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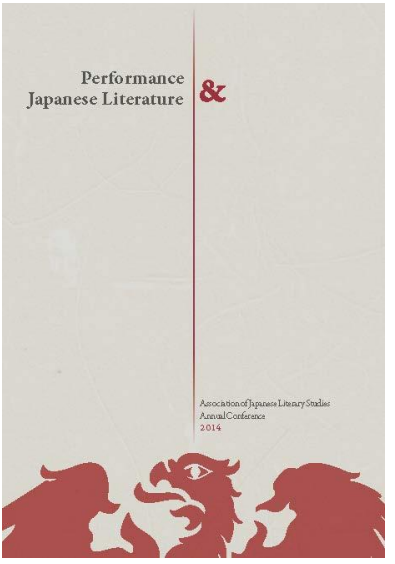

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Jinruikan (The Human Pavilion) and Performing Okinawa: Constructed Knowledge, Linguistic Difference, & War Memory

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> *The parodic repetition of gender exposes as well the illusion of gender identity as an intractable depth and inner substance. As the effects of a subtle and politically enforced performativity, gender is an "act," as it were, that is open to splittings, self-parody, self-criticism, and those hyperbolic exhibitions of "the natural" that, in their very exaggeration, reveal its fundamentally phantasmatic status.*
> -Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*

Jinruikan (The Human Pavilion, 1976), by the late Okinawan playwright Chinen Seishin (1941-2013), is one of the most highly regarded works of contemporary Okinawan drama and literature.[1] First published and performed in 1976 in Okinawa, the screenplay later appeared in the mainland Japanese journal *Teatoru* (Theater) in 1977, resulting in additional performances in Okinawa and mainland Japan before it was awarded the 22nd Kishida Kunio Drama Award in 1978. Since then the play has been reprinted and anthologized numerous times, was revived for performance under the direction of the author in 2003 to coincide with the 100th anniversary of the "The Human Pavilion incident" (*jinruikan jiken*) of 1903, and recently was selected for inclusion in volume 20 of the 75th Anniversary Shūeisha collection, *Sensō to Bungaku* (War and Literature), published in 2012.[2]

As critics and scholars have observed, *The Human Pavilion* exposes the colonial structures of power between Japan and Okinawa and accompanying notions of Japanese racial, ethnic, and cultural superiority that Okinawans have internalized—and challenged—since the former Ryūkyūan Kingdom's dispensation and annexation into Japan in the late 19th century. The play makes evident how Okinawan identity is performative, both producing and produced

[1] See Shinjō Ikuo's evaluation of *Jinruikan*, "Sakuhin kaisetsu" in *Okinawa bungaku-sen: Nihon bungaku no ejji kara no toi*, ed. Okamoto Keitoku and Takahashi Toshio (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003), 276-77. For a review of the play in English, see Senda Akihiko, "Laughing Okinawa: Anthropology Museum," in *The Voyage of Contemporary Japanese Theater*, trans. J. Thomas Rimer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 97-100.

[2] *Jinruikan* has been reprinted, among other places, in *Okinawa bungaku zenshū: Gikyoku II*, in *Okinawa bungaku zenshū*, vol. 11, ed. Okinawa Bungaku Zenshū Henshū Iinkai (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1994), 96-130; *Okinawa bungaku-sen: Nihon bungaku no ejji kara no toi*, ed. Okamoto Keitoku and Takahashi Toshio (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2003), 244-75; and *Okinawa owaranu sensō*, in *Korekushon sensō to bungaku*, vol. 20, ed. Asada Jirō et al. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2012), 80-153. This article references the *Okinawa bungaku-sen* edition from 2003.

within the complicated matrix of political, cultural, and military power that structures Okinawa's past and ongoing relationship with Japan and the United States. After annexation, Okinawans were coerced and forced to adopt Japanese cultural, intellectual, and linguistic practices, and were interpellated as inferior or more primitive Japanese requiring assimilation into the Japanese Empire.

