

Producing Gayness: The 1990s “Gay Boom” in Japanese Media

By Sho Ogawa

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Film and Media Studies and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Chairperson, Michael Baskett

Germaine Halegoua

Catherine Preston

Ann Schofield

Akiko Takeyama

Ron Wilson

Date Defended: November 14, 2017

The dissertation committee for Sho Ogawa certifies that this is the
approved version of the following dissertation:

Producing Gayness: The 1990s “Gay Boom” in Japanese Media

Chairperson Michael Baskett

Date Approved: November 14, 2017

Abstract

This dissertation examines the gay boom in the Japan, where various media from magazines, novels, television shows, to feature films reported on and represented male homosexuality in scale that was unprecedented and is unmatched to the present. The number of reports and narratives on male homosexuality reached its peak during 1991 to 1994, when Japan was facing numerous social changes such as the burst of the economic bubble, recognition of social stratification, shifts in women's roles in the family, and increased promotion of Japan's internationalization. The Japanese media's production of gay male images was shaped by these social changes and the anxieties, producing an idealized gay subject who can respond to these situations and produce a new set of norms that govern the alternative social formations. This is not to say that gay men were universally accepted in the Japanese media, but through various conflicting representational modes of exoticization, celebration, abjection, and domestication of gay men, the Japanese media defined which subjects would be granted visibility for straight consumers. The gay boom's grafting of the gay man's lifestyle into matters of the family, class, and the national body were comprised of a complex set of negotiations, which often obscured and alleviated the issues faced by recessionary Japan. This process of commodification of gay images championed the fashionable, hybrid gay subject, which resulted in the exclusion of the unfashionable, uneducated, uncultured, rural lives, and the less wealthy.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Before the Gay Boom: Diversification of Women's Cultures and Sexuality as Subcultural Capital.....	21
Gay Boom and the Future of the Nation: Single Women and the Search for Alternative Timelines in 1990s Japan.....	56
Fashioning Lifestyles : Gay Taste and Consumption During the Erosion of the Middle Mass Society	90
Defining Japaneseness: Gay Men, Hybridity, and the Delineation of the National Body	124
Epilogue	162

Introduction

The very first pages of the 1993 “Gay Toybox” issue of the subcultural magazine *Bessatsu Takarajima* invited readers to cut out a full color pair of paper gay dolls. The two dolls came with a full set of accoutrements including a rugby uniform, bikinis, jeans, a leather jacket, a football uniform, a running outfit, a “Castro style” shirt, leather bondage gear, a traditional festival outfit for the loincloth clad Japanese doll, and a Western shirt with chaps for the blonde haired blue-eyed American doll. Accompanying instructions encouraged users to “give them a lovely name,” “make a story and play with them,” and “imagine a campus love affair between, let’s call the rugby player Takeshi and the exchange student we’ll call Michael!” The writer solicited users to “buy two more issues, one for preservation and another for the cutting out.” The “Gay Toybox” issue was published at the height of Japan’s gay boom, a mainstream media phenomenon from 1991 to 1995 that capitalized on representations of male homosexuality. The *Bessatsu Takarajima* issue was unique in hiring gay men as editors and writers and the “Dress Up Gay Dolls” issue embodies many features that characterized the gay boom.

The writer who produced the paper dolls wrote that his motivation came from a long-held desire to play with Licca-chan dolls, a Japanese doll similar to Barbie dolls. The implicit dual feminization of both the producer and readers via Licca-chan dress-up dolls underscores the centrality of the feminine aspects of gayness that were intrinsic to the boom and its mostly female audience. The Licca-chan doll was unique for her partly Western features, myriad fashionable outfits that indicated her impeccable taste, idealized embodiment of gender and sexuality, and for her role as an education tool.¹ The writer’s transposition of gay Japanese and American men onto Licca-chan metonymically relates to the appropriation of male

homosexuality by the Japanese media; the commodification of an idealized representation of male homosexuality with the potential to be deployed in a variety of social positionings. These dolls were a blank, nameless slate that functioned as receptacles for their users' desires to be incorporated into imaginary narratives. Writing in the same issue, Japan's first gay celebrity Takashi Otsuka claimed that the gay boom was driven by straight women's curiosity in gay men. He surmised that in the gay boom, "gay men are cast in the title role, but are in fact only bit players." Without the interest of straight women, Otsuka continued, "gay men have to disappear from the stage."² The gay boom, much like these dress up dolls, played a crucial role in mitigating the anxieties generated by stagnated gender relations, social stratification, and globalization in 1990s Japan. Gay boom media was concerned assigning male homosexuality to imaginary roles and narratives that corresponded to the needs and desires of straight consumers.

Jonathan M. Hall and Wim Lunsing have characterized the gay boom variously as a "(m)assive commodification of male homosexuality in Japanese popular culture"³ and "a phenomenon that swept through the Japanese media."⁴ The gay boom hit its full stride with the publication of the "Gay Renaissance" special issue in the women's magazine *Crea*. Gay boom media coverage included articles on gay men, films, television shows, novels, and numerous reports in popular magazines ranging from cultural commentary magazines to men's weeklies. Unlike the gay television trend in the US from the early 1990s that popularized gay content as an enduring theme, the heightened visibility of the gay community in Japanese media was relatively short-lived. The gay boom followed the trajectory of Japan's many successive "booms" in its rapid turnover. The gay boom's momentum dwindled after 1994 as gay content lost its novelty and edgy connotations, and by 1995 cultural products featuring gay men were only sporadically produced. The Japanese media's obsession with male homosexuality went through a sudden

upsurge and then gradually eroded, marking the years 1991-1995 as a unique period of heightened gay visibility.

What conditions made male homosexuality a viable mainstream media commodity during this short period in heteronormative Japanese society? How did representations of male homosexuality negotiate changing concepts of the nation and national identity in 1990s Japan? This dissertation answers these questions by examining the ways in which the gay boom, through the representation of gay men as newly socially acknowledged member of Japanese society, defined socially acceptable behaviors and ways of being in the contested areas of the domestic sphere, consumer culture, and national identity. The boom's implied promise to its consumers was that gay men's idealized attributes constituted a wholly new social being who trivialized and transcended social and geographical divisions.

Media portrayals of Japanese gay men's identity and lifestyles blurred the contours of sexual, class, and national identities making it possible for straight consumers, particularly women consumers to envision alternative social formations that rendered solidarity along the lines of corporate culture, kinship, and social class obsolete. This is not to say that the Japanese media universally accepted gay men. The media's capitalization on fashionable and masculine gay men excluded subjects that did not fit the gay boom's definition of fashionable, affluent, masculine gay men. Japanese mainstream media defined which subjects would be granted visibility for straight consumers through conflicting representational modes of exoticization, celebration, abjection, and domestication of gay men.

These conflicting representations created discursive sites where hegemonic norms were negotiated by figures such as the gay men/straight woman families, fashionable gay consumers, and hybrid gay men. These figures were mobilized by the media for a superficial celebration of

diverse and multicultural Japan that did little to challenge structural issues that sustained marginalization of subjects who diverted from norms of gender, sexuality, and nationality. The celebration of social and sexual difference in the gay boom was tempered by the preservation of the familiar and normative, in which gay men were represented as compliant in maintaining the familial structure, the homogeneous middle class, and the hybridism of the Japanese nation

The gay boom's rapid appearance and disappearance is a characteristic common to media phenomena dubbed "booms" in Japan. Media scholar Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro characterized Japan as a "boom-based society," which continuously produces and exploits new differences in rapid succession.⁵ The loanword boom (*bûmu*) indicates popularization of various phenomena, from sports and fashion to postmodernism and ecological consciousness for commodification as a consumer trend.⁶ Mitsuhiro observes through the very quick coming and going of the postmodern boom in Japan that booms exploit difference through mass commodification until it becomes familiar and loses its novelty. The gay boom's trajectory follows similar patterns, where the media exploited the novelty of male homosexuality until public interest waned. Sociologist Lisa Skov argues in her discussion of Japan's ecology boom that the successive booms create "a strong sense of the here-and-now – which, at least to some extent, dispenses with the content and causality of what happens to be in style in a particular year." Similarly, media reports on the gay boom follow the temporal logic of the booms in its disregard for past phenomena where queer sexualities were celebrated.

The 1990s gay boom was, in fact, not the first concentrated mainstream reporting of male homosexuality in Japan.⁷ There were several previous "booms" in the representations of male homosexuality, from the "sister boy boom" in 1957, through the "sex-change boom" in 1965, to the "new half boom" and the "Mr. Lady boom" in the 1980s.⁸ These booms mostly reported on

feminized men within the entertainment industry, conflating feminization with sexual desire for men. Novels, comic books, and films touched on homosexuality or featured gay characters, but were for the most part produced for specialized subcultures such as teen manga and experimental films and did not generate a comparable surge in public interest as the 1990s gay boom.

As the title for the 1994 article “Fudangi no Gei (Gay Men in Everyday Clothes)” or “Gei tachi no Sugao ga Shiritai! (We Want to Know the Bare Face of Gay Men!)”⁹ indicates, the 1990s gay boom was conspicuously different from previous booms in part for featuring “everyday clothes” instead of drag and “bare faces” in place of faces covered in make-up. The gay boom was not only about male homosexuality but, more importantly, about a new social figure of the gay man defined through a myriad of cultural products, social activities, and attitudes culminating in an idealized alternative fashionable lifestyle. Interests in such characteristics, which may seem circumferential to sexuality, were as important if not more so than sexual orientations and practices of gay men. However, with the dissolution of prevailing social categories during the 1990s, the gay boom became less about challenging social norms than mitigating anxieties generated by social change.

Conceptual Grounding

My project of examining commodification of gay culture in the context of social changes and anxieties of 1990s Japan engages with studies on three distinct subjects. The first surveys marginalized sexualities in Japan, the second examines the commodification and assimilation of queer sexualities in mainstream media, and the third investigates the maintenance of national identity and homogeneity in Japanese culture. Scholarly studies on male homosexuality in Japan

have tended to focus on either the historical trajectory of male homosexuals or representation in gay subcultural media. These foundational studies have established the development of queer sexuality in Japan through examinations of terminologies, practices, and such specialized media outlets as queer-oriented media that are unique to Japan's social context.¹⁰

The primary interest in queer subcultures in this literature has resulted in a relative lack of focus on how the construction of hegemonic forms of masculinity, femininity and normative sexualities affect the ways in which queer sexualities are rendered invisible or marginalized in Japanese society. Mark McLelland has written provocatively on the lack of legal persecution of homosexuality in Japan and its effect on the absence in solidarity among homosexual subjects.¹¹ Yet, the legality of homosexuality does not mean that more subtle forms of marginalization did not occur through other operations such as the strict enforcement of heteronormativity. Monique Wittig argues that straight society maintains its dominance by defining itself against a subjugated homosexual other and hence heterosexuality and homosexuality are mutually constitutive.¹² I argue that discourse on homosexuality must be contextualized within the hegemonic discourse on gender and sexuality in Japan to uncover how the marginalization of homosexuality relies on the persistent yet ever changing and conflicting ways in which normative sexuality in Japan is defined and maintained.

A smaller number of studies have appraised the gay boom within a broader examination of queer representations in Japan and their impact on the queer community. These studies have rarely investigated representations in relation to the establishment of the normativity of heterosexuality that continues to fixate homosexuality securely within Japan's sociocultural margins.¹³ Jonathan Mackintosh's *Homosexuality and Manliness in Postwar Japan* limits its focus to popular publications catering to gay men in the 1970s, however, his project serves as an

effective model for conceptualizing homosexuality's relation to the normative national subject. Mackintosh's study investigates the relation of hegemonic masculinity in Japanese society and 1970s gay media, which involves how Japanese masculinity was constituted through postwar relations with the US. Mackintosh finds that national identity and hegemonic masculinity in the mainstream media are essential components conditioning discourses of desirable masculinities in gay media. I adapt Mackintosh's analytical framework that situates male homosexuality within national discourses on masculinity to illuminate the discursive construction of the national subject that delimits the ways in which sexuality and gender is conceived and expressed.

To claim that the positioning of homosexuality is historically contingent requires a careful investigation of a matrix of various norms defining the national subject. My dissertation asks how the recognition and presentation of marginalized homosexual men is linked to a crisis discourse on the conceptualization of the national subject. Multifarious phenomena including the breakdown of the family, instability of the labor market, and globalization shaped the ways in which male homosexuality was conceptualized in Japan's mainstream media.

In order to analyze why and how the gay boom addressed social anxieties that was generated at this historical juncture, I draw on previous studies of queer representations in the US that examine the process of assimilation and inclusion in the mainstream media. Studies on the assimilation of homosexuality into the mainstream media have inquired how visibility politics alone are insufficient to dispel heteronormativity. This is particularly true due to the conditioning and regulation of representations that factor into capitalist production.¹⁴ The literature of capitalization on queer subcultures by the media in the US presents a suitable framework for analyzing the ways in which the gay boom constructed a new set of norms that distinguish assimilable subjects from non-assimilable ones. The dramatic increase in the visibility of queer

lives and cultures have been analyzed from various perspectives and approaches, some of the key methods include industrial analysis, exclusionary assimilation processes, and theories of assimilation through representation.¹⁵

Works such as Ron Becker's *Gay TV and Straight America* and Eric O. Clarke's *Virtuous Vice: Homoeroticism and the Public Sphere* are particularly instructive for demonstrating how queer representations are imbricated within discourses that celebrate social difference while mitigating their qualities that induce anxiety. Clarke writes that heteronormativity affects the "way particular erotic acts, objects, and forms of attachment are *presumed on moral grounds* to be synonymous with property rights, patriotism, consumption patterns, political alliances, reproductive choices—in short, with the array of elements attached to a moral view of enfranchisement."¹⁶ In other words, their inclusion and enfranchisement constantly depend on an array of elements that may not be immediately apparent or connected with sexual orientation. Using Clarke's theories on how various value determinations mediate inclusion as a model for my research on Japan's gay boom will foreground the nature and function of the conditions that enabled the induction of gay men into mainstream Japanese media. Although Clarke maintains that his conceptualization of the public sphere are not meant to be totalizing for "a strictly structural understanding of the public sphere can often produce an ahistorical and functionalist universalism," his modes of value determination neglect or devalue the specificity of how the public sphere functions in non-Western cultures.¹⁷

What is necessary then, is a thorough contextualization of the specific historical conditions that produced queer representations, particularly representations outside of the US. Contextualizing the gay boom in the social transformations taking place in Japan in the 1990s exposes how the mainstream media's featuring of gay images involved a complex movement

between affirming Japan's homogeneity and promoting an image of a diversified Japan that embraced social difference. This examination uncovers the uneven and conflicting processes of selective assimilation and representation of male homosexuality in mainstream media so as to dispel totalizing conceptualizations of the commodification of queer sexualities.

Value determinations that affect the representations of marginalized sexualities in the mainstream media correspond to the conceptualizations of citizenship and the norms defining national subjects. Recent scholarship on Japanese nationalism approach the concept of culture, tradition, and nation not as a given but rather as discursive constructs that delimit the ways in which national boundaries are conceived. Marilyn Ivy's *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* investigates the self-fashioning of national identity in Japanese culture through cultural products and objects that evoke nostalgia and provide escape from postmodern forms of signification in 1990s Japan. Ivy's work provides a practical model for theorizing the cultural context of 1990s Japan when national identity became destabilized through contact with the modern and the foreign. Ivy deftly demonstrates how Japan responded to such pressures by consuming commodified forms of nostalgic, familiar, and essentialized forms of Japanese culture.¹⁸ Her work is especially relevant to my investigation of the gay boom which also mitigated social differences of male homosexuality by establishing connections to the past and the familiar. This dissertation demonstrates how that process functioned in magazine articles that reported on "discovering" the nostalgic and communal human relations in Tokyo's gay district, or through constructing images of straight women/gay men couples that resembles the "new family" phenomenon of the 1970s. Mainstream Japanese media promoted gay men as wholly new social subjects yet associations of gay men with familiar values and norms of the past presented them as relatable and non-threatening.

