Japan Review 31 (2017): 171–193

The Hyphenated Films of Steven Okazaki: Japanese Identities in American Film

Roman ROSENBAUM

This paper investigates how transnational Asian American identities are constructed in the context of Japan's diasporic Japanese American community. The research in this paper focuses specifically on the contemporary films of the third generation Japanese American director Steven Okazaki, whose documentaries portray diasporic communities created by the legacy of the Asia-Pacific conflict. It is through the shared communal trauma in the Asia-Pacific region that Okazaki generates a transnational discourse of remembrance that transcends the confines of the nation state and implies the existence of a larger Pan-Pacific community. Okazaki's documentaries also contextualize the notion of transnationality in a global world as it contributes to a specific Pan-Pacific identity formation that undermines the hegemony of cultural nationalism, homogeneity, and ethnocentrism through an emphasis on the heterogeneity inherent in hyphenated identities. Special emphasis is given here to the reception of Japanese American documentary films in America. To what extent do Okazaki's films contribute to the discourse of a Pan-Pacific cinema and how are his films received in Japan?

Keywords: transnationality, remembrance, Steven Okazaki, documentary, identity formation, hyphenated identities, hybridity, Asian American, atomic bomb, Hiroshima, Nagasaki

> However, what goes on the screen is, of course, far more than the story of the production and the directors behind the camera. In this sense, the study of Japanese cinema is a wide-open field, one into which many new scholars from a variety of disciplines are moving. (Nornes 2003, p. xviii)

> Taken together, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism promise a broad understanding of all the forms and implications that derive from the vast movements of populations, ideas, technologies, images, and financial networks that have come to shape the world we live in today. (Quayson and Daswani 2013, p. 2)

Towards a Representation of the Intractable

Facing yet another recalcitrant commemoration of the end of the Pacific War approaching fast, the seventieth anniversary in 2015 was marked not only in Japan but also the world over as a pop-culture public spectacle defined by consumption and cultural production; there was little time for remembrance and historical insight. The contemporary vestiges of collective memory of the dropping of the atom bombs, the most apocalyptic events of the twentieth century, still create an inescapable historical vortex, whose depictions in books, films, and dramas have fascinated us since 1945. Many examples of films exist, from the very early depictions of devastation in Hideo Ōba's *Nagasaki no kane* 長崎の鐘 (The Bells of Nagasaki, 1950) and Kaneto Shindo's *Genbaku no ko* 原爆の子 (Children of Hiroshima, 1952) to more recent documentaries like Okazaki's *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (2007), discussed in some detail below. Our obsession with the man-made nuclear apocalypse has created its own genre, which is nowadays referred to as "atomic bomb literature" and was arguably inaugurated by Kanō Ryūichi 加納竜一 and Mizuno Hajime's 水野肇 (1965) study. Yet much earlier, Kanō began his study with a science documentary entitled: *Hiroshima, Nagasaki ni okeru genshi bakudan no kōka* 広島、長崎における原子爆弾の効果 (The Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1946), which focused on the aftermath of the atomic bombings. Shot in 1945 and finished in the first months of 1946, it represents the first full-fledged documentary on the atomic bomb attacks.[1] Closely intertwined with the production process of atomic bomb cinema is the notion of anniversaries. As a major trigger for commemoration and remembrance, several anniversaries have also spawned the production of documentary films. For instance, the sixtieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima led to the production of the BBC docudrama *Hiroshima* (2005), with historical reenactments and firsthand eyewitness interviews. This was followed by the more recent transcultural meditations created by Steven Okazaki, which are placed in the context of global cultural production below. Okazaki's documentaries follow a long history of attempts to transcend the "specter of impossibility" for re-presenting the trauma of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[2] The analysis that follows also highlights documentaries as a type of Bhabhaesque third space, through which identity formation can be contested by emphasizing the importance of hybridity in between cultures and nations.[3] As is exemplified below in the analysis of Okazaki's documentaries, the notion of hybridity becomes one of the key metaphors for contextualizing transnationality in a global world and also for advancing a specific Pan-Pacific identity that undermines the hegemony of cultural nationalism, homogeneity, and ethnocentrism.

In-between Spaces: *Sansei* Documentaries

Steven Okazaki (1952–) was born and raised in Venice, California, as a third generation Japanese American. He is based in the San Francisco Bay area and explains that his penchant for depicting Asian American issues arose from the discrimination, which he,

1 For details, see also Nornes 2003, p. 193.
2 See, for example, the discussion in Dreamer 2014, p. 273.
3 Bhabha writes for example that "for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is 'the third' space which enables other positions to emerge." Cited in Rutherford 1990, p. 211.

his parents and grandparents personally encountered due to their Japanese appearance. Okazaki's films often focus on the in-between paradox experienced by hyphenated identities like "Japanese-Americans." He went to Japan for the first time in 1982, and now feels comfortable with both American and Japanese society, but also thinks of himself as an outsider in both cultures:

> I've always felt a certain distance from both cultures. I'm an American, but my grandparents, parents, and I were treated as lesser because of the way we look. My grandparents lost everything [during the war]. My parents were squashed and oppressed. And I have had to fight twice as hard for my opportunities. But I'm not Japanese. If I don't open my mouth when I'm in Japan, then I fit in. But as soon as I do, then I'm a foreigner, an outsider. I understand the culture, but I'm not part of it and don't want to be. I guess I always feel like an outsider, even among peers, in my community and at family gatherings.[4]

Not only does Okazaki communicate the issues intertwined with his *sansei* 三世 (third generation) Japanese ancestry via his documentaries, but he also demonstrates through his dramatic realism how Americans with Asian ancestry are developing new ways of imagining their place in society by eschewing stereotypes and focusing instead on the creation of spaces that offer alternative models for identity formation.[5] For instance, Okazaki adopts short documentaries for sociopolitical narratives focusing on his generation of America's postwar baby boomers. He is far removed from the legacy of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, one of his favorite subjects. Yet, he also belongs to a generation whose identity is linked to the legacy of the Pacific War, which is part of his Japanese heritage. Throughout his career as a documentary filmmaker, Steven Okazaki has not shied away from controversial subjects. After graduating from San Francisco State University's film school in 1976, he produced *Survivors* in 1982, his first feature documentary short about those *hibakusha* 被爆者, Hiroshima and Nagasaki's atomic bomb survivors, who were living in San Francisco.[6] This was to become one of the main themes that he would pursue throughout his career. Okazaki's background as a third generation Japanese American filmmaker puts him in a uniquely transcultural position from which to reexamine the hegemony of Hollywood's film industry. His preference for realism and historical accuracy is also reflected in his favored genre of the documentary.

Okazaki's films abound with themes arising from his cross-cultural heritage. His first Academy Award nomination came in 1985 for *Unfinished Business*, a story about three *nisei* 二世 (second generation Japanese Americans) who challenged their internment in court during World War II after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9066, which effectively stripped the rights and property from all American citizens of Japanese ancestry in the Western states. Okazaki's historical survey of the long-winded Japanese internment case portrays the process towards restitution and redress while exploring the meaning of citizenship in the contemporary world. Through interviews and archival

4 Okazaki 2007b.

5 *Sansei* is an abbreviated form of *nikkei sansei* 日系三世, or third generation Japanese American.

