



current issue

Issue Four

Enma's eye

Race, Observation, and The Oriental(ist) Gaze.

Daniel Black

The statue of one-eyed Enma (judge of hell) enshrined at the Genkakuji Temple...is renowned for its power to cure eye diseases and has many worshipers...The Enma became famous as it lost one eye. The following story is told about it.

An old woman was seen daily coming to worship the Enma...She explained that her eyes...[had once been]...weak and all medicines had failed. So she had come to the Enma to pray for his help. One day as she was kneeling before the statue and praying fervently, she heard the Enma speak to her, 'I will gouge out one of my eyes and give it to you.'

Upon hearing these words, she woke up from her trance and looked up at the Enma's face. To her utter surprise, one of his eyes was gone, and blood was streaking down from the empty socket. She looked around and she could see everything clearly.

She had not dreamed the Enma's words and her prayer was heard. The Enma, pitying her, had sacrificed his eye for her.

Mock Joya, *Mock Joya's Things Japanese*, p. 203.

I. The Eye and Race.

This paper is about vision, but also about the eye as a significant anatomical feature, and with the eye as a sign of Asianness. The Asian eye has long been fetishised as the mark of Oriental otherness. When investigating the specificity of the relationship between Japan and the West, this preoccupation with the eye opens up an interesting intersection of themes and significances. The organ of sight becomes a symbol for the motifs of sight and observation which saturate interaction between East and West, representing central issues of power, threat, appropriation and otherness.

In addition to its importance as emblem of racial difference, the eye allows sight, and sight and observation have in turn been used to represent structures of power. This fetishised Asian eye can therefore be understood as reflecting power relations within an orientalist scheme. The example of the Japanese eye is of particular interest because of the way in which Japan's growth in industrial (and at one time, military) strength was accompanied by a marked change in the nature of various Western stereotypes concerning Japan. In the West, Japan's entrance into modernity destabilised traditional ideas concerning the East, and this in turn has led to a dynamic process of evolution and redeployment in the discourse of the Japanese eye. As in the tale of the One-Eyed

Enma, the eye, and the power it represents, can be transferred from the strong to the weak.

When discussing the use of corporeal features to differentiate Caucasian from Asian, the importance of the eye is obvious. Amongst Caucasians, the facial contortion traditionally favoured when parodying Asianness is a drawing of the eyelids into slits. Racist epithets directed towards Asians such as "slants", "slopes", and even "gooks" (derived from "goo-goo eyes"), all concern themselves with the eye. (1) Similarly, the idea that difference in eye shape is the primary factor differentiating Caucasian from Asian appearance has led to the idea that Asians similarly focus on eye shape when parodying Caucasians. For example, in an episode of the cartoon *South Park*, the Chinese dodge ball commentators joke that the American players shouldn't have any trouble seeing the ball with their "big American eyes". (2)

During World War II, the Japanese threat was initially downplayed by British and American leaders who believed that Japanese racial inferiority was manifested in their myopia-prone eyes, which would make it difficult for them to train their weapons on their Caucasian enemies. Within Japan, however, propagandists suggested that the oversized noses of Caucasians would impede their vision, giving Japanese soldiers the advantage. (3) Amongst Asians more generally, it is the nose, not the eyes, which seems most often focused upon when differentiating Asian from Caucasian, highlighting the lack of "natural" or "obvious" racial indicators, as well as a tendency to prioritise those differences seen as most flattering to the appearance of one's own racial group. However, the World War II example does suggest a more general connection between the ability to observe one another and the power balance between races, a theme which will be dealt with in more detail below.

The contribution made to the discourse of racial difference by the advertisement section at the back of comic books comes in the form of "Oriental Specs", a pair of glasses partly filled by plastic intended to represent slitted eyelids. The caricature Asian with his Coke-bottle glasses and permanently squinting eyes (as embodied in World War II anti-Japanese propaganda or Mickey Rooney's ridiculous caricature Japanese in the film of *Breakfast at Tiffany's*) dominates the Western stereotype of the Eastern body. The Japanese equivalent of Oriental Specs, a novelty entitled "Hello Gaijin-san" ("Hello, Mr Foreigner") equips the Japanese prankster with an oversized rubber nose and a pair of stick-on blue eyes. Here a concern with the Caucasian nose is joined by an emphasis on the Caucasian eye. As suggested by "Hello Gaijin-san," blue eyes are frequently associated with Caucasians by the Japanese, despite the fact that this is no more a defining feature of Caucasians in general than blond hair. Once again the choice of racial marker seems largely arbitrary.

