigenous populations and the divisive ideologies border the bodies and land.
In many ways dub echoes the transnational indigeneity: an indigenous sonicscape which critiques concepts of nation and race, and which creates a fluid and sensory space of conviviality – a process OKI strives for. Michael E. Veal’s *DUB: Soundscape & Shattered Songs of Jamaican Reggae* provides informative details of the technical, political and social processes that laid out for the emergence of dub. In the postwar Jamaica, the local music scenes were building up toward expressions of post-colonial resistance, specifically of anti-West and nostalgic Africa-centered sentiments.61 However, the unstable economy of the postwar Jamaica afforded little material wealth to the local businesses, including the music industry, which required the studio musicians’ innovation and invention: imaginative, do-it-yourself technologies. The alteration of the sounds as a result came in drastically physical ways. The lack of CD recorders for example developed an array of techniques and supplementations of materials which led to numerous accidental discoveries of altered sounds. For instance, the use of “acetates,” discs which in the US would usually serve as test sample recoding plates that endure limited times of replay, became a standard recording device. The decay of the “soft wax coating over a
metal core,” (Veal, 50) directly affected the sounds – the languid, deep and edgy sonic decadence. Other forms of accidental sound emergence occurred also by mistakes in the recording processes, misuse of the tools (such as dropping a sound system for the effect of shattering and howling sounds,) erasure, overlapping, over-echoing of the preexisting songs. These unconventional material procedures all provided a new set of sound-concepts and music vocabulary. Like the tonkori, the dub sound was (un)shaped by the availability (or lack) of materials, and the encounters of new (de-tuned and deformed) sounds brought new affects, a new sensations in the dub music. Dub thus is undoing of music pieces, undoing of the world that was created in the sound of a song.

In the culture of dub, it is also important to note that the Afro-Caribbean fusion of the musical characteristics from different cultures is a result of creolization. Creolization, importantly, is never simply a fusion, but heavily carries the shadow of the history of enslavement and diaspora that resulted in the various encounters and alterations of the identities. By taking on the Afro-Caribbean sound mode, OKI seems to chime in with the notion of creolization. His music fusion is never about mixing random entities for unexpected affects, but always allying with the different groups who somehow share narratives of exclusion and displacement (non-belonging,) imperial oppression, and
Othering. OKI collaborates with so-called indigenous and colonized populations. Music of non-belonging, of the people who are displaced even in their own countries – OKI’s tonkori sound does not articulate their history neither does OKI make statements on the history of victimization when he performs. However, the eloquent fusion soundscape reflects the history of creolization in the sounds (a musical reflection of the history of creolization) and do so in the pleasurable sonic representation of each culture (for example, the Okinawan song echoes, the Celtic fiddle sings, or the Saami tunes haunt in the background of the tonkori music, while the synthesizer and the sound systems “dub” the sounds on stage.) In blending and intensifying sound elements, OKI’s tonkori assemblage of creole fusion implies what postcolonial sonoric assemblage the music matters (such as our bodies and music instruments) can become in the new combinations. This music process is thus the virtual, the possibility brought to the real in sound, the potentials materialized, and unfurling even more.

Thus OKI plays Ainu music with a profoundly Ainu, or indigenous, approach. His method of becoming-Ainu (which poses Ainuness as not a static identity but a musical movement, process, and force that generates new becoming by living with, listening to, and echoing others,) accompanies the wood-piece-becoming-electric-technological-instruments, tonkori; and the tropical postcolonial-people-becoming-Ainu sound that defies national borders and its oppressions. The indigeneity OKI frames through music thus can be called “transnational indigeneity.” Given that indigeneity emerges only at the invasion of the nation-state displacing the peoples and their land, perhaps this term may sound redundant, that is, indigeneity always is born out of but also contests a national history. However, the fact that indigeneity in OKI’s understanding moves and connects
bodies and sounds beyond national borders moves indigeneity beyond limitations by the controlling and striating schemes of the nation-state – trans-national as in trans-borders. Perhaps listening to OKI’s theory/music that advocates rhizomic indigenous and bodily-music connections assists us in imagining a sensual world that is otherwise constantly drawing lines on our body, land, and natural resources.

In 2007, OKI DUB Ainu Band performed in the Fuji Rock Festival in Japan in front of the audience who are moving between multiple music stages, flowing from one stage to another on foot. Many became mesmerized by the sound of the tonkori-dub. In the whole music-body sensations provided something different from the old and stigmatized representation of the Ainu tribe under the imperial gaze of the colonizer. The audience swung with the music as the dub refrain with its repetitive strokes of relaxed beat lulled their bodies. The tonkori sounds traveled through the vibrations of the bodily materials of the audience as it pulsated the pleasurable sonicscape: a plane of immanence.

**IMERUAT**

If music evolves with time and unfurls to new becoming, perhaps artists go through a similar development, or even a co-development with their music. The material bodies and sensations the artists use to create a new sense of the world certainly take on accidental encounters as resources for virtuality and chances for self-alteration. Returning to Mina and Ainu Rebels, we shall see that the accidental encounters and connections the group experienced reveal vibrant materiality and virtuality of their bodily performance evolving to dynamic assemblages that are beyond representation or sovereignty. In fact,
what it developed was a multiplication of Bodies without Organs, assemblages instead of tedious identity politics. While the identity statements of minority youth are definitely politically significant, in these assemblages of various bodies by the performance of the Ainu Rebels and other minority intercultural artists, we see a possibility for new ways of thinking of and surpassing the problem of identity and the politics of representation. By proposing such new possibilities, these performances, especially by Imeruat -- Mina’s new unit, seems to push the Japanese intercultural performance to an arena of mobility which Ainu Rebels aspired to achieve. This chapter looks into the “life” that happened through the bodily performance, utilizing “difference” and creating constantly shifting connections and assemblages through bodily matters in their aural and sensual performance.

When Sakai Mina organized Ainu Rebels, there was one clear objective: Debunking the historically stigmatized image of Ainu people. To do this, Mina was determined to avoid the methods that have already proven to be a failure in the past – verbal negotiation. Mina is aware of the genealogical link between language and representation. Speaking of their political claims as formal verbal complaints to the State will not achieve a radical subversion of exclusion and oppression the Ainu experience. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ainu Rebels created music and dance performance as their non-verbal method to counteract the effect of language, the logic of the sign for exclusion and Othering. Posing as happily dancing Ainu youth who celebrate their own cultural heritage, Ainu Rebels seems to have succeeded in repainting the image of destitute savages of the past into Ainu people whose bodies can affect the audience’ heartbeat, at least for their initial exposure. Their activism continued for four years before the group
decided to disband for unknown reasons. During the four years, Ainu people were acknowledged as indigenous people of Japan (2008), and the government and municipality agreed to grant some venues to discuss improvement for the deprived cultural economic citizenship of Ainu people.⁶⁴ Such a change also instigated some animosity from Japanese society that is normally comfortable with the notion of “homogenous nation,” and that is currently inclining steeply to the extreme right wing politics and imperialism.⁶⁵ Animosity proved Ainu Rebels’ successful stirring of the stale representation of Ainu as dying savages. After the disbanding, through many encounters and fluid developments of her art, Mina began walking toward another possibility for artistic and sonorous expression.

A typical Ainu Rebels performance goes like this: in a live concert hall usually reserved for club music and hip hop performance with colorful lighting and amplified music systems, their performance features traditional dance of Ainu tribe⁶⁶ accompanied by Ainu songs that are arranged in hip hop style. In many pieces, the members are fully robed in traditional Ainu attires (including clothing with aiushi pattern mentioned in the Chapter 1.) For the performance pieces with rap or modern dance, the members also change into T-shirts and jeans in the way the standard hip hop fashion dictates. In either case, typical Ainu cultural elements, including the sound of the mukkuri are mixed and dubbed with synthesized electric music. Mina also sings in Ainu language in front of her great-grand mother’s photo projected on the back of the stage.⁶⁷ Mina’s brother, Atsushi’s original rap (see Chapter 1 for the description) is followed by the group inviting the audience to shout “Rasseh, rassel, rasseh-ra” with them, to their music and dance, joining with the shout-chanting that is normally used in both Ainu and Japanese
traditional festivals as dance movements become intense. The climax of Ainu Rebels’
performance heightens the audience as if they are participating in “matsuri,” a traditional
community festival, strangely placed in a contemporary time and space. As their
performance progresses their live concert evokes a feeling of communal festival in which
sound, lights, matters and movements give a sense of connecting all the participants with
each other. With Mina’s shout, “Iyairaikere!” (“Thank you” in Ainu language) the
performance seems to end with much catalysis as a good hip hop performance vibrates in
the audience even after the performance. Or, at least to some extent.

