

“The Depiction of Chinese Diaspora in The Shade of Trees and Minority Groups in Sata Ineko’ s Oeuvre”

Hayashi, Hiro Mitsuo

Department of Integrated Sciences for Global Society, Graduate School of Integrated Sciences for Global Society, Kyushu University

<https://doi.org/10.15017/1854990>

出版情報：地球社会統合科学研究. 7, pp.135-145, 2017-09-25. 九州大学大学院地球社会統合科学府
バージョン：
権利関係：

“The Depiction of Chinese Diaspora in *The Shade of Trees* and Minority Groups in Sata Ineko’s Oeuvre”

Hiro Mitsuo Hayashi

Abstract

This paper examines the 1973 novel *The Shade of Trees* (樹影, *Juei*) by Sata Ineko 佐多稲子 and analyzes the role that minority groups played in Sata’s wider oeuvre and to shed light on the experience of atomic bomb survivors of Chinese origin.

Through providing background to the *The Shade of Trees*, textual analysis of the story, and an examination of the societal and political backdrop to the story, this paper explores how minorities are represented in Sata’s atomic bomb-related literature and highlights how she maintained an interest in groups at the margins of society throughout her career.

Sata’s depiction of Chinese heritage bomb victims provides insight into Nagasaki in the post-war period and helps underscore that the atomic attacks were not just experienced by one homogenous group of people. Through focusing on the work of Sata, this research aims to ensure that the suffering of often-forgotten victims of the atomic bombings are not consigned to history.

Introduction

This paper examines Sata Ineko’s depiction of the Chinese diaspora in *The Shade of Trees* (樹影, *Juei*) in order to better understand the role that minority groups played in her literature and shed light on the experience of atomic bomb survivors of Chinese origin.

Sata’s treatment of the marginalized and the atomic bomb have both been discussed in Western analysis exploring her life and work; however, the relationship between the two, specifically how minorities are

represented in her bomb-related literature, have not been discussed in such detail. This paper explores how these two themes overlap by means of textual analysis of *The Shade of Trees*, alongside an examination of the societal and political backdrop to the story. John Whittier Treat’s chapter “Nagasaki: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb” from his seminal work *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb*, and Hasegawa Kei’s work *Sata Ineko ron* are used as resources in conducting this research.

Sata’s oeuvre is often split into three sections, her early proletarian literature, her *tenkō* and wartime writings, as well as her post-war and later works. By exploring Sata’s portrayal of post-war Nagasaki, this paper will show that there were issues that Sata explored throughout her long and varied career as a writer, particularly marginalized and underprivileged groups in society.

One of Sata’s most critically acclaimed pieces of work, *The Shade of Trees*, is noteworthy for examining the experience of a doubly marginalized protagonist of Chinese heritage, named Keiko, a survivor of the Nagasaki bombing. The book follows a linear time frame and this paper provide an analysis that follows the same. Using Treat’s research as a model, the story will be split into smaller sub-categories, Keiko and her Chinese Heritage; Keiko, Asada and the Bomb; Keiko and Asada’s Physical Decline; and Keiko’s Final Years, before arriving at a conclusion and offering suggestions for future research. But first a brief background to the work.

Background to Sata’s *The Shade of Trees*

Sata was not in her birthplace of Nagasaki at the

time when the atomic bomb was dropped, but living in Tokyo. For a long time Sata felt that it would be inappropriate and “arrogant” to write about the atomic bomb from second-hand impressions.¹ She did not think it would be correct to write about the topic entirely from her own perspective.² Sata’s view changed when she met a hospitalized victim of the Nagasaki bombing who convinced her that she had a duty as a writer and Nagasaki native to write about the city.³ Sata also lost personal friends, who lived through the Nagasaki bombing, to radiation disease. Sata was shocked that somebody she had known died due to the effects of the bomb; she describes her disbelief at hearing about the passing of her friend, “When I heard the news, I thought, surely it must be suicide, her sudden death instantly hit me.”⁴ Personal connections and human relationships helped convince Sata to address the issue of the Nagasaki bombing in her writings.

Through her literature, Sata also wanted to make a stand against what she saw as inaction on the part of the Japanese government, in the immediate post-war period, to recognize that Japan was a country that had experienced the atomic bomb. According to Hasegawa, Sata also felt a desire to protest against nuclear weapons and for the rights of atomic bomb victims.⁵ This was a key factor in her decision to address the issue of the attack on Nagasaki in her work. In a long and distinguished career Sata often attempted to relate personal experience to a broad and social issue⁶ and here too, she sought to draw a connection between her hometown and relationships with bomb survivors with the issue of nuclear non-proliferation.