Yumiko Iida's *Rethinking Identity in Modern Japan: Nationalism as Aesthetics* argues that Japanese nationalism is not merely about love for the nation but “articulations of the pain of disfiguration which the increasingly oppressive structuring forces of modernization impose upon the individual and society.”¹⁹ Iida's arguments link this oppressive force of modernization, discourses on nationalism, and popular culture phenomena demonstrating the diversity in how nationalism is articulated in Japanese society. Her project convincingly presents nationalism as a pervasive force in Japanese culture that delimits the ways in which identities can be conceived and articulated. This approach is explicitly relevant to the gay boom, as the media phenomenon's articulation of gay identity was affected by national identity discourses, consumer identity, and gender identity. I focus on how diverse forms of identity coalesce in the figure of the gay man to examine the contradictions that arise from interactions among different forms of identities complicating and at times negating the articulation of national identity.

Mika Ko's *Japanese Cinema and Otherness: Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness* notably examines the conflicting ways in which nationalism is addressed in film. Ko argues that films featuring non-Japanese, Okinawan, and Japanese Korean characters exhibit “cosmetic multiculturalism,” which she explains commodifies others for consumption while obscuring or neglecting the structural inequality or past violence exercised on these subjects by Japan. Ko also contrasts these instances of cosmetic multiculturalism with works that disturb this safe commodification of the other such as Okinawan director Takamine Go's conscious rejection of conventional tourist-oriented images of Okinawa. Ko's work nuances the intricacy of cultural production where dissident voices can be found even in discourses of the national that obscure or commodify difference.

Homonationalism and pink-washing studies also inform the present dissertation for distinguishing the ways in which nationalism aligns itself with specific configurations of gender and sexuality. Jasbir K. Puar notes that the post-9/11 climate in the US led to heightened racial and national dimensions to this homonormativity which she dubs homonormative nationalism or homonationalism. Through the operations of homonationalism, white, homonormative, nationalist queer citizens represent the exceptional tolerance of the US, who is clearly distinguished from the perverse and abnormal sexualities of racialized Muslims. Homonationalism demonstrates how nationalism coalesces with specific forms of sexual lives resulting in the selective representation and exclusion of those who do not conform to those standards.

Akin to homonationalism is Japan's myth of monoculturalism which as a discourse delimited the ways in which expressions of sexuality were accepted or approved during the gay boom in mainstream culture. For example, gay men in Japan embodied hybridity through displaying a Japanese appearance while professing a sexuality associated with foreign Western cultures. This situated the gay man in a liminal space between a feminized Japan and masculine US in postwar Japan-US relations. In subsequent chapters, I indicate the ways in which discourses on gender and sexuality become intertwined with discourses on the nation as well as the various auxiliary practices, institutions, and products that constitute national culture.

Japanese media's portrayal of this new, fashionable, transectional identity of the gay man was a part of a wider social anxiety over social fragmentation and national identity crisis in 1990s Japan. This Japanese identity crisis occurred through a set of separate yet interrelated factors that coalesced in the early 1990s and threatened to dismantle the prevalent myth of monocultural Japan. In the domestic sphere, the demand for women in the labor force resulted in

a decrease in the birthrate, marriage rates, and an increase in the median marriage age. This rendered existing timelines for marriage and childbirth for women unviable. Japanese corporate culture was threatened by the burst of the economic bubble in 1991 which not only brought about stark disillusionment in the falsity of middle class society but also intensified the need for cheap precarious laborers comprised largely of women.

The end of the middle-class society myth and changes faced by Japan Inc. together with economic recession accelerated anxieties over yet another myth--that of monocultural Japan. Popular culture's multifarious responses to the crisis of Japanese national identity can be intriguingly observed in such phenomena as the reformulation of regional identities through the Japanese soccer league—the J League—or the enormous popularity of Yoshinori Kobayashi's unabashedly nationalist comic series *Gomanism Sengen* (1992).²⁰ The gay boom occurred at this critical moment and significantly contributed to the creation of a new vision of what it meant to be Japanese through the emergent figure of the masculine, affluent, and hybrid gay man.

This process of commodification of gay images created a set of exclusions. Clarke writes that "inclusion demands not so much a reorientation of the public sphere and its norms as it does a reorientation of that which it includes."²¹ This reorientation complies along the lines of heteronormative moral codes and commercial value of queer life, which defines the images that are deemed positive and authentic. Examining Japan's gay boom reveals the heteronormative moral codes, the commercial value of fashionability, and the redefinition of nationalism that accompanied the assimilation of gay men in Japanese media. At times this reconfigured, but often reaffirmed for straight consumers the social values that determined which subjects deserve representation.

This logic of exclusion was conditioned by the type of media outlets that most prominently featured gay content, which were all in the vanguards of Japan's taste culture, from the newly launched women's magazine *Crea*, the edgy subcultural magazine *Takarajima*, to the films such as *Okoge* made by Takehiro Nakajima, a regular in art-house productions.²² These media outlets were intended for a general audience, yet they also differentiated themselves from other popular magazines through pursuing sensational and fashionable subjects. This dissertation examines the regulatory function of fashionability through examining phenomena such as differentiation and assertion of distinction between women's magazines, the construction of a fashionable self through lifestyle consumption, and the production of spatial imaginaries within Tokyo's fashion districts and its gay district. Since the gay boom was about the assimilation of fashionable others, the Japanese media distinguished the fashionable others from non-fashionable others, who either remained invisible or existed solely to confirm the legitimacy of the fashionable other. Such abjection through fashionability illustrated the contours of an updated image of an accepting and progressive Japan, which was predicated on a self-congratulatory appreciation of the aesthetics of fashionable selves and others while disregarding the mediations and exclusions involved in the process.

The image of gay lives in the gay boom is discursively produced, conditioned by the media's marketing of gay lives as fashionable and culturally refined, glamorization of lifestyles of consumption, and the persistent myth of Japan's homogeneity. These factors defined and delimited the ways in which knowledge of male homosexuality was produced in the gay boom. This dissertation understands that power and knowledge are intrinsically bound, and "power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge."²³ Representations of homosexuality,

as a part of the discourse on sexuality, produces knowledge that directs the way in which sexuality can be conceived and articulated. Knowledge production is not merely a top-down subjection of consumers by producers and media producers are not free agents that wield power and knowledge autonomously. Rather, they are also subjected to the limits and directive forces of discourse.

Representations in the gay boom are produced through a complex set of negotiations between the discourses of gender and sexuality, consumption and social class, and nation and citizenship, which informs and is informed by the matrix of value systems that define fashionability. Power/knowledge is not a totalizing force, but is immanent in multiple relationships and local struggles linked together to form a general line of force. Consumers are placed in these various loci of power as the producers are, and engage in multifarious acts of differentiation and distinction between numerous classificatory schemes that produce and reinforce relations of power.²⁴ However, the pervasiveness of power does not eliminate potentials for agency and resistance, as discourse “transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.”²⁵ This dissertation presupposes that there are moments of conscious or unconscious positionings, utterances, and cultural production that exploit the instability of the process in which discourse becomes an instrument of power, although these instances may reinforce or produce flows of power in other sites.

Overview of Chapters

The mainstream media capitalized on images of sexually non-threatening, affluent, and fashionable image of the gay man, which complied with the value determinations that was produced in the overlapping discourses surrounding sexual and gender norms, social class, and Japanese citizenship. To address the multi-faceted nature of the gay boom, this dissertation is divided into four chapters that are defined thematically.

Chapter one examines the diversification of women's culture through the proliferation of women's magazines from the 1970s to the late 1980s, which created the diversified mediascape and various consumer subcultures affecting the ways in which the gay boom was introduced. The diversification of women's culture created various competing discourses on gender norms and attitude towards sex, which were intimately connected to the ways in which each of the magazines defined fashionable lifestyles. Adapting Sarah Thornton's concept of subcultural capital, I argue that the women's magazine asserted distinction through various means which included attitudes towards sexual relations and gender roles. Diversification of women's cultures associated various social positionings and sexual relations with subcultural capital, creating images of alternative lifestyles and gender norms. *Shôjo* culture, which is a specific faction of adolescent female teen culture, represents the way in which the segmentation of women's culture created factions that resisted the cooptation into social and sexual reproduction through heterosexual relations as a part of its value system. I analyze the films *Summer Vacation 1999* (1988) and *Kitchen* (1989), two feature films which were produced shortly before the gay boom, to discuss how *shôjo* culture aesthetics were integrated into mainstream entertainment media so as to idealize male homosexuality as an alternative to maturation into a reproductive body.

The second chapter continues this examination of gay men as embodiments of an alternative timeline at the beginning of the gay boom, which was a time when marriage and

reproduction was increasingly valued. In 1989 Japan's total fertility rate marked the lowest point since 1966, and continued to decline until 2005. The media and the public's response against the lowering birthrate expressed strong anxiety towards Japan's futurity and was dubbed the 1.57 shock. This social climate increased pressures on women to marry and raise a family despite increasing inaccessibility to necessary financial means, a social infrastructure, or male support in the domestic sphere. The low birthrate was generally discussed as a women's "strike" against women's' situations in contemporary Japanese society. During this period of disillusionment and intensified pressure to reproduce, the working women's fashion magazine *Crea* celebrated gay men as a fashionable alternative masculinity and potential life partners. The films produced early in the gay boom, *Okoge* (1992) and *Kirakira Hikaru* (1992) envisioned an alternative timeline where raising a family was replaced with forming alternative social formations with gay men. In these idealized gay men/straight women couples, gay men were represented as having desirable attributes that distinguish them from heterosexual men. This included the ability to perform domestic chores and a lack of aggressive sexual desire towards women, but also the potential to pass as a conventional heterosexual couple due to his masculine appearance. However, these films de-emphasized the gay characters' sexuality, vacating the gay men of their difference and situating them in the family as reconfigured patriarchal figures.

Similar to how gay men were transformed to more familiar figures of patriarchs with reconfigured masculinity, discourse on gay taste and lifestyle conflated sexual identity with consumer identity. The third chapter examines how fashionable and edgy magazines represented gay men's sexuality as intimately connected to lifestyle consumption. These representations presented sexual identity as externalized by consumption, shifting celebration of gay men into celebration of lifestyle consumption. This celebration of lifestyle consumption dovetailed with

Japan's policies supporting increased domestic consumption in the 1980s.²⁶ Luxury consumption also became popular in the 1980s, which upheld illusions of Japan as a homogeneously middle class nation during a period when middle class life became increasingly unattainable.²⁷ In this context, celebrating the consumption of lifestyles served to obscure Japan's social stratification while framing gay men as good consumers and national subjects. The specifics of gay taste are analyzed through a close reading of the popular subcultural magazine *Bessatsu Takarajima*, which produced three special issues edited and written by gay men that compiled a wide range of lifestyle products and activities such as clothing, films, art, interior decoration, leisure activities, and sex toys. Gay taste was often associated with consuming high cultural products such as fashionable clothing, contemporary art, video collections, and attending theatrical productions. Gay taste was in fact exclusionary in that it required a certain level of cultural and economic capital to acquire. The homogenized notion of fashionable gay taste celebrated the class distinction of affluent, cultured, and urban lives. Fashionability dictated the ways in which visibility was granted to gay subjects, which in turn perpetuated the myth and stereotype of the fashionable homogeneity of gay culture.

Finally, the fourth chapter interrogates how the gay men were represented and celebrated as hybridized subjects due to their association with Western white gay subculture. While the association of gayness and foreignness with AIDS was a product of xenophobia and homophobia, the gay boom used the connotations of AIDS to their advantage, presenting a consumerist oriented image of AIDS activism that concerns purchasing of pink ribbons, imported apparel, and participating in AIDS related events in nightclubs. This suggestion of a continuity between the gay boom and overseas gay culture was supported by magazine articles on attractiveness of foreign gay men, description of US and European gay cultures, and

photographs of white gay men accompanying articles. In the context of the growing nationalistic responses to the anxiety of globalization, the celebration of gay men's hybridity in the mainstream media created an opportunity to envision a Japanese masculinity that was progressive and internationalized. However, the notion of gay men as representatives of Japan's new masculinity was complicated by the exoticization and othering of Japanese gay men for their hybridity and fashionability. The redefinition of Japanese nationality and masculinity resulted in a constant vacillation between abjection and inclusion of gay men, revealing the arbitrary boundaries that mark Japanese national identity.

The popularization of male homosexuality in the gay boom is instructive of the ways in which heterosexual identity are perpetually reworked by showing the constant push and pull of assimilation and exclusion that defines and redefines which subjects can be included in the public sphere. My discussions on the gay boom are predicated on the notion that the categories of straight and gay are historically constructed and are mutually constitutive. As Judith Butler writes in *Bodies that Matter*, heterosexuality is constituted through the abjection of homosexuality, which requires an identification with "that abjection, an identification that must be disavowed, an identification that one fears to make only because one has already made it, an identification that institutes that abjection and sustains it."²⁸ According to Butler, the construction of a coherent heterosexual identity relies on the abjection of homosexuality to produce and maintain its boundaries. This reliance on abjection and exclusion in the name of coherence is not limited to heterosexuality but common to all forms of stable, uniform identity. As these representations of gay men are not only about sexual orientation but are about multiply constituted subjects that are classed, raced, and gendered, the selective representation of homosexuality in the gay boom reveals how the conditions for assimilation are constituted by

how these categories of identity work for the constitution of a fashionable and new Japanese way of being.

The exclusive focus on male homosexuality in my work is due to the relative paucity of discussions on lesbianism that occurred during the gay boom. There was some limited exposure of lesbians in the gay boom, most notably in the *Bessatsu Takarajima* issues on homosexuality, a small feature on “lesbian chic” in *Elle Japan*, and the writings of the lesbian activist Hiroko Kakefuda. However, in most of the magazine features, films, and novels released during the gay boom, discussion of lesbianism was practically nonexistent. Kakefuda suggests that the invisibility of lesbianism results from the fact that “Japanese society has never acknowledged the existence of women’s sexual desire, whether homosexual or heterosexual,” which makes the concept of same sex attraction between women untenable. Sharon Chalmers also associates invisibility of lesbianism to the denial of women’s sexuality in Japan, where conventional gender roles render women’s bodies as docile and domesticated. Chalmers writes,

The distinct separation between the categories of wife/mother, unmarried young women, and sex industry workers in Japan works to produce married female bodies that deny, displace and replace female sexual desire in favor of reproduction. For it is in this bodily form that heterosexual women gain privilege and it is this body that is then set in direct opposition to active and autonomous female sexual desire which is represented as a lack or excess, both of these latter portrayals characterized in negative terms. Thus, within mainstream representations, lesbian desire becomes the quintessential ‘imaginary anatomy,’ for despite the fact that they do not rely on a position in relation and subordinate to male desire, lesbians are generally marked by male desire.²⁹

The invisibility of lesbianism in Japanese society and the lack of female same-sex attraction in the gay boom is symptomatic of the denial of women’s status as a desiring sexual subject. This lack of representations of women as active, desiring subjects are also evident in the heterosexual women represented in the gay boom, particularly in films such as *Okoge* (1992) or *Kirakira*

Hikaru (1992). The women in these films either lack any sexual contact or experience sex only through rape. In addition to the lack of active, desiring women, the ways in which Japanese media capitalized on existing stereotypes of gay men, such as their affluence due to their male income and cultural sophistication, demonstrates that the gay boom further marginalized lesbian women due to their incompatibility to the gay boom's fashionable image of queer sexuality. In this sense lesbian women were doubly marginalized by Japanese society's denial of female sexuality and the gay boom's disinterest in exploring a sexuality that lacks associations with cultural sophistication or requires introspection into women's sexuality.