The Western preoccupation with the Asian eye therefore cannot be understood as simply resulting from a passive or neutral perception of physical characteristics. It is rather the result of a prioritisation of certain anatomical features. Racialising discourse is necessarily a hyperbolic one, prone to exaggeration and selectivity; in order for peoples to be set apart by the discourse of race, for the lesser differences to assume more importance than the greater similarities, certain physical features must be fetishised and made the focus of attention.

That this process takes place is illustrated by the phenomenon of many Caucasians believing that all Asians "look alike", while Caucasians also tend to look alike to many Asians. In both cases, the observer sees little besides certain prioritised markers of racial difference, the myriad individuating features which exist within a racial group being subordinated to an obsessive preoccupation with those that define "Asianness" or "Caucasians". The importance of physical difference to ideas of racial otherness is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the racist caricature, and yet it can be argued that every body appears as a racist caricature to the foreign eye, because the foreign observer has been acculturated to exaggerate certain physical attributes and downplay others in his or her reading of the racially differentiated body. That this mode of seeing seems natural and objective illustrates Paul Abbot's point regarding discrimination:

...it must also be stressed that [discrimination's] own working-up of difference, its

work of preconstruction, is effaced, repressed; this repression of production entails that the recognition of difference is procured as an innocence, as a 'nature'; recognition is contrived as primary cognition, spontaneous effect of the 'evidence' of the visible. (4)

However, as suggested by Omi and Winant's term 'racial formation', race is in truth the result of an active, constructive mode of perception.

...race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called "phenotypes"), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process. (5)

This signifying function therefore makes the racialised body a cultural text in its own right; upon its surface is recorded the histories of various racially charged confrontations and negotiations. Physical features become the anchors by which racial ideas are fastened onto individual bodies. What makes the Japanese body particularly interesting in relation to this process is the fact of the often ambivalent relationship between the Japanese and Caucasian bodies. In the past the Japanese have been seen as "honorary whites", and the project of Japanese modernisation – as reflected in the modernising slogan "Out of the East and into the West" – has often served to de-Asianise Japan. (6) From the point of view of the Western observer, Japan's changeable and often difficult relationship with the West has required that the constellation of racial stereotypes attributed to the Japanese be periodically altered or radically redeployed. These factors serve to complicate and problematise ideas of race and corporeal difference, creating a racial discourse which must negotiate those barriers which have traditionally served to separate and define racial groups. (7)

The eye has often been understood in terms of a fixed, unidirectional relationship between observer and observed, a relationship which, more than any other form of bodily interaction, has been identified with structures of power. (8) Considering that Japan has often been represented as rival to the West, as challenging Western – Caucasian – hegemony whether in colonialism or trade and technological innovation, it seems appropriate that the construction of Japanese/Caucasian difference should dwell on the eye.

Specifically in regard to the construction of East and West and the relationship between them, themes of scrutiny and observation are important to the discourse of orientalism, with its long history of Western study of and exploration in the East. Edward Saïd describes orientalism as based on an assumption that the East requires "scrutiny, study" moving towards "judgement, discipline, governing". (9) For the colonialist gaze, the power of sight "locates the surveyed object within the 'imaginary' relation". (10)

Interestingly, Japan, which has in the past sought to shut out a Western colonialist gaze, is often described in terms of its elusion of observation. Ever since the Jesuits set about scrutinising Japanese culture in the sixteenth century, hoping this knowledge would equip them for a large-scale conversion of the populace, the Japanese have been described as a people adept at obscuring their true natures. Take for example this quote from Jesuit missionary Francisco Cabral: "Among the Japanese it is considered a matter of honor and wisdom not to disclose the inner self, to prevent anyone's reading therein. They are trained to this from childhood; they are educated to be inscrutable and false". (11)