Prior to writing *The Shade of Trees* Sata produced two short stories *The Colourless Painting* (色のない画, *Iro no nai ga*) and *Fallen Leaves* (落葉, *Rakuyō*), which both dealt with Nagasaki and death.⁷ Through her short stories, in the 1950s and 1960s, Sata began to address the theme of Nagasaki and its *hibakusha* culture.⁸ Sata’s choice of focusing on the *hibakusha*, an often-marginalized group, is in keeping with an interest to cast light on the lives of voiceless sections within society, which she displayed throughout her career, even in early works such as *Anger* (怒, *Ikari*).⁹ Prior to the publication of *The Shade of Trees*, *The*

Colourless Painting was the best known of Sata’s works to deal with Nagasaki and the atomic bomb. *The Colourless Painting* essentially lays the groundwork for *The Shade of Trees*, as it tells the story of a Nagasaki businesswoman of Chinese descent who visits a museum in Tokyo to view the paintings of her friend “K,” who has died of radiation-related illnesses. In the story the protagonist tries to understand what is behind the absence of colour in K’s paintings.¹⁰ She does not think it was because of any loss of vitality on the part of K or due to any weakening of the will to live.¹¹ At the conclusion of the story she is left musing as to what it was that deprived her friend of all colour and senses that the paintings display an “unnameable grief.”¹²

The experiences of Chinese individuals living in Japan and specifically in Nagasaki, is a theme that is present in *The Colourless Painting*. At one point the main character states that the “Chinese living in Japan were subject to certain pressures.”¹³ It is of note that Sata was discussing minority groups and the issues they were encountering at a time when activists from a range of marginalized sections of society were solidifying their efforts to fight discrimination. It was in the late 1960s and 1970s that young Ainu¹⁴ activists sought the recognition of Ainu ethnicity and actively fought discrimination. In 1972, The Buraku Liberation League announced its solidarity with the Ainu Liberation League and the two joined forces in the United Front against Discrimination in 1974.¹⁵ The theme of minority groups is evident and further developed in *The Shade of Trees*.

Keiko and her Chinese Heritage

The Shade of Trees centres on the life of Ryū Keiko 柳慶子, a young woman of Chinese descent, over a period of two decades, with the story beginning a few years after the end of the Second World War.¹⁶ Treat has a recognized a commonality between Nagasaki writers, who, through discussions on “difference” and “otherness” express their sense of suffering.¹⁷ *The Shade of Trees* deal with the suffering of its individual characters along these lines and through representing a character who is of non-Japanese ethnic heritage

highlights that there was not one homogenous group of people that suffered due to the atomic bombs.

The novel explores Keiko's love affair with Asada Susumu 麻田晋, a married artist who had been imprisoned during the war for his left-wing views.¹⁸ The two central characters are survivors of the atomic bomb and they first become acquainted when Keiko asks Asada for his help in refurbishing a coffee shop where she works.¹⁹ Keiko and Asada were based on Sata's real-life friends Hayashi Yoshiko and Ikeno Kiyoshi.²⁰ Much like the character Keiko, Sata's acquaintance Hayashi, while having been born and raised in Nagasaki, was of Chinese descent. The lives of those close to Sata were a source of inspiration in her work.²¹

This was not the first time that Sata had dealt with the topic of minority groups living in Japan in her writings. For example, her 1928 poem *Korean Girls* (朝鮮の少女, *Chōsen no shōjo*) highlighted her concern for the underprivileged and marginalized members of society. It centres on the lives of young Korean girls selling candy at night in Tokyo and is notable for the degree of compassion Sata employs when approaching the topic. At the time the poem was written the Korean community suffered severe discrimination. The topic and tone of her work is all the more noteworthy given that it was written shortly after thousands of Koreans were massacred after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 because of vicious rumors that they were starting fires and poisoning wells.²² This research concurs with Vernon's viewpoint that the concern Sata showed in her work for the "little people" rests upon her identification with them, having had personal experience of urban poverty.²³

At the outset of the book Keiko does not know anything about China (although this changes towards the end of the story). Indeed Asada, with his political leanings and having visited Shanghai during the wartime period, is presented as being equally knowledgeable, if not more so, than Keiko about China.²⁴ At the same time Keiko is also not fully accepted as Japanese because of her heritage.²⁵ Keiko is registered as an alien despite being born and raised

in Japan. The story also describes how her father, Ryū Yasuaki 柳泰明, an overseas Chinese merchant (華僑, *kakyō*), held strong relationships with other Chinese individuals based in Japan and took pride in his roots, regularly conducting Chinese style ceremonies in order to feel a connection to his homeland. His Chinese heritage is emphasized in the story by his improper use of particles when speaking Japanese.²⁶