6 For a discussion see Feng 2002, pp. 60–61.

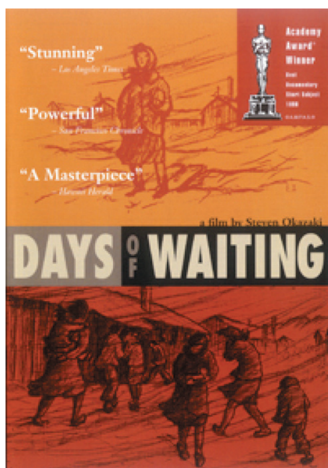

Figure 1. *Days of Waiting*, 1990 poster.

footage of the euphemistically styled "relocation centers," Okazaki depicts the power of the state over the plight of disenfranchised citizens. Even though his oeuvre is dominated by documentaries, in 1987 Okazaki also wrote and directed the independent film, *Living on Tokyo Time*, which revolves around Ken, a Japanese American aspiring rock musician, and his marriage of convenience to Kyoko, a young émigré from Japan who speaks limited English. Amid an environment of cross-cultural clashes, the two protagonists venture into a fake cross-cultural marriage. Both young adults are precarious daydreamers: Kyoko is motivated by her need to obtain a green card, with her only quirky nuptial requirement being a visit to Yosemite Park, while Ken is the introverted, passive escapist persuaded into wedlock as a favor to their mutual friend, Lana. When Ken eventually does fall in love with his new and stereotypically devoted Japanese wife, Kyoko, he is left heartbroken by the cultural gap between them.

In his analysis of this film, Peter Feng suggests that Okazaki's cinema articulates a romanticized aesthetic of belonging, which depicts immigrant children in their struggle to create an identity in opposition to mainstream society. The struggle contributes to a politics of exclusion that resulted in the imprisonment of 110,000 Japanese Americans following the entry of the U.S. into World War II.[7] In 1991, Okazaki received an Academy Award for Best Documentary (Short Subject) as well as a Peabody Award for *Days of Waiting*, a film about the artist Estelle Peck Ishigo, one of a small number of Caucasian Americans who followed her Japanese American husband voluntarily to Heart Mountain, one of the World War II internment camps in Wyoming. Instead of the commonplace portrayal of Asian internment, Okazaki stages a Caucasian female in the camp in order to invert racial stereotypes and dismantle the viewer's belief in the absolute truth of popular cultural representations. Estelle married Arthur Ishigo despite the fact that interracial marriages were illegal in California at the time. In *Days of Waiting*, Okazaki reevaluates American identity through a confrontation with the Japanese alterity and the resulting change in American identity formation.

Okazaki's film version of Ishigo's autobiography defamiliarizes and reconfigures supposedly fixed racial categories in a process of self-erasure that constitutes the modus operandi common to many of his documentaries. In the citation below, Estelle describes the forced alteration to her selfhood during interment, and elucidates why she decided to follow her husband into confinement:

7 Feng 2002, p. 67.

> Strange as it may sound, in this lonely, desolate place, I felt accepted for the first time in my life. The government had declared me a Japanese. And now I no longer saw myself as white—as a *hakujin*. I was a *Nihonjin*—a Japanese American. My fellow Heart Mountain residents took me in as one of their own. We all shared the same pain, the same joys, the same hopes and desires, and I never encountered a single act of prejudice or discrimination.[8]

In this sense, several of Okazaki's films deal specifically with the postwar legacy of internment and the resulting solidarity of Japanese American identity. The focus of his long list of films and documentaries falls on the process of retracing the history of Japanese representation in Hollywood and the expression of a sense of Japanese American subjectivity in dialogue with the hegemony of the dominant American identity. Throughout his early career, Okazaki continued to make documentary films for America's largest independent non-profit, Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), and later switched to the pay television service Home Box Office (HBO), reaching a large audience in the United States.[9] His third Oscar nomination came in 2006 for *The Mushroom Club*, a personal documentary about his journey to Japan to interview atomic bomb survivors on the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. In 2008, Okazaki was co-recipient of a Primetime Emmy Award in the category of Exceptional Merit in Nonfiction Filmmaking for his documentary *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. He is also the owner of his own California-based production company called Farallon Films.

Towards a Methodology: Okazaki's Documentaries

Okazaki's production of documentaries coincided with a time of profound interest in Chinese American representation. This keen sense of curiosity was triggered by the crossover of Hong Kong filmmakers and actors to Hollywood. Steven Okazaki's documentaries highlight the somewhat sidelined Japanese American subjectivity by focusing on the complex historical circumstances of the Japanese American identity. His documentaries seek to invigorate the arguably dwindling interest in Japan during the current dominant period of China's cultural production.[10] Yet Okazaki's preferred film style of the documentary, rather than other more financially viable mainstream genres, allows him to convey a more "realistic" representation of Japanese American identity within the context of mainstream American society and culture. His documentaries belong to the Asian American independent film tradition, which directly impacts not only on the type of audience who will watch his movies, but also on their expectations in regards to the content on display. Viewers of Okazaki's dramas expect realistic representation, historical accuracy, contemporary relevance, and real-life answers

8 The quote is taken from the film's script; italics are added. Also cited in Creef 1994, p. 98.

9 Okazaki has also worked directly with Japan's leading public broadcaster NHK, from 1994 to 1996, where he produced some of the earliest HD-TV programming. Two films, *Alone Together: Young Adults Living with HIV* and *Life Was Good: The Claudia Peterson Story*, about a family living next to the Nevada Test Site, won UNESCO Awards.

10 I suggest "arguably" because well-established Japanese crossover actors like Kitano Takeshi, Asano Tadanobu, Sanada Hiroyuki, Kudō Yūki, and Watanabe Ken make sure that the contemporary representation of the Japanese identity is in no danger of being sidelined any time soon.

to complex sociocultural questions that hinge on the formation of the Japanese American identity.

Okazaki's documentaries present a new development in the tradition of cinéma vérité, or cinema of the real, where a tangible absolute truth is negated by exposing the inherent artificiality of film making. The revolutionary part of this type of methodology is that its proponents demonstrate the impossibility of documentary objectivity and the portrayal of the hidden verities in a film's production process. Okazaki's documentaries follow in the footsteps of experimental cinema pioneered by ethnographer Jean Rouch and sociologist Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été* (Chronicle of a Summer, 1961), which aimed to be as true as a documentary but with the content of a fiction film. The aesthetic tradition underlying the methodology of this film came to be known as cinéma vérité, which engaged with its subjects by getting them to talk about their experiences and ambitions. Okazaki's aim in adopting the cinéma vérité methodology is simply to unmask the inherent artificial nature of cinematographic representation. His documentary style clearly establishes that films can, indeed, accurately represent disenfranchised Japanese American identities as protagonists, just as mainstream American film history has eschewed representation of peripheral characters in favor of cultural stereotypes.

Okazaki moves effortlessly from the provocative counter-hegemonic histories of American internment camps in *Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo* (1990), to the contemporary depiction of atomic bomb survivors in *White Light/Black Rain* (2007). Okazaki single-handedly rewrites the portrayal of Japanese Americans in the tradition of the American film industry. Yet, he has not confined himself to Japanese American identity, and in 2009 he began to explore issues of morality and complicity in the story of a sixteen-year-old Khmer Rouge soldier, who was given the job of photographing six thousand men, women, and children before they were tortured and executed (*The Conscience of Nhem En*, 2008). Okazaki turned to Nhem En and the story of Cambodia as a metaphor for exile and historic marginalization that, for him, is symbolic of the larger representation of the Asian American community.

On a more holistic level, besides Okazaki's insistence that documentaries cannot signify absolute truths, his postmodern cinéma vérité eschews fly on the wall types of film in the pursuit of true to life representations of Japanese Americans. Indeed, his work depicts provocative subjects like the discrimination, stereotyping, and deracination of entire communities, and so alerts mainstream society to America's hidden truths.

