

Kazuyoshi Kawasaki and Stefan Würer

Introduction: A new age of visibility? LGBTQ+ issues in contemporary Japan

The 2010s was an epoch-making decade for LGBTQ+ people in Japan. The cultural and political representation of sexual minorities became mainstream in many areas of Japanese society in ways that were reminiscent of, but considerably different from, earlier periods. While LGBTQ+ issues in Japan have received scholarly attention since the 1990s¹, there is little scholarship in English that focuses on developments after 2000, let alone the 2010s. With this volume, we aim to bridge this gap by shedding light on political and cultural representations of and by sexual minorities in Japan from the 2010s, making available in English novel perspectives on LGBTQ+ issues in Japan. In the following sections, we outline the major socio-political developments in the Japanese LGBTQ+ context during the decades leading up to the 2010s, to provide the necessary context for a more nuanced understanding of the issues discussed in the papers included in this volume.

Early activism: Challenging the heterosexual status quo

Japan never criminalized sexual activities between same-sex partners, nor did it outlaw cross-dressing, except for a short period between 1872 and 1880. In addition, Japanese law provides the option of adult adoption, a system sometimes used by same-sex couples to circumvent property, inheritance, and other family-related issues such as hospital visitation rights or legal guardianship of one's partner. Since the authorities do not prosecute sexual minorities and adult adoption of one's same-sex partner is possible, Japan might be considered "tolerant" toward LGBTQ+ people. But tolerance implies prejudice. Moreover, modern Japanese society has been shaped by male-centered, heterosexist, and cis-genderist norms based on the ideal of the heterosexual family and tends to stigmatize non-normative expressions of gender, sexuality, and kinship (Lunsing, 2001). The social acceptance of sexual minorities is also often unfairly distributed by gender, as well as by class, race, ethnicity, and nation-

1 Baudinette, 2021; Chalmers, 2002; Frühstück, 2022; Lunsing, 2001; Mackintosh, 2010; Maree, 2020; Martin et al., 2008; McLelland, 2000, 2005; McLelland et al., 2007, 2015; McLelland & Dasgupta, 2005; McLelland & Mackie, 2015; Pflugfelder, 1999; Reichert, 2006; Roberson & Suzuki, 2003; Suganuma, 2012; Summerhawk et al., 1998; Vincent, 2012; Welker 2019, 2022.

ality (Khor, 2010). For this reason, LGBTQ+ activism developed in response to “common sense” (*jōshiki*) and social stigmatization, rather than legal issues.

Tōgō Ken (1932–2012) was one of the earliest openly gay activists to publicly tackle Japan’s heteronormative status quo. He ran for office in numerous national elections since 1971 as “Tōgō Ken, the faggot (*okama*),” not so much in order to establish himself as a serious political candidate and to improve the social position of gay people through legal and social reforms, but rather to provoke society (McLelland, 2012; see also Oikawa, 2007). During electoral campaigns, wearing a kimono and light makeup instead of the more conventional suit and tie, he spoke uninhibitedly about the need for sexual liberation in Japan (Tōgō, 1979). In addition to proposing the abolishment of the emperor system, he sexualized the emperor to strip him of his authority and remind the public that the emperor is but another human being with sexual desires. This intentional conflation of the “public” realm of politics and the “private” sphere of sexuality can be most clearly seen in a satirical cartoon that Tōgō published in the monthly magazine *Shinzasshi X* in August 1984, which showed the emperor being penetrated by Douglas MacArthur, the commander of the Allied Occupation between 1945 and 1951. Its publication led to an attack on Tōgō by a far-right activist (Oikawa, 2007).

Early lesbian activism took a different path. It centered around community-building and a critical engagement with Japanese feminism. While the *ūman ribu* (women’s liberation) movement of Japan in the late 1960s to mid-1970s addressed issues of sexual liberation and women’s social independence, lesbian women and voices tended to be excluded (Chalmers, 2002, p. 34; Iino, 2008, pp. 67–81; Welker, 2018, pp. 50–55). Wakakusa no Kai (Young Grass Club, 1971–1985) was the first organization that provided a space for lesbian women to meet and share their experiences. Between 1975 and 1976, the initiative Subarashī Onnatachi (Wonderful Women) shed light on the situation of lesbian women within the women’s liberation movement through surveys and roundtables (Welker, 2018, p. 56). Some of the women involved in this initiative went on to form the lesbian feminist groups Mainichi Daiku (Everyday Carpenter/Dyke) and Hikari Guruma (Shining Wheel) in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Iino, 2008, pp. 81–88), which positioned themselves within the broader struggle for women’s liberation and its fight against the patriarchal gender norms of Japanese society, while addressing the homophobia both in and outside the *ūman ribu* movement.

The 1980s and 1990s: The AIDS crisis, the gay boom, and new queer approaches

During the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s, homophobia and more generally the stigmatization of non-normative forms of sexuality became an issue on a national scale. While the AIDS epidemic in Japan was initially caused by the government's lack of safety measures concerning unsterilized blood products from the US, which mainly affected patients with hemophilia, it did fuel homophobic sentiments. Gay men were singled out by the Ministry of Health and Welfare – despite its own responsibility in disseminating contaminated blood products – as one of the fundamental sources of HIV infection, based on their sexual orientation, that is, as an identity group, rather than their sexual behavior (Kazama & Kawaguchi, 2003, p. 181). In addition, sexually transmitted HIV infections were represented as the result of a questionable lifestyle and juxtaposed with the innocent victims of tainted blood products, leading to intensified discrimination against, and social exclusion of, gay men and female sex workers in particular (Itō, 2006, p. 127).

As Mark McLelland and Katsuhiko Suganuma (2009) noted, “it was this social milieu that prompted many gay activists ... to challenge such negative stereotypes through public campaigns that drew upon previous successful strategies developed by gay activists during the AIDS panic in Western countries” (p. 337; see also Kazama, 2009; Kazama & Kawaguchi, 2003; Shingae, 2013; Treat, 1999). One prominent example of this new wave of activism was the AIDS-related symposia and art performances of the artist collective Dumb Type (founded in 1984), one of whose core members, Furuhashi Teiji (1960–1995), came out as HIV-positive in 1992 (Pendleton, 2021).

Further, in 1984, Minami Teishirō founded the Japan chapter of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), which organized the first Tokyo Lesbian and Gay Parade in 1994. This was followed by the foundation of Ugoku Gei to Re-zubian no Kai (Organization for Moving Gay and Lesbians), also known as Akā (OCCUR), in 1986, which between 1991 and 1997 successfully fought the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education in court for discriminating against their gay members at the Fuchu Youth Hostel (Fuchū Seinen no Ie), a publicly run conference and recreation facility, in one of the first trials in Japanese legal history to recognize discrimination based on sexual orientation (Kazama & Kawaguchi, 2010; Lunsing, 2001; see also Hiroyuki Taniguchi's paper in this volume).

Public visibility of sexual minorities also increased in the realm of popular culture in the early 1990s, when movies, television, and print media started to show an interest in gay culture, mostly featuring a variety of discussions and portrayals of gay men and their lifestyle during what was later termed the “gay boom”

(McLelland, 2000; Ogawa 2017). Prominent examples include movies portraying gay men and their relationships with heterosexual women, such as *Okoge (Fag Hag)*, 1992), the movie adaptation of Ekuni Kaori's 1991 gay novel *Kira kira hikaru (Twinkle)*, 1992), and the drama series *Dōsokai (Class Reunion)*, 1993), as well as the movie adaptation of Matsu'ura Rieko's 1987 lesbian-themed novel *Nachuraru ūman (Natural Women)*, 1994). During this period, an explosion of new commercial gay magazines catapulted the boys' love (BL) genre into the mainstream (Welker, 2015). In addition, a new generation of gay magazines such as *Badī (Buddy)*, 1993–2019) and *G-men* (1995–2016), offered new avenues for gay community-building and self-representation.