There is also a discussion in the book about how Keiko's father was treated as a foreigner and required to submit his residence permit and fingerprints every three years, despite living in Nagasaki for more than six decades.²⁷ The practice of forcibly fingerprinting non-Japanese at regular intervals was carried out under the Alien Registration Law; it was a legacy of the Occupation commonplace in the post-war years and not stopped until widespread non-violent disobedience by Korean residents in the 1980s resulted in the government abolishing the system for permanent residents in 1993. Korean groups continued to campaign against fingerprinting until it was ended for all foreigners in 2000.²⁸ Given how culturally entrenched this practice became it is highly pertinent that Sata touches on the topic in her work.

Throughout *The Shade of Trees* the relationship between Keiko and Asada is threatened by social and racial prejudices, as well as by poverty and illness. They face the challenge of being both governed and restricted by history, leftist politics, the Chinese Revolution, the Security Treaty riots and the atomic bombing itself.²⁹ But it is the issue of race which becomes a factor that prevents the couple from sharing a mutual trust.³⁰ Asada is unable to fully understand Keiko's frustrations and claims, as he had not experienced the same kind of discrimination. Keiko says to Asada "(y)ou have your paintings. I, I want something to live for. This is how a Chinese person living abroad thinks. Born and raised as Chinese person living abroad, this is my reality."³¹ The lack of understanding between the two, as well as Asada's failure to comprehend his lover's suffering is addressed when he says to Keiko, "You do not need to say 'I am Chinese, I am Chinese.' I am Japanese, and I do not make this kind of distinction, I do not think in this way.

You are thinking too much about it.”³² It is evident that Asada is unable grasp his lover’s feelings of alienation, and that this is a point of contention for Keiko.

Through focusing on a multitude of topics Sata displays an ability to describe the various troubles and sufferings of the couple’s love affair and also to depict the darkness that lies in the hearts of both characters.³³ Hayakawa Masayuki has noted in his studies into Sata that the private and unconventional nature of Keiko and Asada’s love affair becomes a shadow that follows them, much like the atomic bomb, and eventually tears them apart.³⁴

The Shade of Trees was written and published at a time when Japan-China relations were very much in the public mindset. Following extensive discussion and preparation, the diplomatic relations between Japan and China were normalized in 1972.³⁵ Whilst Japanese-Chinese relations may have been better in the early 1970s than in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, in a sense Japan and China’s relations remained stuck in a time warp of post-war settlement and concomitant domestic systems. This meant that the issue of history was intentionally brushed to one side and the two countries never had the opportunity to start afresh.³⁶ It was amidst these socio-political conditions that Sata decided to make her protagonist an individual of Chinese descent. Vernon has noted that Sata’s stories (both autobiographical and non-autobiographical) often represent “soundings in time,”³⁷ and that throughout her career as a writer she constantly examined experiences in the contexts (social, political, and personal) of changing times.³⁸ Her focus on a Chinese individual at a time when Japan-China relations were so heavily in the public consciousness can be no coincidence. Although the protagonist in *The Shade of Trees* is born and raised in Japan, her strong ties to China suggest that Sata saw the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as impacting all sections of society, irrespective of race or ethnicity.

Keiko, Asada and the Bomb

Initially Keiko’s coffee shop is relatively successful and Asada’s artwork begins to gain a certain level of

recognition.³⁹ In Sata’s works, such as *From a Caramel Factory*, there often exists a contradiction between expectation and actuality⁴⁰ and this is also the case in *The Shade of Trees*. The optimism first described is short lived and is symptomatic of the false hope that was felt by many survivors of the atomic bombs who, in the immediate post-war period, initially thought that they were unaffected as the physical side-effects of the bomb did not manifest until years later. We soon read that Keiko begins to feel unwell and visits a hospital in order to recover from what initially appears to be just a cold. At the same time, Asada begins to feel pain in his chest, with little thought that the ailment might be life threatening.⁴¹

The initial chapters of the book focus on Keiko and Asada’s blossoming relationship, which encounters obstacles from the outset due to Keiko’s family’s hesitancy about her getting involved with a Japanese person and her engaging in an affair with a married man. Keiko’s father is depicted as an old fashioned, conscientious character, whose principles do not allow for a Chinese woman to be romantically involved with a Japanese man.⁴² By providing a voice to Keiko’s father, Sata again focuses on the “other” and presents the experience of those often ignored.