After the initial debut of the Ainu Rebels, which reintroduced the Ainu culture to
Japanese society and did so with surprisingly positive effects of bodily performance, their
specifically “Ainu” performance seemed to have been dissolve into an identity
performance, a stage performance of which the primary goal is set for minority
sovereignty, in which the instant demanding of racial and tribal sovereignty is achieved,
but perhaps not necessarily achieving Mina’s initial goal: the radical transformation of
politics through art – achieving what verbal political negotiations does not. The reason
for this is the performance and the group Ainu Rebels itself have become a very positive
yet another representation of Ainu identity, with the media exposure and the “message
context” of their performance: e.g. Atsushi’s rap lyrics that a reclamation of Ainu
identity, Mina’s singing in front of the photo of her great grandmother in her fully robed
“Authentic” Ainu image: her lineage validated and the heritage and identity vindicated.
Needless to say these performance contexts are valuable and they must emerge at one
point in the process of Japanese society to recognize and reform their image of Ainu
people, as part of decolonization acts. However some of these performance pieces
achieved only an introduction of Ainu identity perspective, and in themselves they did not achieve what Mina was hoping, the transcending the political verbal discourse. In short, these specific heritage performance functioned as a great showcase of the political claims of Ainu youth while it did not address the power of art as a new form of political force as they appeared as the traditional, political verbal contestation, only in the form of contemporary music performance.

Cool and fashionable, the good looking\textsuperscript{68} members of Ainu Rebels successfully presents a kind of hip-hop-masculine and subcultural-“ethnic” performance (in the highlighted context on the Ainu identity demanding its recovery) that attracts Japanese youths who are interested in the masculine black hip hop culture. This is to say, Ainu Rebels’ expression was accepted by a certain group of youth through “the mode of hip hop”: a rebellious, underground, minority voice that aggressively shouts and raps against society in the masculine articulation of pride through the identity of outsider. As the hip hop culture in the US developed by unprivileged urban black youth reinvented their fashions and language into cool icons of rebellious youths, so did the Ainu youth’ shout against Japanese society, reinventing values of their costume and language. At this point unfortunately the Ainu Rebels performance dons a market value which provides “ethnic” Others in the imperial narrative of dividing and reinforcing the Self and Others. By raising Ainu sovereignty, Ainu Rebels perhaps limited the artistic and sensual affects of the soundscape. The result is a division of a community. A sensual assemblage is shadowed by the logics of belonging – who belongs and who does not, and an identitarian community (which asks, again, who is in and who is out) emerges and speaks (of meanings) over the sounds of sensations.
Despite Mina’s wish, the issue of representation never left them. To the repeated requests for interviews and documentaries, Mina decides to turn down all the interviews and other media opportunities for speaking for Ainu Rebels. Even then Atsushi and Mina have witnessed how their statements “began walking alone” away from what they wanted to communicate through performance. Even though they refuse to speak and only perform on stage as their method of making statements, interpretations and critiques through the media and internet sites nonetheless spoke for and against them. Intentions were interpreted and meanings speculated. To some cynics, the cool and self-confident Ainu image quickly turned into rebellious and bitter youths who claim to make arts but instead complaining, using the venue of “ethnic arts.” In fact, such a layered and mediated representation can take on various subjectivities through representations. The subject Ainu Rebels who made their own performance-statement had to face some occasions of being the object of debates.

Although this matter of Ainu Rebels’ performance took alternative turns, Mina’s belief that “Art can achieve so lightly and easily what hundreds and hundreds of political negotiations cannot achieve” still holds values. Art that is felt by body is intimate, and more
immediate and affective than “negotiations” that are verbal, logical, and rhetorical. Ainu Rebels’ approach to representing themselves by only their performance, and allowing only their sonic and bodily performance to be experienced rather than understood logically, thus frames the body as a tool of senses and affect that insists on its materiality over the layers of significations. The performance allows us to question: Rather than distinguishing Ainu people from Japanese in an imperial logic of ethnic hierarchy, or focusing on the postcolonial statement of the victimized tribe, what if the audience simply enjoys Ainu music? What if the audience can connect to the Ainu musical matters without meanings weighing down the momentary corporeal experiences? These questions seek answers for connection, be it momentary or imaginary, but connection profound and affective enough that it can be embryotic of the imagination of new politics, new form of coalition and connection. The bodily pleasure of music even in its fleeting moment would unquestionably echo and connect our each singular bodies, and the singularities can create an assemblage of the sonicscape, rather than “ethnic difference” and the colonial history separating the body-matters in the mediated identarian belongings.
Other than the brilliant contemporarization of Ainu music and dances as performance materials, and initiating the Ainu identity reclamation, what Ainu Rebels opened up was a posing of possibility for minority populations in Japan to connect with each other through music performance, and forming an ever-shifting assemblage of minority music bodies. Followed by the Ainu Rebels’ debut, many music and performance artists of ethnic minorities in Japan gathered to collaborate as mentioned in Chapter One. In 2008 in Osaka and Tokyo, performance groups such as KP (Zainichi Korean rap unit. KP stands for “Korean people” and “Korean power,”) BLENDZ (hip hop unit of Japanese men with African/African American heritages,) Boat People (A DJ whose parents took asylum in Japan as Vietnamese refugees) celebrated a music event called Shake Forward! which was organized by a college student group, called “MixRoots Japan: Expression Network for Multicultural Coexistence and Empowering People of Multi-Root.” Perhaps for the first time in history, a public performance event featuring a conglomeration of ethnic Others in Japan was held with much media exposure. Shake Forward! was a tremendous success. The event was repeated in the following years by adding workshops and academic conferences to its contents. The title of the event, Shake Forward!, is explanatory of its objectives. “By the bodies’ shaking to music and enjoying dance, it hopes to shake and subvert the socially set beliefs and values, and to press forward the experience to impact others through the music-affective connection” (from the Shake Forward! website statement). With this event’s success, MixRoots Japan took on massive assemblage (trans)formations: The group began expanding by involving other minority groups, such as LGBT youths and people of disabilities; viscerally connecting with municipalities, NGOs, and educational
institutions; and acquiring corporate supports. MixRoots Japan also has a radio station that functions as a discussion stage for minority issues in Japan, and the radio-sonicscape which broadcasts the volatile assemblage of MixRoots Japan provides a virtual space which nurtures more possibilities of plugging in and assemblaging for those who feel they do not belong to Japan.

Shake Forward! as a performance event continues today, featuring artists from various “mixed” identities. Interracial musicians and groups such as Ryukyu Underground who mixes traditional Okinawan music elements to trance music continue to exert the soundscape that demands for coexistence in Japan. NGOs such as International Amnesty Japan and IMO (International Organization for Migration) sponsor the music event as part of their publicity and education opportunities. Around the same time since the late 2000s, this trend of minority groups connecting and collaborating seems to have been recognized as an effective mode of speaking for the minority populations in Japan. With the trend a TV program, Baribara – the Barrier-Free Variety Show, began featuring people with disabilities to introduce the diversity within the category of disabled. Introducing people with disabilities who are of ethnic and sexual minority, and aspiring comedians who wish to use their physical disabilities and their experiences as materials for comedy, Baribara TV and radio shows seem to reflect the vibrant movement in Japan that gripped assemblage as their method of operating between rigid categorization and claiming their bodily-material spaces in society.

Although Ainu Rebels disbanded, the activisms they encouraged and participated thrived and expanded. Their performance may not have brought a radical theoretical transformation to minority identity politics, however, initiating a minority performance
and functioning as parts for various assemblages expanding and developing, Ainu Rebels flashed the vibrant virtualities of encounters and assemblages. After all, the body that creates a distance from each other, serve as material that allows encounters, vibration, and resonation as Brian Massumi points out:

> With the body, the “walls” are the sensory surfaces. The intensity is experience. The emptiness or in-betweenness filled by experience is the incorporeal dimension of the body. . . The conversion of the surface distance to intensity is also the conversion of the materiality of the body into an event.72

As Massumi argues, the body as a matter to sense, and the body as a singular entity that congregates, allow virtuality of experiences and encounters. The body thus is a material of life.