Chapter 1

Before the Gay Boom: Diversification of Women's Cultures and Sexuality as Subcultural Capital

This chapter examines the diversification of women's culture in Japan, which was brought about in part by a "first issue boom" in magazines. Diversification contributed to the proliferation of positionalities that represented women's lifestyles and desires that deviated from the hegemonic timeline of maturation, marriage, and childbearing. The first issue boom was one of a succession of "booms" that publishers capitalized on to circulate large numbers of new women's magazines from the 1970s through the 1980s. These magazines proliferated different lifestyles while differentiating women's subcultures through fashion and new attitudes towards sexuality and gender roles. Women's magazines' asserted such distinctions by associating lifestyles, sexualities, and ideologies with subcultural capital thus valorizing non-normative timelines and fashionable lifestyles as expressed through consumption. Analyzing the positionalities created by the diversification of women's culture is essential to understanding the conditions enabling the commodification of homosexuality in the gay boom era women's magazines.

In 1993, Takashi Otsuka, a media figure, artist, and the owner of the renowned gay bar Taq's Knot acknowledged that despite gay boom media prominently representing male homosexuality, the boom was primarily driven and consumed by straight women.³⁰ Since then, scholars have reiterated Otsuka's observation that it was indeed young, working women consumers with discretionary income who were the primary agents responsible for popularizing the consumption of gay male images and determining the ways in which they were represented.³¹

I will demonstrate that the first issue boom popularized sexuality as a form of subcultural capital and created a precedent for *Crea*'s popularization of male homosexuality in women's media.

Further, I argue that the readers of gay boom media established a relationship to sexuality as a means of acquiring subcultural capital. Here, I am working from Sarah Thornton's concept of subcultural capital to conceptualize the dynamics of value systems in different subcultures. Particularly, I am interested in the ways in which these subcultures form their value systems through differentiation from mainstream culture and other subcultures. Based on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, Thornton examined club cultures observing that youth subcultures accumulated subcultural capital through the acquisition of artifacts and knowledge placing them in opposition to mainstream culture. I adapt Thornton's concept of subcultural capital in this chapter to examine how Japanese women's magazines deployed strategies of differentiation and distinction from mainstream culture to influence women's attitudes towards sexuality create spaces for alternative values and lifestyles.

In Japan, women's participation in heterosexual marriage was a crucial means for the state to maintain the family as an institution that provided social welfare. Women's magazines seemed to challenge this process by constructing an alternative value system that did not espouse heterosexual relations and marriage as the solely valorized lifestyle.³² Conforming to certain models of sexuality, whether progressive, traditional, or asexual, became a way for women's magazines to distinguish themselves not only from the dominant discourse but also from each other. Clothing, cosmetics, and leisure activities worked together with modes of sexuality to construct magazines' distinct styles.

In the 1980s before the gay boom, adolescent female teen (*shôjo* culture) subculture wielded a strong influence on representations of male homosexuality. The films *Kitchen* (1989)

and *Summer Vacation 1999* (1988) were adapted from works produced in *shôjo* culture and featured queer characters. *Shôjo* culture appropriated the gender politics of resistance against maturation into a reproductive body and cooptation into hegemonic forms of heterosexual relationships. *Kitchen*, based on the novel by Banana Yoshimoto, features a male to female transgender character who finds companionship with a male doctor and in the process became a role model for the novel's eccentric female protagonist. *Summer Vacation 1999* is an adaptation of the *boys love* manga *The Heart of Thomas* that cast young female actors in the roles of adolescent schoolboys. In both of these works feminine homosexual characters idealize romantic relationships outside the heterosexual norm. The sexual politics of women's magazines together with representations of homosexuality in these films constructed a sphere that promoted alternative lifestyles and marginalized sexualities that laid the foundations for the gay boom in the 1990s. The diversification of women's cultures in the first issue boom created liminal spaces that formed these alternative positionalities.

The First Issue Boom and Diversification of Women's Lifestyles

The first issue boom occurred during a period when emerging discourses on gender equality challenged prevailing gender norms in Japan. Two influential magazines established in the 1960s, *Anan* and *Nonno*, produced new images of women that defied conventional postwar representations as either wives or sex objects.³³ In 1975, the United Nations declared the start of the women's decade, ushering in a heightened awareness of gender relations. By the 1980s, demand for part-time labor sparked a significant rise in the number of women workers and married women seeking jobs outside the domestic sphere.³⁴ On the other hand, the early 1980s

was marked by an increased conservatism. Economic growth strengthened belief in Japan's corporate culture and created a positive image of the salaryman as well as renewed idealization of his companion, the housewife.³⁵ Ambiguity and contestation over gender norms were embedded within the discourse of the first issue boom itself, where competing positions in the diversification and segmentation of women's cultures paralleled the proliferation of magazines with differing aesthetics, ideologies, and readerships.

This proliferation of women's magazines created various modes of differentiation and distinction between women's cultures. The most successful example of this categorization can be found in a special issue of *Takarajima*, the Japanese subculture magazine. This particular issue surveyed the historical trajectory of several mainstream Japanese magazines. An entry on women's magazines navigated the subtle differences between young women's magazines *JJ*, *Can Cam*, *ViVi*, and *Ray* which had conventionally been categorized as sharing similar readership and collectively dubbed "*akamoji-kei* (red letter magazines)." for the bold red or pink fonts used for their magazine titles³⁶ The writer diligently characterized *JJ*'s readers as "potential madams (high-class married women)" and those of *CanCam* as "approachable commoners." The writer described readers of *ViVi* as "suffering economically but working hard for flashy looks" while *Ray*'s demographic consisted of "girls striving for 'sexiness'."³⁷ The *Takarajima* issue alerts us to the subtle modes of differentiation and distinction at play even among magazines presumed to have similar aesthetics and readership.

Akamoji-kei magazines and *Anan* held conflicting views of womanhood that they openly addressed. *Anan* criticized magazines like *JJ* for concerning itself excessively with men's opinions and criteria for female attractiveness. Koji Nanba, a sociologist and cultural studies scholar, claims that *Anan* and *JJ*'s opposition to conventional gender roles are evident in those

magazines' self-positioning vis-a-vis foreign cultures.³⁸ *Anan* grounded their definition of fashion and attractiveness in Western culture, whereas *JJ*'s looked to domestic trends to popularize clothing that would appeal to elite male Japanese university students. *JJ* constructed a pragmatic notion of fashion as a tool to appeal to the opposite sex in direct response to *Anan*'s cutting-edge fashion aesthetics.

Anan's defiance against norms of femininity feature prominently in a collection of articles on women's hairstyles in the January 1988 issue in which writer Akemi Yamada described her getting dreadlocks against her boyfriend's opposition.³⁹ That same month, *JJ* followed with an issue on hairstyles that exclusively featured conservative shoulder length or longer hairstyles with a light perm that appealed to the male readership that *JJ* was known for. Whether hairstyles or clothing, mainstream magazines' positionality in relation to norms of femininity were a key factor in dictating content. The *Anan* and *JJ* rivalry is just one example of how these magazines strategically integrated content on style and fashion with attitudes towards conventional gender norms as a means of product differentiation.

The first issue boom helped to consolidate markets for older fashion magazine readers as well as younger teen to early 20s consumers of *Anan* or the *akamoji-kei* magazines. The diversification and segmentation of the market for older women accelerated from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, producing such magazines as *Croissant*, *Aruru*, *Nora*, *Watashi wa Onna* (I am a woman), and *More*. This proliferation of magazines attempted to tap into the baby boomer readership that had grown up with *Nonno* and *Anan*.⁴⁰ The sociologist and gender studies scholar Taiki Morohashi associates the media's heightened interest in cultivating female consumers to such broader factors as the global women's liberation movement, a questioning of traditional gender roles, a revision of institutional gender foundations, the Westernization of industrial

structures, and post-industrialization. Morohashi claims the intense surge in new women's magazines in the 1980s was particularly liberating for women for these magazines created new avenues for communication among women.⁴¹

The publication of these new magazines built on the spirit of the UN's declaration of the decade of women and domestic Japanese policy changes such as the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women in 1986 resulting in a new category of magazine that the Research Institute of Publication dubbed the "career women" genre.⁴² This genre was created in response to an increased publication of magazines for working women recognizing the increased number of women working outside the home. Certainly the boom in new women's magazines in the 1980s opened new avenues for communications between women but these conversations remained largely limited to consumption based activities and commodities.⁴³

There are two ways to interpret the diversification of young women's cultures in the 1970s and the increase in older women's magazines in the 1980s. Taking a synchronic view reveals that this diversification enabled various women's cultures to be defined by such factors as age, income, aesthetics, ideological positions on gender roles, or sexuality. The *Anan-JJ* rivalry demonstrates that such identification implicitly involved an active counter-identification with other magazines and their attendant cultures that reinforced the boundaries between them. In taking a diachronic view, however, these women's cultures emerge as not consisting of a simple age group but rather, readers could potentially choose a timeline already established in another magazine from the same publisher that catered to a different age group.⁴⁴

For example, Nanba observes that Kôbunsha, the publisher of *JJ*, offered a lineup of magazines that effectively mapped onto reader's tastes as they matured. Thus *JJ* readers when

they graduated from college would naturally develop into readers of as *Classy* or *25ans*. This transition would continue as readers entered into their 30s evincing a shift to the magazine *Very* and when they turned 40, it was calculated that they would become readers of *Story*—all of this followed a timeline strategically constructed by Kôbunsha. Other publishers created similar timelines, such as *Cancam* and its “older sister” magazine line or *Oggi*, *Domani*, and *Precious* from Shôgakukan publishing. Shûeisha Publishing’s timeline consisted of the magazines *Nonno*, *More*, *Baila*, *Lee*, *Marisol*, and *eclat*.

These various timelines existed to shape women reader’s “natural” development from *JJ* promoting upward mobility via heterosexual relations with elite well-educated men to *Nonno*’s moderately progressive tone supporting female independence. The proliferation of these magazines and timelines empowered young women to choose a lifestyle that appealed to them, but also attempted to control their access to development and maturity through their continued consumption of the timelines in these magazines from the same publisher.

The ways in which these magazines differentiated value systems functions in a similar way to Sarah Thornton’s concept of subcultural capital. Thornton identifies the internal logic creating unique value systems that function within a subculture as subcultural ideology and subcultural capital. She writes that subcultural ideologies “are a means by which youth imagine their own and other social groups, assert their distinctive character and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass.”⁴⁵ The members of subcultures assert distinction through the accumulation of subcultural capital, either as objectified in the form of highly valued cultural artifacts within the subculture, or as embodied in the knowledge and actions that display the newest style.

Thornton's description of subcultural ideology posits that the investment into subcultural capital is as much about distinguishing oneself against other subcultures as it is about separating oneself from mainstream culture. Understanding women's magazine readership as a subculture presents its own set of questions not least of which are its lack of historical associations with a notion of subversion inherent in other subcultures. Nevertheless, the ways in which magazines create a distinct value system to distinguish themselves from other magazines bears similarities to subcultural ideology and capital. For example, Nanba's description of *Anan's* competition *JJ* and *Cancam* acknowledges an instance where the assertion of distinction through the rejection of conventional criteria of female beauty is articulated in the roles a woman adopts and the clothing she wears. The assertion of distinction in women's magazines through associating objects, lifestyles, sexualities, and ideologies with subcultural capital takes on great importance for the readership desperate to assert their worth through fashionable lifestyles.

Subcultural Capital and Sexual (Non)conformity

Anan's criticism of *akamoji-kei* magazines revealed that displays of subcultural capital entailed attitudes concerning gender and sexuality, particularly an espousal of a specific mode of romantic and marital relationships. The debates between the two books *Kurowassan Shôkôgun* (Croissant Phenomenon) and *Anchi Kurowassan Shôkôgun* (Anti-Croissant Phenomenon) shift focus to the significance of sexuality and gender relations as embodiments of subcultural style in Japanese women's magazines. In *Kurowassan Shôkôgun*, essayist Junko Matsubara uses interviews with former *Croissant* readers to argue that such magazines as *Croissant*, *25ans*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *More* deceived readers by glamorizing single, working women. Matsubara

criticizes *Croissant* for deluding many women singles and trapping them in their careers until they are too old to hope for marriage to a desirable man. Matsubara identifies a specific social position (working women) and sexuality (single and non-monogamous or sexually inactive) as defining what subcultural capital meant for *Croissant* readers, and takes a critical stance against that lifestyle.

Anchi Kurowassan Shôkôgun is a collection of essays that offer rebuttals to Matsubara's arguments. The volume was produced and written by the editors of the membership-based woman's magazine *Waifu* (Wife) known for its reader-generated content. *Waifu* featured content produced by women contributors from diverse backgrounds writing about their everyday experiences. Subjects varied from dealing with an alcoholic elementary school teacher to a housewife's subtle acts of rebellion and celebration during the official mourning period for the Shôwa Emperor. The seven writers of *Anchi Kurowassan Shôkôgun* began as non-professional contributors to *Waifu*.

Many of the authors relentlessly criticize Matsubara's failure to challenge the hegemonic concept of marriage as the only way for a woman to attain happiness. For instance, Atsuko Takano argues that older single women may say "I want to get married," but in fact do not express the desire to marry, instead the phrase conceals her independence and freedom from conservative minded people potential hostile to her lifestyle.⁴⁶ Misae Abe criticized Matsubara's selective representation of women who idealized the full-time housewife lifestyle in her book. Abe writes that *Croissant* was culpable for presenting potentially diverse ways that women could live rather than imposing a singular image of womanhood.⁴⁷ Notably many of *Anchi Kurowassan Shôkôgun*'s writers confessed that they were former readers of *Croissant* and identified with its gender politics. *Anchi Kurowassan Shôkôgun* not only asserted *Waifu*'s position against

Matsubara, but its writers also expressed their support of the politics disseminated by past *Croissant* issues.

The debate between Matsubara and the writers of *Waifu* magazine informs us of the extent to which magazines actively constructed conflicting and controversial perspectives on womanhood. What separates the two sides of this debate stems from the fact that Matsubara implicated *Croissant*'s celebration of alternative lifestyles as part of a forced investment of subcultural capital into a potentially harmful lifestyle. *Waifu* writers, on the other hand, considered *Croissant*'s position as an appropriate response to the reality of those women who were voluntarily or involuntarily looking for a lifestyle beyond that of a full-time housewife. What both sides ultimately could agree upon was that *Croissant* effectively presented a new image of older, single women that generated popularity for the magazine and consolidated a devoted readership. The gender politics of *Croissant* were a product of the assertion of distinction through endowing subcultural capital to alternative lifestyles that deviated from hegemonic gender roles and normative social timelines. The *Croissant* debates brought to the fore that women's magazine diversification was also a dual diversification in the gender politics in women's cultures, where some magazines envisioned and created alternatives to traditional gender roles and relations.

Cute, Impractical, and Non-reproductive: The Politics of *Shôjo* Culture

Olive is another magazine that asserted its distinction through sexuality, but via a method and readership that differed greatly from *Croissant*. *Olive* catered to readers in their mid to late teens and was unique in its rejection of subjects concerning sexuality. The company Magazine

House published the first issue of *Olive* in 1982 as a special edition of the young men's fashion magazine *Popeye*. Magazine House intended *Olive* to cater to girls interested in similar themes as featured in *Popeye*, but stagnant sales led to an editorial policy change. The publisher changed the magazine's subtitle, written in English, to "Magazine for Romantic Girls." *Olive*'s new editorial policy adopted this notion of the "romantic" girl and its implied associations with the impractical and imaginary (but ironically not heterosexual romance).