Against the backdrop of the anti-nuclear movement, Keiko’s family acquaintances fall ill and die from radiation. Despite this Keiko and Asada do not talk about the bombing between themselves;⁴³ they do not put their feelings of anger and fear into words, even when talking with each other.⁴⁴ At the outset of the story the narrator states, “Did these people not speak about anything? Did they really not speak about anything? They were certainly not talkative. That was these people’s character.”⁴⁵ Treat writes that Sata’s success in *The Shade of Trees* lies in her portrayal of a romance defined within the boundaries of a *hibakusha* subculture, even if the central characters do not identify with that subculture.⁴⁶ As the novel progresses, both Keiko and Asada become increasingly unwell. However, despite their deteriorating condition, neither character associates their ill health with the atomic bomb.⁴⁷ The main characters suppress their fears about their own well-being and experience poor

health, but neither of them thinks what their illnesses could mean.⁴⁸

Sata writes:

Both of them had health concerns, which were causing their declining mental health. The city was recovering from the events of thirteen years earlier, but this was the result of people getting on with their lives as normal. It was not related to what those who had become ill were actually thinking. Neither Keiko, nor Asada, until now had imagined what their sicknesses actually meant.⁴⁹

They both attempt to continue to live their lives and pursue their careers and this can be viewed as consistent with the issue of self-determination, which became central to Sata following her divorce from Kubokawa in 1945.⁵⁰

In chapter nine of the novel, Keiko reminisces about the events of August 1945. Keiko was outside Nagasaki on the day the atomic bomb was dropped as her father had foreseen an air raid over the city and decided to take Keiko and her sisters outside of Nagasaki.⁵¹ Keiko, like many others, was unaware of the secondary effects of the attacks, or rather that radiation from the atomic bomb also affected individuals who returned after the bomb had been dropped in the belief that the danger had passed, and therefore did not refer to herself as a victim.⁵²

Because neither Keiko nor Asada were in Nagasaki when the bomb was dropped, both entered the city later and as such they did not identify themselves as *hibakusha*.⁵³ Indeed, throughout the novel the central characters consistently fail to connect the sicknesses that they encounter with the time they spent in Nagasaki during the aftermath of the bombing. It is stated that as Keiko was "not a *hibakusha*, she was able to maintain a rational feeling towards the conference (World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs)," and this is contrasted to "the *hibakusha*, who have keloids on their faces, whose emotions were violently shaken by the opening of this conference."⁵⁴ The rise of the anti-nuclear movement that began to

grow in Japan in the 1950s meant that atomic bomb victims began being discussed more frequently and openly in the public domain, and this is highlighted in the book by the description of the 1956 World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, which was held in Nagasaki. Ironically, the two central characters hardly take any notice of the events and instead carry on with their normal lives.⁵⁵ In much the same way, Sata's earlier work *The Colourless Painting* features a central character who refuses to participate in the world rally against atomic and hydrogen weapons. Both of these cases are particularly poignant given the key role that Sata played in such rallies.⁵⁶

Dower has discussed the emotional and psychological impact that the bomb has had on those who lived through the attacks and has noted that the concepts of "keloids of the heart" and "leukemia of the soul," which are not often discussed outside Japan, highlight the fact that many survivors lived in daily imagination that a disease would invade their body and that for many, the trauma of the shattering experience of the bomb was compounded by a persistent fear that the bomb still lived within their body.⁵⁷ Even though the central characters are filled with fear, especially after they realize that their afflictions are caused by the atomic bomb, initially Keiko and Asada represent a slight variant on the model discussed by Dower; they are survivors who are not aware that their health ailments are connected to the bombing and initially assume that they have not been affected by the attack on Nagasaki because they did not directly experience first-impact radiation.

Asada too does not see himself as a *hibakusha*, even though the afflictions worsen to the point that he can no longer ignore them. Asada begins to drink at the beginning of chapter ten,⁵⁸ but it is the combination of increasing concerns about his own health and the buildup of stress he experiences over juggling two relationships, that causes him to drink heavily.⁵⁹ One hundred purple spots appear on Asada's left wrist, followed by another fifty and when he shows Keiko she advises him to go to the hospital.⁶⁰ The anxiety that these spots cause Asada highlights his initial foolishness in not recognizing that his illnesses might