The later, more violent rejection of the Western gaze effected by the shoguns and their policy of isolation could only have reinforced the idea that Japan was a mystery, hiding itself from the conquering gaze of the West. Certainly the fascination Japan held for the West when this period of isolation came to an end – when the fashion for *Japonaiserie* allowed an optical consumption of Japan through a "Japanese" aesthetic (12) – suggests a reaction against Japan's previous inaccessibility to view. And even in more recent times, the Japanese have often been characterised by their frustrating tendency to evade Western scrutiny:

It is as if the Japanese, not content with living in a mountainous archipelago all too often visited by mists and clouds and rainstorms, had attempted, from the very beginning of their civilisation, to reproduce in their social and cultural life an intensified image of their natural surroundings – an interior scenery veiled in vapour, divided into small compartments by mountain ranges, bays, and seas. Wherever they go they make a network of walls and fences behind which to retire: unwritten rules, ceremonies and taboos. (13)

Extending this theme to a more personal level, we arrive at the idea that the Japanese body hides something which the orientalist gaze, with its desire to scrutinise and study, seeks, unsuccessfully, to discover. While this idea of the "inscrutable", "slanty-eyed" Asian has of course been given application much more widely than Japan, I am here concerned with the problematisation of this racial image brought about by Japan's modernisation. From the point of view of the Western observer, the last 150 years of Japanese history have made difficult its inclusion within this wider characterisation of Asia and Asians, necessitating a reconfiguration of the eye motif specific to Japan.

II. The Gaze of Modernity

Japan's project of modernisation began with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The end of Japan's rule by the shoguns meant a quite abrupt foreign policy about-face, from isolation from the West to an enthusiastic appropriation of modernity and quest for modernisation. While modernisation of one sort or another has been pursued all over the world for some time, what differentiates Japan is the early commencement of this project. It was the first non-Caucasian country in the world to begin modernisation, and as such its relationship with certain racial discourses deserves particular consideration.

The Japanese embarked on a modernising project at a time when it was difficult to draw a line between "Westernness"/"Whiteness" and modernity. Colonialism and industrialisation provided the means by which Caucasians dominated the world, and modernity could still be understood to be the birthright of the Caucasian West, the logical result of the white race's natural predisposition towards civilisation and progress. (14)

The racist dimension given to ideas of progress and civilisation therefore militated against the idea of the Japanese becoming the modern subjects they sought to be. While the Japanese set about altering their material accoutrements and modes of knowledge, it was more difficult to leave behind their physical appearance, a physical appearance which had been imbued with a very specific set of meanings. (15) As a non-white race, the Japanese could not escape the significance of their own bodies.

In the disincarnate political theory of the orthodox social contract, the body vanishes, becomes theoretically unimportant, just as the physical space inhabited by the body is ostensibly theoretically unimportant. But this disappearing act is just as much an illusion in the former as in the latter case. The reality is that one can pretend the body does not matter only because a *particular* body (the white male body) is being presupposed as the somatic norm. In a political dialogue between the owners of such bodies, the details of their flesh do not matter since they are judged to be equally rational, equally capable of perceiving natural law or their own self-interest. But as feminist theorists have pointed out, the body is only irrelevant when it's the (white) male body. (16)

The force of physical racial categories was very much in keeping with modernity's push towards a normalisation and regularisation of the body. Take for example this quote from Rosemary Garland Thomson concerning the nineteenth century freak show:

In this way, modernity effected a standardization of everyday life that saturated the entire social fabric, producing and reinforcing the concept of an unmarked, normative, leveled body as the dominant subject of democracy. Clocks, department stores, ready-made clothing, catalogues, advertising, and factory

items sculpted the prosaic toward sameness, while increased literacy and the iterable nature of a burgeoning print culture fortified the impulse toward conformity. With its dependence on predictability, scientific discourse also reimagined the body, depreciating particularity while valorizing uniformity. Statistics quantified the body; evolution provided a new heritage; eugenics and teratology policed its boundaries; prosthetics normalized it; and asylums cordoned off deviance. Additionally, allopathic, professionalized medicine consolidated its dominance, casting as pathological all departures from the standard body. (17)