The body as a material for vibrations is a body that contains uncontainable virtualities of immanence, facing encounters yet to come. The bodily performances by minority populations and the artists’ infinite encounters with each other in Japan thus contain more possibilities of becoming in future and more forces of intensities which may affect other accidental events of social changes.

After the dissolution of Ainu Rebels, Mina acted as an anti-imperial activist: she attended conferences on race, multiculturalism, colonial history in Japan, and also spoke at transnational indigenous conferences to present her experience as an Ainu. In one occasion, she attended a historical conference of Korean sex slavery in the World War II -- the crime which the Japanese government still has not admitted. Listening to the experiences of the once-enslaved, elder Korean women, Mina expresses her dilemma of
being two things at once: an Ainu who carries the burden of racial discrimination and “Japanese, a part of the group that brought much suffering to those women.” In both cases, her identity that is connected to the imperial and fiercely colonial history of the Japanese nation-state sounds burdensome. Mina then goes back to music, this time in a way that is more radically beyond Ainu representation. In 2009, Mina forms Imeruat (which means “lightening” in Ainu,) a digital-fusion musical unit with Masashi Hamauzu who is a well-acclaimed composer of computer game music, such as the Final Fantasy series and Saga Frontier series. While acting as a main vocalist, Mina no longer brings forth Ainu visual elements on stage. Her occasional playing of the tonkori and the mukkuri accompanies Imeruat’s performance, but as part of digital music, the sonic world of Imeruat sounds sharply electronic. Mina’s clear voice that sings in English the poetic lyrics which resembles of Björk is altered in texture and is enhanced in its mechanic sound quality by the sound system. The sonic world of digital assemblage in Imeruat’s performance lacks the earthy feel of OKI DUB band, perhaps because of the absence of the strong beat and the tonkori’s exaggeratedly vibrating sound of strings. Interestingly, Imeruat’s first tour took place in France with a fierce success. Because Japanese anime and game culture (what Japanese call, “Otaku culture”) is intensively flourishing popularity in France, Masashi Hamauzu’s name was already popular in France with the global success of the Final Fantasy which circulated his music in the trading in the global computer game industry.

Here, Mina and the tonkori, in seeking to “jump over” or transcend politics of representation, meet the European fascination with electronic and virtual Japanese representation. But they meet it with their material bodies and resonation of the sounds.
The 2012 Imeruat tour in France ended with an unquestionable success. Mina featured four songs in the Final Fantasy XIII soundtrack. The France’s participation in the virtual sphere of the Japanese computer games and animation created a wave of intensity that allowed Mina’s voice to encounter it and expand its territory transnationally. The Imeruat’s site introduces Mina to the world audience as follows: “[Masashi Hamauzu] is joined by Mina, whose training is reflected in her exceptional vocal style into her Ainu ancestry.” “Reflected,” “style,” “into,” . . . subtly and enigmatically worded, Mina’s Ainu heritage in her performance sounds mediated in this description. Mina and the tonkori sounds no longer so much introduce or represent Ainu cultures. Instead, they accompany, they merge, and they sound, enabling and is enabled by encounters of bodies, elements, and cultures. They are felt. The audience is not supplemented with historical or political information or presented with meanings of indigenous cultural elements. The only sonic and affective exchanges are materialized through Mina’s “singing sound” and the tonkori sound. Such an intense connection through numerous bodies and virtual spaces -- One wonders if Mina sees how art and sensations travel and transcend national borders, cultural differences, and the hierarchical logic of the Self and the Other subverted in the sound of the tonkori ringing in clubs in Paris. One thing for certain is that the sound-event has taken place and encounters are opened. The bodies have been vibrated and sensations were shared. What that material moment contains is unlimited as music is virtual.

Some claim that the word, “tonkori” in Ainu language means “echoing and resonating with each other.” OKI and Imeruat have proven that we do not need to know the name of tonkori or the meaning of the name in order to feel its sound. The tonkori
does not require language to communicate or spread. Instead, what it requires is our body’s abilities to sense. Music sensations are powerful, in that it does not induce a sensing only by sensory organs. Instead, it vibrates ears and guts, shakes the bodies and emotions, beats the faces and hearts. Our open ear cannot close on its own to its effect, and so are the material bodily matters of ours. The visceral force of music introduced in the Ainu contemporary music performances propose a strange community of non-belonging, a community of those who have nothing in common.78 The community is formed by the fact of each member having a body. What the tonkori teaches through these performances is that our body as a site of sonic vibration is a matter of connection and co-sensation, always becoming, constantly merging, spilling out of boundaries: a plane of immanence, that is, a sounding pleasure.

Image 20. Imeruat at a live concert.
The slide shows behind the stage is part of the performance. With lights, visuals, and other digital sound technologies, Imeruat presents the world of futuristic electronic music.
1 Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus. Trans. Massumi, Brian. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987: 158-9. Deleuze and Guattari say the BwO is opposed to “organic organization of the organs” in other words, it is the static quality that makes a subject into its being, its organization property-hood which allows the signification, the stable being-ness, that BwO is opposed. BwO undoes subjectness, and it “disarticulates” its being. Thus BwO opens to a different way of looking at life and the world than the system of naming, which consolidates entities and their borders.

2 Jane Bennett’s Vibrant Matter provides insights for how this humbling paradigm shifts could alter our politics, ways of lives, and ethics as it “counter the narcissism of humans in charge of the world” (xvi).

3 The surrounding, which can be framed as a world, is by no means static either. By the movements of matters and elements, a world by virtue is also constantly changing.

4 Ibid. Deleuze and Guattari. 153 and 158.

5 Ibid. 154.

6 Grosz, Elizabeth. Becoming Undone: Darwinian reflection on life, politics, and art. Durham and London: Duke University press, 2011. 27. (Also see 36.) This quote is followed by Bergson’s understanding of life which is “that which both exceeds itself and also enables matter to unleash tis endless virtualities.”

7 Ibid. 27.

8 “Shogyoumujou” は a famous phrase from the Buddhist canon, Nehankyo. It teaches impermanence of all things existing. The colloquial version has become part of Japanese daily vocabulary, especially when something perishes people may utter the phrase.


10 Such as in trauma studies and studies in affect as simply emotions of minority subjects. Needless to say, these studies as underrepresented topics have great significance, but this chapter seeks affect as part of acting forces and sensations that stem from bodily capacities.

11 Discussion of life in Deleuzian terms as a primary subject is too large to fit into this project. Thus this is a curt and simplified description of matter and ontology. For an extensive, clarificatory, and reinvigorating

12 Deleuze and Guattari describe machinic assemblages as assemblages that function. (See 1987: 88-90) A machine is an organization and has parts that are put together. Then, only then, the machine functions. Somewhat detached from the values of the parts, but seeing a machine as a temporary and tentative organization, Deleuze and Guattari explains the characters of what they call as “assemblages.”


14 Kavli Institute. Ibid. At the same time, atoms as the school used to teach are not the only materials that make up the matters in the universe. The recent study shows that the atoms are only small portion of the universe. Other matters such as “dark matters” are also part of the cosmic world.

15 Music has such discursive power to involve body and psyche. Oliver Sacks’ Musicophilia details such power that resists our intention to be involved by music. Also the well-known fact of human heart beat emulating the beat of music in for instance a dance club or a live concert points to the nature of our body’s inclination to the music and its beat.

16 Grosz, 2007:19


18 Of course, any identarian elements, even the names of ethnic and race group operate in the same reductive manner. As stated in the chapter 1, identity expressed in a system of sign (as explained by Saussure) is a reduction and abstraction of a subject, personhood, much less the body. However, in this case of kimono design the abstraction intensifies. It is clear that the Aiushi pattern (which is already an abstraction of “Ainu” people) used as a single visual element, that is simply a constitutive element of the Japanese Empire, abstract and reduce the people’s breath and dignity in multiple layers.

19 The name changes in a gradation throughout the Siberia and Asia regions. Mukkur, mukkhr, mukhne, muhnan are few examples of the variation.


22 Indeed the chart of the instrument categorization by the orgnology (...) version strikingly resembles that of linguistics, dividing human languages aiming to organize them systematically and scientifically.