be due to radiation sickness.⁶¹

Asada finally reveals to Keiko that he had gone back into the city not long after the bomb had been dropped in order to search for his nephew and friends. Upon hearing this tragic story Keiko shares with Asada that she too had travelled through the destroyed city in the immediate aftermath of the bombs. She says “I also went through the bombed area,” to which Asada replies “You are alright, better than me.”⁶² Throughout this interaction there is an underlying sense of resentment that the protagonists feel about their decisions to go back into the city, as well as an increasing fear and resignation about the future. Asada’s doctors assure him that he will be fine and he believes them. And indeed, eventually the purple spots on his wrist do fade. Asada has nightmares about the events of August 1945 and his mental state interferes with his work. When Asada compares his art with the literary works of motivated writers, he concludes that the visual arts are different from literature and that, unlike those writers, he is not a *hibakusha*.⁶³ *The Shade of Trees* protagonists’ initial inability to associate their health problems with the bombs only adds to the sense of eventuality that underpins the book.

Sata Ineko focuses her tale on individuals who are discriminated against within an already marginalized group and who do not initially see their numerous health worries as being a result of the bomb. Despite their fears and anxieties, they attempt to continue their lives as normal. The fact that the two central characters cannot escape their fate, despite not recognizing their illnesses, only heightens the sense of tragedy when the radiation of the atomic bomb does eventually overwhelm them. The inability of characters to alter their fate is a feature that is evident in a number of Sata’s works. Even in her first story *From a Caramel Factory*, the final scene effectively deprives the main character Hiroko of the promise for a return to her happy past. The tale does not allow for the workers of the day to change their depressing conditions, whilst the future appears only to promise a continuation of the distress experienced in the present. Hiroko’s young age accentuates the theme of hopelessness and as such is an especially poignant

note on which the story ends.⁶⁴ Critic Honda Shūgo has identified “nihilism” in Sata’s works,⁶⁵ whilst Hasegawa has recognized “darkness,” in her stories and a sense that there is no hope for her characters to either change current conditions or human nature.⁶⁶

Keiko and Asada’s Physical Decline

As the story progresses Keiko and Asada continue to become even sicker, both physically and emotionally. However, the lovers suffer in silence; Asada does not tell Keiko about the diarrhea that begins to cause him trouble. Meanwhile, when Keiko discovers purple spots on her own body she convinces herself that Asada has better health than her and feels a sense of resentment towards her lover. When Keiko does describe the spots to Asada, his main concern is to worry about himself.⁶⁷

Asada grows increasingly unwell and is admitted to hospital, where he remains until the end of his life. After spending some time in the hospital Asada is shocked and frightened to learn that the government is paying his hospital bills as his illness has been diagnosed as “atomic-bomb disease.” He asks “I have this atomic bomb identification card, but is my illness really this.”⁶⁸ Doctors try to convince Asada that this is a provision to spare him the expense of hospital bills; however, this fails to ease Asada’s mind and he remains terrified before eventually coming to terms with the fact that his illness is probably related to his exposure to radiation.⁶⁹

Keiko learns that Asada has liver cancer and choosing not to disclose this information to her lover, cares for him, more so than his wife does, during his final days in the hospital.⁷⁰ The use of autobiographical material was common for much of Sata’s later works⁷¹ and this aspect of the story has links to her own experiences as earlier in her life she had spent time caring for her second husband who suffered from various illnesses.⁷² Asada convinces himself that he is recovering, which only adds to Keiko’s tragedy,⁷³ and again can be seen as symptomatic of the nihilism and hopelessness present in many of Sata’s works. Asada then passes away due to the after-effects of radioactivity, bringing their ten-year love affair to a close.⁷⁴

Keiko's Final Years

Asada is buried in a family funeral in which Keiko is not included. Keiko begins to feel empty after Asada's death and wishes to die in order to be with her love.⁷⁵ Keiko fills her life with new concerns to stay occupied and makes strides to overcome her hopelessness and give her life direction.⁷⁶ Her interest in China, which had been awakened by Asada's left-wing views, encourages her to become more active in the Chinese community and she throws herself into issues relating to race.⁷⁷ Keiko decides to learn Chinese and becomes involved in the movement to promote friendly relations between Japan and China, eventually opening a Chinese-language bookshop.⁷⁸

Keiko's efforts to improve herself during a time of intense personal suffering are consistent with themes that Sata explored in her earlier works such as *The Female Writer* (女の作者, *Onna sakusha*), 1946, *My Map of Tokyo* and *Deception* in which she attempted to use the failures and dark moments of her own past as the basis for an exploration of the possibility of personal "human growth."⁷⁹ Tragically, Keiko passes away at the age of forty-six in the midst of her socio-political involvement, like Asada, due to after effects of radioactivity.⁸⁰ Treat points out that Keiko had worked hard to survive; however, the novel conveys a subtle message that those very efforts may have contributed to her death,⁸¹ again pointing to the sense of nihilism in much of Sata's writings. Indeed, Keiko passing away just as she starts to add a new sense of meaning to her life only further stresses a sense of pessimism that pervades much of the story.