A fundamental difficulty in Japanese modernisation was therefore the simple fact that the Japanese body was not the "standard" (ie: Caucasian) body of modernity, and no amount of technological, scientific, or social change would alter that fact. Within the arena of the freak show, "the orient" was synonymous with the bizarre and exotic, and played an important (and more often than not entirely spurious) part in the aura of "freakishness" surrounding various performers. Seen with the eye of nineteenth century Western modernity, the Japanese body was an outlandish body, which one might see in a vision of the wondrous and barbaric orient, but not in the bathroom mirror each morning, dressed in a suit and tie. This pathologisation of the Asian body is most striking in the use of the name "mongoloid" to refer to those afflicted with Down Syndrome in the medical discourse of the time, and it is worth keeping in mind that Langdon Down chose the term "mongoloid" because of the "slant-eyed" appearance of those with the condition – yet another reduction of Asianness to eye shape. (18)

So Japan's ambiguity in relation to a racial hierarchy cast it in a troubling position. In relation to the strictness of racial categories, the most obvious reflection of this is the idea that the Japanese became "honorary whites". (19) The term seems to acknowledge a Japanese transcendence of certain categorisations while at the same time asserting the impossibility of doing so: Japanese modernisation seems to have broken down the association of modernity with the West, but the equation of this modernity and superiority with whiteness simultaneously disqualifies Japan from joining the camp of modern, imperialist, "superior" nations except in a qualified, "honorary" way. In addition, this honorary whiteness dissociates the Japanese – and thus Japanese modernity – from Asianness.

The discourse of race's pre-occupation with the Asian eye as the privileged marker of Asianness can be linked to ideas of inscrutability and dissimulation as characteristic of Asian peoples, and it also suggests a fairly explicit division of subject/object roles. The "wide eyed" Caucasian is the viewer, the explorer, the studier and conqueror, while the "squint eyed" Asian is both ill-equipped to return that gaze, and also mask-like of face and inscrutable, challenging the Caucasian gaze to uncover its secrets. Japan fitted neatly into this schema prior to its industrialisation: it was reclusive and hidden; its people were famed for their insincerity and dissimulation. But the Meiji policy of modernisation caused a sudden shift in Japan's behaviour which challenged these ideas. Japanese delegations were sent to Europe and America to study all aspects of Western modernity and make this knowledge available to the Japanese people. (20) Suddenly the West was the object of an Eastern gaze, one bent not on colonial conquest but – potentially just as disturbing – on making Japan more like the West.

Japan's modernising project therefore threatened certain modernist discourses, both in the West and as they were taken up within Japan itself. While the Japanese were required to somehow establish a place for themselves in a set of discourses which seemed to insult and exclude them, for the West it was necessary to redeploy orientalist discourses to take into account an Asian country whose conduct contradicted established ideas of racial difference.

Japan has come to exist within the Western political and cultural unconscious as a figure of danger, and it has done so because it has destabilised the neat correlation between West/East and modern/pre-modern. If the West is modern, Japan should be pre-modern, or at least non-modern. That is the case if it is to fit the terms of the established

scheme by which 'we' order our sense of space and time and allocate their place in it to 'them'. The fact that Japan no longer fits throws the established historico-geographical schema into confusion, creating a panic of disorientation (if not yet, to be sure, of dis-Orientalism). (21)

III. The Japanese Gaze.

The first daguerreotype camera was brought to Japan in 1840, only a year after its invention by L.J.M. Daguerre. It came to Nagasaki, but Uwano Toshinjo, a merchant who was also a Dutch language student, obtained and presented it to Lord Shimazu Narioki of Kagoshima on July 1 of the following year.

As the secret of the camera became known, the people called it *hitome maho no kikai* (one-eyed devil's trick machine), and believed that the machine sucked out the soul of the object to get the impression of its picture. Therefore, no one was willing to be photographed by the machine and lose his soul.

Lord Narioki wished to try the camera, but there was no willing subject to pose for it. When one retainer was ordered to pose for the camera, he could not refuse the command, but not wishing to lose his soul, he committed suicide. He left a letter in which he said that if the soul of one Japanese was lost to the devil, he could not face his ancestors.

That did not stop Narioki. He called his son, Nariakira, to pose before the camera. The young man bravely faced the devil's machine, and the first daguerreotype photograph was taken in Japan.