A Brief Historiography of Asian American Rhetoric

Perhaps no metaphor more appropriately reflects the ambiguities of ethnicity, nation, and culture in the contemporary climate of globalization than "hyphenated identities." That is to say, in today's global cultural communities, where national boundaries have become increasingly irrelevant, cross-cultural or "hyphenated identities" are becoming the norm rather than the exception. It used to be common practice for commentators to reduce a large number of unique and distinct heterogeneous communities under the all-encompassing "Asian American" label. Even though this linguistic merger of two irreconcilably diverse communities, via the simplicity of a horizontal bar, at first glance invokes the transcendency of a nation's singularity and its culture, the practice of hyphenating is nowadays better dismissed as an oversimplification. For instance, Eleanor Ty and Donald Goellnicht

explain in their introduction to *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen* that the colonizing embrace implicit in the nomenclature of "Asian Americans" negates political and national differences via an umbrella term that no longer has the same resonance as it did a decade ago.[11]

Ty and Goellnicht's important essay collection on identity formation proposes to remove the hyphen from Asian American studies, and makes a case for the emergence of a new Asian American subjectivity that moves beyond national and ethnic distinctions towards a transnational way of self-representation. This is precisely the direction in which Steven Okazaki's documentaries have been moving, as they debunk the hegemony implicit in the homogenizing labels of "Asians" and "Americans." His documentaries struggle against those monolithic considerations, and postulate the representation of more abstract, incongruous, and heterogeneous communities with their own unique set of sociocultural assumptions. It is these concerns that explain why Okazaki insists upon displaying the legacy of a specific Japanese American identity through the documentary format: it offers a higher degree of verisimilitude than mainstream film.

Okazaki's films deal with a specific Japanese identity within the context of the larger Asian American cultural tradition, and the insecurity felt by the Asian part of the hybrid identity is becoming more and more obvious on the American side. Identity formation has become increasingly problematic in the emphatically labelled "American film industry," a once reliable marker that has been destabilized by competing discourses arising from a variety of independent Asian American film festivals and other transnational media. It is to the issue of competing identities that Caroline Levander and Robert Levine's collection of essays, *Hemispheric American Studies*, addresses itself. The book focuses on "the complex ruptures that remain within but nonetheless constitute the national frame," and sets out to "put different national and extra-national histories and cultural formations into dialogue."[12] It tackles such important issues as the reframing of disciplinary boundaries within what is generally called "American studies" in order to consider regions, areas, and diasporan affiliations that are engaging different national and extra-national histories and cultural formations in dialogue. In essence, Okazaki's documentaries engage in precisely this sort of reframing process, and shine the spotlight on the Japanese American identity as one such extra-national affiliation. In so doing, they open a dialogue between different identity constructs that transcend the narrow confines of mainstream American individuality.

Timothy Iles suggests that a similar reframing process is taking place in Japanese films, which often display contemporary identity in problematic terms through the clash arising from the presence of the traditional within the modern.[13] Increasingly, it appears, identity formation along boundaries of ethnicity, nation, and culture fails to provide convincing sites where individuals can locate their sense of belonging in today's complex world. It is this very complexity that has led to the emergence of hybrid nomenclature, like "cross-cultural," "multiethnic," and "transnational," which somewhat simplistically seek to combine the supposedly irreconcilable and overriding ideals of homogeneity in diversity.

11 Ty and Goellnicht 2004, pp. 1–2.
12 Levander and Levine 2008, p. 2.
13 Iles 2008, p. 214.

Stereotypical representations of Japanese among Asian Americans in Hollywood films have enjoyed a long tradition. Japanese characters, historically portrayed as undesirables, were never completely absent from images of mainstream America. Hollywood has captured the enigma of this Asian other and, following American involvement in the Pacific War, Asia's inextricable relation to the American identity, in a myriad of complex characterizations ranging from the hackneyed martial arts films championed by Chinese American Bruce Lee to Swiss-Russian born Yul Brynner's roles that foreground a mysterious exoticism in *The King and I* (1956) and *The Magnificent Seven* (1960). More recently, coinciding with the rise of China and its increasing economic power, as well as the cultural "soft power" of the Asian continent, attitudes towards representation of Asian characters have shifted. The stereotypical depiction of Asian characters in the American film industry transformed in the mid-1990s, when Chinese filmmakers such as John Woo, Ang Lee, Chen Kaige, and Joan Chen migrated to Hollywood and began to diversify the theatrical roles available to Asian characters in mainstream films. Subsequently the international following of Chinese films continued to grow and created offspring film communities in India, which in combination with the popularity of Miyazaki Hayao's Japanese animation continued to influence the portrayal of a new Asian identity. This in turn stimulated the re-contextualization of a nascent global cinema tradition. This new global framing of the Asian identity also triggered a change in the frequency and representation of the Japanese body in mainstream American film. Similarly, Okazaki's films also suggest that a transformation has occurred in the perception of Japanese identities in serious documentaries. There is evidently a move away from an idealized model minority to a more realistic casting of lead actors, and this has enabled the growth of positive transnational role models that undermine the influence of cultural ethnocentrism.

This transformation of Japanese identity in American film—from minority diasporic community to a more significant and capable persona existing vis-a-vis the mainstream American identity—is also visible in the formation of a Eurocentric cinematic approach, where minority cultures are internalized into a "global European" community.[14] This new trend of cultural inclusivity reflects the rapidly changing identity formation in the context of global transnational cinema. The new Japanese transcultural and transnational identities have been equally evident not only in film, but also in literature and many other areas of popular cultural representation. This has been documented in a number of studies as the incipient academic paradigm of transnationalism.[15] For instance, LuMing Mao and Morris Young's work on Asian American rhetoric argues that crucial to "conceptualizing Asian American rhetorical space is a need to understand the ideological underpinnings that have imagined, and continue to imagine, Asians (whether in America or elsewhere) as Other, and as foreign against the domestic space of the United States."[16] Their study explores how the alterity of Asian Americans provides an environment of dynamic "togetherness-in-difference," where the interplay of mainstream and diasporic communities in contemporary popular culture creates new cosmopolitan meaning in American society. For people with

14 For details of how European cinematographic coproductions articulate the political and cultural redefinition of a distinct European identity, see Rivi 2007, p. 152.

15 For an investigation of the growing intellectual and cultural wave of cinematic production across and beyond national borders see, for example, Iordanova, Martin-Jones, and Vidal 2010, pp. 46–49.

16 Mao and Young 2008, p. 7.

hyphenated identities, such as Okazaki's Japanese Americans, the denomination of "America" is no longer sufficient. Nor can a homogeneous Hollywood reflect the contemporary film culture of the United States. This exploration of identity fragmentation is also evident in the landmark volume, *The Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in Hollywood* (2002), where James Robert Parish painstakingly explores the ethnic background of five disenfranchised hyphenated groups including African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Jewish Americans, and Native Americans in an attempt to shed light on ethnic minority exclusion in American film. Studies such as these provide important information on the cultural contribution of disenfranchised communities in comparison to mainstream cultures.

It is perhaps a sign of the times we live in that the contribution of minority cultures and the importance of the ethnic dimension of Hollywood are being reevaluated through alternative counter-hegemonic, cross-cultural, and transnational paradigms. Whereas books like Hye-Seung Chung's *Hollywood Asian* (2006) attempt to rewrite Korean American subjectivity in Hollywood cinema, directors like Steven Okazaki use the documentary genre to shine the spotlight on Japanese American identity formation. Hollywood is no longer just "American"; Okazaki's documentaries demythologize a multi-faceted industry that is breathtakingly rich in ethnicity and diverse in culture.