At the conclusion of the book Keiko is buried in Chinese fashion.⁸² By closing her novel with this imagery Sata again emphasizes that the suffering caused by the atomic bomb not only affected Japanese people. The untimely death of Keiko underlines that nobody could escape the tragic consequences that the weapons had on all who experienced them.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Sata's interest in the

disadvantaged and groups who are at the margins of society is not limited to *The Shade of Trees*, but was evident throughout her career. Her depiction of bomb victims who are of Chinese heritage provides valuable insight into life in post-war Nagasaki and helps underscore that the atomic attacks were not just experienced by one homogenous group of people, but that they also had a wide-reaching impact on minority groups based in Japan. Through focusing on the work of Sata, this study has sought to bring to the fore the suffering of the often-forgotten victims of the atomic bombings.

Sata's depiction of minority groups in *The Shade of Trees* is in keeping with other Nagasaki atomic bomb literature that deals with the theme of difference along the lines of race, social standing and religion. This study has shown that the work produced by Sata, along with other Nagasaki atomic bomb writers such as Nagai Takashi and Inoue Mitsuharu, is in keeping with Treat's assessment that Nagasaki atomic bomb literature often examines the theme of victimhood through discussions of difference.

By focusing on a text that explores post-war Nagasaki, the research carried out has shown that atomic bomb literature deals with both cities that experienced the atomic bombings, highlighting that each place has its own individual, unique narrative and that this genre is not simply a broad all-encompassing style of writing. This paper has also attempted to address the lack of scholarly works in the English language that deal with Nagasaki atomic bomb literature, as well as the dearth of research on the atomic bomb writings of Sata.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Sata, her life and work, particularly those writings relating to the atomic bomb are complex issues that require further studies in the English language. More in-depth research into the critical reception of *The Shade of Trees* amongst Japanese literary circles would be beneficial to gaining a better understanding of Sata's position within the field of atomic bomb literature. Furthermore, a full English language translation of

Sata's *The Shade of Trees* would be a great contribution to the field. Finally, more thorough investigations into whether or not Nagasaki literature has a history, prior to the bombing, of discussing minority groups, would be valuable. Such research would reveal if the post-war tendency for Nagasaki atomic bomb literature to explore the lives of individuals from marginalized groups was a continuation of pre-war trends, or if the bomb gave people from minority groups a "voice" and platform to express their sufferings.

¹ John Whittier Treat, *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 338.

² Kei Hasegawa, *Sata Ineko ron* (Tokyo: Orijin Shuppan Sentā, 1992.) 335.

³ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 338.

⁴ Hasegawa, *Sata Ineko ron*, 335.

⁵ Ibid, 339.

⁶ Victoria V. Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon: Wish, Will, and Social Constraint in Fiction by Modern Japanese Women* (Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988), 90-1.

⁷ Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 334.

⁸ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 338.

⁹ Ikari tells the story of Oshino, a divorced mother of four working in a café to support her family. Madoka Kusakabe, "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko: The Café and Jokyū as a Stage for Social Criticism" (Ph. D diss., University of Oregon, 2011), "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko," 91-2.

¹⁰ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 338-9.

¹¹ Sata, "The Colourless Painting," in *The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath*, ed. Kenzaburō Ōe (New York: Grove, 1985), 124.

¹² Ibid, 125.

¹³ Ibid, 122.

¹⁴ Ainu are an indigenous people of Japan, nowadays based in Hokkaido, and Russia, Sakhalin and Kuril Islands.

¹⁵ Miki Y. Ishikida, *Living Together: Minority People and Disadvantaged Groups in Japan* (New York: iUniverse, 2005), 13.

¹⁶ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 340. Sata's tendency

to focus almost exclusively on a female protagonist is evident as far back as her 1929 work *From a Caramel Factory*, which is a tale that hones in unswervingly on the lone figure of Hiroko. Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 75.

¹⁷ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 307.

¹⁸ Sata dealt with the issue of unfaithful husbands in early works such as *From a Caramel Factory*, in which two women view their husband's affairs as threats to their sense of themselves and endangering their relationship with a society that defined women primarily in terms of their familial role.

Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 101.

¹⁹ Treat provides an overview of *The Shade of Trees*' opening section in his research into Sata. Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 340.

²⁰ Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 334.