Mainstream publications also began to feature articles by and about lesbian women (Maree, 2007, pp. 293–294), which challenged the androcentric and heteronormative – that is, often sexualized and pathologizing – representations of same-sex desire and relationships between women up to the 1980s (Sugiura, 2007, pp. 129–133; Welker, 2017, pp. 149–156). In 1987, the special magazine feature *Onna o aisuru onnatachi no monogatari (Stories of Women Who Love Women)*, the first commercial publication by and about lesbian women, was produced. Many of its articles were written by Sawabe Hitomi, who was one of the organizers of the above-mentioned early lesbian groups, as well as Regumi Sutajio (Regumi Studio) in the late 1980s (Welker, 2018, pp. 59, 66; see also Iino, 2008; Sugiura, 2011). Subsequently, commercial lesbian periodicals such as *Furine (Phryné)*, 1995) and *Anīsu (Anise)*, 1996–1997, 2001–2003) further diversified the representations of same-sex desire between women and provided the lesbian community with additional platforms for discussion and exchange.

This reflected a new phase of visibility in lesbian and gay activism, embodied by the lesbian activist and writer Kakefuda Hiroko and gay writer Fushimi Noriaki, who both came out during the 1990s (Maree, 2007; Welker, 2018). Kakefuda's book "*Rezubian*" *de aru to iu koto (On Being "Lesbian,"* 1992) sparked debates on the issue of heteronormativity both in Japanese feminism and Japanese society at large, as well as on the difficulty of representing oneself as lesbian in these environments, while Fushimi advocated for a radical critique of heterosexism – albeit from an explicitly gay male point of view – in books such as *Puraibēto gei raifu (Private Gay Life)*, 1991) (McLelland & Suganuma, 2009; Suganuma, 2006).

Discussions of LGBTQ+-related matters also took place in special issues of high-brow magazines such as *Imago* (February 1991, August 1991, November 1995, May 1996) and *Gendai shisō* (May 1997). These included several translations of Anglophone queer theory, such as essays by Gayle Rubin, Eve K. Sedgwick, and Leo Bersani, which provided new theoretical frameworks for feminist and LGBTQ+ writers, scholars, and activists to address and critically engage with the intersections between patriarchy and heteronormativity. Similar to the volume *Kuia studaīzu*

'97 (Kuia Sutadizu Henshū Iinkai, 1997), these magazines brought together issues of gender and sexuality, and facilitated transnational dialogues between feminist, gay, and queer activism/studies such as in Keith Vincent, Kazama Takashi, and Kawaguchi Kazuya's (1997) *Gei sutadizu (Gay Studies)*, or the queer-feminist writing of Takemura Kazuko (1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, 1996e, 1996f, 1997), who also translated some of Judith Butler's works into Japanese.

The 2000s: A new era of political visibility for trans people and the “gender-free” backlash

Overlapping with these developments, the early 2000s saw a new era for trans people. In 2003, three years after trans novelist Fujino Chiya won Japan's most prestigious literary award, the Akutagawa Prize, Kamikawa Aya became the first trans politician to be elected to public office, when she won a seat in the election of the Tokyo Municipal Council. The same year, the Law for the Handling of Gender in the Special Cases of People with Gender Identity Disorder (Seidōitsusei Shōgai-sha no Seibetsu no Atsukai no Tokurei ni Kansuru Hō) was passed. The legalization of gender-affirming surgery in 1997 had highlighted trans people's need to change their legal gender, which this law made possible for those who underwent surgery. The law's pathologizing language and restrictive requirements, however, have been criticized as violating trans people's human rights (Norton, 2013; Yamada, 2022; see also Stefan Würrer's paper in this volume).

In 2005, Osaka Prefectural Assembly member Otsuji Kanako came out as lesbian in her autobiography *Kamingu auto: Jibun rashisa o mitsukeru tabi (Coming Out: A Journey of Self-Discovery)* and ran for a seat in the National Diet in 2007. Though not elected in 2007, she made it into the Diet as the result of a special election in 2013 to fill the vacant seat of a fellow Democratic Party member. This made her the first openly lesbian Diet member in Japanese history, following into the footsteps of such local politicians as Kamikawa, as well as the openly gay Ishikawa Taiga and Ishizaka Wataru, who were elected to the Toshima Ward and Nakano Ward Assemblies, respectively, in 2011.

The late 1990s and early 2000s, however, also saw a social conservative and nationalist backlash, which targeted, among others, feminist initiatives and sexual minorities. It revolved around the term “gender free,” which was, as Yamaguchi Tomomi (2014) noted, “originally coined for educators in 1995 and [was] intended to help break down traditional understandings of gender roles” (p. 548). This anti-gender movement was spearheaded by nationalist politicians such as Abe Shinzō with the support of religious groups – primarily Jinja Honchō (Association of Shin-

to Shrines) and Sekai Heiwa Tōitsu Katei Rengō (Family Federation for World Peace and Unification; widely known as “Tōitsu Kyōkai,” or the Unification Church) – and spread through well-organized right-wing grassroots movements that attacked local municipal efforts to introduce new sex-education curriculums and gender equality ordinances (Poritasu TV et al., 2023; Yamaguchi, 2018; Yamaguchi et al., 2012). At the height of the backlash in the early 2000s – which was in part a reaction to the Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society (Danjo Kyōdō Sankaku Shakai Kihon Hō, 1999) and public debates on the sexual enslavement of women by the Imperial Japanese military forces leading up to and during the Pacific War – the social conservatives at the center of the backlash demonized “gender-free” education as erasing biological differences between the sexes and turning underage girls and boys into homosexuals or genderless beings (*chūsei ningen*) (Kazama, 2007, p. 26; Yamada, 2022, p. 502). Responses to this backlash by mainstream feminists largely failed to address the homophobia and transphobia within the conservatives’ arguments, revealing not only the difficulty faced by Japanese feminism in addressing issues of gender and sexuality beyond heterosexist and cisgenderist norms, but also a more general indifference in society toward the protection of gender and sexual minorities from discrimination (Kazama, 2007, pp. 28–31; Shimizu, 2007, p. 504; Yamada, 2022, p. 503; Yamaguchi, 2014, p. 570; see also Kawasaki, 2023).

The 2010s and beyond: The emergence of the “LGBT market” and the diversification of political and cultural LGBTQ+ representations

After 2010, the situation for LGBTQ+ people changed in at least three ways. First, LGBTQ+ people increasingly began to be seen as a market by mainstream Japanese businesses. As Kazuyoshi Kawasaki points out in his paper in this volume, in 2012, the weekly business magazines *Shūkan Tōyō keizai* (*Weekly Toyo Keizai*) and *Shūkan daiamondo* (*Diamond Weekly*) featured analyses of the domestic “LGBT market,” which the latter estimated to be worth around 5.7 trillion yen (Shūkan Daiamondo Henshūbu, 2013). Further surveys, such as by advertising and public relations company Dentsu’s Diversity Lab in 2015, reiterated the market potential of LGBTQ+ people (Dentsū, 2015).

Against the backdrop of this heightened financial interest, Japanese mainstream businesses began to regard LGBTQ+ rights protection as an essential issue of their corporate policies and self-marketing. Since 2011, the organization Work With Pride has evaluated LGBTQ+-related corporate policies and consulted

on LGBTQ+ inclusion in the workplace. In 2022, more than 400 companies participated in their evaluation (Pride Shihyō Jimukyoku, 2022). These companies seem to have followed the lead of the highly influential Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengō (Japan Business Federation), which in 2017 recommended to its member companies to develop work environments that support, protect, and encourage understanding of LGBTQ+ people in order to attract diverse human resources and improve their productivity and brand value in a global market.