The Role of Steven Okazaki in the Changing Representation of Japanese Americans

Steven Okazaki's cross-cultural sensibility is part of the Asian American film tradition popularized by Jackie Chan and the cast of ethnic Chinese actors brought to the screen in films like Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*.[17] Steven Okazaki is one of a select few Japanese American film directors who have deconstructed strict cultural divides and portrayed eclectic transnational identities through the promulgation of Pan-Pacific cinema. Okazaki's films complicate the existing Japanese American rhetorical space by suggesting that it is not an exclusive entity, but a vibrant and essential aspect of the "new" contemporary American national identity. In the context of globalization, this new American identity has already formed its own novel historical discourse vis-à-vis the dominant discourse of the settlement of the American continent by Europeans. Through his documentaries, Okazaki reconstructs the discourse of Japanese American history in dialogue with the established historical discourse of disenfranchisement. On a global level, this scope ranges from the internment camps resulting from World War II to the *hibakusha* community arising from the Pacific War and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Okazaki's films highlight the existence of *zaibei* 在米 or America-resident *hibakusha* not as a dividing presence but as a transnational community that arose phoenix-like out of the war and provides a vital building block for Japanese American identity formation.

Through engaging with divisive dichotomies, like self versus other, or insider versus outsider, across sociopolitical as well as ethno-cultural spheres, Okazaki develops counter-hegemonic discourses in his films.

---

17 This includes a vast number of American actors who attempted to represent—at least philosophically—an Americanized version of Asian martial arts, such as Chuck Norris, Steven Segal, and many others. Their trademark is a fake Asiatic sentimentality.

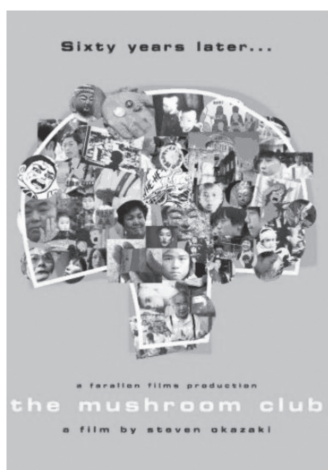

Figure 2. *The Mushroom Club* (2005) poster.

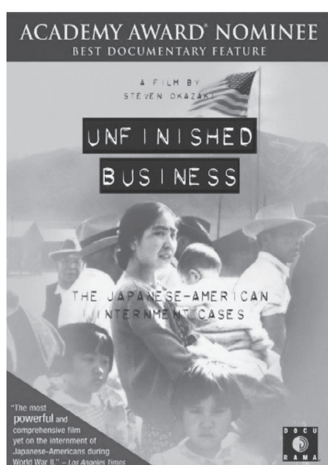

Figure 3. *Unfinished Business* (1985) poster.

For instance, in *The Mushroom Club* (2005), which is the forerunner of *White Light/Black Rain* produced two years later, but with a similar theme, style, and cast, Okazaki focuses on the alterity of the so-called *Kinoko kai*. Translated verbatim as *Mushroom Club*, it consists of a group of people diagnosed with microcephaly or "small-headedness." One of his protagonists, Yuriko Hatanaka, aged fifty-nine, has the mental ability of a two-year-old as a result of her mother experiencing the atomic bombing and being exposed to the bomb's radiation three months into her pregnancy. Her story is that of an outsider who waited thirty years for Japanese and American scientists to admit to her parents that her mental and physical disabilities were caused by radiation exposure. By foregrounding those few remaining victims of the atomic bombings some seventy years ago, Okazaki's films are a memorial to the atomic bombings, the memory of which is now under threat of becoming inaccessible to a new generation of Japanese and to audiences the world over.

Okazaki also juxtaposes the moral conundrum arising from the Pacific War with alternative tropes like mass incarcerations in the United States as well as the legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For example, in *Unfinished Business*, produced during the early part of his career, Okazaki narrates the sociopolitical history of Japanese internment in the United States via the personal stories of three victims. Their stories become the palimpsest for the generational development of Japanese Americans, from the first generation *issei* immigrants to the American-born *nisei* generation (who bore the psychic scars of internment quietly for several decades, preferring cultural assimilation to antagonism), and finally to the politicized third generation *sansei*, who reintroduced the internment into public discussion in the 1970s, demanding reparations.[18]

Okazaki's documentaries remind us that for many Americans the supposedly moral and just war in the Asia Pacific continues to define their contemporary sense of authority to speak or write about global realities. Okazaki supplants this authority with the equally convincing reality of the wholesale internment of Japanese Americans and the nuclear bombings of entire communities, which he argues should continue to weigh heavily on American identity and the sense of morality. Most importantly, his documentaries reveal that the representation of these events and their perception in American society have

18 See, for example, the review by Strub (2005). For details about the eyewitnesses portrayed in *Unfinished Business*, see Bannai 2015, p. 40.

changed with the passage of time. While researching his 2007 film, *White Light/Black Rain*, Okazaki asked young people in Tokyo's trendy Harajuku district about the significance of 6 August 1945. His expectation was that at least some would recognize the date as signifying the day Hiroshima was bombed. "We asked, and all of them said 'I don't know,' said Okazaki. It was not a big survey, but not one of them knew the significance (of the date). And these people will grow up to be the voters of Japan."[19]

In brief, from the discourse on American internment camps in *Unfinished Business* (1985) and *Days of Waiting* (1990) to his re-conceptualization of the dropping of the atomic bombs in *White Light/Black Rain* (2007), *mise en scènes* in Okazaki's documentaries bridge the Japan/American Pacific divide in imaginative ways that destabilize the simplicity of the self-versus-other dichotomy.

HiroshimaNagasaki: White Light, Black Rain

In Japan, Okazaki met with more than five hundred Japanese survivors of the bombings to produce his documentary *White Light, Black Rain*, which was renamed and marketed in Japan as *HiroshimaNagasaki* (ヒロシマナガサキ). The director also collected over one hundred interviews from Hiroshima and Nagasaki before settling on the fourteen *hibakusha* who feature in the film. They include the famous manga artist Nakazawa Keiji 中沢啓治 and Sasamori Shigeko 笹森恵子, one of the so-called Hiroshima Maidens, who went to the United States for reconstructive plastic surgery. In order to balance his reportage, Okazaki also interviewed four Americans for the film, including Morris R. Jeppson, the weapons test officer, as well as Theodore Van Kirk, navigator, who were on board the Enola Gay during the bombing missions. In so doing, Okazaki weaves together a powerful narrative of the recollections of the survivors and of eyewitness accounts of the atomic bombs that destroyed two entire Japanese metropolises in 1945.[20]

As Okazaki's final film on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *White Light, Black Rain* is a rich montage of paintings and photographs accompanied by voice-overs that combine into a multidimensional display of one of humanity's greatest tragedies. In Okazaki's representation of the atomic bombings, the two place names of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as if strangely intertwined, are combined into a single neologism to create the movie's Japanese title, *HiroshimaNagasaki*. This is not a mistake, and neither should the two places be separated by a hyphen. This neologism reflects the fusion of two traumatic geographical sites into a single space that redefined the history of Japan and, by extension, human kind. The emphatic brevity of the Japanese title, *HiroshimaNagasaki*, eschews the long-winded English title.