24 Tadakawa. Ibid.


26 Ibid.


28 The word for “breath” in many languages includes the definition of “life” in addition to respiratory movements. Here the songs and stories are understandably passed on through one’s voice-breath and breath-life.

29 Here I imagine the language of the mindfulness movement that derives from the Eastern tradition of meditation. Focusing on something is thought to be being with it, be present with the element on which one gathers his or her focus. This formation implies two things: One become present as one’s consciousness finds itself in the presence of the thing, air, sound, or one’s own bodily sensation. At the same time, it indicates body and mind merging into one – where the body is, the mind finds its presence, and vice versa. Thus the sensory presence is both material and of mind and consciousness.

30 Grosz 2007: 73.

31 Ibid.

32 I do not intend to oppose music to thoughts in general, as Deleuze poses music as thoughts. My argument here is limited to cognitive thoughts that use language, analyses, signs and symbols.
Other than historical data, literary works such as *Down These Mean Street* by Piri Thomas and *Hishoku* by Sawako Ariyoshi document the notion that Spanish Harlem classified as more economically unprivileged than any other ethnic people and their geographical communities.

See Deleuze and Guattari (1987:298) for music’s disorienting affect that jostle the position of mastery.


Tonkori. Ibid.


Ainudama. Ainu Culture Promotion and Research Institute.

Tonkori. Ibid. 1-2.

Kyousuke Kindaichi. Ainu mukashibanashi.

OKI interview

It may be possible to consider, because the sound comes from the tonkori made from the materials of the local ecosystem, various possible reasons why tonkori “sounds like” the landscape. Artists like Björk also imagine the familiar landscape sound affecting one’s sense of music, such as in her album, Hyperballad. Coincidentally other Icelandic artists use the natural sounds that are familiar to them as part of their music. There may be a room for a scholarship in future about the nature sounds in the polar climate regions and its influence to the musical instrument and musics in the region.

“In the gigantic system.” Interview with OKI. http://www.cinra.net/interview/2012/03/15/000000.php. Accessed on 05.03/2013.

Interview. Ibid.

A study claims that Tonkori in Ainu means “resonating together.” In this definition, one can say that OKI has revived the original meaning of tonkori in the band. Michiko Yokoi. “Tonkori to Chiri Yukie.”

http://www.asahi-net.or.jp/~fg4k-yki/column/hiroba201101.html


Needless to say this encounter is enabled by the material bodies and its vibrations.


Lingis accurately describes what has been happening partially in the “War against terrorism” by pointing out that, “[T]o the lure of the marching bands, men and women go off to the cacophony of foreign wars, not bothering to make the politician’s objectives and reasons their own, go off to die” (2007, 15.) Grosz also emphasizes that “it needs to be made clear that the occupation of territory, whether the consequences of war and stewardship, requires a kind of binding of bodily forces to the national forces of a territory that music best accomplishes: music has led troops into countless wars and has stirred numerous past and present patriotic, as well as resistant, hearts” (2008, 50-1).


Toriko Takarabe. “Knowledge from sensing the living: Coexistence philosophy born of the Siberia.” Sapporo, Japan: Hokkaido Shimbun, May 16th, 2013. PS.

Ibid.

The recent example of OKI work is the album, *Kita To Minami* (North and South) in which he collaborates with an Okinawa singer. Okinawa which is the Southernmost Japanese territory was once its own kingdom. Their history of colonization by Japanese still continues today, for instance, in the incidents of the US military base occupation, which reveals the Japanese government attitude toward Okinawa,
which has always saw Okinawa as a subordinate and disposable part of Japan. OKI also has collaborated with indigenous peoples of Asia, the Americas, and Sakhlin.

60 Although, Veal argues dub IS the process itself (21).

61 Veal. 34-44,

62 Ibid. 50-64.

63 Another well-known and marketed product of creolization is the culinary fusion, which is celebrated by the tourist population. Needless to say, the tourists are never interested in the colonial history of oppressions while they enjoy their gustatory trip. As is the case for any ethnic cultures in the US, celebratory and forgetful encounters of Other cultures happen in the category of “ethnic cuisines.”


66 As I mentioned earlier, this means dances and songs of the Northern indigenous in a broader sense as it would be insensitive, if not impossible, to draw a line between what part of the cultural heritage is rigidly of Ainu and what is of other Northern tribes since such a classification is limited in its methodologies to capture the dynamic and visceral cultural exchanges of the region.

67 This prop arrangement I strikingly similar to the ... in by introduced in The People Have Never Stopped Dancing by Jacqueline Shea Murphy.

68 One way the members of Ainu Rebels are described in blogs of fans and reviewers is that they are extremely “good looking.” Although the factors of the appearance is never mentioned by the embers themselves, it is indeed a factor of popularity which contributed to the desirable Ainu image.

69 Bokutachino Ainu Sengen. Ibid.

70 To similar critiques, OKI specifically replies, “I don’t want to be a professional Ainu. I want to be a professional musician. You know, without leaning on the novelty of Ainu.”


73 “Listening to the testimonies by the Comfort Women.”


76 An essayist, Michiko Saitoh records in her blogsite her sensual experience of Imeruat’s performance in the Fantasy Rock Festival in Kawasaki, Japan in March 2012. “Mina’s singing did not sound like a voice but sounded like a sound of an instrument. Instead of forcing originality by awkwardly matching Ainu music and digital music, their music sounded naturally dynamic. In their sound, the Ainu musical elements and digital music parts seem as if they have sought out each other and are met by the destiny. Mina’s singing did not sound like a voice but sounded like a sound of an instrument.” Saitoh Michiko’s Homemaker Revolution. http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/nmyrw789/8505378.html. Accessed on April 14, 2013.

77 Yokoi. Ibid.

78 Alphonso Lingis’ book, which has the title of The Community of Those Who Have Nothing In Common contemplates on experiences of literary that – the people who have bodies and thus die eventually, in solitude as individuals but also as a group who experiences death, the humans in general.
Do what comes to mind, do what you like: without “reasons,” without valid motives, without “justification.” You don’t have to raise your impulses to the lofty status of categorical imperatives . . . Don’t force yourselves to repeat, don’t congeal your dreams or desires in unique and definitive representations. You have so many continents to explore that if you set up borders for yourselves you won’t be able to “enjoy” all of your own “nature.”

Irigaray, Luce. This Sex Which is not one.

The sites of bodily matters we have discussed in the previous chapters all concern the notion of difference and belonging, especially the imperialist ideological tradition of the notion of the Other. In that tradition, the Other is different from the self: the Other is feminine, evil, foreign, and deformed. Excess and lack in Others’ body is used to fortify the dominance of the masculine Self. In this relationship between Self and Other, the Other always emerge through a referring point of the Self, and as an object to be studied and referred to. The alapana image preserved in a university archive of the war history still poses today the violent force of Othering that works its effect even through its affirmative tone and aesthetic form. Reasonably but interestingly enough the image also reflects the assemblage of Othered peoples in the contemporary intercultural performances in Japan.

The problem of “difference” in the Western philosophy is that it always reverts back to the Self, or in Irigaray’s term, the Same, the dominant power. Even when the difference and minority are valorized and “empowered,” the hierachization of the center over periphery, the standard and lack (or excess) are reinforced in the emphasized signification of the Same vs. the Other. While minority subversive ruptures occur through aggressive hip hop or discussion of the bodily cut by a female subject unless we cease to hold onto the system of signs that dictates the Same or the Other, there is no way to evade
the hierarchization of bodies in signs. OKI DUB Ainu Band in its struggle to make bodies that vibrate in the tonkori sound (and make that the only thing that “matters”) and Imeruat’s electronic music world that uses Mina’s voice as simply a “sound part” of the soundscape (which, as a result reinvents the notion of “Ainu” music from an esoteric ethnic commodity to non-specified sound element of contemporary music) are a few examples of the sound-politics that attempt to achieve such letting-go of signification, by allowing the sound and sensation to take over the meanings and contexts. In this chapter, another scene of soundscape that aspires to dissolve the effect of the system of sign is studied. In this site, we shall see that “difference” is not seen as negative but as a material that becomes essential tool for coexisting and resonating.