As the word "romantic" implies, *Olive* content remained almost resolutely devoid of any sex, a stark contrast to its competitors like *JJ*, who were obsessively conscious of appealing to the male gaze. Instead, *Olive* concerned itself primarily with the aesthetics of "girlyness" and romanticism as embodied in objects and designs such as floral patterns and ribbons.⁴⁸

Psychiatrist and cultural critic Rika Kayama argues that *Olive*'s refusal to cover topics such as sex, aging, and money was unique among other adolescent magazines such as *Popteen*, which focused heavily on matters such as romance, sex, and wearing cosmetics. Kayama further emphasizes the distancing of *Olive* readership from those day to day concerns in her argument that *Olive* readers' goal was to become an *Olive shôjo*, a conceptual being embodying the aesthetics of *Olive*.⁴⁹ Accumulating subcultural capital for *Olive* readers was about gaining proximity to this idealized conceptual subject of the *Olive shôjo* and asserting distinction against forms of sexualized fashionability in other magazines.

Amassing subcultural capital then meant acquiring "cute" and decorative objects compatible with this idealized *Olive shôjo*.⁵⁰ *Olive* articles begin by describing the idealized look or space of the *Olive shôjo* then list the practical methods and affordable items to help readers gain proximity to the *Olive shôjo*.⁵¹ For example, the special feature "This Fall, I want to be Called a Romantic *Shôjo*" outlines numerous activities or objects that readers could perform

including drying flowers, star gazing, and interior decoration.⁵² If *JJ* curated goods and activities based on their appeal to heterosexual, socially privileged men, then the criteria for fashionability in *Olive* perpetually relied on the idealized romantic *shôjo*.

The word “girls” in *Olive*’s English subtitle, “Magazine for romantic girls” undoubtedly signifies *shôjo*, which, broadly defined, means adolescent girls. However, the implications of the term are far more complex, embodying not only age and gender but also sexuality, aesthetics, consumer culture, and a set of conventional modes of expression. While the broader definition of *shôjo* points towards a specific age demographic, *shôjo*’s narrower definition suggests that *shôjo* are a subculture operating within a distinct value system and represented by an aesthetics of impracticality and ephemerality.

Scholarship on *shôjo* culture popular in the late 1980s to the early 1990s resembled subcultural studies in its identification of practices and ideologies within *shôjo* cultures seemingly reactionary to mainstream culture. Much of this scholarship accents the impracticality of objects in *shôjo* culture, which they view as evidence of the *shôjo*’s rejection of practicality and efficiency in modernity. For example, popular cultural critic, manga writer, and former porn magazine editor Eiji Otsuka insisted that a milk pan with floral patterns on its base was representative of attractive objects within *shôjo* culture. He maintained that the floral patterns diminished any practicality that the cookware may have had because they will disappear once exposed to open flame.⁵³ In a similar vein, Kazuko Honda characterized of *shôjo* culture as *hirahira* (an onomatopoeia that signifies frilly material).⁵⁴

Shôjo’s attraction towards impractical objects function as a surrogate for the extended childhood created in Japanese modernity. Otsuka agrees with Honda that *shôjo* came into being because of women having greater access to education in modern society thus prolonging the

adolescent period. Otsuka submits that unlike earlier periods when children transitioned immediately into productive adulthood fairly seamlessly, the prolonged adolescence of *shôjo* lengthened their period of unproductivity. Otsuka in fact said that the growth of Japan's service industry led to a decrease of people becoming producers and resulted in a broad swath of Japanese, regardless of age or gender, embodying *shôjo*.⁵⁵

Otsuka's association of the growth of tertiary industries with the universalization of *shôjo* came from his fears over the infantilization and feminization of the nation.⁵⁶ However, his observation that *shôjo* culture's aesthetics center on non-productivity construct a social position antithetical to demands for productivity in late-capitalist Japan. For example, Midori Matsui found that Otsuka analyzed sketches of *shôjo*'s ideal rooms and concluded that they lacked any practical areas essential to daily life such as bathrooms and kitchens. Their primary focus, rather, was on the selection and placement of cute objects. *Shôjo* culture reimagines spaces, human relations and the self through the aesthetics of impracticality in contrast to Japanese society's management of productivity. *Olive shôjo* were, however, undoubtedly productive in orienting and managing their consumption practices.

In stark contrast to the emphasis on *shôjo* culture as a subversive site in contemporary academic scholarship, *shôjo* culture in fact originated from a national project for women's education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This national project was designed to produce future wives and mothers for the urban middle and upper classes and was then considered the ideal female figure in the patriarchal structure.⁵⁷ The asexuality of the *shôjo* comes from the prohibition of adolescent women from contributing in any public or private duties as well as to preserve their purity and virginity, hence their desirability as future wives. This also coincided with the prevalence of mission schools for women which were vaunted for fostering chastity

among adolescent women.⁵⁸ The term *shôjo* retains the desirability of the adolescent female body and its association with innocence is symptomatic of viewing the *shôjo* body as raw material to be preserved for sexual maturation and heterosexist reproduction.

The containment of the *shôjo* created liminal timeframes and spaces where adolescents could explore their sexuality. Matsui writes that patriarchal and national interests imposed the category of *shôjo* leaving “female adolescents in a cultural closure in which they discovered 'pleasure' as a private category as opposed to the duties of womanhood imposed by patriarchal discourses.”⁵⁹ Thus, the *shôjo* wavers between serving as an object of male desire and an idealized female figure in patriarchal discourse. Yet *shôjo* also can offer a site of resistance, or at the very least, a delay of cooptation into economic production and physical reproduction.

In popular culture, certain facets of *shôjo* culture explored romantic relationships and sexuality in comic books about male/male romances such as *bôizu rabu* (boys love).⁶⁰ Despite the extensive body of literature on this genre, discussion their sexual content rarely appears in *shôjo* culture discourses in general which has sustained an assumption that *shôjo* culture is asexual. Such interpretations may be partly due to the fact that comics with male centered narratives set in foreign spaces are by definition fantastical creations with little relation to the reality of the *shôjo*'s body and sexuality. *Boys love* readers also tend to affirm this divide between *boys love* narratives and reality. For example, *boys love* and slash fan fiction communities have responded to charges that their comics are offensive to gay men claiming that their gay characters are purely fantastic creations having nothing to do with gay men in reality.⁶¹

But boys love comics also provide *shôjo* a space to acknowledge and experiment with their sexuality in spite of their fantastical nature. James Welker observed that the correspondence columns in specialized magazines for *boys love* comics function as a sphere in which young girls

could take on a different gender to express their affections towards other girls who were similarly performing male or female roles for this purpose.⁶² Fantastic though the comics may be, these representations can affect a *shôjo*'s perception of her own sexuality and attain expressions of desire outside heterosexual models.

In a similar vein, *Olive*'s lack of sexual content may be a form of resistance to one's development into normative sexuality and a manifestation of desire to remain in adolescence. Kathryn Bond Stockton writes that innocence, usually associated with a normative childhood, can in fact be considered queer. She claims that innocence can be interpreted as "a form of normative strangeness, one might say; from the standpoint of adults, innocence is alien, since it is 'lost' to the very adults who assign it to children. Adults retrospect it through the gauzy lens of (what they attribute to) the child. This is the child for whom, we imagine, sex itself seems shockingly queer."⁶³ In this model, since innocence is a retroactive projection onto children by adults, ultimately it is an unattainable and thus a foreign characteristic. By applying Stockton's model to *Olive*, we can surmise that the lack of sexual content or references to the other sex in the magazine not only situate it as wholesome adolescent entertainment but also *queers* it.

Sexual innocence in *Olive* serves another important function. It reproduces an idealized image of the child as the embodiment of uncorrupted purity and vacancy of sexuality. Feminist scholar Chizuko Ueno writes that underage prostitution in Japan capitalizes on the symbolic value of the adolescent female body, which men create through fetishizing innocence and the prohibition of access.⁶⁴ Innocence is not only an idealized facet of adolescents and a product of a rigidly defined normative course of maturation but it is also an object of fetishistic desire. Similarly, James Kincaid argues that such cultural fixations on innocence in fact stimulate desire. He writes that "the instructions we receive on what to regard as sexually arousing tell us to look

for (and often create) this emptiness, to discover the erotic in that which is most susceptible to inscription, the blank page.”⁶⁵ We cannot deny that the innocence in *Olive* conforms to the phantasm of the innocent child or possibly engages in a titillating display of the eroticism described by Kincaid. *Olive*’s innocence is at once a safe conformity to adult expectations of children and a queer alienation from normative sexual development.

It is important here to recall that *Olive* strategically appropriated sexual innocence as a mode of distinction from other adolescent magazine cultures with a clear timeline for their readers’ social and sexual development. *Olive* and its readers are curiously disconnected from any linear timeline of maturity lingering instead in a state of arrested development. Nanba affirms that unlike “preexisting girls magazines that assumed that its readers will grow out of the magazine at some point, *Olive* was unique because its ‘romantic girls’ not only had in common a distinct value system, but also maintained these same values even as they aged.”⁶⁶ The maintenance of innocence in maturity is unique since innocence is normative only when the child seamlessly matures into heterosexuality. Perhaps, as Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley hypothesize, narratives of children can afford to be queer if “the queerness can be rationalized as a series of mistakes or misplaced desires.”⁶⁷ With *Olive*, readers who resist growing out of the magazine become queer by retaining a connection to innocence that rejects rationalization as a temporary phase in normative development.

Olive’s unique aesthetics of impracticality provided a space where even older, mature readers could temporarily escape from normative timelines of sexual and social development by retaining innocence. This was particularly significant in the context of the disappearance of play in childhood in contemporary Japan. Norma Field in her analysis of the Japanese education system writes that the standardization of quantifiable measures of success and state intervention

have resulted in “the emergence of a new continuity between childhood and adulthood through technocratically ordered labor,” thereby eliminating any play in childhood in Japan.⁶⁸ Field further notes that to “be harnessed from childhood to the logic of acceleration and expansion is to be confined to a known yet abstract future,” indicating the extent to which a productive future has an oppressive hold on children. *Olive*’s innocence also acts as subtle resistance against the disappearance of childhood from the Japanese school system.

Longing for arrested adolescence in boys love comics and *Olive* was an active counter-identification with hegemonic modes of development and maturation for women through the pursuit of non-sexual “girlyness.” *Shôjo* culture was not the only adolescent girl culture, but it was one among many. Some magazines, for example, that targeted towards adolescent girls were not only sexual but constructed a subculture distinct from *shôjo* subculture. In 1983 the National Diet of Japan problematized sexual content in such girl’s magazines as *Gal’s Life* identifying the adolescent culture of *gyaru* (loanword from the English word gal). Namba reads this new and sexual subculture as responsible for eventually pushing the *Olive* reading *shôjo* group to the margins.⁶⁹ The newer *gyaru* subculture characterized by tanned skin and West Coast inspired clothing defined itself against the French inspired style and the avoidance of sexual topics characterized by *Olive*.

This sexualization of magazines for adolescent girls led to proposed censorship of the magazines *Popteen*, *Kiss*, *Carrot Girls*, and *Elleteen*, and the aforementioned *Gal’s Life*. More conventional adolescent magazines (*Seventeen*, *Petite Seven*) also featured increasingly sexual content.⁷⁰ From the late 1970s, the comics featured in these magazines began presenting explicit depictions of girls’ sexuality. The groundbreaking comic *Irodori no Koro* demonstrates the essential difference between the ideology of these comics compared to Otsuka’s observations on

the *shôjo* behind *boys love* comics. Manga critic Yoshihiro Yonezawa argues that in *Irodori no Koro*, when the female protagonist bears the child of a man she does not love, it is an acknowledgement that sex and childbirth exist beyond dramas of romance. Yonezawa argues that the pride felt by the protagonist in giving birth to the child was in fact her pride in progressing from *shôjo*-hood to a woman.⁷¹ This development of a girl to womanhood through heterosexual sex is diametrically opposed to Otsuka's interpretation of the *shôjo*'s desire for arrested adolescence.

Amidst the growing explicitness of adolescent girls' sexuality in magazines and comics and segmentation of adolescent girls' cultures, Otsuka's position that *shôjo* culture is unwilling to participate in production and development and thereby symptomatic of Japanese culture requires reconsideration. Magazines such as *Gal's Life* or *Seventeen* demonstrated that what is dubbed *shôjo* culture was but one of many segmented adolescent girl cultures. The use of the word *shôjo* in works such as Otsuka's then reminds us of Kayama's description of *Olive shôjo* as being a conceptual entity. Here, *shôjo* is less of an existing group than a conceptual being that embodies characteristics common to *shôjo* culture as represented by *Olive* and in accordance with Japan's postmodern condition. Yet there must be a constant acknowledgement of *shôjo* as an imaginary construct based on a demographic constituting only one segment of adolescent girl culture.

The multiple sexual politics of adolescent girl cultures demonstrate that these cultures utilized sexuality as a method of establishing distinction. These cultures attributed subcultural capital to specific dispositions in relation to the opposite sex. As discussed in my analysis of the *Croissant* and *shôjo* phenomena, sexuality functions as a mode of differentiation and

distinction among women's subcultures. Sexuality figured as a vital factor in creating a coherent value system within a given magazine.

It should come as no surprise that *Croissant* readers' and *shôjo*'s sexuality gained attention from academia and the media considering the similarity of their reactionary stances to social pressures to enter into monogamous relationships. *Croissant* readers celebrated the single career woman lifestyle, self-sufficiency and independence rather than relying economically on a male spouse. *Shôjo* similarly rejected male companionship by expressing a desire to remain in adolescence by pursuing idealized images of "girlyness." Both groups were unique by attributing subcultural capital to alternative lifestyles to circumvent social pressures to have monogamous heterosexual relationships.

Sexuality for *Shôjo*: Homosexuality in Film Before the Gay Boom

Shôjo culture's influence on cultural production far exceeded the narrow demographic of adolescent females who participated and shaped this culture. The films *Summer Vacation 1999* (1988, Shûsuke Kaneko) and *Kitchen* (1989, Yoshimitsu Morita) exhibit the appropriation of *shôjo* culture and its resistance against normative concepts of social and sexual development. These two films are significant for a few reasons. Firstly, the production of two films featuring homosexual and queer characters in short succession was a rare and notable occurrence given the very small number of films about homosexuality before the gay boom. Secondly, these films exhibit continuities with the films produced early in the gay boom particularly in how they idealize homosexual characters as embodiments of alternative timelines that deviate from normative conceptions of maturation.

Kitchen and *Summer Vacation 1999* also have notable differences from gay boom films such as their adherence to the gender politics of *shôjo* culture. Their representation of homosexuality as a manifestation of a feminine gender identity was conventional in mainstream media's conception of male homosexuality before the gay boom.⁷² My examination of these two films explores negotiations of the generic conventions of *shôjo* narratives as they are repackaged for the film market in the 1980s. This was a time when film producers struggled to counter declining audience attendance through variably tapping into pre-existing fan cultures and appealing to film aficionados.⁷³ *Summer Vacation 1999* and *Kitchen* combine both of these approaches with young idiosyncratic directors Yoshimitsu Morita and Shûsuke Kaneko capitalizing on the enormous success of the Banana Yoshimoto's novel *Kitchen* (1988) and Moto Hagio's seminal *shôjo* manga work *Heart of Thomas* (1974).

In *Summer Vacation 1999*, director Kaneko's authorial presence emerges in the fantastical quality of the film, especially through a distinctive mise-en-scene that blends futuristic devices with archaic objects such as suspenders and oil lamps. In Kaneko's previous work, *Yamadamura Waltz* (1989) he juxtaposed a "deformed imaginary world" with a lyricism that pervaded its character relations paying "homage to *shôjo* manga."⁷⁴ Kaneko depicts subtle emotional exchanges in the boys' romances against a culturally hybrid backdrop that blends the German gymnasium setting of *The Heart of Thomas* with a science fiction twist. With its *boys love* narrative and intriguing iconography, *Summer Vacation 1999* incorporated what Otsuka characterized as the *shôjo*'s desire for arrested unproductive adolescence through idealizing his young male characters' entrapment within a cyclical narrative of male/male romance. The film does this by incorporating *boys love* readers' cross-gender identification into the film by casting

young female actors as adolescent boys. The result radically questions the stability of identity by creating a confusion between homosexual and heterosexual desire.