Not only did Nariakira, however, not lose his soul to the devil, but he also became a great pioneer in modernizing the country, erecting the first cotton mill, casting modern guns, making gun-powder, and proposing to the Bakufu the construction of iron-clad warships. He died in 1858 at the age of 50 (Joya: 653-4).

This tale can serve as a parable about the frightening first step into modernity, one which takes Japan from being the cowering subject of a threatening and acquisitive modern gaze to a modern power in its own right. Like Enma – the more traditional incarnation of the one-eyed devil – the camera both inspires fear, and promises power to those who tame it. This story is especially effective in light of the stereotypical connection between the Japanese and the camera, which is here represented as an alien artefact inspiring mortal, superstitious terror.

The project of reconciling Japanese modernisation with ideas of Western, white hegemony faces two broad options – aside from abandoning these concepts altogether. The first option is to change the racial category into which Japan is placed – the "honorary white" response. The other, more common, response is to see Japanese modernity as inherently inferior, as a kind of degraded, "second hand" version of Western modernity. It should therefore come as no surprise that the most familiar mode for dismissing Japanese industrial success is the idea that the Japanese are simply mimics and copiers of the West. Take this quote, for example:

In commercial matters the Japanese have exhibited their imitateness in the most extraordinary degree. Almost everything they have once bought, from beer to bayonets and from straw hats to heavy ordinance, they have since learned to make for themselves. There is hardly a well-known European trade-mark that you do not find fraudulently imitated in Japan. (22)

This idea of imitateness is fundamental to the "Made in Japan" cliché, but this quotation was published in 1908, long before cheap transistor radios. It has been a part of the Western understanding of Japanese modernisation for almost as long as Japanese modernisation has existed. The Japanese appropriation of Western ideas

and technologies has always been tied to the idea of a blind copying of Western artefacts, which could not be seen as evidence of mental or technological equality. This idea of Japan mimicking the West is very much an anxiety based around the idea of the Japanese looking back, of returning a gaze which was previously seen as unidirectional.

Japan's encounter with modernity therefore caused a crisis in how the Japanese were represented in Western discourse. This crisis was resolved through a redeployment, rather than a rejection, of the traditional orientalist imagining of the East and the Asian eye. This redeployment is most striking in the Western perception of Japan during World War II, where a series of stunning early victories suddenly changed the popular stereotype of the Japanese from bumbling Orientals to superhuman warriors who had turned Western technology against its creators.

Gone in a flash were the nearsighted, wobbly Japanese fliers of yesterday. Now they were men with telescopic vision, and infernally clever to boot (Dower: 112).

Once this Japanese returning of the gaze has been combined with the traditional idea that the Japanese are themselves inscrutable, and therefore frustratingly difficult objects of Western observation, the reversal of traditional orientalist roles is complete. (23) The Japanese body becomes a kind of ambulatory panopticon, constantly observing the West while its hooded eyes and inscrutable, mask-like face deflects the Western gaze. In the tale of the One-Eyed Enma, the power of sight is transferred from the demon Enma to the blind woman, reversing the positions of observer and observed, turning the seer into the blind and *vice versa*, and this is paralleled in the evolution of the discourse surrounding the Japanese eye. It is worth noting that the mythological figure of the Japanese demon, or *oni*, which can be both terrifyingly malevolent and destructive on one hand and a source of aid and superior knowledge on the other, has been used as a figure for the West since the earliest days of its contact with Japan (cf. Dower: 234ff.).

In contemporary stereotypes, the Japanese eye no longer squints blearily and ineffectually out at the world, but rather directs an implacable electronic gaze at the West, voraciously sucking in visions of foreign peoples and places with the latest still or video cameras. Where once the East was a place for Western travellers to visit and investigate, now the West is the object of Japanese investigation, as Japanese faces study Australia, Europe or America like scientists behind the glass of air-conditioned buses. The Japanese consume visions of America and Americans through Hollywood films, while Americans purchase the means of seeing – still and video cameras, television sets, video game consoles, video recorders – from Japan. Meanwhile, the sights of foreign – usually Western – places are relocated and repackaged for the enjoyment of the Japanese. Tourist attractions like Tokyo Disneyland, the *faux* Netherlands of Huis ten Bosch near Nagasaki, and many others, appropriate a stereotypical vision of the West and present it for the convenient consumption of the Japanese gaze. (24) The most convenient tourist spectacle of all is Tobu World, where various landmarks are shrunk to a more manageable size and gathered together in a single location:

The genius of this concept is that the shrunken buildings, unlike the real things, can be completely fitted into a single camera frame for photos, with the happy visitor in the foreground. (25)

The spectacle of the West is tamed and modified for Japanese consumption, drawn close and reduced to a size ideal for the Japanese gaze.