Within the context of Okinawa's relationship of colonial subordination to Japan, in which Okinawans have been constructed as imperfect Japanese, the subversive moments of parody, private ridicule, and contradictory juxtaposition that appear in *The Human Pavilion* repeatedly underscore the transgressive and disruptive potential that such performances of Okinawanness hold for exposing the "phantasmatic status" of "the natural"-ness of Okinawa's cultural and racial inferiority to Japan. Furthermore, the revealing of the supposed Japanese ringmaster as an Okinawan at the end of the play points to the performativity of Japaneseness and all identities generally. Such identities are created through the enactment of discursively constructed behaviors. Parodical moments of discursive slippage, however, are contrasted with the context of the Battle of Okinawa, when Japanese soldiers escalated the disciplining of, and violence directed at, Okinawans. This led to instances of execution for any who spoke Okinawan, to the raping of Okinawan women, and to coerced group suicides of Okinawan civilians. Hence, although the play unsettles and dislodges reified and naturalized Japanese notions of Okinawanness that have been mobilized in the twentieth century, highlighting the constructed nature of Okinawan identity through repetitive parody, it also suggests the limits of a politics of performativity that resides primarily in the discursive when confronted with immediate physical violence, discipline, and death. The potential of a politics of performativity may be powerful enough to dislodge entrenched discursive notions of identity, but it may be limited, indeed precarious, in the face of immediate material violence provoked by its transgressive potential

Butler's notion of performativity asserts that, rather than expressions of a presumed essence, identities are produced through the enactment of certain behaviors that are regulated by a dominant discourse. Accordingly, Butler locates agency within the "practices of repetitive signifying"[3] that operate within the matrix of power not in order "to replicate uncritically relations of domination,"[4] but to offer dislocations of the rules and discourse of signification. Hence, at the same time performance reproduces the codes that govern and shape meaning, it can potentially dislodge and disrupt those very codes. I am utilizing Butler's notion of performativity to analyze not only how *The Human Pavilion* stages acts of identity performance to expose the very "phantasmic" status of Okinawan and Japanese relations of inferiority and superiority, but also to account for how such performances are situated within intricate relations of domination. By

[3] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 145.
[4] Ibid, 30.

revealing at the end of the play that the vehicle of discipline in the drama, the supposed Japanese ringmaster, is himself Okinawan, Chinen critically exposes how the discourse of Japanese Imperial Subjectivity has been internalized and performed/produced by Okinawans. *The Human Pavilion* not only presents moments of repetitive signification of Okinawan and Japanese identities that subvert their supposed naturalness, but also shows how hegemonic discourse and relations of domination shape their articulation and production. Applying Butler's notion of performativity to the text highlights both the productive and restrictive aspects of performing identities and subjectivities, as presented in the play. Performativity in this sense is enmeshed within the structures of power that constitute the categories of difference and relations of dominance that it can potentially disrupt.

Fluid Time Setting and Historical Montage

Through the play's juxtaposition of un-sequenced and ahistorical incidents and contexts from Okinawa's past, *The Human Pavilion* highlights how Japanese acts of racial and ethnic discrimination against Okinawans have not been confined to one moment in the past. By referencing and appearing to be a re-enactment of "The Human Pavilion incident" of 1903 in which Okinawans, Ainu, and other ethnic minorities in Japan and other parts of Asia were put on display at the *gakujutsu jinruikan* (Academic Human Pavilion) in Osaka, *The Human Pavilion* places the issue of Okinawan racial and ethnic discrimination within Japan at the center of the play. During the historical "Human Pavilion incident," two women from Okinawa were displayed next to various items and objects labeled as "Ryūkyūan," with explanations about their customs and lifestyle. Severe criticism of the display published in the Okinawan newspaper *Ryūkyū Shimpō*, along with protests by Okinawans living on the Japanese mainland, brought an end to the display of the two Okinawans.[5]

Despite this apparent 1903 setting, the play's reference to and movement through later historical eras and incidents in Okinawa's pre-, inter-, and postwar periods, indicates a larger and more fluid historical context and suggests the persistence of discrimination long after the incident. After the opening scene places the viewers of the play in the position of visitors to the 1903 Human Pavilion, the play immediately dislodges this temporal assignation via the introductory explanations coming from a man appearing as a circus ringmaster. Invoking the "Universal Principle of Humanity" (*jinrui fuhen no genri*) that all people are equal, the "ringmaster" decries discrimination as the scourge of ignorance and asks the audience to feel sympathy for the indigenous and aboriginal peoples on display for their conditions of poverty and depravity.[6] Rather than the intellectual and political discourse of Meiji era Japan, however,

[5] Although it should be noted that the other so-called indigenous people continued to be put on display, as the Okinawan protests did not demand their removal.
[6] Chinen, *Jinruikan*, 244-45.

the phrase "Universal Principle of Humanity" anachronistically invokes ideas and principles from Japan's 1947 postwar constitution of the US occupation period. The hypocrisy and irony of invoking universal principles of human equality while displaying human beings for a scientific exhibit simultaneously critique the ideology of Japanese racial and ethnic superiority from the Meiji Era along with the inconsistencies of the Universal Principles of Humanity as espoused by the postwar US occupation policies and the actual treatment of Okinawans under these policies.