Mainstream businesses also became a new source of financial support for LGBTQ+ activism, which historically has tended to rely on gay businesses such as bars and clubs (Ogiue, 2012). This allowed LGBTQ+ organizations such as Tokyo Rainbow Pride to organize pride parades and other events on a bigger scale, and to create new LGBTQ+-friendly spaces such as Pride House Tokyo Legacy in central Tokyo. However, while this new support has arguably strengthened the sustainability of LGBTQ+ organizations, the marketization of LGBTQ+ inclusion and activism has been criticized for reducing the issue of human rights protection to that of profitability (Kawasaka, 2015; Shimizu 2013, 2015).

Second, LGBTQ+ activism and the political recognition of LGBTQ+ people have expanded beyond metropolises such as Tokyo and Osaka. Pride events and LGBTQ+ film festivals are now held throughout the five main islands of Japan, rooted in and centered around local communities (Kanno, 2019; Sugiura & Maekawa, 2022). As Kawasaka argues in his paper, this spread of activism was enabled through collaborations of LGBTQ+ organizations with local municipalities and regional business communities which, in their need for rebranding and opening up new sources of capital, followed the lead of the Japan Business Federation and national businesses (see also Kawasaka, 2015).

Another facet of this shift toward inclusivity in local politics is the introduction of ordinances that allow officials to issue partnership certificates to same-sex couples, beginning with the Tokyo wards of Shibuya and Setagaya in 2015, which were followed by over 300 municipalities throughout Japan in the following years. As the papers of Kawasaka, Taniguchi, and Kamano and Khor in this volume argue, these partnership certificates differ greatly from marriage licenses, as they offer only limited, if any, legal benefits or protection. However, while being a mostly symbolic gesture of recognition, they seem to have helped to shed light on the existence of same-sex couples and the need for legal equality. Recent opinion polls suggest that around 60%–70% of Japanese respondents now support same-sex marriage (“Dōseikon ni sansei,” 2023; *Kyōdo tsūshin no yoronchōsa*, 2023; Marriage for All Japan, 2020).

Third, the objective of LGBTQ+ activism shifted from a fight with the heterosexist, cisgender norms of Japanese society, toward also advocating for legal change, especially the institutionalization of same-sex marriage and anti-discrim-

ination laws. Same-sex marriage activists are not only lobbying lawmakers in the Diet (LGBT Hōren Gōkai, 2015), but since 2019 have also brought cases around the unconstitutionality of the lack of legal recognition of same-sex marriage to courts in cities such as Sapporo, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, and Fukuoka (*Dōseikon mitome-nai*, 2023). As Hiroyuki Taniguchi notes in his paper, while legal scholars have discussed LGBTQ+ rights within the context of the Japanese Constitution since at least the 2000s, these cases brought the discussion to the courts and are important precedents for advancing the human rights protection of LGBTQ+ people in Japan.

LGBTQ+ people and issues also gained more visibility in popular culture again, as exemplified by the television and movie franchise *Ossanzu rabu* (*Ossan's Love*; 2016, 2018), or the television adaptations of the BL manga series *Kinō nani tabeta?* (*What Did You Eat Yesterday*, 2007–present) in 2019 and the lesbian web manga series *Tsukuritai onna to tabetai onna* (*She Loves to Cook, and She Loves to Eat*, 2021) in 2022. However, as Kubo Yutaka writes in his contribution to this volume, while LGBTQ+-related movies and television during the 2010s do offer a wider variety of representations of non-normative sexual orientations and gender expressions, the focus still tends to be on gay men.

Moreover, with the debut of lesbian Taiwanese fiction writer Li Kotomi (the pen name of Lǐ Qínfēng) in 2017, Japanese literature and, more generally, the Japanese public, gained a new outspoken voice for sexual minority rights. Li won the Akutagawa Prize in 2021 and several of her works, including her debut novel *Hitorimai* (*Solo Dance*), were featured in cosmetics company Aēsop Japan's (2022) "Queer Library" project, a selection of around 60 LGBTQ+-themed Japanese novels, which were offered as gifts to visitors of their Shinjuku store, regardless of purchase. Curated by Yasuda Aoi, who organizes Tokyo-based queer reading circle Dokusho Saron (Literature Salon), the selection included other contemporary novels by Matsu'ura Rieko, Nakayama Kaho, Fujino Chiya, and Miyagi Futoshi, alongside older works of queer fiction such as Mori Ōgai's *Vita sekushuarisu* (*Vita Sexualis*, 1909), Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's *Manji* (*Quicksand*, 1928), Kawabata Yasunari's *Shōnen* (*The Boy*, 1948), Mishima Yukio's *Kamen no kokuhaku* (*Confessions of a Mask*, 1949), and Mori Mari's *Koibito tachi no mori* (*The Lovers' Forest*, 1961). While being another example of the increasing entanglement of corporate interests with LGBTQ+ activism, this selection can also be considered a mainstream attempt at delineating, and making visible, a canon of queer Japanese literature.

The corpus of queer studies also grew after 2010 with important contributions to various fields, including, for example,

- queer theory and criticism by Nagashima Saeko (2013, 2019), Fujitaka Kazuki (2018, 2022), Shimizu Akiko (2013, 2015, 2022), and Shimizu Akiko et al. (2022);
- queer history by Akaeda Kanako (2011, 2014), Ishida Hitoshi (2019, 2023), and Mitsuhashi Junko (2018, 2022);

- queer disability studies by Iseri Makiko (2013, 2019, 2020) and Iino Yuriko et al. (2016, 2022);
- the study of LGBTQ+ activism and communities by Moriyama Noritaka (2012), Shingae Akitomo (2013, 2022), Sunagawa Hideki (2015), Thomas Baudinette (2021), Itani Satoko (2021), and Sugiura Ikuko and Maekawa Naoya (2022);
- lesbian studies by Sugiura Ikuko (2011, 2017), Horie Yuri (2015), and James Welker (2017, 2018);
- trans studies by Ishii Yukari (2018), Yamada Hidenobu (2020, 2022), Yoshino Yugi (2020), and Shūji Akira and Takai Yutori (2023);
- legal and human rights studies by Taniguchi Hiroyuki (2019, 2022) and Ayabe Rokurō and Ikeda Hirono (2019).

The three-volume anthology *Kuia sutadizu o hiraku (Exploring Queer Studies)*, edited by Kikuchi Natsuno, Horie Yuri, and Iino Yuriko (2019, 2022, 2023), also features a wide range of academic discussions of LGBTQ+-related issues that tend to be overlooked in the recent “LGBT boom” (Kikuchi et al., 2019, pp. 5–6), as did the special issues of the mainstream philosophy magazine *Gendai shisō (Modern Thought)* on sexual minorities (2015) and intersectionality (2022). Newly published feminist and queer mainstream magazines such as *Shimōnu (Les Simones)*, 2019–present), *Etoasetora (Etcetera)*, 2019–present), *Over and Over* (2019–present), and *Iwakan (Discomfort)*, 2020–present) also provide new avenues for the public discussion of LGBTQ+-related issues and exchange between researchers, activists, and the broader public.