Before we immerse ourselves in another scene of soundscape, because difference is a central issue here, we must hear out Luce Irigaray, who questioned the discursive power of signification and its subordinating power. No theorist has delved into the topic as thoroughly and deeply as Irigaray. The differences (which she articulates as “sexual difference”) we discuss here are asserted as the issue of the body; difference is read on the body, and the reading impacts the body. By returning to the material sensations and its “matter-of-factness,” Irigaray calls for imagining a new sense of emerging in the world, as plural, in the body:

So many representations, so many appearances separate us from each other. They have wrapped us for so long in their desire, we have adorned ourselves so often to please them, that we have come to forget the feel of our own skin. Removed from our skin, we remain distant.²

By this statement, Irigaray is not saying there is a truth in the bodily substance that differs from the “many representations.” Irigaray rather points to the politics behind the
representation, the dynamics of “them” projecting their desire and “us” aligning ourselves with “their” fantasy – apparently the ownership of the representation is in them and the whole fantasy stems from and catered toward “their” desire. Irigaray’s call for the feeling of own skin has several dimensions of contestation to this power hierarchy. On is of course reclaiming the agency of representation from “their desire” which imposes oppression on the body of the feminine. As discussed in Chapter 2, donning affects the body’s feeling in multiple layers. If feminine is “wrapped in” someone else’s desire, then the ownership of the body seems displaced to those who have power to wrap the body, and the body bears the feeling that is imposed. The discourse of the body forms the power (or masculine domination) toward the body.

Another is the reclamation of the body as matter. While discourse of representations takes over the site of the body, one forgets how to feel in her own skin, politically and also materially. The recent proliferation of studies of the body in gender studies and US cultural studies seems to be a response to this problem. Irigaray points to the unbalanced degree of attention to the immaterial dimension of the body, but she also instigates alternative force of imagination of the body, not in a stage of representations or discourses, but in the field of corporeal body, flesh as opposed to body as a sign. Discussion of the flesh, corporeal body that is filled with fluid, membrane and the notion of contact, will have to take on another kind of representation outside “their desire” as the masculine desire for the female body seems to focus on lack, hope, space, and darkness. Mucus, labia, and other particularly female forms of sexual difference such as menstrual blood seem to be absent in “their desire.”
Because the feminine difference in “their fantasy” has been only fortifying the power of the Same, the traditional discourse of feminine difference only works to circle back to the power of the Same. Irigaray sharply critiques this dynamics and claim that there is no “female difference.” Irigaray’s analysis of the phallocentric notion of “female difference” explains the struggles and limitations of the “minority” music performance, and suggests the possibilities of coexistence and radical circumventing of the system of signs may be located in our “female” experiencing of bodies and spaces. Below section reads Irigaray’s reclamation of the notion of body, space, and difference in her articulation of “two lips” in This Sex Which Is Not One, and find its validity in a performance scene in Kamuimintara, a space for whatever, facilitated in Japan. Kamuimintara is an area of land purchased by an Ainu man, Taizo Urakawa, and is reserved for any community activity. Traditionally people have camped, visited Taizo, enjoyed nature tours, and held music festival. The following section, with the reading of two lips, considers the possible materialization of Irigaray’s claim for an autonomous difference existing and celebrating on its own in one event scene of Kamuimintara, Powwow for Peace. As this Powwow for Peace was about the body, community, and difference, and filled with the noise that marks the space for all those elements, together with Taizo’s political philosophy that acquired this piece of land, it can be read as a response to a kind of new assemblage that affirms Irigaray’s call for the feminine, and plural, difference(s.)

Irigaray’s Two Lips
Sexual difference, Irigaray articulates, suggests all “differences” that divides people into social groups and hierarchize the groups take place in the masculine domination. Sexual difference to Irigaray is a way of thinking how for female to be “different” from male is not permitted in Western philosophy. In *This Sex Which Is Not One* Irigaray elaborates on the problem of sexual difference, that in the Western philosophical tradition, female sex has been always explained as a lack and deficiency in the light of phallocentric masculine sexual qualities. For example, in “The Power of Discourse and the Subordination of the Feminine,” Irigaray discusses Freud’s subjectification of feminine sexuality giving a “value to Sameness” by asserting “the ‘masculine’ is the sexual model,” and assuring masculine model “its coherence and its closure.” In this sense, sexual difference in neutral does not exist. It never has. Instead, there exists only one sex, which is the masculine. The eminine is always articulated in the fantastic context of the Other sex, and in comparison with the single and dominant sex, masculine. The characters of feminine sex therefore can only exist to complement the only sex, masculine, and by being reduced to this role and definition, feminine sex ceases to exist on its own.

What phallocentrism in the Western philosophical tradition has delineated as sexual difference is thus actually “sexual indifference.” Therefore, sexual difference for Irigaray is something yet to come which “does not yet exist and has not been thought” in our current politico-philosophy. That this thinking of difference has been made impossible is significant in the dynamics of contemporary political philosophy. Racial discrimination, national or ethnic difference, class struggles and theories of ability and disability all take after this hierarchized difference in the actual speaking of Sameness.
and how “the Other” fails to conform with Sameness. How can the Other be an autonomous “other” (or “an/other,”) different on its own without borrowing from and therefore reiterating the power of the standard (thus ceasing to enter into existence only by the masculine)? How can such a political economy built on the linguistic tradition of logos change? The notion of logocentrism (although it has many aspects of theoretical elements,) that is implied by Irigaray points to the way concept is formed by negating what is not – The masculine, Self, and Same can be the masculine, Self, and the Same because it is not the feminine, Other, and difference. The feminine, Other, and difference are all reduced to the negation (lack or excess) Irigaray is skeptical about the change being possible within the logocentric linguistic system and the imagery of phallus that complements it. From this problem of in/difference, Irigaray develops many questions that expose the limitations of the masculine imagination of female sexuality; the kind of differentiation and discrimination that does not allow autonomous difference.

One way to imagine female sexual difference Irigaray suggests, in order to thinking of autonomous female difference, is through the model of two lips. Unlike the phallus, these two lips are plural, viscous, self-touching, and self-caressing. Auto-sexual and dialoguing, the two lips can facilitate the thinking of female sexuality that does not depend on the masculine phallus to exist: A difference that does not subscribe to Sameness. It is ambiguous whether these lips are vaginal or oral, however the ambiguity is politically and theoretically productive – because the ambiguity makes it so that it does not concern the definition by the masculine gaze, and the lips can be both articulate (as in oral lips) and sexual. This is feminine sexual difference that speaks. Differing from the vertical model of masculine sexual symbol, phallus, and its vector, the two lips are
horizontal, which suggests a different political attitude toward the other and toward the world around it, and also more importantly they face each other. In “When our lips speak together,” this ambiguous symbol becomes activated. As we see the site of Kamuimintara Powwow unfurled, we see the participants casually and playfully face with each other and develop a kind of being together that is facilitated by the mode of letting other speak and sound. The model of two lips becomes informative in understanding the political significance of the site. In the below analyses, the point we shall discuss in reading the Kamumintra Popwow are listed.

The two lips convene and discuss how to love each other over the circular direction of the masculine fantasy of “female (in)difference.” Through this model, Irigaray seeks new dialogues about sexual difference(s). In her attempt at new dialogues and imagination of difference, notions as below, which later speak to the site of Kamuimintara and its sonic politics and becoming, are developed:

1. *Whispering and the unofficial sounds*

   In the phallocentrism that aligns with the sexual politics of the Same, there is a heightened attention to the primacy of vision. Erected, singular, and on its own, the phallus does not achieve a politics that concerns a connection to the surrounding. Irigaray’s two lips advocate a model that interacts with each other. The interaction often takes form of whispering, “opening” of the lips and letting out multiple voices. The characteristics of sounds of whispering is generally unofficial, personal, often suggests the presence of multiple consciousness, and
fading into the background. This notion of the whispering multiple is politically significant, in that it rejects the phallocentric nationalist fantasy of one autonomous figure or a voice elected over Others or erected as it has no Other.

2. Politics of touch, pleasure, and sensuality

And as it is felt in the two lips, it is important that the discourse of sexual difference is not reduced to the mere ideas and political discourses of differences. The image of two lips resists the notion that female sexuality is only about being scrutinized, scholarly understood and debated. In fact, the two lips are about touch, sense, pleasure, and eroticism. Sexual autonomy, auto-eroticism, and the desire of the Other is thus not reduced to complement, be cultivated, or emerged only by the male sexuality. At the same time, the two lips are female sexuality being two “Others” reaching out and embracing each other. It is a gesture of love and protection rather than competition of the two.