Anachronistic references to places, conditions, and events in Okinawa's post Meiji and postwar history work to further destabilize the play's initial temporal setting of the 1903 Human Pavilion incident and highlight how the discriminatory stance and attitude toward Okinawans has been a recurring feature of Japan-Okinawan relations. During his description of Ryūkyūan social customs and practices, the ringmaster alludes to the Sotetsu Hell (*sotetsu jigoku*) of the 1920s in Okinawa when he (mis)informs the audience that the Ryūkyūan diet consists entirely of potatoes as well as a poisonous plant called the *sotetsu* (Cyad).[7] After the ringmaster leaves the Ryūkyū Hall, leading the pavilion visitors to view African aboriginals, the Ryūkyūan man and woman on display begin a conversation that thoroughly dislodges the play from its presumed 1903 time setting by mentioning the US military bases and by discussing bar towns and the Okinawan prostitution and base-entertainment industry, suggesting Okinawa of the 1960-1970s.[8] By ostensibly situating the play temporally and spatially in the 1903 Pavilion of Humanity while simultaneously referencing and moving through various subsequent historical moments, Chinen highlights the recurring, ongoing, and persistent nature of Japanese acts of racial and ethnic discrimination against Okinawans which constitute the discourse of Okinawa's subordination and inferiority to Japan.

Stereotypes and Distorted Knowledge

The Human Pavilion also denaturalizes and dismantles the objective, scientific, external Japanese gaze and perspective by highlighting distorted and superficial Japanese understandings of Okinawan culture, people, and behavior. These understandings constitute the hegemonic discourse that constructs Okinawanness. This denaturalization first appears in the ringmaster's inaccurate explanation of Ryūkyūan cultural practices and appearances to visitors to The Human Pavilion. When the aforementioned Okinawan man and woman are first introduced by the ringmaster, he confidently describes the Okinawan woman as hairy, pointing to her exposed leg on display and declaring, "Isn't it hairy, look at the straight black hair like that of a hedgehog." The stage directions,

[7] For a brief explanation of *sotetsu jigoku* (sotetsu hell), see *Okinawa o shiru jiten*, ed. *Okinawa o shiru jiten* Henshū Iinkai (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshieetsu, 2000), 236.
[8] Chinen, *Jinruikan*, 247.

however, indicate that the woman's actual leg is not as hairy as described.[9] This inaccurate description of the Okinawan woman's leg foregrounds a stereotypical characterization of Okinawan physiology as different from and more primitive than that of Japanese, regardless of the visual evidence to the contrary.

The ringmaster's distorted and superficial knowledge of Okinawa is reiterated with the decontextualized and misrepresented references to *sotetsu*, the poisonous Cyad plant, as part of the Okinawan diet. To be sure, at one time in the 1920s the collapse of the sugar cane market left Okinawans without money or edible crops, forcing starving Okinawans to eat the poisonous *sotetsu* plant after painstakingly and carefully preparing the plant for consumption to avoid being poisoned.[10] Yet the ringmaster's explanation fails to disclose the surrounding context, reasons, and historical conditions for this state of affairs. By misrepresenting *sotetsu* as part of Okinawa's cultural diet, the ringmaster displays how incomplete and de-contextualized knowledge informs and produces mainstream Japanese (mis)understandings of Okinawan customs and people. Through this depiction the play ridicules the incomplete and misinformed knowledge upon which Japanese authority and knowledge produces its own position of expertise and superiority.