Summer Vacation 1999 is about the relationship between four boys in a boarding school after most of the students left for vacation. There is Kaoru, a free-spirited and rebellious young boy who just arrived at the school; Kazuhiko, the most reserved and the youngest; Norio, who is the sensitive member; and Naoto, the oldest and the leader of the four. Kaoru is the living likeness of Yû, a boy who committed suicide the summer before for his unrequited love towards Kazuhiko. The film follows the development of the romantic relationship between Kaoru and Kazuhiko while all the boys struggle to overcome the traumatic effects of Yû's suicide. The film's fantastic atmosphere blends old and new, Western and Japanese iconography. The tone of the film is further heightened by the ambiguous gender of the four characters played by female actors. The actors dress and act in a masculine manner and use male speech, but their physiques do not hide their female gender. The result is an ambivalent representation of gender and sexuality.

The film is a coming-of-age story. Kazuhiko learns to accept the affection of others, Norio overcomes his insecurities, and Naoto learns to openly express his emotions. The narrative secludes the characters since the maturing process enables them to overcome problems they developed prior to the story presented onscreen rather than preparing them for life in the future. Kazuhiko's trajectory provides the main focus of the narrative. Viewers learn that one of the reasons Yû killed himself was because Kazuhiko bluntly rejected his romantic advances by throwing away a bouquet that Yû gave him after a poetry recital. Kazuhiko's relationship with the outspoken Kaoru leads him to rethink his attitude. In a scene where Kaoru reveals that his stepfather is selling his deceased mother's atelier, Kazuhiko responds by telling Kaoru about

how he lost his parents when he was young. He admits that his upbringing led him to erect an impenetrable boundary between himself and others. This confession marks a turning point for Kazuhiko. Even Naoto, who resented Kazuhiko's popularity, remarked that Kazuhiko has grown kinder. Eventually, Kazuhiko is drawn to Kaoru, who looks exactly like Yû, which suggests that he is now capable of having a reciprocal romantic relationship. Having achieved maturity, Kazuhiko discards habits that he previously developed outside school, thereby learning how to accept the romantic affections that he received there.

Kaoru's case also exemplifies how the boys' problems are resolved through further seclusion from the outside world. He fixates on the relationships in the boarding school and his situation resembles that of Kazuhiko in that his problems lie in his relations with his family. Kaoru repeatedly calls his mother to tell her of his life at school, but their separation is the result of his stepfather's family. His mother's death triggers confusion between Kaoru and Yû's identity and Kaoru begins to call himself Yû. This enigmatic relationship between Kaoru and Yû is resolved at the climax of the film when Kaoru claims that he is Yû and unsuccessfully tries to drag Kazuhiko into the lake. The death of the obedient Yû and the death of the free-willed and selfish Kaoru result in a third reincarnation, one who is neither Yû nor Kaoru. This reincarnation suggests that through the two deaths motivated by Kazuhiko, Yû and Kaoru overcame their mother fixation and could move beyond past events. Kazuhiko, Yû, and Kaoru's problems stem from familial relationships outside school yet each character overcomes these by developing their relationships at the school.

The ending advances the film's idealization of seclusion. The final sequence mimics Kaoru's arrival when a boy with the same features as Yu and Kaoru arrives at the station surprising Kazuhiko and Yu. Kaoru's arrival predictably generated confusion and bewilderment.

This latest reincarnation of Kaoru states “I am neither Yu nor Kaoru, but I know about you.” They immediately embrace.

This enigmatic ending creates a circular timeline where the boys can enjoy adolescence without having to develop into adulthood. The film opened with a voiceover reminiscing about the summer of 1999, which is reintroduced at the end of the film as a superimposed text. In the opening scene, the voiceover functions as a framing device suggesting that the voiceover was Kaoru’s recollection. However, Kaoru’s death in the film nullifies this function of the voiceover as a reminder that this story is a recollection. The superimposed text at the end then becomes a self-reflexive addressing of the film’s origins in printed media and foregrounds the narrative’s fictional nature. If the use of the mature male voiceover stressed the gulf between adulthood adolescence then Kaoru’s death and the superimposed text remind us of the film’s fictional nature thus guaranteeing the impossibility of adulthood for the characters. The circular timeline and elimination of adulthood preserve the characters’ unchanging adolescence.

This secluded and unchanging adolescence is legitimized by the film’s coding of the narrative as fantasy. This is primarily accomplished by the vague setting and time period which mixes old and new, Western and Japanese iconography to achieve a sense of unreality. The props used in the film constitute a mix of modern and pre-modern objects. Old and outdated objects such as garters for men, oil lamps and carbon steel pans coexist with modern objects such as telephones, computers, record players, and electric stand mixers. This mix of antiquity and modernity heightens a sense of displacement. Even modern objects have an unfamiliar quality to them such as the cathode ray tube monitors with their inner workings partly exposed.

This stripped-down design of the electronic appliances emphasizes their distance from any modernity that viewers can recognize. The indeterminacy of time period is best embodied in

Yu's clock, which displays time in both analog and digital forms, the analog section framed by wood and the digital displaying red LED numbers. These inconsistencies work to situate the film outside of conventional understandings of any era. Similar to steampunk's defiance of conventional chronological categorization, this film's story is also firmly grounded in a fantastic, science fictional realm.

Location is similarly indeterminate. The clothing and the school building are similar to the original manga which depicted a pre-modern to modern Germany. Certain props, such as the oil lamps, the unmarked brown leather ball used for sports, and uniforms with black shorts, white shirts, and garters indicate a European or Westernized setting. The character's names have been changed to typical Japanese boys' names which further introduces some confusion to the setting.

The mixing of Western and Japanese iconography situates the film in an indeterminate time and space, again foregrounding the fantastical nature of the film. This mixture of Western and Japanese iconography can also be explained as a practical issue of production, since filming the story in Germany would have posed language problems for Japanese audiences. The indeterminate setting and the Japanese names allows for the use of Japanese language while also justifying the use of Western buildings and objects similar to those in the original manga.

The seclusion of the narrative from a recognizable reality justifies the most characteristic element of the film, casting female actors in boys' roles. This is an incorporation of the convention of identification in *boys love* comics. In his article on homosexuality in *boys love*, James Welker writes, "the beautiful boy signifies both the *shôjo* manga reader and the phallic power that, through him, she is indeed able to transgress, thereby gaining the freedom to explore her own desire."⁷⁵ Using female actors in male attire in *Summer Vacation 1999* simultaneously renders the male characters easier to identify with for female spectators and associates the

characters with phallic power. This self-identification of *boys love* readers as the other (male characters) in these narratives of male/male romance gesture to cross-gender identification as well as the multiplicity of identity.

The female actors playing male characters simultaneously create a disconcerting experience where the verisimilitude of the characters is at stake due to their indeterminate gender identity. Film critic Chiyoko Tanaka writes that she initially was taken aback by the noticeably feminine bodies of the actors and that “audiences expecting the beauty of boys will turn hostile. Yet, before you know it, you are on the other side, cheering the characters on.”⁷⁶ Tanaka writes that she was able to engage with the film’s play with gender by acknowledging the characters as both male and female, recognizing the feminine bodies of the actors while investing in the belief that the characters are male. The film foregrounds the complex process of identification that occurs with *boys love* comics and female readers by forcing viewers to constantly waver between identifying with the female actors and identifying with the male characters. The homosexual romance between female actors/male characters make it impossible to clearly define these relationships as male/female or homosexual/heterosexual.

Boundaries between male/female and homosexual/heterosexual become particularly troubling in scenes with suggestive shots of the characters’ or female actors’ sexuality. For example, in one scene Kazuhiko, in a fitful sleep calls Yû’s name, then becomes silent. Naoto tries to revive Kazuhiko by giving him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. The next shot shows the door opening slightly before the point of view shot from the door opening, framing Kazuhiko lying with his bare legs pointing out from his nightgown toward the door revealing his thighs, and Naoto draped over him. Kazuhiko and Naoto’s intimacy create a situation that Chris Straayer has referred to as the “paradoxical bivalent kiss.” In films such as *Some Like It Hot* (1959), the

kiss between a male character in drag and a female character creates a situation where the kiss is read as either heterosexual or homosexual.⁷⁷ The narratives of these films, however, often stress the heterosexual nature of a kiss through gradually revealing the gender and heterosexuality of the male character, containing the subversive potential of the kiss.

Unlike Straayer's paradoxical bivalent kiss, *Summer Vacation 1999* lacks an exposition that privileges a reading of the kiss as heterosexual. In this particular scene, the boys wear short nightshirts which emphasize the feminine quality of their bodies more than their uniforms. The clothing and the sexualization of their bodies from scopophilic point-of-view shots stress their femininity while their characters remain defined as male. Kazuhiko and Naoto's kiss can express male homosexuality, female homosexuality, heterosexuality between a female actor and a male character, or simultaneously male/female and homo/heterosexual. The film constantly plays with the indeterminacy of gender and sexual identity which results in an experimentation with the process of character identification that constantly fluctuates. *Summer Vacation 1999* broadens the experimentation with gender and sexuality in *boys love* comics by challenging spectators to not only engage in cross-gender identification, but to navigate their identification with the characters whose gender and sexuality traverses established boundaries.

Summer Vacation 1999 reinterprets the idealization of non-reproductive, non-heterosexual relationships and rejection of hegemonic notions of sexual maturation in *shôjo* manga. Its circular timeline avoids referring to the consequences of the events leading to the death of a character while permitting the others to remain in permanent adolescence, free from the anxieties of maturation. Spectators may similarly indulge in the fantasy that despite the death of Yû, the boys' relationships will continue with the appearance of yet another boy identical to Yû. The cross-gender identification and experimentation with sexuality in *shôjo* comics are

represented by cross-dressing boys who blur lines between male and female, heterosexuality and homosexuality. The indeterminate gender and sexuality of the characters encourage spectators to engage with this play of fluid gender identity, recognizing the characters and actors as wavering between male and female, hetero and homosexual. References to *shôjo* culture and its gender politics do not merely recreate the sensation of reading *boys love* comics but rather foreground the internal logic of *shôjo* culture itself. The reflexive incorporation of play in gender and sexuality of *boys love* comics enable the spectator's conscious and intensified engagement with the gender politics of *shôjo* culture.

Summer Vacation 1999 represents a case where the gender politics of a subculture that developed in the differentiation and distinction against the mainstream culture are appropriated for a more diversified audience in the form of an independent art film. This capitalizes on the established audience of the original work but has the potential to attract a wider demographic. In attempting to interpret *shôjo* culture gender politics for a different medium and audience, the film creates the potential for fluid identification between different genders and sexualities. However, this representation of homosexuality without male bodies results in a disembodied portrayal that disregards the fact that gay identity is a lived reality. Representations of homosexuality in *Summer Vacation 1999* are not without liberatory potential, especially in envisioning alternatives to maturing into a socially productive and reproductive body. Yet male homosexuality is at best narrowly defined as relations among beautiful young boys. Male homosexuality becomes a fantastical construct divorced from male bodies.

Kitchen also explores alternatives to conventional heterosexual romance through the development of a romantic relationship between an eccentric young couple and the subplot of a romance between a male to female transgender woman and her doctor. In *Kitchen*, Mikage

moves into the house owned by her male friend Yuichi's mother. Mikage has recently lost her grandmother who was her sole guardian. After moving in, Mikage learns that Eriko, the woman Yuichi refers to as his mother is anatomically male. Eriko started cross-dressing and working in a gay bar after the death of Yuichi's biological mother, which she explained was to fulfill the maternal role for Yûichi. In the course of the narrative, Eriko has a nervous breakdown and is institutionalized, but leaves the hospital after a short while and moves in with a male doctor she met in the hospital. *Kitchen* narrates a heterosexual romantic relationship but Mikage's eccentricities, and her enduring fixation on the space of the kitchen, come to signify her deviation from normative maturation. This positive representation of resisting maturation is affirmed by the happiness attained by Yûichi's transgender mother, Eriko.

Kitchen imagines heterosexual relationships with characters who do not mature into conventional roles of husband, wife, or parenthood. In his analysis of Yoshimoto's *shôjo* imagery, John Whittier Treat argues that her use of nostalgia in depicting human relations is not solely a regressive yearning for the past but represents "longing for another sort of life, one that never actually 'was' because no such life ever 'is.'"78

Director Morita's adaptation does not evoke the past in its narrative but rather, the reimagining of familial and heterosexual relations is achieved through Mikage's relationship with Yûichi, the transgendered mother Eriko, and Mikage's peculiar attachment to the kitchen. Morita's playful critique of the Japanese familial structure that he explored in his first commercial success *The Family Game* (1983), finds a different mode of expression in *Kitchen*. The postmodernist slapstick of *The Family Game* that produced "caricature visions whose effect is laughably schematic and at the same time oddly expressive" is almost completely subdued in *Kitchen*. Morita's depiction of a temporary community formed by these odd characters offer a

somber perspective on the characters' efforts to construct relationships that deviate from Japan's patriarchal and heteronormative interpersonal relations.⁷⁹

Two domestic spaces, the kitchen and the bed, represent the character's deviation from norms of femininity and couplehood. The kitchen becomes a signifier for Mikage's peculiarity from the opening sequence. The film begins with a slow fade in to a white refrigerator against a black background. As the camera dollies in, a light reveals Mikage sleeping at the foot of the refrigerator. The image of Mikage and the refrigerator on a completely black background suggest an abstract or conceptual relationship between Mikage and the kitchen. The kitchen signifies her alternative lifestyle becoming a component of her identity.

Mikage's personal and professional development occurs within the space of the kitchen. When she moves in with Yûichi and Eriko, Mikage immediately claims the kitchen, making breakfast for Eriko the morning after she moves in. When Mikage goes to wash the dishes, Eriko tells her not to act like a housemaid. Eriko's statement clarifies Mikage's attachment to the kitchen is not due to her subordination to Eriko, but because of the centrality that the kitchen brings to her life. Later, Mikage finds work as an assistant chef teaching cooking classes. Viewers follow Mikage's development in her skills in the kitchen, which culminates in a full course meal that she prepared to eat with Yûichi at the end of the film. The kitchen then becomes an essentialized representation of Mikage's identity but also one that dictates the direction that she develops. The kitchen represents Mikage's past, present, and future.

The opening shot of Mikage asleep on the kitchen floor is significant for the metaphoric meaning sleeping spaces take on in the film. Similar to kitchens representing Mikage's identity, the space where one sleeps also becomes a symbol of an individual's place in life. For example, Mikage and Yûichi both talk of being in an awkwardly temporary position, either in their work

or their living space. This situation is mirrored in their sleeping situations as neither Mikage nor Yûichi sleep in conventional spaces. Mikage sleeps on the floor of a guest room in Eriko's house ignoring the sofa bed in the room. Yûichi, who drives an unlicensed taxi to save money for his future, sleeps on a sofa in Eriko's house. The instability in their lives parallel how each sleeps.

Mikage and Yûichi's peculiar sleeping situations also represent their ambiguous relationship. They remain romantically ambiguous until at the end of the film when they decide to move in together. The first instance linking their sleeping situations and their relationship occurs when Eriko is in a psychiatric institution and Yûichi suggests to Mikage that she move back to their house. Mikage says, "But Eriko is not here anymore. If I move in, would it be as a woman or a friend?" Yûichi jokingly answers, "Should we buy a large bed?" Since Mikage's question asks for a clear definition of their ambiguous relationship, Yûichi's joke draws a connection between conventional sleeping spaces and a clearly defined sexual relationship.