With regard to a specific focus on cultural representation, Mizoguchi Akiko (2015, 2017, 2023), James Welker (2019, 2022), and Hori Akiko and Mori Naoko (2020) have contributed to establishing the study of BL media as a distinct academic field. The mainstream art and culture magazine *Yurika (Eureka)* further popularized the study of BL through two special issues (2012, 2020). Mirroring the increase in LGBTQ+ representation in mainstream movies and drama series, a range of monographs developed queer Japanese film and media studies (e.g., Kanno, 2021, 2023; Kubo, 2022; Maree, 2020) and enriched Japanese literature studies with new queer perspectives (e.g., Angels, 2011; Iida, 2016; Iwakawa, 2022; Kimura, 2010; Kuroiwa, 2016; Takeda, 2018; Vincent, 2012).

However, the increased visibility of LGBTQ+ issues in political discourse and the mass media was also met with a backlash. Unlike the “gender-free” backlash of the late 1990s and early 2000s, it focused primarily on LGBTQ+ people and activism, who were framed as threats to traditional family values by social conservatives and religious right-wing groups. Arguably the most notorious example was Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) lawmaker Sugita Mio’s (2018) essay for the magazine *Shinchō 45*, in which she argued, among other things, that LGBTQ+ cou-

ples were “unproductive” because they do not procreate, which is why LGBTQ+-related initiatives are not worthy of tax money (pp. 57–58). Her attempt to exploit social anxieties about Japan’s low birthrate and aging population to mobilize public support against LGBTQ+ inclusion, however, backfired. Various minority rights groups organized well-attended protests in front of the LDP headquarters in Tokyo’s Chiyoda Ward, criticizing Sugita for the anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric of her essay, and especially for reducing a human’s value to its productivity and reproductive capabilities, which was widely supported by major news outlets (Carland-Echavaria, 2022; Okano, 2018; “*Seisansei nai’ wa nachi no yūseishisō*,” 2018).

While the failure of Sugita’s anti-LGBTQ+ campaign to gain traction shows, if anything, that Japanese society has become more inclusive toward LGBTQ+ people and their rights, the idea that LGBTQ+ people threaten the social order as they do not form traditional families continues to dominate the political imagination of the ruling LDP. A similar rhetoric was used by prime minister Kishida Fumio in parliament in 2023, when he blocked calls by the opposition to legalize same-sex marriage by saying that this is an issue that requires “extreme caution” because the legalization of same-sex marriage would fundamentally change Japanese society and people’s values (Abe & Sugihara, 2023).

Since the public supports the legalization of same-sex marriage, anti-LGBTQ+ discourse in the late 2010s has shifted from homophobia to transphobia. Mirroring, as Stefan Würrer notes in his paper, the global phenomenon of social conservatives and religious right-wing politicians collaborating with mainstream feminists in the name of cis women’s rights and safety, social conservatives in Japan – again with the support of the Shinto Association and the Unification Church, as well as, in this case, feminists – have increasingly targeted trans people, especially trans women, whom they frame as usurpers of women’s spaces and a potential threat to women’s safety (see also Kawasaki, 2023; Poritasu TV et al., 2023). While transphobic discourse intensified on social media after the decision of Ochanomizu Women’s University to accept applications by trans students regardless of their legal gender and transition status in 2019, the social inclusion of trans women became a much-discussed topic in the mass media through the opposition of ultra-conservative politicians such as the LDP’s Yamatani Eriko – who was also at the center of the “gender-free” backlash of the late 1990s and early 2000s – against the LDP’s Draft Bill on the Promotion of Better Understanding of LGBT Issues (LGBT Rikai Zōshin Hōan). Although this law aims only to cultivate acceptance toward LGBTQ+ people and lacks any concrete sanctions for failures to abide by its vague guidelines (Carland-Echavaria, 2022, p. 5), Yamatani, together with other politicians, criticized in particular the depathologizing language of the bill as posing a threat to cis women (Ibuki, 2021; “Jimin Yamatani-shi,” 2021).

In addition, they criticized the phrase “discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation or gender identity is unacceptable,” which they argued would open the door for “legal action to punish or prohibit any speech deemed ‘discriminatory’” (Carland-Ecchavaria, 2022, p. 17). Under their pressure, the amended draft that was submitted to the Diet in 2023 stated, “there should be no unjust discrimination,” which implies the existence of “just discrimination.” It also states that efforts made to promote understanding toward LGBTQ+ people must consider the comfort of all citizens based on guidelines the government will provide. This has been criticized as effectively hindering the bill’s objective (Matsuoka, 2023; Satō, 2023).

Overview of the book

During the 2010s, the term “LGBT” became a buzzword in the Japanese mainstream media, mirroring the increased visibility of sexual minority issues in public discourse. However, as Kazuyoshi Kawasaki notes in his paper, while making it easier to generally address LGBTQ+-related issues, the term does not necessarily facilitate a more nuanced understanding, as it avoids differentiating between the people, as well as the struggles and needs, represented by each of the letters it is made up of. As Kikuchi et al. (2019, p. 3) have pointed out, this is also the case with the term *kuia* (queer), which tends to be used as a depoliticized umbrella term for non-normative forms of gender and sexuality, despite its history of representing not only a more inclusive approach toward the self-representation of those labelled “abnormal” by heteronormative societies, but also their manifold cultural and political interventions into the structural discrimination and stigmatization such societies rely upon. Similarly, the expression *tayōsei* (diversity) often is used to pinkwash political and business initiatives that superficially signal inclusion of sexual minorities, but lack concrete measures that would remedy inequity (Kawasaki, 2015, pp. 90–91). In this volume, as its title suggests, we aim to take a look beyond pinkwashed surfaces and offer critical perspectives to stimulate transnational discussions of LGBTQ+ issues in Japan after 2010.

Kawasaki’s paper discusses Japanese mainstream pro-LGBTQ+ rights discourses and representations within domestic and international political contexts, and analyzes how these have been influenced by the marketization of LGBTQ+ people and issues, US diplomacy, and the 2020 Summer Olympics and Paralympics in Tokyo. It shows how the institutionalization of LGBTQ+ rights is appearing through Japan’s neoliberal, uneven governmentality and how this maintains its male-dominant heteronormative conservatism while impressing upon the international community that Japan is seemingly becoming an LGBTQ+-friendly place that promotes diversity.

Diana Khor and Saori Kamano's paper adds a new perspective to the debates about same-sex marriage, especially the polarizing question of whether its legalization would strengthen or subvert existing heteronormative systems through the inclusion of same-sex couples. Drawing on their previous analyses of same-sex partnerships in Japan, Khor and Kamano analyze interviews with same-sex couples in Japan and explore how they make sense of their partnership, the marital institution, and broader familial ties. They show that these interviews point toward the necessity of more nuanced dialogues about same-sex marriage that take into consideration both the issue of legal equality and problems inherent in Japan's current marriage system.

Hiroyuki Taniguchi examines the history of the intersections between human rights discourses and LGBTQ+-related laws, policies, and court cases in Japan. Demonstrating how the lack of a proper understanding of the concept of human rights hinders the advancement of legal equality, he argues for the promotion and utilization of international human rights laws as a means to improve the legal situation of Japan's LGBTQ+ community.

Azusa Yamashita discusses the experience of LGBTQ+ people during disasters, especially large earthquakes. She emphasizes that such events are not simply natural occurrences, but also have political, socioeconomic, and environmental contexts, and thus reveal existing social inequalities and magnify the vulnerability of certain social groups. Through an analysis of interviews with LGBTQ+ survivors of earthquakes, she shows that although Japanese policymakers have begun to make improvements to reflect the needs of gender and sexual minorities in disaster risk reduction and management policies, LGBTQ+ people continue to experience certain additional difficulties during times of crisis.