3. Multiplicity, multitude

It is also important that Irigaray emphasizes the notion of interval, gap, distance in speaking of desire and difference. Irigaray advocates that feminine sexuality and its difference should not reducible or assimilatable to masculine. For differences to exist as plural, each needs to be irreducible to each other. With such difference and distance, the two are able to “touch” or even “caress” each other. This attitude toward the gap and difference gives new meanings to the idea of difference that is stigmatized in the phallocentric tradition. Irigaray’s project
encourages thinking of how multiple differences may coexist productively and lovingly.

We shall analyze the two lips and its significance more in the following. For now, with these three notions in mind, we enter into Kamuimintara, a garden where gods play.

*Kamuimintara – An event site of messy intercultural performance and noise*

Kamuimintara (“The garden where gods play” in Ainu) is hand-built by an Ainu man, Taizo Urakawa, and is located in Chiba prefecture, Japan. Taizo is a brother of Shizue Ukaji, the most eloquent, initiator of the Ainu sovereignty movement in the 1960s in Tokyo, Japan. Her post to a newspaper calling for the Ainu people in Tokyo to “hold hands together” became the foundation of the late Utari Association, which was reorganized and renamed as Ainu Association of Japan. Unlike his sister who single-handedly built a sovereignty movement and still mobilizes many projects, Taizo seems to take a different approach to actualize a new relationship of Ainu and Japanese. Taizo himself never leads any movement but he acts as an advisor (Ekashi – male elder) to many Ainu associations while he continues his managing his machinery disassembly company.

Growing up in the rural Hokkaido, Taizo has experiences in living and working in nature. With his personal anecdotes of going to elementary school with his hunting gun on his shoulders or catching a deer with his bare hands and surviving in mountains, Taizo is known as an eccentric sage whose lovably carefree and brash personality attracts people. Still living woods but driving a flashy BMW while cruising a city, this man is a
well-known character in the Ainu community and among international indigenous activists.


Kamuimintara consists of two log houses, massive open fields, woods and many other matters and is still expanding with some more traditional Ainu style buildings, guest facilities, and unplanned use of the space planned on the site. The site was cultivated personally by Taizo and his driving of heavy machinery on the land. Kamuimintara’s use is officially undefined, but Taizo hopes to present this facility for people’s encountering with each other, as a non-commercial space in which “anyone can come regardless of their difference, a space where the strong and the weak can coexist.”

He supplements this statement in an interview, saying, “This is not an “Ainu” facility,” “I am really not thinking Ainu or Japanese in terms of this place – that is not a concern here.”

His repeated statement that the place is open and the openness must be emphasized clearly by saying “the difference of Ainu or Japanese is not a concern” must be noted. Kamuimintara houses many indigenous festivals and art workshops. Its opening
in 2005 was celebrated by various ceremonies led by international indigenous peoples, including the Maui and Native American tribes. The Powwow for Peace is one, but there have been also indigenous art showcase, wood-carving workshops, and Ainu traditional religious rituals - inomi. If ethnic difference is not a concern, the indigenous color that is predominant in the Kamuimintra cannot be explained. However, the facility website and Taizo’s statement on the website seems to completely avoid a statement that poses Kamuimintara as a multicultural education facility in which people can learn about indigenous culture.

The facility invites many people to visit and spend time with Taizo, if he happens to be there, and stay in the log houses. However the facility is not a profit organization and one does not pay more than a cleaning fee to contribute to the cost of utilities and the minimum maintenance cost. Taizo, who is a taciturn man himself, does not articulate why he went through the tremendous amount of physical and economic investment for this facility. Assuming from his adventurous and playful character, it is possible that this place only exists for his pleasure of building it. Yet again, it was important that the place is next to “the Turtle mountain lake,” the name which has a deep lineage to many indigenous tribes worldwide, he states. With Taizo repeating the place is open for “everyone including the weak and the strong” suggesting both indigenous and non-indigenous people, both the oppressed and the oppressing or dominant population, are included in the invited population. His sister, Shizue huchi, who is usually extremely articulate, just states that she hopes this place will be “a place where people can regain their courage.”
It is interesting that there is not exactly a definition of the space or a political objective that articulates its establishment. One must wonder how Taizo passed the regulation of the municipality and its construction regulation without a clear statement about the place. The avoidance of such legal and political terms and definitions first points to out obsessions of regimenting land and space that is to emphasize that an architecture and space need to have purpose that serve a certain population. Secondly, the avoidance reveals that the ambivalence of the purpose of the facility – calling it a “space for whatever,” may suggest that what Taizo conceptualizes cannot neatly fit into our language of economy and legality.

While Taizo is finished with explaining (not on our account but most likely to him the explanation part is finished) about simply the place but enjoys the facility, perhaps what is not a concern is, whether or not a particular ethnic difference is to be represented or privileged in this site, or how the place is defined and to whom these indigenous arts and knowledge are communicated, (a specification of the target audience and participants of the events,) but what the place can do and what can happen at Kamuimintara. This observation of course reminds of Deleuze and Guattari’s well-known comment on the body:

> We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition without other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or to join with it in composing a more powerful body.\(^{14}\)

Known as the Spinozist question, by this statement about the body and its capacity, Deleuze and Guattari “avoided defining a body.”\(^{15}\) Instead they have asked, not a purpose or ethics given to define a body but, what affect a body can have in relationship to other
bodies, what intensity of life it can manifest, what “affects and becomings” it can materialize.\textsuperscript{16}

If we take the same approach for not identifying what the place is and is for, but focusing on what can become, then we may align ourselves with the innovativeness of this project Taizo has facilitated. Becoming may be an adequate concept for this place. Deleuze and Guattari poses becoming as a way to delineate the limit of being. Being as a static entity is about consolidate and sustain identity and coherency, and it does not expect or allow future possibility of matter or a situation (see the discussion of the virtuality in Chapter 3.) Instead, the notion of becoming to emphasize the fluid shifting of an entity in time, power, and its relationship to the forces around (“affected,”) and also desubjectification that occurs with it, may better frame the vibrant possibilities that is allowed for this space for whatever. If Kamuimintara is a space for becoming, then it may explain the positive ambivalence that Taizo keeps about the space. What happens there he may not have planned it, but at least he reserved a space in which many things can happen. These “many things” that can happen in Kamuimintara apparently involve the encounters of multiple bodies and cultures.

To some extent, the kind of happenings that may be possible there are already facilitated -- they involve intercultural encounters. The location of Chiba, Japan, where Kamuimintara is established, is known as a suburb of Tokyo, but is characterized by its own rural and regional status (the differentiation of New York and New Jersey may fit in the same type of politico-cultural dynamics.) The location of Kamuimintara is also deep in the woods and not so easily accessible. One must be fairly intentional to bring a body of international indigenous groups visiting and interacting with the visitors and locals.
But intentional of what? The space for whatever – In Kamuimintara, one can camp or have nature tour, or meet Taizo to simply talk with him regardless of whether there is an event happening. In the purposeless nature of the garden where gods play, visitors can be a sensing and sensible flow of the bodies in the space rather than a student, activist, or customers. Once again, the unmarked space is infinitely open to unofficial (read: state-uncensored) and potential encounters of people, nature, and sounds. It is at least possible to say that that Taizo, by his not defining the use of the space but facilitating a meeting point for various bodies, made possible for Kamuimintara to materialize multiple becomings without signs, histories, and identities intervening. The following analysis on Kamuimintara Powwow for Peace shall validate this observation.

*Powwow for Peace as a soundscape*

One example for such physical and affective encounters happened in Kamuimintara is an intercultural event, called “Kamuimintara Powwow for Peace” in September, 2009. The title may sound elaborate, however, unlike many commercial Powwows in the United States, this rather random and disorganized event did not have an agenda other than dances and songs led by few and random people who attended the festival. The attendants were local Japanese residents, Ainu people, indigenous artists and musicians from Canada, the US, Southeast Asia and New Zealand. The event was extremely casual, and it was especially so since there was no schedule or reservation, no set stage or mark of a dance field. The location of Kamuimintara itself is fairly unmarked as there is no fence or gate, only a sign that says “Kamuimintara” is on the entrance of the log house that stands barely visible from the public road.
On the day of the Powwow for Peace, also there was no sign as the event was simply held “around” the log house inn the open field. It was not particularly a beautiful day, just cloudy and rather humid. The event began with a kamuinomi ichalpa, an Ainu prayer ceremony. After the ceremony the various groups in ethnic attires (and their ethnic identities were often not always explained, so people just saw some clothing that is not common in contemporary Japan) and together with men in their work clothes (towel on their heads, loose baggy pants) gathered and some women proceeded to sing. There was no rigid program although there was a microphone through which some people made announcements on the program. The performer(s) may choose to explain what they would sing, or simply proceed into the song itself. The program itself may be characterized as casual, and even lacking organization.