The narrative further imbues beds with associations of stability and sexuality when Eriko returns from the psychiatric institution with her doctor. Eriko tells Mikage and Yûichi in formal Japanese that they are going to live in that apartment from today. The doctor bows to Mikage and Yûichi and accepts a glass of whiskey from Eriko. Eriko says, "Tomorrow, a large bed for the two of us will be delivered here," then she and the doctor raise their glasses ceremoniously and toast each other. The choreographed movement synchronized with Eriko's announcement mark this as a critical moment and endow significance to the establishment of the two as a couple. The bed becomes a signifier of this definitive moment, a move from an ambiguous relationship to one clearly defined as romantic. Since this moment coincides with Eriko's recovery, the bed represents stability (in both her relationship and mental state) and normality.

Yûichi and Mikage's deviance from a normative heterosexual relationship is accentuated by criticism from Eriko and other characters of their relationship. For example, Mikage's former boyfriend wears a beige trench coat, white shirt and tie suggesting a stable profession and providing a stark contrast to Yûichi's multicolored aloha shirts. The ex-boyfriend somewhat jokingly trivializes Yûichi and Mikage's relationship by associating their relationship with romantic clichés. Mikage's gentle disavowal conveys the impossibility of such men even comprehending her relationship with Yûichi.

The abnormality of their relationship for other characters in the film is further foregrounded when a woman visits Mikage during cooking class. The woman's long black hair, red dress, red shoulder bag, and heeled red shoes embody an aggressive and pronounced femininity in comparison to Mikage's short hair, pastel wardrobe, and flat shoes. The woman first asks about the nature of Mikage's relationship with Yûichi. After discovering that Mikage and Yûichi do not consider their relationship romantic, the woman criticizes Mikage for avoiding the complexities of a romantic relationship and enjoying only the pleasurable parts. The discussion ends with Mikage in her usual gentle voice threatening to bring in a kitchen knife.

The two peripheral characters, the ex-boyfriend in the trench coat and the woman in the red dress are both embodiments of social norms. Their clothing represents a desire for maturity and development through professional attire or an aggressive investment in gender norms. These characters give voice to the societal demands for a romantic heterosexual relationship by implicitly and explicitly criticizing Mikage and Yûichi's relationship as ambiguous. They bring into relief the fact that Mikage and Yûichi's passivity in romance is itself a deviation from the heteronormative timeline of reproduction. The contrast between heteronormative and non-normative timelines recalls the opposition between *JJ* and *Olive* that I examined above. The

seeming lack of a future for Mikage and Yûichi's relationship is the main factor in their deviation from the norm.

The kitchen, which is a symbol of Mikage's identity and direction of her maturation, also becomes associated with Mikage and Yûichi's relationship. Unlike the bedroom and the bed that represent a normative romantic relationship, the kitchen symbolizes comfortable deviance. At the end of the film, Mikage decides to reject the chef's offer to travel to Europe to survey culinary culture and instead moves in to a new house with Yûichi. The living/dining room of their new house is smaller and more intimate than the wide open spaces and modern furniture of Eriko's house. This creation of a shared domestic space with Yûichi may at first glance seem to verify Mikage and Yûichi's assimilation to heterosexual norms. However, the last three shots of the film confirm that their relative deviance remains intact.

The final sequence references the beginning of the film where the camera is situated in front of the refrigerator framing Mikage in a mid-shot. Mikage takes a bottle of water out of the refrigerator and drinks it. The camera position is identical at the end of the film except it now shows Mikage and Yûichi putting two bottles of water into the refrigerator. This is followed by a shot of the refrigerator matching the one in the beginning but with Mikage's voiceover narration explaining how she could not sleep after her grandmother died and her feeling alone: "I moved to a more comfortable place, ended up in the kitchen, next to the refrigerator, where it was cool and I felt I was one with the world." The voiceover confirms Mikage's comfort in sleeping in the kitchen far removed from the normative space of the bedroom.

This is followed by two shots of Yûichi and Mikage sitting on the kitchen floor looking at the moon. Yûichi and Mikage securely retain their association with the kitchen rather than moving into the normative lifestyle of the bedroom. The development of their relationship differs

from *Summer Vacation 1999* and *shôjo* culture's idealization of an arrested adolescence and lack of reproductive sexuality, but their sustained association with the kitchen forms a compromise allowing them to retain a degree of disassociation from the sort of hegemonic heteronormative culture found in the *akamoji-kei* magazines analyzed above. The kitchen is an object that embodies subcultural capital and distances Mikage and Yûichi from hegemonic culture.

Eriko is also an important factor in establishing Mikage's subcultural distinction. In untraditional development, Eriko becomes a mentor figure for Mikage. She mirrors what Otsuka describes as the role of "grandmothers (*obâchan*)" in *shôjo* culture. Using examples from *shôjo* comics and novels, Otsuka argues that grandmas are depicted similar to *shôjo* in their naiveté, playfulness, cuteness, and lack of sexuality. Grandmas are idealized in *shôjo* culture because of the *shôjo*'s fear of maturing into a reproductive body. This results in their desire to mature from a non-reproductive *shôjo* body into a grandma one skipping the reproductive period entirely.⁸⁰

Similarly, Eriko is an older woman who embodies the characteristics of a *shôjo*. Her non-reproductive body is symbolized by her transgenderism and her naiveté and playfulness are evidenced in her enjoyment of ice cream with her transgender coworkers from a gay club. Eriko expresses excitement over buying a blender and promptly makes a smoothie in the middle of the night. Elsewhere in the film, she impulsively decides to give many of her clothes to Mikage. Eriko demonstrates the possibility of aging while maintaining a non-reproductive body and an attitude that is analogous to that of a *shôjo*.

Perhaps more significantly, Eriko also establishes the possibility of an alternative relationship to the ones envisioned by Mikage's ex-boyfriend and the woman in the red dress. Eriko overcomes her nervous breakdown after getting together with the doctor who treated her at the mental institution and demonstrates a passion for astronomy. After Eriko's declaration that

the doctor is moving in and they are getting a large bed, there is a shot of the doctor and Eriko on the floor watching a projection of a planetarium in a small tent. This shot is echoed at the end of the film when Mikage and Yûichi sit on the kitchen floor looking at the moon. Together, these two shots form a couplet foregrounding these characters' success in developing relationships despite their lack of interest in reproduction.

Both *Kitchen* and *Summer Vacation 1999* conflate femininity and homosexuality for the purpose of circumventing the *shôjo* anxiety towards maturing into a reproductive body. *Summer Vacation 1999* achieves this through its narrative where adolescent boys are romantically drawn to each other in a fantastic space lacking any linear timeline. The cross-dressing boys blur the lines between male and female, and heterosexuality and homosexuality. However, this radical redrawing of gender and sexuality boundaries are contained within the guise of fantasy. Fantasy is maintained by the cyclical timeline of the narrative and the indeterminate setting created by mixing futuristic and premodern, and Western and Japanese iconography. Similar to *shôjo* manga, the film creates a fantastical space that seems to have no relevance to the reality of *shôjo*'s lives, where experimentations concerning gender and sexuality can take place.

By contrast, *Kitchen* concerns itself with attributing subcultural capital to a lifestyle that does not strictly adhere to heteronormative timelines. The figure of Eriko, the transgender mother, envisions a model of development and maturity in which a woman can retain the characteristics of a *shôjo*. *Kitchen* proposes an alternative to both the heteronormative timeline and its reproductive body and the arrested adolescence of *shôjo* culture by representing a *shôjo* who matures into a peculiar romantic relationship.

In both films, a feminized model of homosexuality becomes central in its envisioning of an alternative of maturing into a reproductive body. The representation of homosexuality as

feminization allows the characters to embody aspects of *shôjo* culture. In other words, the homosexual characters are represented in a way that they are conducive to identification by female viewers rather than embodying an idealized masculinity as objects of desire. These characters were reliant on existing stereotypes of feminized homosexuality, but identification with these characters enables the envisioning of an alternative to hegemonic heteronormative relationships in ways reminiscent of such print media as *Olive*. This dominant concept of homosexuality as femininity was not only a lack of information or a misguided representation of homosexuality, but a concept that was mobilized to embody the certain ideological facets of *shôjo* culture. This displayed a strong skepticism towards normative timelines of maturation and idealized arrested adolescence.

This liminal space of resistance against maturation and normative timeline was in fact carried over to films and magazine articles produced early in the gay boom. The gay boom introduced a shift in roles of homosexual subjects, from androgynous adolescents and drag queens to masculine adults, and an increased interest in gay men's relationship with straight women. These changes took place as the Japanese government and media were struggling with the declining birthrate, which resulted in a renewed idealization of women's reproductive roles. The changing representations of gay men responded to this phenomenon, creating alternatives to normative timelines where straight women form families with patriarchal gay men, avoiding cooptation into a reproductive role in a heterosexual family.

Chapter 2

Gay Boom and the Future of the Nation: Single Women and the Search for Alternative Timelines in 1990s Japan

The previous chapter examined the idealization of arrested adolescence through homosexual characters in films before the gay boom. Conversely, media produced at the beginning of the gay boom idealized gay men as embodiments of alternative timelines of maturation. If the representations before the gay boom were characterized by desires to remain in *shôjo*-hood and thus avoid maturation and reproduction, then gay men in the gay boom were companions that provided a façade of a heterosexual relationship for straight women while evading cooptation into reproductive roles. We can identify a clear continuity before and during the gay boom that associated male homosexuality with the rejection of reproductive heterosexuality, albeit with a different result than *shôjo* culture aesthetics. The gay boom's concern with creating a space for women outside of the reproductive role was partially a reaction to the declining fertility rate and subsequent social pressure on women to reproduce.

This chapter reevaluates strong temporality anxieties over a possible futurity crisis facing the nation from the late 1980s to the early 1990s the 1990s. "1.57 shock" was a catchphrase for the birthrate in Japan hitting a historical low point that would continue until 2005. Discourses of this social phenomenon were characterized by uniformity in the succession of life stages sustained by the educational and corporate structure.⁸¹ The national futurity crisis spurred an idealization of the reproductive family which in turn exerted tremendous pressure on individuals to adhere to a heterosexual timeline and ensure the nation's future survival via reproduction.

During this period of heightened pressure on women to reproduce, gay boom media distributed images of gay men as ideal companions for straight women as a means to create a liminal space enabling alternative fantasies to monogamous heterosexual reproduction. Through

the gay man/straight woman couple, gay boom media created an alternative to reproductive futurity that resisted the cooptation of women's bodies in the name of national interest. Women's magazines, and particularly films produced at the start of the gay boom represented gay men/straight women unions as an ideal form companionship closely resembling heterosexual marriage but free from the restrictive hierarchical gender relations in the Japanese family. However, images of long term gay men/straight women relationships in the films *Okoge* (1991) and *Kirakira Hikaru* (1991) delimited any acknowledgement of gay men's difference. Rather, these films reproduced a structure resembling the heterosexual family through surrogate gay men/straight women couples. These unions rendered invisible gay men's sexuality and difference over the course of the narrative transforming gay men into patriarchal figures with reconfigured masculinity.

Previous studies have discussed the gay boom as motivated by women consumers' desire to escape the constrictions of heterosexual relationships. Mark McLelland observes that Japanese women were disillusioned by a lack of domestic and emotional support in heterosexual marriages. Representations of gay men projected an ideal marriage partner who was "not only cleaner, smarter, better dressed, and more supportive than his heterosexual counterpart, but who can also wash the dishes."⁸² Jonathan M. Hall mobilizes a more radical critique, arguing that the gay boom offered fantasies of "free sexual play" by representing the subjectivities of gay men and straight women as indistinguishable from each other. In turn, this fantasy demanded an erasure of sexual difference and the denial of an embodied sexuality.⁸³ Contextualizing the gay boom within the anxieties over a national futurity "crisis" reveals that gay men were not merely celebrated as feminine men or as a conduit for identification with a masculine subjectivity, but also an embodiment of an alternative timeline and future.

This chapter consists of three sections that examine the pressure on women to reproduce and the ways in which the mainstream print media and films addressed anxieties over national futurity. The first section surveys discourses on the declining birthrate and the 1.57 shock, which called on working women to achieve “happiness” through child rearing and work. This was a time when institutional and domestic support for childcare was still ineffective and women faced a glass ceiling in Japanese corporations. This discourse set unrealistic demands on women to continue their duties in the domestic sphere while developing careers in work environments where women were considered to be temporary labor expected to quit work after marriage or childbirth.

The second section analyzes gay boom magazines and the book *Kekkonshirenai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun* in order to interrogate single women’s anxieties over finding companionship while retaining relative freedom in their personal lives. These anxieties largely concerned the challenge of single women’s futures in a society where heterosexual timelines dictating marriage and childbirth were the norm. Media representations and discussions about the desirability of women’s companionships with gay men addressed these anxieties in fantasies of enduring unions outside of heterosexual conjugal models.

The third section considers two feature films, *Okoge* (1991) and *Kirakira Hikaru* (1992) in order to examine how the film narratives addressed these anxieties in representations of a family-like unit consisting of gay men and straight women. Their narratives reveal that the familial structures and timelines depicted in the films closely resembled normative heterosexual ones. The result was a downplaying of the sexual difference of the gay characters and the difficulties of imagining alternatives to the heterosexual family.

1.57 Shock and the Crisis of National Futurity

Gay boom media addressed issues of women's autonomy from traditional gender norms during a time when the decline in the nation birthrate generated a renewed value on reproduction. In 1990, the Population Survey Report for 1989 announced that Japan's fertility rate had hit an all-time low of 1.57, thus instigating the "1.57 shock." Mainstream news and the popular media reported widely on the phenomenon making it an urgent concern among the public and the government. The 1995 Annual Report on Health and Welfare noted that 1990 was the year when the decline in birthrate was first widely acknowledged and motivated the government to instigate policies to reverse the decline.⁸⁴ Miho Ogino notes that during this period "Japanese women found themselves bombarded by both open and hidden calls to have more children for the future of Japan" and political and economic leaders criticized women who would not bear children for their "selfishness."⁸⁵ Women's timelines came under increased scrutiny despite an increase in the median marriage age and lowered marriage rates as a result of more women in the workforce and institutions of higher education.

The liberal leaning newspaper *Asahi Shinbun* used this opportunity to promote double income families as a means to alleviate the economic factors affecting the birthrate. However, a cursory examination of the labor conditions for Japanese women reveals that even these calls for gender equality were optimistic and unrealistic. 1991 saw the enactment of the Act on Child Care Leave, which required employers to permit parents with children under one year of age to take child care leave. Measures such as Act on Child Care Leave indicated an increase in government awareness of the heavy burden that double income families placed on women who were expected

to maintain their jobs and their domestic duties with little or no help. Many of the reports released after the 1.57 shock recognized the necessity of dual-incomes as a means to alleviate the very real financial concerns that were seen as key factors for the low fertility rate. They argued that traditional gender roles need to be revised to lessen the burden of domestic work on women in dual income families.

This call for a more equitable division of labor in the domestic sphere followed a more general move towards greater gender equality in the labor laws. However, by the early 1990s, many Japanese working women still faced a widely acknowledged and strictly enforced glass ceiling despite calls for gender equality in the domestic sphere and the workplace. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women was implemented in 1986 to mitigate just such discriminatory hiring practices, yet the law was ineffective when companies responded by creating two employment tracks; *ippanshoku*, which was created exclusively for female employees providing only limited opportunities for promotion and *sôgôshoku* which was reserved mostly for male employees and included ample opportunities for promotion and wage increases.

Hiring practices utilizing the two track system reproduced persistent gender imbalances in the workplace. In a June 1990 article, the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper reported that Japan Airlines, the second most popular employer of women that year, hired only three women for a total of 142 *sôgôshoku* positions. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act only required corporations to make a “reasonable effort” to meet its guidelines and lacked any penalties should a company not comply. In her study on governing sexual reproduction in Japan, political economist Hiroko Takeda claims that the Equal Employment Opportunity Law ultimately “consolidated a pattern of life for many women in which women entered the labor market as part

of the marginal labor force until their first child was born, thereafter staying at home, caring for their young children and then taking part-time jobs.”⁸⁶ Women remained for the most part sources of marginal and temporary labor and corporations did not expect women to keep their jobs after childbirth.