Both Genya Fukunaga and Guo Lifu explore contemporary transnational LGBTQ+-related discourses in the context of East Asian politics. Fukunaga analyzes the homonationalism, that is, the intersections of nationalism and pro-LGBTQ+ politics, in the relationship between Taiwan and Japan. As he points out, while homonationalist rhetoric contributes to the mainstreaming of LGBTQ+ rights discourses in Taiwan and Japan and allows these two societies to be classified as "LGBT friendly" and "advanced," it does so in contrast to the "backwardness" of communist China. Meanwhile, Guo takes a closer look at online anti-trans discourses in Japan and China during the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, especially in view of the upcoming Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics. Through a social media analysis of Japanese-language tweets and Chinese-language Weibo posts, he shows how both Japanese and Chinese online trans-exclusionary discourses frame the participation of trans women in sport as a threat to cis women athletes, albeit based on different ideologies.

Stefan Würrer also discusses recent transphobic discourses, focusing on the initially surprising alliance between Shōno Yoriko, one of Japan's leading feminist fiction writers and former Japanese Communist Party supporter, and right-wing social conservative politician Yamatani Eriko, who have both participated in the framing of trans women as a potential threat to women's safety. Würrer shows how this transphobic alliance is both part of a global phenomenon and symptomatic of historical problems within Japanese feminism. He then revisits Shōno's fiction and argues that the numerous characters in her novels who are struggling with their assigned sex and gender do not necessarily contradict Shōno's trans-exclusionary arguments. Rather, Shōno's politics and fiction together have to be understood as part of an always incomplete, performative, and problematic process of reestablishing a coherent and fixed female identity through the abjection of the Other.

Finally, Yutaka Kubo's paper presents a history of LGBTQ+ representation in Japanese cinema from the "gay boom" of the 1990s to the "LGBT boom" of the 2010s and examines how film studies and criticism in Japan have struggled to incorporate a queer perspective. He emphasizes the need for both the Japanese film industry and film studies to become more attentive toward the complexity of minority perspectives and audiences, rather than merely targeting the mainstream, in order to achieve a more diverse representation of Japan's LGBTQ+ people and their lives.

While this anthology covers a wide variety of LGBTQ+-related topics after 2010, we did not collect papers with a specific focus on identity such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or trans. Rather, our goal was to shed light on the broader entanglement and power dynamics of social, political, historical, economic, and cultural factors that influence LGBTQ+ people, their lives, and their needs in contemporary Japan. The papers presented in this volume offer but a tiny fragment of potential perspectives on LGBTQ+-related developments after 2010 – based on this understanding, we ask our readers to take this anthology for what it is: as an invitation to critically engage with the arguments it presents and as one potential stepping stone in the further advancement of LGBTQ+-related academic research in the context of Japan and, more broadly, East Asia.

References

- Abe, R., & Sugihara, S. (2023, Feb. 3). Kishida cautious on gay marriage because it would "change society." *The Asahi Shimbun*. <https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14830834>.
- Aēsop Japan. (2022). *Kuia no koe o hasshin suru: Isoppu kuia raiburarī* [Amplifying queer voices: The Aēsop Queer Library]. <https://www.aesop.com/jp/r/pride-jp>.

- Akaeda, K. (2011). *Kindai Nihon ni okeru onna dōshi no shinmitsu na kankei* [Intimate relationships between women in modern Japan]. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan.
- Akaeda, K. (2014). Sengo Nihon ni okeru “rezubian” kategori no teichaku [The establishment of the category of “lesbian” in postwar Japan]. In S. Koyama, K. Akaeda, & E. Imada (Eds.), *Sekushuariti no sengoshi* [A history of sexuality in post-war Japan] (pp. 129–151). Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai.
- Angels, J. (2011). *Writing the love of boys: Origins of bishōnen culture in modernist Japanese literature*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Ayabe, R., & Ikeda, H. (Eds.). (2019). *Kuia to hō: Seikihan no kaihō/kaihō no tame ni* [Queer and law: Liberating/opening up sexual norms]. Nihon Hyōronsha.
- Baudinette, T. (2021). *Regimes of desire: Young gay men, media, and masculinity in Tokyo*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Carland-Echavarria, P. (2022). We do not live to be productive: LGBT activism and the politics of productivity in contemporary Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 20(2), Article 5669. <https://apjif.org/2022/2/Carland.html>.
- Chalmers, S. (2002). *Emerging lesbian voices from Japan*. Routledge Curzon.
- Dentsū. (2015, April 23). *Dentsū daibāshiti rabo ga “LGBT chōsa 2015” o jissshi* [Dentsu Diversity Lab conducted the “LGBT survey 2015”] [News release]. <https://www.dentsu.co.jp/news/release/2015/0423-004032.html>.
- Dōseikon mitomenai no wa kenpōihan: Ikenhanketsu wa zenkoku ni-kenme – Nagoyachizai [Not recognizing same-sex marriage is unconstitutional: Nagoya district court becomes the second to rule it unconstitutional]. (2023, May 30). NHK. <https://www3.nhk.or.jp/news/html/20230530/k10014082521000.html>.
- Dōseikon ni sansei 65% jimintō shijisō demo 58% honsha yoronchōsa [65%, even among LDP supporters 58%, in favor of same-sex marriage, says our survey]. (2023, February 27). *Nihon keizai shinbun*. <https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXZQQUA253J70V20C23A2000000>.
- Frühstück, S. (2022). *Gender and sexuality in modern Japan*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fujitaka, K. (2018). *Judisu Batorā: Sei to tetsugaku o kaketa tatakai* [Judith Butler: A fight for life and philosophy]. Ibunsha.
- Fujitaka, K. (2022). “Toraburu” toshite no feminizumu: “Torimidassenasai yokuatsu” ni aragatte [Feminism as “trouble”: Fighting with “the pressure to not lose control”]. Ibunsha.
- Fushimi, N. (1991). *Puraibēto gei raifu* [Private gay life]. Gakuyō Shobō.
- Hori, A., & Mori, N. (Eds.). (2020). *BL no kyōkasho* [A BL textbook]. Yuhikaku.
- Horie, Y. (2015). *Rezubian aidentitizu* [Lesbian identities]. Rakuhoku Shuppan.
- Ibuki S. (2021, May 31). “Inochi o mamoru hōritsu o tsukutte kudasai”: Jimintō gi’in no sabetsu hatsugen, ima tōjishatachi ga tsutaetai omoi [“Please create laws that protect lives”: What those affected think of the discriminatory remarks made by members of the Liberal Democratic Party]. BuzzFeed. <https://www.buzzfeed.com/jp/saoriibuki/ldp-lgbt-protest>.
- Iida, Yūko. (2016). *Kanojotachi no bungaku* [The women’s literature]. Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Iino, Y. (2008). *Rezubian de aru “watashitachi” no sutōri* [The story of “us” lesbians]. Seikatsu Shoin.
- Iino, Y., Kawashima, S., Nishikura, M., & Hoshika, R. (2016). *Gōriteki hairyo: Taiwa o hiraku, taiwa ga hiraku* [Reasonable accommodation: Opening up dialogues, dialogues that open up]. Yūhikaku.
- Iino, Y., Kawashima, S., Nishikura, M., & Hoshika, R. (2022). “Shakai” o atsukau aratana mōdo: “Shōgai no shakai moderu” no tsukaikata [A new mode of engaging with “society”: How to use the “social model of disability”]. Seikatsu Shoin.