²¹ Ibid, 334-5.

²² Gay Michiko Satsuma, "Uncommon Ambition: The Early Life of Sata Ineko" (Ph.D Diss., University of Hawai'i, 1998), 50-1. *Korean Girls* was one of five poems by Sata published in the literary magazine *Roba*. For information on the killing of Korean residents of Japan in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake see Chūshichi Tsuzuki, *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825-1995* (New York: Oxford UP, 2000), 216; and Joshua Hammer, *Yokohama Burning: The Deadly 1923 Earthquake and Fire That Helped Forge the Path to World War II* (New York: Free, 2006), 170.

²³ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 74.

²⁴ Sata Ineko, *Sata Ineko zenshū daijūgomaki Juei Toki ni tatsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977-1979), 13.

²⁵ For an English language summary see Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 340.

²⁶ Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 345.

²⁷ Sachiko Shibata Schierbeck and Marlene R. Edelstein, *Japanese Women Novelists in the 20th Century: 104 Biographies, 1900-1993* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1994), 57.

²⁸ Eiji Takemae, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy* (London: Continuum, 2002), 531. There were cases of civil disobedience and anger about enforced fingerprinting, such as in Tokyo, when the mayor of Machida city, Oshita Katsumasa, in 1985, disobeyed the Home Affairs Ministry's order

to report Korean individuals who refused to give their fingerprints to higher authorities, as he felt that fingerprinting violated the spirit of the constitution. Other cities followed suit, resulting in one third of Japan's 3,300 local assemblies passing regulations condemning fingerprinting and calling for a reform to the Alien Registration Law. Ibid, 535.

²⁹ See Treat for an overview of Keiko and Asada's relationship. Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 342-7.

³⁰ Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 342.

³¹ Sata, *Juei*, 62.

³² Ibid, 62.

³³ Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 334.

³⁴ Ibid, 339.

³⁵ Ryōsei Kokubun, "The Shifting Nature of Japan-China Relations after the Cold War," in *Japan's Relations with China: Facing a Rising Power*, ed. Peng Er Lam (London: Routledge, 2006), 23. It is noted that the normalization of relations between Japan and China represented the establishment of a strategic partnership between Japan, China and the US, which saw the three nations move under the same umbrella for the purpose of countering the Soviet Union.

³⁶ Christopher W. Hughes, "Japan's Policy Towards China: Domestic Structural Change, Globalization, History and Nationalism," in *China, Japan and Regional Leadership in East Asia*, ed. Christopher M. Dent (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2008), 43.

³⁷ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 102.

³⁸ Ibid, 103-4.

³⁹ Treat discusses this segment of Sata's work in Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 341.

⁴⁰ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 92.

⁴¹ Treat examines Keiko and Asada's health issues in Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 341.

⁴² See Treat *Writing Ground Zero*, 341., and Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 345., for a summary of Keiko's father's attitude towards her relationship.

⁴³ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 342.

⁴⁴ Sata, *Juei*, 7.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁴⁶ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 342.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 343.

⁴⁸ Sata, *Juei*, 109.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 109.

⁵⁰ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 89.

⁵¹ Sata, *Juei*, 93.

⁵² Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 343.

⁵³ Ibid, 341.

⁵⁴ Sata, *Juei*, 94.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 93.

⁵⁶ Ōe, *The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath*, 13.

⁵⁷ John Dower, foreword to Rinjiro Sodei, *Were We the Enemy?: American Survivors of Hiroshima*, (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998), xi.

⁵⁸ Sata, *Juei*, 97.

⁵⁹ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 343.

⁶⁰ Sata, *Juei*, 103-4.

⁶¹ Ibid, 109.

⁶² Sata, *Juei*, 109.

⁶³ For a summary of Asada's ordeal see Treat, *Writing Ground Zero* 344.

⁶⁴ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 85.

⁶⁵ Kusakabe, "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko," 82.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 82.

⁶⁷ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 345.

⁶⁸ Sata, *Juei*, 156.

⁶⁹ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 345

⁷⁰ Hasegawa has commented that some critics have argued that Sata did not pay enough attention to Asada's wife in the story. Hasegawa, *Sata Ineko ron*, 335.

⁷¹ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 86.

⁷² Satsuma, "Uncommon Ambition," 120-1. Sata's husband had a weak constitution and she cared for him after they started living together when he had appendicitis. Sata Ineko, "Tsujirō o kataru," *Modan Nihon*, 10, No 10 (October 1939): 160.

⁷³ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 345.

⁷⁴ Sata, *Juei*, 171.

⁷⁵ See Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 346.

⁷⁶ Hasegawa, *Sata Ineko ron*, 344.