The audience continued coming, and many of them were friends of the singers/dancers or local people. Since there was no seating area designated, people sat where they could, some using portable beach chairs they brought. There were many children, who would rather not sit but take liberty of the openness of the space. The large ratio of the children indicated that many decided to make a family outing to see this event. What was most noticeable in that day at Kamuimintara was noise. A Navajo woman stood in the midst of the crowd to sing an old Navajo song. People with Asian indigenous attire accompanied with their drums. To the drum sounds people clapped to follow the beat. While the Navajo woman continued though the noise of children playing or crying, people eating and chattering, music and car noise, dogs barking also accompanied. An Ainu woman began singing and shows the dance movement that goes with the song. The other Ainu women in their robes followed movement with the international guests and
the local people in their casual attire. The Navajo guest participants seem to enjoy learning new dances. All noise was allowed as the singing went on with the noise, and unlike any formal music event in which one performance is privileged over other noise, Powwow for Peace allowed a kind of listening that emerged in mutual sounding: that the listening was conducted not in silence but in the amicable noise proliferating by the people.

It was apparent that the festival was not so much of a show. The participants’ role is to participate in the space, the gathering, and making the sound and bodily movements. The cacophony created a comfortable conviviality for the bodies that were passing through this assemblage.

While people gathered, there was cooking started. The scent of country soup in Hokkaido style reminded the Japanese guests of the mundane home kitchen and nothing formal, only this smell wafted outside with the wind, slightly mixed with the smell of dust and trees. With the smell different sound of drums and singing continued on and on with dances of various native communities with no set order. No specific culture was primarily featured or promoted, and no political report on indigenous issues was made. Instead, whoever decided to lead has led the dance, and the participants followed with laughter, emulating the movement. Most of those dances are for community bonding and it does not require special training. Taking turns to follow a leader and easily participating, the attendants seemed to assume no distinct leadership or a studentship. What people may see as “ethnic” elements in another occasion was simply introduced as something they do by moving their bodies.
**Irigaray at the garden where gods play**

Throughout that day, Kamuimintara saw people entering in and out and materialized its openness. Multiple movements and scattered bodies coming together in some dance movements at one moment, dispersing for the bowl of soup at another. The small vans and trucks continued to drive in and out, and dogs barking, and children crying and people laughing – the randomness was something of a rural communal scene. Here we bring in Irigaray again, and the three observations made in the previous section in this chapter from her articulation of two lips:

1. *Whispering and the unofficial sounds*

2. *Politics of touch, pleasure, and sensuality*

3. *Multiplicity, multitude*

inform us to assist ourselves enter further into what happened at Kamuimintara that day.

Whispering. In Irigaray’s “When Our Lips Speak Together,” the lips are constantly speaking but they do so to each other. As the two lips are the female sexual organs, and of the female difference in its autonomous way that is irrelevant of the male fantasy of an erected, singular, phallus. The voices of the two lips which adamantly refuse to be one or two (“especially not one,” they say, as one voice raised over the other is a characteristic of masculine singularity,) are the voices of non-masculine, non-dominance. These voices are kindly and softly speaking to each other, (notice the comforting tone in “don’t cry,” “kiss me,” “speak to me,” “wait.” In all those callings, the context of lips speaking to each other shows that the words are given not as an act of violence, but as an act of comfort, caress, by not even differentiating “you” or “me” but
in the ambiguity they achieve intimacy. The reason Powwow for Peace achieved such a soundscape of intimacy is that there were not only multiple of sounds of mundane emotions (crying, chattering, laughing, and lullaby) but no sound, song, or statement was elevated as one primary voice and the relationship of each sound, as sonicwaves, was intimate, in that it did not mark separate space or identity. If anything, these sounds together marked a sphere of vibrancy, in which the sensations were being generated, affecting the bodies that were present.

Whispering of the two lips is never an official and authoritarian voice. The politics of whispering is that it disturbs divided spaces for the sound, the time allocated for a separate speeches. But whispering seeps between and behind those authorized “speeches” and even betrays and disturbs the domination of the speaker’s voice. It is very easy to see the fantasy of the singular authority of a phallus visually, but suppose around the phallus there were multiple whispering (and even the chaos of cacophony at the Powwow) then would the authority of phallus not seem (or sound) challenged in the multidirectional and scattered noise? As open as the Kamuimintara is, the space was framed in the context of performance event. In this frame, (I am not claiming that the noise is the two lips speaking,) the cacophony seemed to embody the politics that alters the hierarchy posed by the visual-phallic-vertical-erection. By the uncontrollable mundane sounds occurring in multiple directions specially in the space where political discourses had probed the function of the indigenous man’s intention for building the facility, the phallic politics of vision was altered and subverted in the switch of senses, from the solid visual imagery to aural scatteredness.
Touch, pleasure, sensuality. Simply explaining the songs at powwow as does not explain the tenderness of the sound and the affect of the soundscape they created. Like taste, the sound cannot be fully explained. One must hear it to sense it. While the privilege of hearing the sound is reserved for the actual participants of the event, we can only imagine through a description here. A woman in her indigenous robe in the midst of an event introduced a song (or rather, oral sound-making) that emulates the bird singing.

“Ott hhora hhora hhora hhora…”

This song was a lullaby, used to pacify a crying child. In the ever-whispering field with the comfortable chattering and cacophony of living things, her song lulled who were present.

“Ott hhora hhora hhora…”

One only needed to have been a child once to understand the lulling affect of her song. With her voice, the event place has become a place of touch, caress. Apparently the lullaby must sound like a sound caressing to function as pacifying a child. Indeed a sound can caress in many ways, by physical sonicwaves (vibration,) with its rhythm, with the softness of the tone, with repetition. If anyone has a bodily memory of being caressed by his or her maternal figure, without knowing Ainu culture or what Ainu is or has been, the bodily memory works to replay the soothing. The soundscape of Kamuimintara at that moment became an intimate sphere in which bodies (may not have “shared” the sensation but) were being caressed by the sound and sharing the affect of being lulled.
Irigaray reminds us that touching requires also being touched. Reading the lullaby as a sound-touching is not to use the word “touching” as simply an analogy for the intimate affect. To hear the sound, we must be exposed to it. To be touched and affected to the sound, we must be tuned into it. As cacophonous as the place was, the magical emphasis of the sound in the bodies and the bodies’ vulnerability to it came, not because the lullaby took over the space for the sound (as the phallus would have if it could sound) but because the listeners’ bodies were turning their sensory organs to the waves of the lullaby, ready to be touched by the sound. The sensory organs, skin and cells, together with the bodily memories of one’s (or someone else’s, it should not matter in the politics of the lips, the lips argue) childhood, (and it is not a conscious or visual memory, it is a memory particularly stored in the body,) in the dynamics of listening and sounding, allowed the affective sound-caressing and mutual caressing of the bodies. The transformation of the senses by the shifting of the songs and sounds at the event materialized a kind of sonic becoming (that is accompanied by loving and caressing.) Remember, the two lips are self-caressing. They would not specify “you” or “me.” In the sensual moment of self-touching, the distinction and object-subject relationship are undone. The moment of the lullaby in its sound-caressing asserts that a cacophony such as at the Powwow site can materialize a sense of being in one’s body while being in a multitude, a sense of self-touch.

Multiplicity, multitude. The whispering and touching was made possible by the noise (created by multiple bodies,) but not by the fact that there were numerically equal and diverse representation of the ethnic groups at the scene. The ethnic groups were present, but nonetheless, the sense (sound) of multiplicity was achieved not so much by
identities, such as gender, ethnicity, economic classes, political positions, but by
corporeal sensations of multiple bodies in a soundscape. Borrowing from Taizo’s phrase,
ethnic and other identity difference was “not a concern” at the powwow. What was
concern at the site was that the different bodies were sounding and touching each other
by the sound: multiple forms of sounds (whisper, animal sounds [of dogs and birds,]
human-animal sound [unspecifiable cry or scream that can be either or between human
and animal’s, or neither]) constantly shifting the relationship (or proximity) of the bodies
not visually but aurally.