Linguistic Difference

The Human Pavilion also shows how the discourse of Japanese identity and Imperial subjectivity simultaneously and contradictorily relies on the logic of essentialist inclusion and exclusion of Okinawans. Interpolated as primitive Japanese, Okinawans were constructed as essentially Japanese, yet not as culturally or politically advanced as their Japanese "brethren." After Okinawa was annexed by Japan in 1879, the Japanese government enacted policies to acculturate and assimilate Okinawans into the Japanese Empire, including intense Japanese language education. Despite linguistic differences between Ryūkyūan (Okinawan) and Japanese that render monolingual speakers of each language mutually unintelligible to each other, during the Meiji era the similarities and relationship between the two languages were emphasized, with Ryūkyūan/Okinawan discursively downgraded to a dialect of Japanese.[11] Within this configuration, Okinawa was included as historically, culturally and linguistically part of Japan at the same time it was excluded as imperfect, primitive and different from Japan. The Meiji government used similarities between the Ryūkyūan/Okinawan and Japanese languages as linguistic and cultural evidence of the legitimacy of Japan's sovereign and political claims over

[9] Ibid, 246.
[10] *Okinawa o shiru jiten*, 236.
[11] Fija Bairon, Matthias Brenzinger, and Patrick Heinrich, "The Ryukyus and the New, But Endangered, Languages of Japan," in *Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 19.2 (September, 2009), accessed February 15, 2014, http://www.japanfocus.org/-Matthias-Brenzinger/3138.

the islands, while it used differences as the basis for policies of acculturation and discrimination against Okinawans.

The Human Pavilion mocks Japan's discursive logic of inclusion and exclusion by highlighting moments of linguistic play and negotiation by the Okinawan man and woman in the face of the Japanese ringmaster's disciplinary gaze. In the play, after the Okinawan man refuses to eat the potatoes supplied by the ringmaster, his Japanese spirit and loyalty is questioned, leading to forced verbal repetitions of the phrase, "Tennou heika banzai" (Long live the Emperor).[12] The Okinawan man repeatedly mispronounces "banzai" with an Okinawan inflection, uttering "banjai" over and over again, infuriating the ringmaster. As a result, the ringmaster places a *hōgen fuda* or "dialect tag" around the Okinawan man's neck, scolding him for his failure. The appearance of the "dialect tag" critically parodies the action of school teachers in Okinawa who forced students to wear this kind of tag if they spoke in Okinawan at school, a form of discipline practiced in both the prewar and postwar eras in Okinawa.[13] After the ringmaster leaves the stage, thus removing the watchful gaze of discipline, the Okinawan man and Okinawan woman purposefully utter the phrase in unison, mispronouncing "Tennou heika banzai" as "Teinou heika banjai." They not only inflect the "z" to a more Okinawan "j" but also mispronounce "Tennou" (heavenly ruler/emperor) as "Teinou" (mentally deficient/ imbecile). Hence, Chinen's play portrays how language and linguistic expression are both a site of regulatory discipline as well as the possible disruption of discursive power.

In addition to this specific moment of conscious parody and subversion, for most of the play the Okinawan man and woman use a linguistic mixture of Japanese (Yamatoguchi) with Okinawan (Uchinaaguchi), called *Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi* in Okinawa.[14] The repeated utilization of this linguistic register marks the productive agency of Okinawans through their transgression of language boundaries at the same time that it indicates their partially internalized acquisition of the Japanese language. Language and linguistic performance, themselves components of the performance of identity, are simultaneously sites of regulatory discipline as well as potential resistance and subversion.

While incomplete mastery of the Japanese language has historically been internalized as embarrassing and a sign of inferiority by Okinawans, *The Human Pavilion* uses linguistic slippage and the instability of meaning within Japanese itself to expose how linguistic misunderstanding is not always because of a lack of Japanese language proficiency. Chinen uses the instability of the Japanese language and expected meaning to undercut the ringmaster's display of coercive power during his forced interrogation and berating of the

[12] Chinen, *Jinruikan*, 253.

[13] See Kondō Kenichirō, "Kindai Okinawa ni okeru hōgen fuda no shutsugen," in *Okinawa toi o tateru 2: Hōgen fuda: kotoba to shintai*, ed. Kondō Kenichirō (Tokyo: Shakai Hyōronsha, 2008), 18-24.

[14] Sometimes this is written in katakana as Uchinaa-Yama*tu*guchi (ウチナーヤマトゥグチ). My emphasis.