Even though Okazaki's eclectic mix of interviews provides the foundation of the film, his cinematographic collage incorporates examples from the manga of Nakazawa Keiji, whose rendition of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, *Hadashi no Gen* はだしのゲン (Barefoot Gen), has since become available in English through the efforts of a volunteer

19 Willingham 2006. It is interesting to question whether a different result would have been obtained by asking about the significance of "the twentieth year of Showa," rather than of 1945. Nonetheless, the importance of the message of the film regarding the diminishing historical memory of the events remains.

20 During the shooting of the film, the memory of 9.11 lent credence to the revisitation of historical holocausts, as has been observed by Derry 2009, pp. 261–62.

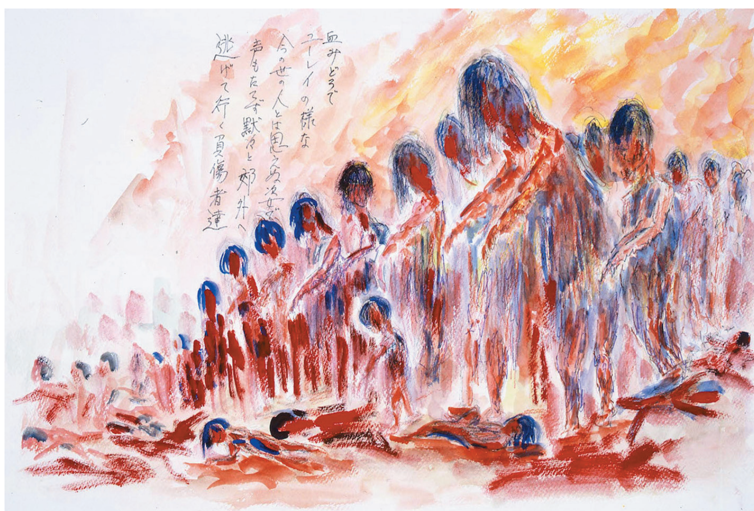

Figure 4. One of several drawings from atomic bomb survivors shown in Okazaki's *White Light, Black Rain*. Original image created by Yoshimura Kichisuke. Image courtesy of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

organization, Project Gen, formed in 1976. *Barefoot Gen* was one of the first manga ever published in English.

Okazaki originally intended to show *White Light, Black Rain* in 1995 for the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing but, due to the political controversy surrounding the Enola Gay exhibition at the Smithsonian Museum, he only finally completed the project for the sixtieth anniversary in 2005.[21]

White Light, Black Rain was Okazaki's fourth documentary film about the atomic bombings.[22] Released across the United States on HBO cable TV on 6 August 2007, it reached a broad audience and provided an alternative perspective to the orthodox view of the dropping of the atomic bomb. In Japan, too, it was released in 2007 amid increasing concern on the part of Okazaki that the legacy of the only deployment of nuclear weapons in history was underrepresented and has become progressively inaccessible to Japan's younger generations. Shigesawa Atsuko 繁沢敦子, translator and coproducer of the film, has herself written extensively about the "contracting" and declining cultural memory of the atomic bombings in Japan.[23]

---

21 The exhibition held in 1994 was accused of overemphasizing the victimization of Japan, and for not sufficiently explaining the motivation for the atomic bombings. It raised the historical revision of bombing to national attention and, after failing to satisfy various interest groups, the exhibition was cancelled. For a detailed discussion, see, for example, Barta 1998, pp. 47–49. For an investigation of the revisionism of Hiroshima, see Maddox 2007, pp. 1–5.

22 Okazaki had produced *Judy & Paul* in 1980 as the first of several films on the dropping of the Atomic Bombs. In 1982 he produced the documentary *Survivors* about the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In 2005 he produced *The Mushroom Club*, a documentary about his journey to Japan to interview atomic bomb survivors for the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

23 Shigesawa 2006, pp. 228–29. For a detailed analysis of the topic, see also Selden 2007.

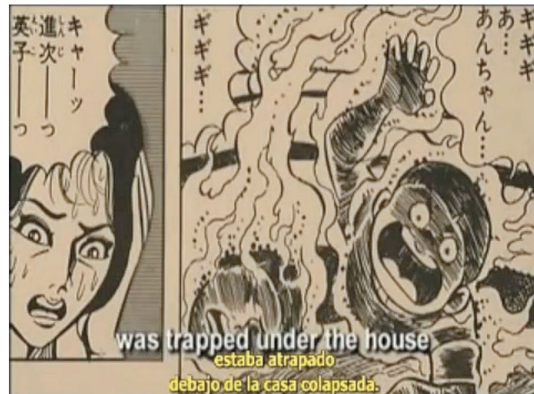

Figure 5. Nakazawa Keiji's own childhood experience of the atomic bombing is rendered in manga panels, which are used as montage techniques in the documentary.

The same failing is true for the United States where the memory, and especially the imagery, of the atomic bombings have long been suppressed. In an interview published in 2007 in one of Japan's oldest popular movie magazines, *Kinema junpō* キネマ旬報, Okazaki and the Japanese film critic Watanabe Hiroshi discussed the lack of historical representation of the bombing in America and the significance of Okazaki's film in highlighting how Asian American history has been underrepresented in the American media.[24] Okazaki revealed here that he saw the first images of the atomic bombings, banned from public release in the United States, through scenes in Alain Resnais' film *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959).

It was in 1983, shortly after the broadcast of the ABC Television Network drama *The Day After*—which hypothesized a nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States—that the Pentagon first transferred images of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings to the National Archives for public viewing. The absence of images depicting the bombings is one of the most conspicuous omissions in American history. It is only recently, by and large through the efforts of the growing transnational communities in America and of directors such as Okazaki, that the representation of the nuclear legacy of Japanese identities in American film has become possible.

The public perception of Japanese American identities in the United States was jolted by the film's revelation of how many Korean and other non-Japanese nationalities were affected by the atomic bombing. Once again, Okazaki was a key figure in the projection of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a traumatic site of memory that involved all nations on earth and not just Japan, when he met the chairman of the Association for Resident American Hibakusha, Kuramoto Kanji 倉本寛司, in 1980. Okazaki had received a call from Kuramoto, inviting him to fly to Los Angeles immediately and film *hibakusha* Judith Enseki, who was dying of cancer.[25] The film he subsequently made of his discussion with Enseki was the beginning of the representation in American cinema of a group of individuals who straddled the Japan/America divide through their illness caused by the atomic bombing. Okazaki turned this interview into the short film *Judy & Paul* (1980), which was also one of the first works in the United States to depict the negative ramifications of the atomic bombings. The film was shown at the Sundance Film Festival and the Human Rights International Festival, and Okazaki's introduction of the grotesque, malformed Japanese body into American popular cultural discourse demanded of Americans an acknowledgement of, and sense of responsibility for, the legacy of the Pacific War.

24 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 66.
25 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 68.

Although Okazaki initially produced the documentary for special interest groups in America, it was shown several times in Japan and later also on HBO. There it reached a much larger audience than initially anticipated. It is difficult to gauge the reception of the film by mainstream audiences in Japan and the States, but in an interview with Michael Guillen in 2007, Okazaki observed that some of the progressive political response to the film had been much better than anticipated. Although Okazaki was initially reluctant, the documentary was also shown to high school audiences in the U.S., indicating that public interest in Japanese American issues was strong.[26] Films like Okazaki's *White Light, Black Rain* and books such as Sodei Rinjirō's 袖井林二郎 *Watashi-tachi wa teki datta no ka: Zaibei hibakusha no mokushiroku* 私たちは敵だったのか: 在米ヒバクシャの黙示録 (*Were We the Enemy? American Survivors of Hiroshima*, 1978), which commemorates the three thousand *nisei* who died from the atomic blast in Hiroshima, and documents the plight of another one thousand *hibakusha*, who returned to the West Coast after the war, significantly increased the public profile of the Japanese American transnational community in the United States and their representation in American popular culture.