While maintaining their air of inscrutability, the Japanese have increasingly been portrayed as studying the West, and this depiction has become more prevalent the more successful – and thus more threatening – Japan has become. Indeed, the growth in the wealth and success of Japan was tied to its ability to observe and thus copy Western goods. The Japanese gaze has been seen as threatening, as appropriating and thieving, and thus allowing Japan to succeed at the West's expense. This equation of observation with Japan as threat reaches its apex in the paranoia-inducing office building of the film *Rising Sun* (Philip Kaufman, 1993), in which America has been

colonised by a sinister Japanese business presence whose high-tech eyes are constantly scrutinising the heroes as they attempt to find the truth behind a barrier of oriental manipulation and obfuscation. In addition, the greatest power the Japanese enemy has over the investigators is an ability to manipulate what they see, even to the point of making the Japanese assassin invisible to American eyes. The assassin quite literally becomes a "master of invisibility", a ninja (26) – a symbol of Japanese power and mystery popular in the West – able to act upon the American body while his radical inscrutability puts him beyond Western observation.

The climate of fear surrounding Japan has abated greatly since the time of *Rising Sun*. Japan's economic stagnation, followed by the more general Asian economic "melt-down" has soothed anxieties concerning an Eastern threat to Western hegemony. The activities of the World Bank in forcing reform in Asian countries suggests a return – after a few frightening years during which it was thought that the East might actually be "better" at industrialisation than the West – to the idea that Eastern "mimicry" of modernity can only produce an inferior (Made in Japan/Made in Hong Kong/Made in Korea/Made in Taiwan) copy of the Western industrialised society. However, the decline of Japan as Eastern threat has been accompanied by the rise of another menace, China, and this fear recently condensed around the prospect of Chinese spying in the USA. In a more extreme incarnation of the acquisitive Japanese gaze which steals and copies Western industrial secrets, the new, Chinese, gaze was thought to be stealing secrets concerning the ultimate symbol of modern scientific power: the atomic bomb. (27)

Rather than simply being a neutral apprehension of difference, the perception of racial types is the result of an active, constructive mode of seeing, and as such the racialised body is itself a cultural text. The example of the Japanese eye is an especially rewarding one because of the often drastic redeployments of racial discourse necessitated by Japan's entrance into modernity.

The association of the eye and seeing with structures of power has made the Asian eye an evocative representation of racial power imbalances implicit in orientalist discourse. However, Japanese modernisation led to the destabilisation of a schema in which imperialism, colonialism, industrialisation and military might were understood to be the sole property of the Caucasian West. As a result, while the Japanese eye remained the privileged anchor-point for ideas of racial difference, its significance was reversed. In a power structure understood through visual metaphors, the Japanese have taken the eye from the demon Enma, being transformed in the process from a position of myopic weakness to one of merciless visual acuity. The roles of observer and observed have been reversed as the West has found itself the uncomfortable subject of Eastern optical consumption, laid bare beneath the scrutiny of a subject whose nature and motivations it has long considered lost to its own view.

Endnotes

1. Dower, John, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1986), p. 112.

2. "Conjoined Fetus Lady," *South Park* (Comedy Central, 1997).

3. Buruma, Ian, *The Missionary and the Libertine: Love and War in East and West* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1996). p. 196.

4. Abbot, Paul, "Authority" in *Screen* vol.20, no.2 (Summer 1979), p. 16.

5. Omi, Michael & Winant, Howard, *Racial Formation in the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York & London: Routledge, 1994). p.53.

6. Cf. Cronin, Richard P., *Japan, the United States, and prospects of the Asia-Pacific century: three scenarios for the future* (New York: St. Martin's Press & Singapore:

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992). p. 83.