two Okinawans. In contrast to the "teinou heika banjai" scene in which the Okinawan/ Uchinaaguchi reconfiguration of a Japanese slogan is spoken in semi-privacy, the "hachimae/haku" scene unfolds under the watchful gaze of the ringmaster. In the latter scene the ringmaster berates the Okinawan man with a litany of accusations, demanding that he utter the reason for refusing to eat and that he respond to the ring master's questions. During the berating, the setting changes into a military or police interrogation room.[15] As the Ringmaster yells "Hurry up and spit it out! Confess, say it, own up!" ("Haichimae!"), the Okinawan man takes this to mean "to throw up, vomit, expel from one's stomach," as this is the primary meaning listed in the dictionary for the Japanese word "haku." He then begins recounting scenes of blood and death from a compulsory group suicide that made him want to throw up.[16] This response by the Okinawan works as an allusion to historical incidents, as well as the play's own earlier depiction, of the berating of Okinawans for their inability to speak proper Japanese. At the same time, however, the misunderstanding is not one that necessarily reifies or reinforces Japanese notions of Okinawan inferiority and Japanese superiority. The misinterpretation fails to register as a matter of Okinawan linguistic deficiency by the very instability of the Japanese language itself, constituting a slippage in meaning that resides within language, and could very well be an interpretation that a mainland Japanese person might make. As such, the slipperiness of the Japanese language is used in the scene to denaturalize characterizations of Okinawan linguistic deficiency while also mockingly alluding to them.

This slippage in language also releases pent up trauma and suffering that exceed the bounds of discourse, catching the ringmaster off-guard as he is unprepared to receive the stories. The Okinawan man's responses to the forced "confession" confront the supposed Japanese ringmaster with experiences of death and violence during the Battle of Okinawa, such as the man having to kill his own family in an act of compulsory group suicide. Unable to accept and take in the immensity of what is being narrated, the ringmaster tells the man to "keep quiet, say no more."[17] Carried along by the Okinawan man's outpouring of wartime atrocity, the Okinawan woman adds to the recounting of violence by talking about the surge of US soldiers after payday on the streets of Okinawa, about soldier aggression committed against Okinawan prostitutes, and about the US military base economy of Okinawa. The play uses the slippages in meaning that unstable signifiers can generate to instigate disruptive moments of interaction that enable the oppressed to unleash disturbing and painful experiences. The Okinawan response is unexpected and potentially too disturbing for Japanese hegemonic discourse designed to engender loyalty and patriotic sacrifice for the Japanese Empire.

[15] Chinen, *Jinruikan*, 259.
[16] Ibid, 259-60.
[17] Ibid, 260.

The Human Pavilion highlights the performativity of identity by demonstrating that colonial oppression occurs not only through discriminatory and disciplinary actions by Japanese against or on Okinawans, but, perhaps more importantly, through Okinawan internalization and reproduction of Japanese Imperial Subject behavior. The power of internalizing Imperial ideology for Okinawans is implied first when the supposedly Japanese ringmaster oppressor is revealed to be Okinawan himself, and then powerfully reiterated at the end of the play when the Okinawan man dons the ringmaster's clothes, turns to the audience, and welcomes them to The Human Pavilion, beginning the cycle anew. Hence, Chinen's text demonstrates the way in which identity is not merely an expression or representation of a stable, internal, consistent essence, but rather produced through the repeated enactment of particular behavioral actions discursively configured as normative. Through such depictions *The Human Pavilion* underscores how parodic performances of Okinawanness can potentially denaturalize the cultural stereotypes of Okinawans, at the same time exposing how the performance of discursively normative behavior by Okinawans can work to consolidate hegemonic relations of domination.

Although perceived shortcomings and imperfections in "performing" Japaneseness become utilized by the regime in power to indicate the necessity of further indoctrination, Okinawan performances of Japaneseness within the play remind viewers of the failure of disciplinary indoctrination to completely erase or contain local practices and performance. Okinawan inability to perform Japaneseness perfectly becomes less a sign of imperfection and inferiority than an instance of infuriating dissonance that cannot be easily corrected, controlled, or erased. Such performances have the potential, as part of discourse, to alter, dislodge, and expand discursive understandings of what constitutes Okinawan and Japanese identity at the same time that normative performance has the potential to consolidate and reaffirm relations of power and domination.

Limits of Performative Politics in the face of Physical Violence: The Battle of Okinawa

While critically inflected performances of Okinawanness and Japaneseness may subversively displace or reconfigure relationships of domination, they have limited political potential as individual courses of action in the face of immediate physical violence.[18] When the setting of the play shifts to the Battle of Okinawa, the slippages that linguistic performances of Japanese and *Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi* produce are severely disciplined and punished by Japanese soldiers, resulting in the violent death and massacres of Okinawan citizens. In the second half of *The Human Pavilion*, the "banzai"/ "banjai"

[18] See Gill Jagger's discussion of some of the criticisms, limitations, and concerns feminist scholars have had with Butler's theory of performativity, such as her discussion of Lois MacNay's critique of Butler's theory in *Judith Butler: Sexual Politics, Social Change and the Power of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 85.