Docudrama: "Asian" American Sons

Steven Okazaki's cinematic representations of diasporic communities have helped to debunk the stereotypes surrounding Asian American identity and helped to redefine it as an integral part of the American national discourse. He has used previously unimagined artifices such as roundtable discussions, showing dual perspectives with interviews from American and Japanese eyewitnesses, as well as the incorporation of manga stills and personal photographs. Okazaki's films have provided a distinct identity platform for the disenfranchised communities of Asian Americans, and in particular Japanese Americans, whose diversity in the global context has received little attention from anthropologists, sociologists, and historians. Nobuko Adachi's study, *Japanese Diasporas*, analyzes their global diversity and highlights their importance as a vital element in the continual reshaping of mainstream culture.[27] In 1994, Okazaki produced the film *American Sons*, as a response to the inadequate cinematic portrayal of Asian American masculinity. The docudrama focused on the lives of Asian American men as shaped by racism. The cast is a cleverly composed ethnic mixture consisting of Kelvin Han Yee, who plays Mitchell, a Chinese American; James, played by Yuji Okumoto, is a Korean American adopted by a middle class white couple; Ron Muriera plays Danny, a Filipino American; and Lane Nishikawa is Robert, a third generation Japanese American. The actors retell factual stories of hate violence, and the stereotypes forced on Asian men, based upon interviews with Asian Americans throughout the United States. Okazaki's film engages the myth of Asian identity in America as an ideal minority, and analyzes the deep psychological scars that racism causes over generations. *American Sons* opens with a series of portraits introducing the four main characters against a photo studio backdrop that suggests an interview taking place. Characters are filmed performing lengthy monologues that reflect their experiences as Americans with Asian heritage. For instance, James, the character with Korean ancestry, relates how his migrant parents were not interested in his wish to learn more about Korean culture. Despite their

26 Guillen 2007.
27 Adachi 2006, pp. 5–20.

Figure 6. Actors portraying Asian American identity in Steven Okazaki's *American Sons*. From left to right, Kelvin Han Yee as Chinese American Mitchell, Yuji Okumoto as Korean American James, Lane Nishikawa as Japanese American Robert, and Ron Muriera as Filipino American Danny.

objections, James chose to form relationships with other Asian Americans in college, and discovered a community in the shared sense of confusion and alienation surrounding his identity. He eventually married a Japanese American girl, and enjoyed the memory of the cultural connection he felt while participating in a performance of traditional Korean drums. Yet, James also suggests that it is his "hybridity" as a Korean American that traps him forever in between cultural associations. He tells how when he visits his country of birth, he is instantly labelled as an American whenever he opens his mouth, and realizes that he can never be Korean either.

> So, I float. I was born in Korea but I have no roots there. I grew up in America but I'm not welcome here. I just float. That's what being Asian American feels like.[28]

James' insightful observation is applicable to all identities portrayed in *American Sons*, and it is through this insistence in his films on the relativity of one's identity that Okazaki promotes the notion of hybridity. Okazaki adopts the multivalence of his characters' identities to explore notions of hybridity; he also carefully constructs the form of his films to undermine stereotypical singularities. The revolutionary format of the film's cinematographic expression employs the simple technique of the *zadankai* (roundtable talk) with four Asian American actors, who narrate their own story as if responding to questions from a moderator, which in this case is the director Okazaki himself. With this Japanese-inspired framing device, Okazaki's theatrical piece reinvigorates the dialogue of Asian American self-representation. Okazaki's defamiliarization of the Asian American identity dilemma in *American Sons* is rooted in his adoption of hybridity as a structural device to blend his favorite genre of the documentary with theatrical artifices. This blending of differences results in an aesthetic expression of the stigma experienced by people of color.

28 Feng 1996, p. 29.

Here the mixing of cinematic forms resonates with the stereotypical ethnic and cultural "impurity" of the actors on the screen.

Okazaki's multiracial staged documentary is as much a dramatization as it is a mockumentary. Unfortunately, it appears that Okazaki may have alienated his audience with his eclectic multiethnic cast. This after all was 1994, well before Asian cinema became globally popular.[29] In his review of *American Sons* in the popular film periodical *Cinecast*, Peter Feng suggested that for typecast Asian American men, who have been emasculated or ignored by the popular cultural media, the display of violence and anger provides a dramatic means of redefining their masculinity. That *American Sons* was rarely shown at theaters in America was due in large part to the provocative anger displayed by the film's main character Mitchell. Feng's analysis insinuates that Mitchell's anger is unrelenting and counter-productive to the "improvement" of Asian American relations in a pluralist American society: "Racism made me the way I look, the way I walk, the way I talk."

Mitchell also admits that he might have been something besides a bouncer had he grown up in a different atmosphere. But he refuses to let other Asian Americans off the hook: "I meet Asian Americans who say they've never experienced prejudice in their lives." They say, "Why are you so angry? Racism's never affected me." I look at them and I think, "Whoa—check again, brother! You got your shoulders hunched up, your eyes are staring at the ground, you're so used to being treated like a houseboy you don't even know the difference. You're so oppressed you think it's normal!"[30]

Provocative and perhaps somewhat true in a cynical way, these sentiments and Mitchell's pent-up anger may unfortunately have prevented *American Sons* from reaching out to a wider Asian or perhaps global audience. This failure to appeal is also due in part to the underlying historical legacy of the Japanese colonization of Korea and China during the Pacific War. The subtext is not spelt out in Okazaki's films, but contemporary reconciliation is hampered by unresolved issues from Japan's colonial period. For instance, recalcitrant disputes over *ianfu* 慰安婦 or "comfort women," unresolved wartime financial reparations, controversial visits to Yasukuni Shrine repeated by Japanese politicians, in addition to escalating territorial disputes, remain major stumbling blocks between Japan and the nations of Asia. In this regard, the film also epitomizes the existing internal tension between China, Korea, and Japan during the 1990s after the end of the Cold War.[31]

With its sense of incompatibility of racial identities and even malevolence, *American Sons* draws attention to the importance of ethnicity in the perception and representation

29 The relatively recent transition to a more ethnically inclusive global cinema is evident in a variety of genres such as interracial martial arts comedies like the *Rush Hour* franchise starring Jackie Chan and Chris Tucker, or the increasing popularity of animation pioneered by Japanese anime director Miyazaki Hayao. Both genres display carefully painted protagonists that resemble Westernized avatars. Other examples include more serious works like *Romeo Must Die* (2000), which although loosely adapted from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, has been modernized to involve two hyphenated families (African American and Asian American) fighting over a piece of waterfront property; it stars Jet Li and Russell Wong.