- Iseri, M. (2013). Furekishiburu nashintai: Kuia negativitī to kyōseiteki na kenjōtekishintaisei [Flexible bodies: Queer negativity and coercive able-bodiedness]. *Ronsō kuia*, 6, 37–57.
- Iseri, M. (2019). “Fuzai” kara no shiza, “fuzai” e no shiza: Disabiritī, feminizumu, kuia [Perspectives from “absence,” perspectives toward “absence”: Disability, feminism, queer]. *Gendai shisō*, 47(3), 289–298.
- Iseri, M. (2020). (Han)-miraishugi o toinaosu: Kuia na tairitsusei to dōin sarerushintai [Rethinking (anti)-futurism: Queer antagonism and mobilized bodies]. *Shisō*, 1151, 70–86.
- Ishida, H. (2019). Anzen na jiyū: Hattenba ni yume o takushita jidai ni okeru [Safe freedom: When cruising spots were places of dreams]. In *Kōkai shimpōjiumu “LGBT” wa dō tsunagatte kita no ka* [Public symposium: “LGBT” connections over the years] (pp. 23–31). Hokkaido University Collection of Scholarly and Academic Papers. <http://hdl.handle.net/2115/74609>.
- Ishida, H. (Ed.). (2023). *Yakudō suru gei mūbumento: Rekishi o kataru torikkusutā tachi* [Vibrant gay movements: Tricksters narrating history]. Akashi Shoten.
- Ishii, Y. (2018). *Toransujendā to gendai shakai: Tayōka suru sei to aimaina jikozō wo motsu hitotachi no seikatsusekai* [Trans people and contemporary society: The everyday life of people with ambiguous self-images and the diversification of gender and sexuality]. Akashi Shoten.
- Itani, S. (2021). “Tai’ikukai-kei joshi” no poritikusu: Shintai, jendā, sekushuaritī [The politics of “athletic girls”: Body, gender, sexuality]. Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu.
- Itō, S. (2006). Japan. In T. Yamamoto & S. Itō (Eds.), *Fighting a rising tide: The response to AIDS in East Asia* (pp. 119–155). Japan Center for International Exchange.
- Iwakawa, A. (2022). *Monogatari to torauma: Kuia feminizumu hihyō no kanōsei* [Narrative and trauma: Possibilities of queer feminist critique]. Seidosha.
- Jimin Yamatani-shi “bakageta koto okiteiru”: Sei jinin meguri [LDP’s Yamatani speaking of “ridiculous developments” regarding gender identity]. (2021, May 19). *Asahi shinbun*. <https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASP5M52GTP5MUTFK004.html>.
- Kakefuda, H. (1992). “Rezubian” de aru to iu koto [On being a “lesbian”]. Kawade Shobō Shinsha.
- Kanno, Y. (2019). Komyunitī o saikō suru: Kuia LGBT eigasai to jōdō no shakai kūkan [Community reconsidered: Queer/LGBT film festivals and affective social space]. In N. Kikuchi, Y. Horie, & Y. Iino (Eds.), *Kuia sutadizu o hiraku 1: Aidentitī, komyunitī, supēsu* [Exploring queer studies, vol. 1: Identity, community, and space] (pp. 110–133). Kōyō Shobō.
- Kanno, Y. (Ed.). (2021). *Kuia shinema sutadizu* [Queer cinema studies]. Kōyō Shobō.
- Kanno, Y. (2023). *Kuia shinema: Sekai to jikan ni betsu no shikata de sonzai suru tame ni* [Queer cinema: To exist in different ways in the world and in time]. Firumu Āto Sha.
- Kawaguchi, K., Vincent, K., & Kazama, T. (1997). *Gei sutadizu* [Gay studies]. Seidosha.
- Kawasaka, K. (2015). “Jinken” ka “tokken” ka “onken” ka? [“Human rights” or “privileges” or “benefits”?]. *Gendai shisō*, 43(16), 86–99.
- Kawasaka, K. (2023). Queers and national anxiety: Discourses on gender and sexuality from anti-gender backlash movements in Japan since the 2000s. In J. Goetz & S. Mayer (Eds.), *Global perspectives on anti-feminism: Far-right and religious attacks on equality and diversity*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Kazama, T. (2007). “Chūsei ningen” to wa dare ka? Seiteki mainoritī e no “fobia” o fumaeta teikō e [Who are those “genderless people”? Toward a resistance that’s aware of the phobia against sexual minorities]. *Joseigaku*, 15, 23–33.
- Kazama, T. (2009). Sutiguma to (seiteki) kenkō: HIV/eizu ni taisuru shakai(kagaku)teki apurōchi [Stigma and (sexual) health: Social (science) approaches to HIV/AIDS]. *Kaihō shakaigaku kenkyū*, 23, 59–61.