Unlike hip hop, dub, and electronic music mentioned in Chapter Three, the songs
and movements in the open cacophony in this event did not predicate a certain group of
audience, neither did it so much create a community, such as a community of minority,
youth, underground, rebellious, urban, and subversive, or cosmopolitan - the
identification that supports the parameter of perspective, positionality, or boundary. A
perspective is, according to Brian Massumi, “a mark of codifying capture: a demarcation
of the space of interruption. A perspective is an anti-event-space.” While Massumi asserts
the imperative use of such perspective as a building block for an event-space, in this
Kamuimintara powwow, perspective was not something participants pursued. The
surrounding noise and laughter implies that there was massive immersion to the sounds
and movements of the event, immersion to bodily sensations, with which the soundscape
allowed multiple layers of becoming. Rather than a community of the Same or a
community of identarian belonging, there was an assemblage of the bodies feeling and
becoming, messily and cacophonously. In the affective sonic becoming, since “all were
invited,” a new sense of bodily belonging was made possible by the corporeality of
sensations. The noise was covering and embracing the bodies. Perhaps a new sense of coexistence does not need to appear peaceful or organized. It does not have to be studied in perspectives or analyses. Indeterminate and fluid, and more importantly corporeal and affective, the site of immanent conviviality was and would be infinitely cacophonous.

Here we return to Irigaray again to say more on the two lips. Irigaray is clear that she sees the phallocentric understanding of difference (as a lack, aversion, and derivation) as applicable to understanding other othered difference or in/difference in society, “whether it be differences in race, age, culture, and religion.” Since Irigaray thinks of the problem of sexual difference as a model of many phallocentric, white-normative and imperial differentiation of others, her model of two lips may be useful in imagining a mode of an/other type of “becoming” that resists masculine signification and identity.

Neither Taizo nor the Powwow site claims that they are advocating an alternative worldview or innovative politics in the becoming of the soundscape. However, the affect of the event scene of the powwow presents the virtuality of such a new becoming. The sensation aroused by the sounds was moving how people felt in their body as well as how they felt and faced with each other.

Because Irigaray is interested in this notion of inter-relation, exchange of both sexes, the possible difference of feminine sexuality, more precisely a possibility of plurality becomes important. “If we keep on speaking sameness . . . we will miss each other. [. . .] How can I touch you if you’re not there?” This question is Irigaray’s reminder about the basic economy of touch, that it takes more than a singular one for a
touch to occur. Unlike the singular model to whom otherness only functions as a mirror, the attention of two lips is open toward others (and the openness suggest future possibilities, the virtualities), and the possibility of female sexual difference is articulated as a question of how to live with others and take pleasure in the living.

Two lips are plural, open, and loving (touching, caressing) and sensual in themselves. Unlike the phallic aggressive way of viewing the other sex, two lips suggest interrelation within a self, made possible by the plurality of the lips. Their openness suggest her willingness to relate to others, seeing a relation with other (embracing, caressing) possible for future. By seeking a way for both sexes to love each other with multidirectional caressing, this relationship suggest in the two lips is not a release, ejaculation, or conclusion, but a continuous process of pleasure. With the two lips Irigaray reveals a new direction for a possibility of what sexual difference can bring, (again, if there can be sexual difference and not indifference,) and boundary that creates difference; a direction that leads not to oppression, but to conviviality.20

In “When our lips speak together,” the lips speak to each other as plural beings. “We are luminous. Neither one nor two” (207). When the speaker needs to be differentiated as “you” or “I,” it is clear that such division and differentiation are resisted, for the lips are not entirely two but merges into one, and into the body. Within the text the reader can also hear the female/lips speaking to each other about masculine subjective discourse of femininity “So they think we’re indifferent. Doesn’t that make you laugh?” (208) This voice(s,) however, instead of speaking back, suggests not to react but seeks to create another way of “becoming.” “If we play along, we let ourselves be abused,
destroyed” (211), this is a voice that is aware that “the prison of logos”\(^{21}\) includes women involuntarily. Thus she asks,

\[
\text{[h]ow can we speak so as to escape from their compartments, their schemas, their distinctions and oppositions [. . .] How can we shake off the chain of these terms, free ourselves from their categories, rid ourselves of their names? Disengage ourselves, alive, from their concepts? (212)}
\]

If this is a voice of feminized other, then the question can also serve as a project for many such others who seek to find themselves embracing and taking pleasure, outside the phallocentric and logocentric system of signification. As Ainu performers (such as Mina and OKI, but also the huchi in the Pirka Kotan in Chapter One,) seek to disengage this “chain” through various sonic and performance attempts, it seems similar movements that embody such question are happening in intercultural performance and transnational indigenous music scenes today.

Finally, the question of signification is very much a question of affect and belonging, as our alapana in the introduction and Chapter 2 demonstrates. For instance, when Irigaray calls for the radically autonomous feminine difference, she advocates for possibilities of self-caressing, co-belonging: a new and loving way of becoming with others. While Irigaray does not specifically discuss the notion of “belonging” it is at least clear that what Irigaray seeks is a way of living with others in which sexual differences are not ignored, suppressed, or co-opted for a dominance to overrule. While much of signification and representation are discussed with the incorporeal dimension of the body, Irigaray seems to argue that it is the sexual difference (that originates in the sexed bodily differences) and how to live with the differences that bring out the persistent problem of
sexual politics. Her insistence on the sexual difference, however, also seems to point to Irigaray’s desire for the productive way of embracing the sexual difference and sensual pleasure.

If Taizo’s statements ever echo any of the politics of female sexual difference in Irigaray’s thought, it could be the fact that he stated “Ainu or Japanese is not a concern” while he also stated “both the weak and the strong are welcomed.” For Taizo, perhaps it is not that the difference does not matter, but the difference brought together in a place such as Kamuimintara, he may believe, would bring out something creative, loving, chaotic, but nonetheless productive for our ways of living with others. No erasure of difference, neglecting the difference, or reduction of differences in an excuse of multiculturalism would achieve this productive caressing and sensual pleasure. This may be overstating already for Taizo, who chooses not to speak, but to act on the materialization of such a space and occasions. However, Taizo’s statements for the Kamuimintara, read together with artists’ statements such as Mina’s and OKI’s, convinces that the new activisms in the contemporary transnational Ainu spheres advocate for bodily differences and sensations of gathering and sounds, assemblage, and what they may open to the future. Sexual difference then is a vital (bodily) material for the co-caressing. While the sound caresses, the cacophony of Kamumintara may materializes the desire of the two (and not two) lips.
2 Ibid. 218.
3 Ibid. 73.
4 Ibid. 72.
6 In “The Question of the Other,” http://www.47news.jp/CN/200411/CN2004112801001282.html Irigaray speaks of the significant difference between “the Other” and “an/other” regarding Simon de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*. Irigaray mentions the episode of a mistranslation in the phrase, “the Other woman” which reinforces the notion that the woman is the second sex. Irigaray’s project is indeed on the contrary finding a way to articulate an/other sexuality that does not support the first and the model sex, masculine. 95:9.
7 1985: 73.
8 In *This Sex Which Is Not One*. 205-218.
9 Shizue Urakawa opened an Ainu craft gallery in Tokyo, while mobilized her idea to make a documentary film about Ainu people with independent filmmakers, and encourage new music projects with young artists, including Mina Sakai.
11 Interview with Taizo Urakawa in the opening ceremony of the documentary film, *Tokyo Ainu* in 2010.
13 Opening ceremony interview at Kamuimintara. Ibid.
14 Deleuze and Guattari. 1987, 257.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid. 256.
19 TS 205.
20 This notion of co-existence should not be simply reduced to sexual intercourse. What Irigaray is seeking is more than finding a value of female sexual/reproductive organs catering to reproduction alone. It is about existing with difference. It is also not to be confused with the idealistic notion of “peaceful coexistence” which Irigaray denies speaking of (TS 130). Again, Irigaray speaks of co-existence of difference beyond and outside of “an economy of ‘sameness’” (TS 130).


Kidachi, Masaaki (*Tenjiku Tokujiro and Ainu patterns*, 2010, November.)