Discourses on dual income families, however, expected working women to retain their jobs after marriage, a notion that paradoxically ran at odds with the larger corporate culture that expected women to retire after marriage. Yet despite government endorsements and general support for the idea that women should be able to work and raise a family, available career tracks for women largely retained expectations of being short-term. Beyond inequality in promotion and wages, various other informal practices in the corporate environment encouraged early retirement of women employees as well. This included such practices as favoritism of new women employees, celebrations for women retiring for marriage, and implicit pressure against taking maternal or childcare leave.⁸⁷ Some women who attempted to return to their jobs after raising a child faced lack of opportunities due to their age.⁸⁸ This was particularly problematic given the lifetime employment system that prevailed in Japanese corporations at that time. Many corporations promised men a future of promotions and wage increases, but women remained in mostly dead end jobs with marriage and childbirth as substitutes for career advancement.

In an interview with the *Asahi Shinbun* on 3 July 1990, gynecologist Yuriko Marumoto criticized the 1.57 shock stating that the declining birthrate did not pose any critical problems and that women had been too obedient towards government childbirth policies. Marumoto also commented on the low numbers of children born out of wedlock concluding that there are “lifestyles without giving birth, and many situations of giving birth. We should create a society that accepts that fact.” Marumoto’s condemnation of women’s obedience to their reproductive

roles corresponds with Michel Foucault's concept of bio-power in which the appearance of a technology of power in the 19th century was compliant with capitalism in the "joining of the growth of human groups to the expansion of productive forces and the differential allocation of profit."⁸⁹ The 1.57 shock is an instance where compliance between controlling of reproduction and capital broke down with the cooption of women in the workforce thus delaying marriage and childbirth. In this situation, the proposal of a double income family cannot be understood only as a progressive gesture affirming the rights of women to retain their jobs but must also be understood as a way to maintain current workforce levels while securing the next generation of workforce for the future. The ideal of the double income family was mobilized precisely to reconcile the compliance between bio-power and capitalism and converged with reproductive futurity and nationalistic concerns about the impending situation of the nation.

In order to further promote reproduction, the government and news media repeatedly referenced countries with high birthrates and progressive stances on gender relations to suggest that gender equality may remedy the declining birthrate. Sweden attracted attention for its rising birthrate and policies that encouraged parents of both genders to take child care leave. This comparison highlighted Japan's gender inequality and especially strict divisions of gender roles relegating child rearing and domestic chores predominantly to women. In a 31 March 1990 article on the declining birthrate in the *Asahi Shinbun*, when asked about the birthrate in Sweden a young Swedish woman answered, "In my mother's time, they had to choose whether they were going to work, or have a child. That did not seem like a happy choice. Is it not the happiest situation where men and women can choose both work, having children, and having a family?" What is notable here is the not-so-subtle comparison to Sweden which underlines the apparent

“unhappy choice” for Japanese women. Declining birthrates were an increasingly decisive factor in advocating for a wider choice of lifestyles for Japanese women.

Advocating for more “happy choice” options for women may appear to promote a progressive discourse that empowers women, yet the idea that embracing reproduction and progressing careers are a universally “happy” choice should be approached with skepticism. This is particularly the case within the context of the 1.57 shock when the demand for reproduction was imposed by the government and retaining dual incomes was a necessity rather than a choice for families with children. Sara Ahmed’s thoughtful analysis of the phrase “I just want you to be happy” provides a timely critique of the directive intentions behind such superficially endowing discourses of “free choice.”⁹⁰ According to Ahmed, in the context of speaking to a queer child, this speech act reminds the listener “that the queer life is already constructed as an unhappy life, as a life without the ‘things’ that make you happy, or as a life that is depressed as it lacks certain things: ‘a husband, children.’”⁹¹ Ahmed discusses how discourses surrounding happiness condition subjects by associating happiness with adherence to established and normative ways of living while marginalized subjects and lifestyles in turn are further marginalized by the implied “unhappiness” of their situations. If the government and media’s demands for women to embrace work and raising a family was a happy choice then life without reproduction and child rearing was branded an unhappy choice. Ultimately, any new “choice” to work and raise a family is in fact not a choice but an imperative to reproduce.

Moreover, this choice for childbirth and career obscured the conservative presupposition that children were to be born into families consisting of two heterosexual parents. The lack of discussion and government measures supporting childbirth and childrearing outside of the two-parent nuclear family only furthered the restrictive and normalizing pressures surrounding this

“happy” choice. The media acknowledged that one factor affecting the declining birthrate was social norms preventing women from having children out of wedlock. Yet the media coverage on the declining birthrate offered little in the way of discussion on how to support widowed or divorced women and the government neglected providing any income assistance for divorced or single mothers.⁹² A stable and long-term heterosexual marriage became the unstated prerequisite for having and rearing a “happy” child.

This heterosexual, double income family required updated gender roles; men assuming domestic duties and women taking on additional burden in the workplace. Despite agreement that gender equality in the workplace and the domestic sphere was essential to raise the birthrate, neither the government nor the media attempted to popularize revised male gender roles that would make this new ideal family possible. New child care leave laws made it possible for men to take responsibility in child rearing and domestic labor but responsibility for changing men’s conceptions of traditional gender roles was relegated to the domestic sphere. Unlike Japanese reports on Sweden’s increasing birth rate which emphasized the proactive steps that the Swedish government took to revise gender roles such as the establishment of a task force in the government, neither the Japanese government nor the media consistently or substantially problematized the gendered labor divisions in the domestic sphere.

The ideal of the dual income housewife represented other lifestyles as less desirable while obscuring the fact that it could only be attained by a privileged few. The dual career track kept most women locked in lower paid jobs at companies with few opportunities for advancement or wage increases and who expected them to quit after marriage. The government implemented the Child Care Leave Law yet the number of men who took advantage of those

opportunities was almost nonexistent.⁹³ Nor were there adequate licensed child care facilities that could have alleviated some of women's child rearing duties.

Besides the unrealistic nature of proposed remedies against the 1.57 shock, the discourse on reproduction is also problematic for its link with powerful images of suffering or missing Japanese children who did not yet exist. In a letter from a reader published in the *Asahi Shinbun* on 27 June 1990 titled "Being an Only Child is Lonely," a pregnant mother with two children linked the lonely lives of only children to those born during low fertility rates: "Every year the birthrate is declining and I sigh at the thought that the number of only children will only increase." This writer argued for women's compliance with increased reproduction for the potential happiness of a child who was, in essence, an imagined construct.

In a similar evocation of imaginary children, Lee Edelman argues that imaginary children reproduce conservative futures that prohibit social change. The images of children circulating in reproductive futurity are not about the real lived experiences of children but instead are fantastic idealized constructs that in fact limit the freedom of living beings to reproduce the existing social order. Edelman contends that the "figural Child alone embodies the citizen as an ideal, entitled to claim full rights to its future share in the nation's good, though always at the cost of limiting the rights 'real' citizens are allowed. For the social order exists to preserve for this universalized subject, this fantastic Child, a notional freedom more highly valued than the actuality of freedom itself, which might, after all, put at risk the Child to whom such a freedom falls due."⁹⁴ His concept of reproductive futurity and the image of the Child not only demonstrates the limits of envisioning the future but also its oppressiveness. The writer of "Being an Only Child is Lonely," deployed the figure of the fictional, nonexistent child to justify increasing women's

burden to preserve an idealized familial structure that would not require changing the current social and racial composition of Japan.

The 1.57 shock accelerated existing anxieties over an aging population created a sense of urgency through evoking the futurity of the nation and the image of the Child, which reinforced reproductive futurity in Japan. The 1.57 shock did strengthen support for working women by promoting dual income families but did little to change the division of labor within the domestic sphere. Moreover, the 1.57 shock idealized families centered on heterosexual couples, leaving single parent families and children born out of wedlock marginalized. 1.57 shock was not about sexual reproduction but rather the promotion of a specific type of sexual reproduction occurring in a heterosexual marriage. Anxiety on the part of the government and corporations over the prospects of a reduced labor force in an aging society together with the public's concern over images of disappearing, unhappy children coalesced into the idealization of a heterosexual, reproductive family. The discourse on raising the birthrate obfuscated viable alternatives to marriage, reproduction, or contributing to the futurity of the nation.

There were voices that criticized the promulgation of reproduction following the 1.57 shock. For example, Yuki Ishikawa, President of Tanshinken, an acronym for "Organization to Verify Single People's Subsistence Rights for Living Alone," condemned discourses on the 1.57 Shock for unnecessarily idealizing the family in a 26 February 1991 article in the *Asahi Shinbun*. Tanshinken respected an individual's choice to live alone and worked to minimize the anxieties and societal pressures against living without a family. Ishikawa stated, "From about last summer, the declining birthrate led to people talking more and more about family. This is strange. I thought that I should make an appeal that living alone is most definitely fine." Ishikawa's statement and Tanshinken's activity leave no doubt as to the correlation between the declining

birthrate, the idealization of the family, and pressures exerted on those who did not identify with that ideal.

Alternative Timelines and Companionships for Single Women

The discourse surrounding reproduction surrounding the 1.57 shock made seeking out alternative timelines and social formations an increasing important matter for those who did not support policies on women's role in reproduction. The 1990 bestselling book *Kekkonshinai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun* (The I-might-not-get-married syndrome) presented a particularly illuminating example. The book illuminated anxieties of single women who chose to remain single and continue their careers thus deviating from conventional timelines as characterized by the smooth progression into marriage and childbirth.

The book originated from a five-page essay in *Crea* of writer Shiho Tanimura's insights into single women's lives in Japan. *Kekkonshinai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun* represents its interviewees lives as an ongoing struggle against loneliness and the social strictures with its own unique joys and glamorous qualities. By depicting women's lives in a positive and at times sympathetic manner, *Kekkonshinai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun* demonstrated the incompatibility between women's desires for their own lives and contemporary social policies favoring married women or those with families.

The book's constant vacillation between celebrating single lifestyles and fears for psychological and financial security in the future represent the ambivalent positioning of single women between pursuing individual happiness and conforming to normative social timelines. Studies on Japanese women's perceptions of marriage have shown that single women's attitudes

towards marriage have changed from the 1980s due to the delaying of marriage and reduced rate of marriage as an increasing number of Japanese women joined the workforce.⁹⁵ The trend for cultural products about extramarital affairs, such as the book *Paradise Lost* which was later adapted into a film and television drama, spoke to the disillusionment that many women felt towards traditional marriage and its lack of psychological fulfillment.⁹⁶

Yet disillusionment with marriage did not mean that women “are free from the stress and pressures imposed upon them by a society which still believes that women should be married and have a family by a certain age.”⁹⁷ Rather, social pressures to conform to normative timelines persisted despite the fact that marriage has lost much of its appeal for single working women who enjoyed the freedom and autonomy of their lives.⁹⁸ The book details the struggles of single women envisioning their own timelines in a society where little precedence is provided for women wishing to stay single. The chapters covered diverse themes, with timelines and old age emerging as the recurring and overarching themes of the book.

Tanimura’s interviewees reveal several different strategies to counter the anxieties of the future of single life and alternatives to a heterosexual timeline. Buying land or pension plans became ways for single women to reduce the risk and unpredictability of their lives and map out the future. “The Seriousness of the Housing Situation for Single Women” highlighted ways in which land and mortgage became a substitute method for securing futurity when marriage seemed a distant possibility.⁹⁹ Although land purchases did not mitigate future uncertainties, land ownership enabled one to envision a timeline in alignment with mortgage payments and the permanent presence of housing. Housing thus became an external referent providing women a substitute in place of the heterosexual marriage timeline.

Besides housing, Tanimura suggests long-term companionship outside heterosexual marriage as a foundation for a possible alternative timeline. At the end of her interview with a woman who just purchased a house, Tanimura jokingly asked, “If something happens to me, will you let me live with you?” The woman responded by saying, “It’s large. It’s large enough, so if something happens, let’s live together.” Tanimura later wrote that at that moment, Keiko appeared to her like a prince on a white horse. This image of the “white horse” appear again when members of the Blue Bird theater troupe invite Tanimura into their plan to build a retirement home where “women who lived alone can pass away happily.”¹⁰⁰ The image of the “prince on a white horse” conventionally carries the connotations of a mythologized heterosexual relationship. But here, the image is ironically appropriated becoming imbued with an alternative, non-reproductive futurity.

Besides envisioning potential futures to destigmatize single women’s lives, Tanimura affirms the value of single women through highlighting their physical attractiveness and fashionable clothing. She constantly differentiates single women from married women, the latter whom she depicts as unattractive, conservative, and obsessed with maintaining their marriage. Interviewees offer similar views of married women, criticizing them for caring only about financial stability and their position as housewives as well as for their physical unattractiveness, obesity, and dowdy clothing. Tanimura reframes the “happiness” of having a husband and children as a housewife’s “obsession” with maintaining social status.

Single women communicated the idea that physical attractiveness and a sense of fashion were attainable manifestations of “happiness” that did not require a husband or child. Further, such qualities marked their enjoyment of life while giving them a sense of fulfillment. Interviewees emphasized the fashionable qualities of single women as well as their positions in

their professions. Yukako, an interviewee in the housing chapter, is described as “thirty-one years old, working in a foreign bank as a secretary. Yearly income: 7,000,000 yen. Lovely woman with white and beautiful skin. Her semi-trad clothing suits her very well. She is graceful and classy.”¹⁰¹ Another interviewee is introduced as “Tall and slender. Tanned skin and long black hair. Strong-willed expression. Tasteful clothing in the style of the fashion magazine *Classy*. Graceful and calm way of talking.”¹⁰²

Tanimura frequently employs the term “commodity value as a woman (*shôhin-kachi*)” to ascribe value to the single women’s maintenance of her physical attractiveness and fashionability. This distinguishes her value in the public sphere against that of married women in the private sphere. Tanimura’s statement that married women do not need to consider their commodity value as a woman suggests that single women exchange that value for heterosexual relationships and marriage. She also implies that abstaining from marriage and childbirth will retain a woman’s inherent commodity value.¹⁰³

The notion of fashion functions as a tool signifying single women’s constant effort to maintain their “commodity value” and find relationships that may lead to marriage. Fashion also differentiates them from married women obsessed with daily life and protecting their marriage. The book establishes fashion as a cultural capital and subcultural capital distinguishing single women afflicted with the “I-might-not-get-married syndrome” from married women presumably leading mundane lives. Against the backdrop of declining birthrates where marriage and reproduction determined women’s social value, *Kekkon Shinaikamoshirenai Shôkôgun* presents fashion as a viable alternative criterion to redefine women’s values beyond their contribution to population growth.

Kekkon Shinaikamoshirenai Shôkôgun addresses the anxiety of single women as they divert further away from the normative heterosexual timeline as they age. As the title “I might not get married” suggests, this book is not a direct challenge to the institution of marriage or the social pressures requiring they be coopted into the familial structure. The book’s discussions on housing, insurance, fashion, and cats are less a criticism of the structural conditions enforcing the heteronormative timeline than a focus on attaining personal psychological security in the uncharted and stigmatized territory of singlehood. Although women’s single lives in Japanese society were not always conscious defiance, the book represents attempts to find alternative social formations, notions of self-worth, and potential futures to negate anxieties brought about by social pressures to conform to a heterosexual timeline.¹⁰⁴

Companionships envisioned in the book constructed an alternative to the family in the form of women living together in their old age. The 1991 “Gay Renaissance” issue of *Crea* represents gay men/straight women and offers such unions as a superior alternative to marriage or other forms of companionships. Here, gay men are superior alternatives to straight men for their presumed progressive gender roles, affinity with their feminine side, and a level of cultural refinement that made them highly compatible with *Crea*’s readership demographic. The “Gay Renaissance” issue depicted gay men as ideal companions for valuing women as friends and companions, which in turn imbued single women’s lifestyles with superior taste and worldly knowledge. Gay men represented a group that affirmed single working women’s social worth through the appreciation of their fashion, cultural knowledge, and independence. The cost of this exchange, however, was affirming male authority in discerning the value of women.