7. For a detailed consideration of the racial stereotype and its simultaneous fixity and instability, cf. Bhabha, Homi K., "The Other Question," in Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 66-84.

8. Cf. for example Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1975), pp. 170ff.

9. Saïd, Edward W., *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 40-41.

10. Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 76.

11. Quoted in Elison, George, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 16.

12. Cf. Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850-1905* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), p. 54.

13. Singer, Kurt, *Mirror, Sword and Jewel: A Study of Japanese Characteristics*, Edited and with an introduction by R. Storry (London: Croom Hall, 1973), p. 45.

14. For a consideration of how the world and its inhabitants were ordered by the Western powers at this time, see Snodgrass, Judith, "Japan Faces the West: The Representation of Japan at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893," in Morris Low & Helen Marriott (eds.), *Japanese Science, Technology and Growth Down-Under* (Melbourne: Monash Asia Institute, 1996). Snodgrass deals in particular with how this world order was manifested by the organisation of the Chicago exposition, and how Japan sought to reposition itself within it.

15. But not impossible. In 1896 Japanese doctors formulated the first of several techniques for widening the Japanese eye, a project understood in terms of 'curing' the Japanese of the deficiencies of their own race (Gilman, Sander L., *Making the Body Beautiful* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999) p. 100).

16. Mills, Charles W., *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 53.

17. Thomson, Rosemary Garland, "Introduction: From Wonder to Error—A Genealogy of Freakish Discourse in Modernity" in Rosemary Garland Thomson (ed.), *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1996), p. 12.

18. Doman, Robert J., Jr., "Down Syndrome" in *Journal of the National Academy of Child Development*, 6:9 (1986), also <http://www.nacd.org/articles/newds.html>, para 1.

19. The term honorary whites specifically refers to the status given to the Japanese by the South African government in 1930, in which Japanese modernisation and its resulting importation of resources led quite directly to a compromising of racist ideas (cf. Morikawa, Jun, *Japan and Africa: Big Business and Diplomacy* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1997); Ivy, Marilyn, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 7).

20. Kumagai, Fumie with Keyser, Donna J., *Unmasking Japan Today: The Impact of Traditional Values on Modern Japanese Society* (Westport, Connecticut & London: Praeger, 1996), p. 2. In fact, even the modern Western technology of seeing - the use of perspective in art - was seen as of importance and so taken on (cf. Mason, Penelope, *History of Japanese Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993), p. 357; Keene, Donald, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 61).

21. Morley, David & Robins, Kevin, *Spaces of Identity: global media, electronic*

landscapes and cultural boundaries (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 160.

22. Norman, Henry, *The Real Japan* (London, 1908), cited in Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850-1905* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), p. 134.

23. This reversal was paralleled in the "occidentalism" espoused by many Asian commentators following the rise of discourse concerning a coming "Asian century", in which orientalist associations concerning East and West were simply switched to place the East in a superior position (cf. Massarella, Derek, "Some Reflections on Identity Formation in East Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack & Tessa Morris-Suzuki (eds.), *Multicultural Japan: Paleolithic to Postmodern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 138-139).

24. For a detailed account of how Tokyo Disneyland is constructed as an American experience, see Brannen, Mary Yoko, "'Bwana Mickey': Constructing Cultural Consumption at Tokyo Disneyland" in Joseph J. Tobin (ed.), *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992); for a list of other tourist sites, see Hills, Ben, *Japan: Behind the Lines* (Rydalmere, NSW: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996), pp. 152-3; McGregor, Richard, *Japan Swings: Politics, Culture and Sex In The New Japan* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), pp. 270-1.

25. McGregor, Richard, *Japan Swings: Politics, Culture and Sex In The New Japan* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), p. 271.

26. Cf. Joya, Mock, *Mock Joya's Things Japanese* (Tokyo: The Japan Times, 1985), p. 664.

27. In 1997, *The New York Times* reported that "Chinese operatives have become the new spies on the block, infiltrating strategic organizations across the globe seeking to buy or steal technology to support the country's military program" (Tyler, Patrick, "Cloak and Dragon," *The New York Times*, Friday, April 18, 1997).

Daniel Black is currently living in Japan while he pursues his research for an MA thesis on popular Japanese representations of the body. He is enrolled in the School of Applied Communications at RMIT University.

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