- Kazama, T. & Kawaguchi, K. (2003). HIV risk and the (im)permeability of the male body: Representations and realities of gay men in Japan. In J. E. Roberson & S. Nobue (Eds.), *Men and masculinities in contemporary Japan: Dislocating the salaryman doxa* (pp. 180–197). Routledge.
- Kazama, T. & Kawaguchi, K. (2010). *Dōseiai to iseai* [Homosexuality and heterosexuality]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Khor, D. (2010). The foreign gaze? A critical look at claims about same-sex sexuality in Japan in the English language literature. *Gender and Sexuality*, 5, 45–59.
- Kikuchi, N., Horie, Y., & Iino, Y. (Eds.). (2019). *Kuia sutadizu o hiraku 1: Aidentitī, komyunitī, supēsu* [Exploring queer studies vol.1: Identity, community, and space]. Kōyō Shobō.
- Kikuchi, N., Horie, Y., & Iino, Y. (Eds.). (2022). *Kuia sutadizu o hiraku 2: Kekkon, kazoku, rōdō* [Exploring queer studies vol. 2: Marriage, family and labor]. Kōyō Shobō.
- Kikuchi, N., Horie, Y., & Iino, Y. (Eds.). (2023). *Kuia sutadizu o hiraku 3: Kenkō/yamai, shōgai, karada* [Exploring queer studies vol. 3: Health/illness, disability, body]. Kōyō Shobō.
- Kimura, S. (2010). *A brief history of sexuality in premodern Japan*. Tallin University Press.
- Kubo, Y. (2022). *Yūyakegumo no kanata ni: Kinoshita Keisuke to kuiana kansei* [Over the sunset: Kinoshita Keisuke and queer sensibility]. Nakanishiya Shuppan.
- Kuia Sutadizu Henshū Iinkai. (1997). *Kuia sutadizu 97* [Queer studies 97]. Nanatsumori Shokan.
- Kuroiwa, Y. (2016). Gei no kashika o yomu: Gendai bungaku ni egakareru “sei no tayōsei” [Reading the new gay visibility: “Sexual diversity” depicted in contemporary Japanese literature]. Kōyō Shobō.
- Kyōdō tsūshin no yoronchōsa de dōseikon ni sansei ga 71% nimo nobori, NHK no yoron chōsa de seiteki mainoriti no jinken ga “mamorarete iru” to kanjiru kata wa tatta no 9% de aru koto ga wakarimashita. (2023, May 4). Pride Japan. https://www.outjapan.co.jp/pride_japan/news/2023/5/3.html.
- LGBT Hören Gōkai. (2015, March 30). *LGBT no kokusei robī rengōkai o hatsu kessei* [Founding of the first national LGBT lobby for governmental affairs] [News release]. <https://lgbtetc.jp/news/4>.
- Lunsing, W. (2001). *Beyond common sense: Sexuality and gender in contemporary Japan*. Kegan Paul.
- Mackintosh, J. (2010). *Homosexuality and manliness in postwar Japan*. Routledge.
- Maree, C. (2007). The un/state of lesbian studies: An introduction to lesbian communities and contemporary legislation in Japan. *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 11(3–4), 291–301.
- Maree, C. (2020). *Queerqueen: Excess and constraints in writing gender and sexuality into popular Japanese media*. Oxford University Press.
- Marriage for All Japan. (2020). *Dōseikon ni kansuru yoronchōsa* [Report of our survey about same-sex marriage]. <https://www.marriageforall.jp/research>.
- Martin, F., Jackson, A. P., McLelland, M., & Yue, A. (Eds.). (2008). *AsiaPacifiQueer: Rethinking genders and sexualities*. University of Illinois Press.
- Matsuoka, S. (2023, June 6). *Mohaya “LGBT rikai yokusei hō”: Yotō to ishin no saishūseian ga shūin naikaku iinkai de kaketsu* [This is actually an “LGBT understanding suppression bill”: The House of Representatives Cabinet Committee passes the amended bill of the LDP and the Japan Innovation Party]. Yahoo Japan. <https://news.yahoo.co.jp/byline/matsuokasoshi/20230610-00353187>.
- McLelland, M. (2000). *Male homosexuality in modern Japan: Cultural myths and social realities*. Curzon.
- McLelland, M. (2005). *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the internet age*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- McLelland, M. (2012). Death of the “legendary okama” Tōgō Ken: Challenging commonsense lifestyles in postwar Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 10(25), Article 5. <https://apjif.org/2012/10/25/Mark-McLelland/3775/article.html>.
- McLelland, M., & Dasgupta, R. (Eds.) (2005). *Genders, transgenders and sexualities in Japan*. Routledge.
- McLelland, M., & Mackie, V. (Eds.). (2015). *Routledge handbook of sexuality studies in East Asia*. Routledge.
- McLelland, M., Nagaike, K., Suganuma, K., & Welker, J. (Eds.) (2015). *Boys love manga and beyond*. University Press of Mississippi.
- McLelland, M. & Suganuma, K. (2009). Sexual minorities and human rights in Japan: An historical perspective. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 13(2–3), 329–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980902758176>.
- McLelland, M., Suganuma, K., & Welker, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Queer voices from Japan*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Mitsuhashi, J. (2018). *Shinjuku: “Sei naru” machi no rekishi chiri* [Shinjuku: Historical geography of a sex town]. Asahi Shinbun Shuppansha.
- Mitsuhashi, J. (2022). *Rekishi no naka no tayōna “sei”*: *Nihon to Ajia, hengen suru sekushuaritī* [Diverse “sexualities” throughout history: Japan and Asia’s transforming sexualities]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Mizoguchi, A. (2015). *BL shinkaron: Bōizu rabu ga shakai o ugokasu* [The evolution of boys’ love: How BL changes society]. Ōta Shuppan.
- Mizoguchi, A. (2017). *BL shinkaron (taiwa hen): Bōizu rabu ga umareru basho* [The evolution of boys’ love (conversations): Where BL is brought to life]. Ōta Shuppan.
- Mizoguchi, A. (2023). *BL kenkyūsha ni yoru jendā hihyō nyūmon: Kotoba ni naranai “moyamoya” o kotoba de kataru “wakuwaku” ni kaeru, hyōshō bunseki no ressun* [An introduction to gender criticism by a BL researcher: Turning unspoken “confusion” into articulated “enthusiasm” through a lesson on the analysis of visual representations.]. Kasama Shoin.
- Moriyama, N. (2012). *Gei komyuniti no shakaigaku* [Sociology of the Japanese gay community]. Keisō Shobō.
- Nagashima, S. (Ed.). (2013). *Ai no gihō: Kuia rīdingu to wa nani ka* [The art of love: What is queer reading?]. Chūō Daigaku Shuppanbu.
- Nagashima, S. (Ed.). (2019). *Yomu koto no kuia: Zoku ai no gihō* [The queerness of reading: The art of love 2]. Chūō Daigaku Shuppanbu.
- Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengō. (2017). *Daibāshiti inkurūjon shakai ni mukete* [Toward a diverse and inclusive society]. https://www.keidanren.or.jp/policy/2017/039_honbun.pdf.
- Norton, L. (2013). Neutering the transgendered: Human rights and Japan’s law no. 111. In S. Stryker & A. Z. Aizura (Eds.), *The transgender studies reader* (Vol. 2, pp. 591–603). Routledge.
- Ogawa, S. (2017). *Producing gayness: The 1990s “gay boom” in Japanese media* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas]. KU Scholar Works. <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/27011>.
- Ogiue C. (2012, April 26). Tayōna ikikata o sonchō shiyō [Let’s respect diverse ways of living]. *Synodos*. <http://synodos.jp/society/2263>.
- Oikawa, K. (2007). Tōgō Ken, the legendary okama: Burning with sexual desire and revolt. In M. McLelland, K. Suganuma, & J. Welker (Eds.), *Queer voices from Japan* (pp. 263–269). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Okano, Y. (2018). Sabetsu hatsugen to seijiteki bunmyaku no jūyōsei: “LGBT” shien no do ga sugiru” no konkan [Discriminatory speech and the importance of political contexts: What the argument that “LGBT support goes too far” is really about]. *Sekai*, 913, 140–149.

- Otsuji, K. (2005). *Kamingu auto: Jibunrashisa o mitsukeru tabi* [Coming out: A journey of self-discovery]. Kōdansha.
- Pendleton, M. (2021). And I dance with somebody: Queer history in a Japanese nightclub. *History Workshop Journal*, 90, 297–310.
- Pflugfelder, G. M. (1999). *Cartographies of desire: Male-male sexuality in Japanese discourse 1600–1950*. University of California Press.
- Poritasu TV, Yamaguchi T., & Saitō M. (2023). *Shūkyō uha to feminizumu* [The religious right and feminism]. Seikyūsha.
- PRIDE Shihyō Jimukyoku. (2022). *Puraido shihyō 2022 repōto* [Pride index 2022 report]. Work With Pride. <https://workwithpride.jp/topics/wwwprideindex2022>.
- Reichert, J. (2006). *In the company of men: Representations of male-male sexuality in Meiji literature*. Stanford University Press.
- Roberson, J. E., & Nobue, S. (2003). *Men and masculinities in contemporary Japan: Dislocating the salaryman doxa*. Routledge.
- Satō, T. (2023, June 13). *LGBT “sabetsu” zōshinhō ni NO: Puraido parēdo sura, dekinakunaru kiki*. “Konna hō o tōsu kuni wa, hontō ni saitei desu” [No to the Law for LGBT discrimination: Even pride parades are now at risk. “A country that passes such a law is truly despicable”]. HuffPost News. https://www.huffingtonpost.jp/entry/story_jp_6487b4b5e4b048eb9110f7bb.
- “Seisansei nai” wa nachi no yūseishisō: Shikishara hihan, kaigai media mo hōdō [Calling people non-productive is Nazi-style eugenics: Criticism from experts, reports by international media] (2018, July 28). *Mainichi shinbun*. <https://mainichi.jp/articles/20180728/mog/00m/040/009000c>.
- Shimizu, A. (2007). Scandalous equivocation: A note on the politics of queer self-naming. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 8(4), 503–516.
- Shimizu, A. (2013). Chanto tadashii hōkō ni mukatteru: Kuia poritikusu no genzai [Heading properly in the right direction: The current state of queer politics]. In R. Miura & S. Hayasaka (Eds.), *Jendā to jiyū: Riron, riberarizumu, kuia* [Gender and freedom: Theory, liberalism, queer] (pp. 313–331). Sairyūsha.
- Shimizu, A. (2015). Yōkoso gei furendori na machi e. [Welcome to the gay friendly town]. *Gendai shisō*, 43(16), 144–155.
- Shimizu, A. (2022). *Feminizumutte nandesuka*. [What is feminism?]. Bunshun Shinsho.
- Shimizu, A., Han, T., & Iino, Y. (2022). *Poritikaru korekutonesu kara doko e* [From political correctness to where?]. Yuhikaku.
- Shingae, A. (2013). *Nihon no “gei” to eizu: Komyūniti, kokka, aidentiti* [“Gays” and AIDS in Japan: Community, nation, identity]. Seikyūsha.
- Shingae, A. (2022). *Kuia akutibizumu: Hajimete manabu “kuia sutadizu” no tame ni* [Queer activism: Queer studies for beginners]. Kadensha.
- Shūji, A., & Takai, Y. (2023). *Toransujendā nyūmon* [An introduction to transgender people]. Shūeisha.
- Shūkan Daiamondo Henshūbu. (Ed.). (2013). *Kokunai shijō 5.7 chōen: “LGBT (Rezubian/gei/baisekushuaru/toransugenda) shijō” o kōryaku seyo!* [A domestic market of 5.7 trillion yen: Let’s conquer the “LGBT market”]. Shūkan Daiamondo (online edition). (Original work published 2012)
- Suganuma, K. (2006). Enduring voices: Fushimi Noriaki and Kakefuda Hiroko’s continuing relevance to Japanese lesbian and gay studies and activism. *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, 14. <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue14/suganuma.htm>.
- Suganuma, K. (2012). *Contact moments: The politics of intercultural desire in Japanese male-queer cultures*. Hong Kong University Press.