30 Feng 1996, p. 29.

31 Several issues plagued the China-Japan relationship in the 1990s including, for example, the perception of a security threat due to Tokyo and Washington's reinforced alliance in the face of the escalating North Korean crisis. In addition, China's rapid economic growth and Japan's declining bubble economy led to a decrease in Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to China. In combination, these issues led to an increase in anti-Japanese sentiment within Chinese society, which was also felt by Japanese and Chinese communities across the world.

of Asian identities. The emotional intensity and cross-cultural complexity involved in Okazaki's juxtaposition of several Asian ethnicities may have been too much for many viewers. When Asian identities are shuffled, as with Yuji Okumoto playing James, who is cast as a Korean American in *American Sons*, or again with Chinese actresses Gong Li and Zhang Ziyi playing the roles of Japanese geisha in *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005), a complex sense of historical humiliation and inaccuracy is generated. Just as with Okazaki's films, *Memoirs of a Geisha* deconstructed the uniqueness of national stereotypes, and whether American Japanese or Chinese Japanese, the film played with the audience's sense of national values. Even though *Memoirs of a Geisha* was the first Hollywood movie featuring only Asian actors, it was heavily criticized for featuring "the wrong Asians." The film was eventually banned in China because of government fears that it could fan the flames of anti-Japanese sentiment.[32] This criticism is reminiscent of what Commers, Vandekerckhove, and Verlinden have described as the Asian values movement, which originally surfaced in the 1990s in Singapore and espoused a specific set of Asian ethical values in opposition to the imposition of Western values arising out of the colonial legacy.[33] Okazaki's documentaries explore how Asian values compete and clash with mainstream American ethical values and create a dialogue around the complex interaction between issues including Asian equality, a pan-Asian identity, and a sense of Asian collectivism rooted in the Asian values movement.

For Asians, the physical differences between Japanese, Chinese, and many other ethnicities are often obvious, and there is evidence that they strongly object to national traits of their culture being portrayed by other nationals. Needless to say, this is similar to when British audiences object to Americans playing them in movies, or when Americans object to characters being played by Brits. Renowned director Chen Kaige, for example, argued that a Chinese woman cannot portray a Japanese geisha because a geisha is a traditional feature of Japanese culture.[34] Hollywood still has a lot to learn when it comes to the representation of Asian identities in American films, but it is through the continuing efforts of directors like Okazaki that the shared American experience of Asian identity is being explored in new and innovative ways.

A remarkable six of Steven Okazaki's films have played nationwide on the American non-profit PBS, but the pluralism in *American Sons* was perhaps too radical for PBS's target audience. Ironically, it may have done too good a job of giving a voice to the disenfranchised Asian American identity. Members of America's fringe ethnic communities may not have been able to identify with the reactionary attitude of these men, who rejected the stereotype of the emasculated, silent, and obedient Asian American cultural heritage. However, the sense of estrangement experienced by non-mainstream Americans was precisely the point that *American Sons* wanted to make in order to stir a debate about the stereotypical construction of identities in a supposedly homogeneous American society.

Undoubtedly, the film's sense of anger was a subliminal expression of director Okazaki's own repressed feelings. Yet, much has changed since Okazaki's theatrical roundtable talk was aired in 1996. In America, the maturation and expansion of the Asian American International Film Festival, inaugurated in 1978 to provide a voice in a

32 Coonan 2006.
33 Commers, Vandekerckhove, and Verlinden 2008, pp. 96–100.
34 Mottram 2005.

landscape dominated by European Americans, has since driven a dramatic increase in the number of countries represented, and a greater array of stories that parallel, mirror, and resonate with the Asian American experience.[35] The festival also placed Asian American identity within a much larger global context of disenfranchised diasporic groups vying for national recognition alongside mainstream cultures. In this context, *American Sons*, with its provocative combination of naturalistic techniques and stylized cinematic devices, endures as Okazaki's masterpiece of cinéma vérité. Yet, despite Okazaki's failure to garner widespread public support with this serious documentary, others have had more success through the disarming power of irony and humor. For example, *The Flip Side* (2001) became the first Asian American film to premier at the Sundance Film Festival, the largest independent cinema festival in the United States. This iconic film by director Rod Pulido explores the Filipino American Delacruz clan, and humorously depicts the identity crisis that many Filipino youths experience due to the lack of suitable Filipino role models in the American media.

In another example, the Center for Asian American Media (CAAM), founded in 1980, has now developed into one of the largest organizations dedicated to the advancement of Asian Americans in independent media, in particular television and filmmaking. CAAM took over the planning, programming, and management of the high-profile San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival, and in 2005 created its first competitive awards categories of Best Asian American Feature and Best Asian American Documentary. These and many other support organizations have transformed the voices of Asian Americans into a well-established community that contributes cross-cultural understanding to an increasingly pluralistic American society.

Towards a Conclusion: The Japanese Reception of Okazaki's Films

Through the foregoing analysis of Okazaki's cinéma vérité, this paper has demonstrated how hyphenated identities are not merely a means to the end of differentiating between various racial groups but rather provide an end in and of themselves. I have argued that Okazaki has been instrumental in transforming such cultural stereotypes as assumptions of mainstream homogeneity into an acceptance of pluralism and hybridity in American culture. The neorealism Okazaki displays in his films has the psychological power not only to reflect and shape the daily realities of hyphenated identities, but also to affect identity formation in radically cathartic ways. Mary Banks Gregerson has revealed in her treatise on "cinematherapy" that many clinicians reach for the stimuli of popular films to teach clients how to behave, feel, and think, so turning the visionary aims of films into concrete realities.[36] A similar mechanism is at work in Okazaki's documentaries, where through the portrayal of disenfranchised communities he strives to relieve the trauma related to identity formation and to challenge Hollywood's portrayal of the archetypical American way of life. Despite the fact that Japan is juxtaposed in several of Okazaki's films as the American alter-ego where the main protagonists of many of his documentaries find their origin, it is

35 The festival was organized by the nonprofit media arts organization Asian CineVision (ACV), which was founded by grassroots activists in 1975, and is dedicated to the promotion and preservation of Asian and Asian American media expressions. It is considered the first Asian American film festival in the United States, and is the longest running film festival in New York City.

36 Gregerson 2010, p. 7.

difficult to ascertain how Okazaki's documentaries were received in Japan. The Japanese media coverage of his films is scarce, and only a handful of articles—mainly interviews such as the one that appeared in the aforementioned *Kinema junpō*—about his films have been published in mainstream movie magazines. As is clear from an interview in the film magazine *Shine furonto* シネ・フロント published for the release of *HiroshimaNagasaki*, Okazaki's film focuses solemnly on the voices of the *hibakusha* community and does not engage with the Japanese discourse surrounding the atomic bombings in Japan.[37] At the time of writing this paper, no serious criticism of his films has been published in Japan. However, there is evidence that some critics see Okazaki's refusal to use existing archival footage and interview material available at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum as an unacceptable neglect of the rich tradition of *hibakusha* research in Japan.[38] This could have easily been misconstrued as another example of an outside film director making his/her own interpretation of events without fully understanding the rich history and background of the topic. Yet with four documentaries about *hibakusha* under his belt, Okazaki surely qualifies as an expert on the topic.

Okazaki's specialized focus on the *zaibei hibakusha* community makes him a pioneer in the field of popular cultural representation of the Japanese American community as well as transnational issues arising out of the legacy of the Pacific War. His exploration of the legacy of atomic bomb victims who went to the United States both for treatment and to escape ostracism back in Japan brings another dimension to the reimagining of Japanese American identity formation in the United States. Steve Okazaki's films successfully remove the formerly customary hyphen between the "Japanese American" compound identity markers, and help to develop a new sense of subcultural inclusivity in contemporary global societies. His documentaries reveal that Japanese American ethnicity and nationality are inextricably linked to the multicultural contemporary American identity and have become a vital part of the complex process of identity formation in the United States.

REFERENCES

Adachi 2006

Nobuko Adachi. *Japanese Diasporas: Unsung Pasts, Conflicting Presents, and Uncertain Futures*. Routledge, 2006.

Bannai 2015

Lorraine K. Bannai. *Enduring Conviction: Fred Korematsu and His Quest for Justice*. University of Washington Press, 2015.

Barta 1998

Tony Barta, ed. *Screening the Past: Film and the Representation of History*. Praeger, 1998.