scene is repeated, yet this time the context is the Battle of Okinawa, with the ringmaster a Japanese soldier and the Okinawan man a member of the local *bōeitai* (home guard).[19] In an allusion to the numerous war testimonies and accounts of Japanese soldiers executing Okinawans for speaking Okinawan during the war, the ringmaster/soldier executes the Okinawan man because he fails to pronounce "banzai" properly, a sign that he is not really Japanese but a "spy." Instead of being forced to wear a dialect tag, the Okinawan man is simply executed. In the context of the war the stakes of "failed" performance raise from the embarrassment of wearing a "dialect tag" to being executed. During wartime, the arbitrary and contradictory aspect of the dominant discourse's demands and expected boundaries become highlighted when the consequence is death and violence.

The widespread manner and multiple ways in which acts of violence by Japanese soldiers were perpetrated against Okinawans during the Battle of Okinawa is represented in *The Human Pavilion* via a cascading variety of characters and wartime events appearing in rapid succession. Okinawa's collective war experience and war memory are depicted through a range of incidents presented in the play configured by particular roles and analogous relationships of power that characterize each incident. While the ringmaster remains a Japanese soldier, the Okinawan characters cycle through various positions that constitute the Okinawan war experience, albeit within a specific set of gendered positions. That is, the Okinawan male cycles through the performing of the father who kills his family in an attempt at collective suicide, the student soldier of the blood and iron corps, the local brigade member reporting on the location of the enemy, and the local home guard killed for speaking dialect. The Okinawan woman plays the Okinawan prostitute serving US military men returning from Vietnam, a Himeyuri student nurse corps survivor, the widow of an Okinawan man, the mother of an Okinawan baby crying in cave, and an elderly grandma who recognizes her long lost son wandering the battlefield. The repeated structure of sexual and military disciplinary violence analogously repeats the varied and specific, yet typical, results and structure of violence. The Okinawan male often meets death by execution while the Okinawan female is the focus of sexual violence, rape, or prostitution, thus generating a sense of collective identification and suggesting both the limits and urgency of performativity's disruptive potential.

Conclusion

In the vein of Brechtian historical montage and Benjaminan temporal dialectic juxtaposition, Chinen Seishin's *The Human Pavilion* generates reflective contemplation of Okinawa's historical past in conjunction with the postwar present of the play's initial performance through its fluid movement back and

[19] Chinen, *Jinruikan*, 265.

forth within Okinawa's modern history.[20] Sequences of dramatic episodes juxtaposed against one another serve to produce the effect whereby mimetic referentiality gives way to figurative and symbolic resonance. This initially begins with the gradual revealing of temporal ambiguity and fluidity within the text, exposing it as less a teleological realistic representation of a series of events confined within a specific time period than a metaphorical or allegorical story telling and narrative that transcends time. Yet, this is not entirely unstable, as continuities and transformations anchor the narrative, even as the storyline draws from disparate moments in history, highlighting the ongoing and repetitive nature of oppression and of discursive forces on the expression and performance of identities shaped by such forces and situations. As the amount of time spent within each narrative strand grows shorter and shorter, with the changes and shifts beginning to occur more quickly, the narrative moves to stories and experiences of the Battle of Okinawa. The performances and actions that previously resulted in situations of discrimination and oppression become ones that result in rape, trauma, death, and massacre. The quickly shifting war scenes and heightened state of tension and drama produced within the representations infuse the previously narrated segments of discrimination, oppression, and coercion with broader significance and relevance for understanding Okinawa's colonial experience. With the additional revelation that the ringmaster himself is an Okinawan performing the Japanese subject position, and given the play's final scene when the Okinawan man dons the ringmaster's clothes to take his place, both the repetitive cycle and performative elements of identity are reiterated and implicated. While the precariousness of a politics of performativity is underscored through the highlighting of the limits of parodic performance in the face of physical violence, emphasis is also given to the importance and urgency of transforming the discourse and relations of domination between Okinawa and Japan.

[20] Frances Mammana argued that *The Human Pavilion* utilizes Brechtian historicization and fragmented montage while maintaining a connection with Okinawan and Ryūkyūan theater traditions in "On Display: Brechtian Renderings of Ryukyuan Heterotopias in *Jinruikan*" (paper presented at The Brecht in/and Asia Conference, Honolulu, HI, May 21, 2010).