- Sugita, M. (2018). "LGBT" shien no do ga sugiru [The support for "LGBT" people goes too far]. *Shinchō*, 45(8), 57–60.
- Sugiura, I. (2007). Lesbian discourses in mainstream magazines of post-war Japan. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 11(3–4), 127–144.
- Sugiura, I. (2011). Increasing lesbian visibility. In K. Fujimura-Fanselow (Ed.), *Transforming Japan: How feminism and diversity are making a difference* (pp. 164–176). The Feminist Press.
- Sugiura, I. (2017). Nihon ni okeru rezubian minikomi-shi no gensetsu bunseki: 1970 nendai kara 1980 nendai zenhan made [A discourse analysis of lesbian zines in Japan: From the 1970s to the early 1980s]. *Wakō Daigaku gendai ningen gakubu kiyō*, 10, 159–178.
- Sugiura, I., & Maekawa, N. (2022). "Chihō" to seiteki mainoriti: Tōhoku 6-ken no intabyū kara. Seikyūsha.
- Summerhawk, B., McMahon, C., & McDonald, D. (1998). *Queer Japan: Personal stories of Japanese lesbians, gays, transsexuals, and bisexuals*. New Victoria Publishers.
- Sunagawa, H. (2015). *Shinjuku 2-chōme no bunka jinruigaku* [A cultural anthropological study of Shinjuku ni-chōme]. Tarō Jirōsha Editasu.
- Takeda, S. (2018). *Yoshiya Nobuko kenkyū* [A study of Yoshiya Nobuko]. Kanrin Shobō.
- Takemura, K. (1996a). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (1): "Romantikkku na yūjō" kara sekusorōji zen'ya made [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies 1: From romantic friendships to the eve of sexology]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(4), 187–189.
- Takemura, K. (1996b). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (2): "Noroi no bungaku" kara "gaidobukku bungaku" made [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies 2: From a "cursed literature" to "guidebook literature"]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(5), 262–264.
- Takemura, K. (1996c). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (3): Feminizumu to no kakawari [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies 3: The relation with feminism]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(6), 318–320.
- Takemura, K. (1996d). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (4): Onna wa "yokubō no shutai" to naru ka – seishin bunseki to shakai kōseiron [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies 4: Can women become "subjects of desire"? Psychoanalysis and social constructionism]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(7), 376–378.
- Takemura, K. (1996e). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (5): Kamingu auto monogatari to yūshokujin rezubian no taikō hyōshō [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies 5: Coming out stories and oppositional representation of lesbians of color]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(8), 430–432.
- Takemura, K. (1996f). Lesbian kenkyū no kanōsei (6): Sekkusu no "keitaigaku" – rezubian hyōshō/riron no ima [Exploring the potential for lesbian studies(6): The morphology of sex – lesbian representation/theory now]. *Eigo seinen*, 142(9), 475–479.
- Takemura, K. (1997). Shihonshugi shakai to sekushuariti: (Hetero)sekushizumu no kaitai e mukete [Capitalist society and sexuality: Toward dismantling (hetero)sexism]. *Shisō*, 879, 71–104.
- Taniguchi, H. (2019). *LGBT o meguru hō to shakai* [Law and society in relation to LGBT issues]. Nihon Kajo Shuppan.
- Taniguchi, H. (2022). *Seiteki mainoriti to kokusai jinken hō* [Sexual and gender minorities in international human rights law]. Nihon Kajo Shuppan.
- Tōgō, K. (1979). *Zatsumin no ronri* [The logic of people]. Epona Shuppan.
- Treat, J. W. (1999). *Great mirrors shattered: Homosexuality, orientalism, and Japan*. Oxford University Press.
- Vincent, K. (2012). *Two-timing modernity: Homosocial narrative in modern Japanese fiction*. Harvard University Press.

- Welker, J. (2015). A brief history of *shōnen'ai*, *yaoi*, and boys love. In M. McLelland, K. Nagaike, K. Suganuma, & J. Welker (Eds.), *Boys love manga and beyond* (pp. 42–75). University Press of Mississippi.
- Welker, J. (2017). Toward a history of “lesbian history” in Japan. *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 58(2), 147–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14735784.2017.1282830>.
- Welker, J. (2018). From women’s liberation to lesbian feminism in Japan: Rezubian feminizumu within and beyond the ūman ribu movement in the 1970s and 1980s. In J. C. Bullock, A. Kano, & J. Welker (Eds.), *Rethinking Japanese feminisms* (pp. 50–67). University of Hawai’i Press.
- Welker, J. (Ed.). (2019). *BL ga hiraku tobira: Henyōsuru Ajia no sekushuaritī to jendā* [Opening doors with BL: Transforming sexuality and gender in Asia]. Seidosha.
- Welker, J. (Ed.). (2022). *Queer transfigurations: Boys love media in Asia*. University of Hawai’i Press.
- Yamada, H. (2020). Toransujendā no fuhenka ni yoru GID o meguru anbiwarensu no masshō [Erasing ambivalence related to gender identity disorder through the universalization of transgender]. *Jendā kenkyū*, 23, 47–65. <https://doi.org/10.24567/00063793>.
- Yamada, H. (2022). GID as an acceptable minority; or, the alliance between moral conservatives and “gender critical” feminists in Japan. *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, 9(3), 501–506. <https://doi.org/10.1215/23289252-9836162>.
- Yamaguchi, T. (2014). “Gender free” feminism in Japan: A story of mainstreaming and backlash. *Feminist Studies*, 40(4), 541–572.
- Yamaguchi, T., Saitō, M., & Ogiue, C. (2012). *Shakai undō no tomadoi: Feminizumu no “ushinawareta jidai” to kusanone hoshu undō* [The confusion of social movements: Conservative grassroots movements and the “lost decade” of feminism]. Keisō Shobō.
- Yamaguchi, T. (2018). The mainstreaming of feminism and the politics of backlash in twenty first-century Japan. In J. C. Bullock, A. Kano, & J. Welker (Eds.), *Rethinking Japanese feminisms* (pp. 68–86). University of Hawai’i Press.
- Yoshino, Y. (2020). *Dareka no risō o ikirare wa shinai: Torinokosareta mono no tame no toransujendā-shi* [You can’t live someone else’s ideal: Transgender history for those left behind]. Seidosha.