Chung 2006

Hye-Seung Chung. *Hollywood Asian: Philip Ahn and the Politics of Cross-Ethnic Performance*. Temple University Press, 2006.

37 Okazaki 2007a, p. 39.

38 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 68.

Commers, Vandekerckhove, and Verlinden 2008
Ronald M. S. Commers, Wim Vandekerckhove, and An Verlinden, eds. *Ethics in an Era of Globalization*. Ashgate, 2008.

Coonan 2006
Clifford Coonan. "'Memoirs of a Geisha' banned by Beijing in row over Chinese stars." *Independent*, 2 February 2006. http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/news/memoirs-of-a-geisha-banned-by-beijing-in-row-over-chinese-stars-6110016.html.

Creef 1994
Elena Tajima Creef. "Re/orientations: The Politics of Japanese American Representation." PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1994.

Derry 2009
Charles Derry. *Dark Dreams 2.0: A Psychological History of the Modern Horror Film from the 1950s to the 21st Century*. McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009.

Dreamer 2014
David Dreamer. *Deleuze, Japanese Cinema, and the Atom Bomb: The Spectre of Impossibility*. Bloomsbury, 2014.

Feng 1996
Peter Feng. "Redefining Asian American Masculinity: Steven Okazaki's 'American Sons.'" *Cineaste* 22.3 (Summer 1996): pp. 27–30.

Feng 2002
Peter Feng. *Identities in Motion: Asian American Film and Video*. Duke University Press, 2002.

Gregerson 2010
Mary Banks Gregerson, ed. *The Cinematic Mirror for Psychology and Life Coaching*. Springer-Verlag, 2010.

Guillen 2007
Michael Guillen. "White Light Black Rain: Interview With Steven Okazaki." *Twitch*, 2 August 2007. http://twitchfilm.net/interviews/2007/08/white-light-black-raininterview-with-steven-okazaki.php#extended.

Hamamoto and Liu 2000
Darrell Y. Hamamoto and Sandra Liu, eds. *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism*. Temple University Press, 2000.

Iles 2008
Timothy Iles. *The Crisis of Identity in Contemporary Japanese Film: Personal, Cultural, National*. Brill, 2008.

Iordanova, Martin-Jones, and Vidal 2010
Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, and Belén Vidal, eds. *Cinema at the Periphery*. Wayne State University, 2010.

Kanō and Mizuno, 1965
Kanō Ryūichi 加納竜一 and Mizuno Hajime 水野肇. *Hiroshima nijūnen: Genbaku kiroku eiga seisakusha no shōgen* ヒロシマ二十年: 原爆記録映画製作者の証言. Kōbundō, 1965.

Levander and Levine 2008
Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine, eds. *Hemispheric American Studies*. Rutgers University Press, 2008.
Maddox 2007
Robert James Maddox. *Hiroshima in History: The Myths of Revisionism*. University of Missouri Press, 2007.
Mao and Young 2008
LuMing Mao and Morris Young, eds. *Representations: Doing Asian American Rhetoric*. Utah State University Press, 2008.
Mottram 2005
James Mottram. "Trouble in the Tea House." *Independent*, 23 December 2005. http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/films/features/trouble-in-the-tea-house-520418.html?amp.
Nornes 2003
Abé Mark Nornes. *Japanese Documentary Film: The Meiji Era Through Hiroshima*. University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
Okazaki 2007a
Steven Okazaki スティーヴン・オカザキ. "Tokushū 'HiroshimaNagasaki': Sutībun Okazaki kantoku: Kisha kaiken yori: Jūyonin no hibakusha to genbaku tōka ni kanyo shita yonin no Amerikajin no shōgen ni shibori higaisha jishin no koe o kiku koto o kokorogaketa." 特集「ヒロシマナガサキ」: スティーヴン・オカザキ監督: 記者会見より: 14人の被爆者と原爆投下に関与した4人のアメリカ人の証言にしぼり被爆者自身の声を聞くことを心がけた. *Shine furonto* シネ・フロント 356 (August 2007): pp. 36–39.
Okazaki 2007b
Steven Okazaki. "An interview with Steven Okazaki." *Women in World Cinema*, 5 August 2007. http://www.womeninworldcinema.com/2007/08/interview-with-steven-okazaki-director.html.
Okazaki and Watanabe 2007
Steven Okazaki and Watanabe Hiroshi 渡辺浩. "Taidan: 'HiroshimaNagasaki' o megutte" 対談:「ヒロシマナガサキ」をめぐって. *Kinema junpō* キネマ旬報 (August 2007), pp. 65–69.
Ono 2004
Kent A. Ono, ed. *A Companion to Asian American Studies*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2004.
Parish 2002
James Robert Parish and Allan Taylor, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in Hollywood*. Facts on File, 2002.
Quayson and Daswani 2013
Ato Quayson and Girish Daswani, eds. *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*. Wiley Blackwell, 2013.
Rivi 2007
Luisa Rivi. *European Cinema After 1989: Cultural Identity and Transnational Production*. Palgrave McMillan, 2007.
Rutherford 1990
Jonathan Rutherford. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.

Selden 2007

Mark Selden. "A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities and the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq." *Japan Focus*, 2 May 2007. http://www.japanfocus.org/-Mark-Selden/2414.

Shigesawa 2006

Shigesawa Atsuko 繁沢敦子. "Sengo 61 nen shukushō suru Hiroshima, wasuresarareru sensō." 戦後61年縮小するヒロシマ、忘れ去られる戦争. *Sekai* 世界 (September 2006), pp. 228–35.

Sodei 1978

Sodei Rinjirō 袖井林二郎. *Watashitachi wa teki datta no ka: Zaibei hibakusha no mokushiroku* 私たちは敵だったのか: 在米ヒバクシャの黙示録. Ushio shuppansha, 1978.

Sodei 2000

Rinjiro Sodei. *Were We the Enemy? American Survivors of Hiroshima*. Trans. John Junkerman. Westview Press, 2000.

Strub 2005

Whitney Strub. "Unfinished Business: The Japanese-American Internment Cases (1984)" *PopMatters*, 25 December 2005. http://www.popmatters.com/review/unfinished-business-1984.

Ty and Goellnicht 2004

Eleanor Ty and Donald C. Goellnicht, eds. *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen*. Indiana University Press, 2004.

Willingham 2006

Mandy Willingham. "A-bomb Legacy Fading: Steven Okazaki films hibakusha stories for future generation." *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, April 16 2006. http://japanfocus.org/-Mandy-Willingham/1751.

APPENDIX

Steven Okazaki Filmography

(1976) *A-M-E-R-I-C-A-N-S*
(1980) *Judy & Paul*
(1982) *Survivors*
(1983) *The Only Language She Knows*
(1985) *Unfinished Business*
(1987) *Living on Tokyo Time*
(1988) *Hunting Tigers*
(1990) *Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo*
(1992) *Troubled Paradise*
(1993) *The Lisa Theory*
(1994) *American Sons*
(1995) *Alone Together: Young Adults Living with HIV*
(1996) *Life Was Good: The Claudia Peterson Story*
(1999) *Black Tar Heroin: The Dark End of the Street*
(2002) *The Fair*
(2005) *Rehab*
(2005) *The Mushroom Club*
(2007) *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*
(2008) *The Conscience of Nhem En*
(2009) *Unlisted: A Story of Schizophrenia*
(2010) *Crushed: The Oxycontin Interviews*
(2011) *Approximately Nels Cline*
(2011) *All We Could Carry*
(2015) *Heroin: Cape Cod, USA*