⁷⁷ For an overview see Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 346., and Hasegawa, *Sata ineko ron*, 343.

⁷⁸ Sata, *Juei*, 191-210.

⁷⁹ Vernon, *Daughters of the Moon*, 89.

⁸⁰ A short summary of this section is provided by Shibata Schierbeck and Edelstein, *Japanese Women Novelists in the 20th Century*, 57.

⁸¹ Treat, *Writing Ground Zero*, 346.

⁸² Sata, *Juei*, 223.

Bibliography

- Dower, John W. Foreword to Sodei Rinjirō, *Were We the Enemy?: American Survivors of Hiroshima*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998.
- Hammer, Joshua. *Yokohama Burning: The Deadly 1923 Earthquake and Fire That Helped Forge the Path to World War II*. New York: Free, 2006.
- Hasegawa Kei 長谷川啓. *Sata Ineko ron* 佐多稲子論. Tokyo: Orijin Shuppan Sentā, 1992.
- Hughes, Christopher W. "Japan's Policy Towards China: Domestic Structural Change, Globalization, History and Nationalism." In *China, Japan and Regional Leadership in East Asia*. Edited by Christopher M. Dent, 37-52. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2008.
- Ishikida, Miki Y. *Living Together: Minority People and Disadvantaged Groups in Japan*. New York: iUniverse, 2005.
- Kokubun, Ryōsei. "The Shifting Nature of Japan-China Relations after the Cold War." In *Japan's Relations with China: Facing a Rising Power*. Edited by Peng Er Lam, 21-37. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Kusakabe, Madoka. "Sata Ineko and Hirabayashi Taiko: The Café and Jokyū as a Stage for Social Criticism." Ph.D Dissertation. University of Oregon, 2011.
- Loh, Shi-Lin. "Beyond Peace: Pluralizing Japan's Nuclear History." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol 10, Issue 11, No 6. http://www.japanfocus.org/-Shi_Lin-Loh/371 (accessed 10th February 2014).
- Ōe, Kenzaburō. *The Crazy Iris and Other Stories of the Atomic Aftermath*. New York: Grove, 1985.
- Sata Ineko, 佐多稲子. *Sata Ineko zenshū daijūgomaki Juei Toki ni tatsu* 佐多稲子全集樹影時に佇つ, Tokyo: Kōdandsha, 1977-1979.
- . *Sata Ineko zenshū* 佐多稲子全集. Tokyo: Kōdandsha, 1977-1979.
- . "Tsujiro o kataru." 鶴次郎を語る. *Modan Nihon*, モダン日本. 10, No 10 (October 1939): 160-161.
- Satsuma, Gay Michiko. "Uncommon Ambition: The Early Life of Sata Ineko." Ph.D Dissertation. University of Hawai'i, 1998.
- Shibata Schierbeck, Sachiko and Marlene R. Edelstein. *Japanese Women Novelists in the 20th Century: 104 Biographies, 1900-1993*. [Copenhagen]: Museum Tusculanum, 1994.
- Sodei, Rinjirō and John Junkerman. *Were We the Enemy?: American Survivors of Hiroshima*. Boulder: Westview, 1998.
- Takemae, Eiji. *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*. London: Continuum, 2002.
- Treat, John Whittier. *Writing Ground Zero: Japanese Literature and the Atomic Bomb*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995.
- Tsuzuki, Chūshichi. *The Pursuit of Power in Modern Japan, 1825-1995*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Vernon, Victoria V. *Daughters of the Moon: Wish, Will, and Social Constraint in Fiction by Modern Japanese Women*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988.

「樹影」における華僑出身の原爆被爆者の描写と 佐多稲子の文学における少数派グループ

Hiro Mitsuo Hayashi

要旨

本論文では、少数派グループが佐多稲子の文学で果たした位置を理解し、中国出身の原爆被爆者の経験を明らかにするために、佐多の1973年の小説「樹影」を考察する。「樹影」の背景とストーリーのテキスト分析、ストーリーの社会的および政治的背景を検証することを通じて、佐多の原爆関連文献におけるマイノリティの表現方法を探る。また、彼女がどのように自身の作品を通して社会の縁辺（片隅）のグループに関心を維持したかを分析する。佐多は、中国人の血を引く原爆犠牲者を描写することで、戦後の長崎についての別の切り口の洞察を提供し、単一民族のみが原爆攻撃を経験したわけではないことを強調している。本研究は、佐多の研究に焦点を当て、忘れられた被爆犠牲者の苦悩が歴史に委ねられないようにすることを目的としている。