The “Gay Renaissance” issue consisted of a wide range of materials: interviews with doctors, gay activists, gay celebrities, transgender celebrities discussing gay bars, panels on

homoeroticism in the media, questionnaires by gay men, the history of homosexuality, and a report on gay culture in various nations. The content was rather eclectic but two recurring themes were consistent throughout this issue. The first was an emphasis on the role of gay men as critics; from cultural products featuring gay men to their assessments of modern women and female celebrities. Gay men served as cultural connoisseurs unafraid of offering harsh criticism and thereby making their celebration (and evaluation) of women all the more valuable. By featuring these harsh critics, *Crea* managed to construct no less than an alternative hierarchy. This alternative hierarchy inverted Japanese society's obsession with reproduction as evidenced in articles that criticized women who adhered to normative timelines as lacking in cultural refinement. Conversely, such critics admired cultured, educated, and independent women.

A second theme is the similarity and compatibility of straight women with gay men, which endorsed gay men as ideal partners for single women. *Crea* claimed gay men embodied sensibilities and values closer to those of women than heterosexual men, who, in comparison, had little to offer working women. These two themes confirmed gay men's cultural capital and thus warranted their ability to affirm and appreciate the lifestyles and "commodity value" of women with high cultural capital. Similarity and compatibility, then, were not limited to the proximity between straight women/gay men in general but extended to the superior compatibility between gay men with high cultural capital able to appreciate straight, fashionable working women.

Gay men's criticism of women who conformed to normative gender roles established a sense of exclusivity to those women fortunate enough to receive gay men's adoration, friendship, or respect. "Gay and *Okama* are Different" considers the exclusivity of women with gay friends when a panelist comments that he despises all mediocre women: "With women or with things I

put on my body, I don't want anything that is just 'common.'”¹⁰⁵ The panelist presented the notion that women who are not exceptional do not deserve gay men's company.

In “The Gay Taste We Approve of,” the interviewer queried panelists about their favorite actress, to which they answered that they preferred either those actresses who “don't have any sex appeal” such as Audrey Hepburn, or those with sex appeal in excess such as Brigitte Bardot. A panelist explained this as “having the sensibilities of an *Olive shôjo* but liking Aya Sugimoto.”¹⁰⁶ I like people who go way too far. That's also why I like Madonna.”¹⁰⁷ The wording of this statement suggests an eschewing of conventional femininity to celebrate either fashionable girlish asexuality (*Olive*) or excessive sexuality (Madonna). Panelists commented that “friendship develops between gay men and straight women who can share their appreciation for these tastes in women.” This represents gay men as bonding with those women who possess the ability to share critical views of women.

Similarly, “The Graceful Yet Celibate Life of an Executive Gay” assumed that gay men and their female friends shared a similar aesthetic. The writer, a woman, commented that the gay men she befriended in New York “might not have any interest in women in romantic terms, but it's a big mistake to think that they do not like women. Gay men actually love talking to women, and love critiquing the clothes and belongings of women.”¹⁰⁸ She also noted that “Since gay men do not have a sexual interest in women, they want to be with girls who are either beautiful, flashy, or exotic.”¹⁰⁹ Since women are not sexual objects for gay men, they cannot sustain gay men's interest without attaining these characteristics. By emphasizing the high critical standard of gay men, the writer legitimized proof of her authority because she passed the test of becoming friends with gay men.

Gay men's critical gaze legitimizes women who feel that straight Japanese men do not fully appreciate them. This falls in line with the editorial policy of *Crea* at the time, which offered to a new, urban female demographic "masculine" content including news and current events besides more conventional fashion content. An article that discussed *Crea*'s editorial policy change lamented the loss of "intellectual" content in the magazine after the mid-1990s as "degrading into a normal fashion and informational magazine."¹¹⁰ *Crea*'s editorial policy during the early 1990s was unconventional for a women's magazine in offering intellectual content. The idea of working women or intellectual women as being in opposition to traditional femininity has a long history in Japan, where they have been "perceived as unfeminine and thus unsuited to most men's expectations for a marriage partner."¹¹¹ Gay men criticized women with only sex to offer but legitimized readers of magazines such as *Crea* whose interests exceeded cultivating their appearances for straight men.

Beyond the similarities between gay men and straight women, arguments stressing the importance of sexual difference in these relationships also require analysis. Articles stressing the desirability of women's relationships with gay men stress the undesirable qualities of living with other women, implying sexual difference as a desirable. In her interview in *Crea*, Sakurazawa compared women's relationships with gay men to other forms of relationships complaining that straight men always demand "some kind of negotiation" while in relationships with other women "there's a sense of competition in the strangest areas, and there's actually very few girls where you can really open yourself up to."¹¹² A similar view on uncomfortable competition plaguing women's relationship is expressed in "Women Who Strive for a Comfortable Life with Gays." Kaoru, an interviewee states, "I can't live with women anymore. It's complicated, since there's always some competition or jealousy when one of us brings a guy home. With gay men, there are

no problems like that.”¹¹³ In both these statements, the lack of competition or comparison is the defining feature that makes straight women/gay men relationships desirable. If comparison or competition complicate women’s relationships with each other, then straight women/gay men are compatible precisely because they acknowledge each other’s difference that supposedly make them incomparable.

This combination of sexual difference and gay men’s critical faculties were touted as the appeal of gay men in *Crea*’s special “Gay Renaissance.” Gay men are discerning critics, and gay men’s gaze constructed in the special issue functions to positively evaluate the cultural capital of working women whose social position masculinizes them. Shiho Tanimura examined similar modes of differentiation and distinction in her interviewee’s differentiation between single working women and housewives. For Tanimura, the latter were “obsessed with maintaining their lives” in that they belittled women who readily fulfilled traditional gender roles as sexual objects or of maintained the domestic sphere. Unlike Tanimura, who was also a working woman, gay men used an external gaze that appreciated working women’s cultural capital. This non-sexual gaze was essential for legitimizing women’s self-worth by confirming her significance outside of the realm of reproduction or sexual relations. This critical gaze that valued non-conventional femininity and cultural refinement was consistent with *Crea*’s editorial policy of dealing with “hard” or masculine information as a means of differentiating the magazine and its readers from conventional women’s magazines.

A special feature in the women’s fashion magazine *More* titled “What We Want Now are Gay Boyfriends” also centrally features this non-sexual gaze of gay men but with a stronger emphasis on the compatibility of straight women/gay men. An interview with Noriaki Fushimi, a gay activist, musician, and writer of the book *Private Gay Life* was accompanied by small

columns where his women friends provided their perspectives on their relationships with gay men. Predictably, they emphasized the non-sexual character of their interactions, such as when Fushimi's friend's stated that unlike straight men who tended to "take control," gay men exuded a "sense of comfort that I will not be violated emotionally." Another of Fushimi's friends commented on the dissolving of sexual differences with gay men as there is "no lewd sexuality and the relationship breaks away male or female codes." The interviewer confirms these insights by stating that she too felt a sense of liberation while talking to Fushimi which made her realize "how conscious I was of my own sexuality when talking to straight men."¹¹⁴

The article encouraged relationships between straight women and gay men as it liberated the former from a self-consciousness of their own gender. Gay men's non-sexual gaze created alternative positionalities for women since his gaze does not value women for romantic or marital relationships. However, in comparison with the relationships discussed in *Crea*, the articles in *More* lacked any emphasis on the superiority and exclusivity of women able to befriend gay men. This lack may reflect the magazine's constraints regarding length and scope or perhaps a less ambitious and a more conventional editorial policy than that of *Crea*. *Crea* self-consciously built a reputation as an "intellectual" fashion magazine while *More* aspired to a more conservative base. *More* catered to a demographic that one article comparing women's magazines called "regular ladies" seeking less ambitious content.¹¹⁵

Men's magazines published during the gay boom also reproduced notions of straight women/gay men relationships as being egalitarian and dissolving gender boundaries. In "Women Falling for Gay Men" in the weekly news magazine *Asahi Journal*, reporters interviewed straight women about their gay friends reinforcing the characteristics that I have previously discussed in *Crea* and *More*. Interviews were laden with such familiar statements as "there is a sense of

comfort that we can get along without the emotional relationships as man and woman,” “it’s comfortable because he doesn’t try to compete with women.” The writer arrives at a similar conclusion stating that “there is a potential for a new relationship that dissolves the boundaries of gender” echoing *More*’s contention that these relationships eradicate restrictive gender notions.¹¹⁶

Asahi Journal maintained a somewhat critical stance against the gay boom. A gay schoolteacher arguing against the compatibility of straight women/gay men noted that there are “quite a number of gay men who discriminate against women” and that many straight women/gay men relationships “are women’s fantasies.”¹¹⁷ One woman working for a publishing company told the interviewer that she thought “maybe gay men seem kind to women because they don’t expect anything from us. They are kind because they don’t care about us.”¹¹⁸

The *Asahi Journal* article represents the numerous articles that men’s magazines published on male homosexuality during the gay boom. However, one characteristic of these articles was that the phenomenon was derivative of women consumers’ fantasies. Similar articles claiming that the gay boom was a women’s media phenomenon appeared in *DIME*, *Shûkan Bunshun*, and *Scola*,¹¹⁹ all of which are conventionally associated with a male readership. Another difference was that the men’s magazines reinstated sexual difference by ascribing the gay boom as catering solely to women’s fantasies citing sources that stated discrepancies between representations of gay men and “real” gay men.

Yet, while the articles attempted to disengage themselves from the gay boom by insisting on an examination of women consumers rather than male homosexuality itself, men’s magazines repeated reference to the gay boom demonstrates their fascination with alternative modes of masculinity and gender roles provided by gay men. Such introspection on modern masculinity is

common even in articles distantly related to the gay boom such as the *SPA!* article “We are the Mutual Masturbation Generation.” Here, gay men’s sexual relations are idealized as being freer of the subjugation found in heterosexual relationships, more egalitarian in nature, and more responsive to each other’s needs.¹²⁰ Men’s magazines may have criticized how women’s desires shaped the gay boom but they also promoted a similar idea that gay men supplied an alternative model of companionship. In a curious way, gay men developed into a symbol of the potential of meaningful companionship and intimacy at a time when marriage rates and birthrates were falling and divorce rates were rising.¹²¹

Gay Patriarchs and Sexless Couples in Film

The notion of the gay men’s gaze and its relation to straight women was expanded upon in *Okoge* (1992) and *Kirakira Hikaru* (1992), two films produced at the height of the gay boom. While magazine articles generated rather generalized discussions of on the benefits on straight women/gay men relationships, these films created a much more detailed image of a long-term companionship between straight women and gay men. Through their narrative construction, the films are able to detail the specifics of how heterosexual women’s solitary lives can be enriched by an introduction to a gay man, the external and familial barriers to overcome, and ways straight women/gay men eventually develop long-term relationships.

Examining these narratives reveals how gay characters disrupt the traditional familial structure in order to envision relationships primarily based on affective connections rather than imperatives for social and sexual reproduction. Media theorist Chris Berry discusses *Okoge* and *Kirakira Hikaru* within the context of queer cinema arguing that mainstream Asian films

depicting homosexuality dealt with gayness as though it was a family problem. This contrasted with Westernized notions of selfhood inscribed in gay identity that conflicted with a sense of selfhood within the traditional family. Berry concludes that gayness is not intrinsically foreign but rather desire for homosexual relations represent a “the model of selfhood built on that desire as a challenge that is already within the family and must be worked through. It is in this sense that gayness as a family problem is a trope of ongoing hybridity and contradiction, rather than simply some foreign thing that can be resisted.”¹²²

In this sense, Berry’s argument might be extended to include single women’s resistance against normative gender roles and timelines that complicate the conflict between individualistic and collective forms of selfhood. Japanese gay boom films offer a departure rather than a resolution for this conflict as straight women/gay men couples gradually become distanced from their families and relatives displacing external pressures to conform to the heteronormative timeline of childbirth, child rearing, and caring for aging parents.

Alternative timelines for heterosexual women come at the cost of potentially rendering gay men’s sexuality insignificant. Rather than producing an alternative or non-structure in companionships, straight women/gay men relationships in gay boom films reproduced unions that bore a strong resemblance to the nuclear family. The formation of familial units by these unions provided narrative closure where ever the longevity of the relationship was implied. The evacuation of the character’s sexuality guaranteed this enduring union. In gay boom films, gay men’s sexuality is gradually rendered invisible until it completely ceases to exist. This erasure of sexuality makes gayness indistinguishable from reconfigured heterosexual masculinity, albeit with a touch of exoticism.

Okoge follows *Crea*'s construction of alternative timelines by depicting emerging emotional bonds between a straight woman and a gay man. Scriptwriter and independent filmmaker Takehiro Nakajima produced and directed *Okoge*. Independent distributor Tokyo Theatres distributed the film targeting a specific demographic rather than a general audience. Director Nakajima told an interviewer in *Asahi Journal* that the term *okoge* was a somewhat derogatory term for women who spend their time with gay men. By his definition, it referred to a "woman who can construct a loving relationship that exceeds the boundary of man and woman" someone who, "likes softer men, or gay-ish men, because she actively pursues her work, wants to live at her own pace, and wants to remain the active one in relationships between man and woman." Nakajima later stated that his ideal relationship is one that "is not about man and wife, but something like friendship without sex where there is love and respect towards each other."¹²³ Nakajima depicts a woman constructing their own timeline where she lives "at her own pace" instead of adhering to a prescribed heterosexual timeline.

In *Okoge*, the gay character Goh is presented as an ideal husband for the modern working woman displaced from the nuclear family. At the end of the film, he is assimilated into a nuclear family himself. In the process, the film emphasizes certain stereotypical attributes of gay men (i.e. a lack of sexual desire for women, the ability to do domestic chores), while his sexual object choice is downplayed by not showing his sexual relations. These narrative and visual strategies deemphasize Goh's status as a gay man. The plot tells of a heterosexual woman named Sayoko who forms a friendship with Goh and Tochi, Goh's lover, eventually living with Goh and her child from her abusive husband, Kurihara.

Goh epitomizes the ideal gay man as illustrated in gay boom magazines. Goh is young, sensitive, fashionable (he crafts leather bags for high end boutiques), adept at household chores,

and masculine, but emotionally available. Goh combines the stereotypical image of a fashionable gay man in the magazines with that of the idealized male partner in double income families. What makes him an ideal match for Sayoko is his utter lack of sexual desire towards her as Sayoko has a strong fear of being co-opted into the heterosexual familial structure.

Sayoko's diversion from the heterosexual timeline is the result of her experience of displacement and domestic abuse within the traditional family and heterosexual relationships. Her status as a child adopted into a large working class family accentuates the displacement of modern women in the traditional family. In a dream flashback, we see Sayoko's foster father kiss her while she is asleep resulting in her waking up screaming. Sayoko's cries and movement in the flashback continues into her waking state emphasizing continuity between her past and present self. Sayoko's cry underlies her inability to fulfill either the role of child in the family or that of a sexual object. Familial ties are sexualized as Sayoko's initiation into her foster family is enacted by her foster father's kiss. The flashback explains that her status as a single woman is a result of her deep-seated aversion towards submitting to a traditional patriarchal figure.

Sayoko's disaffection with patriarchal figures reoccurs in her relationship with Kurihara, a handsome ex-Self Defense Force member whom she selected at a gay bar as a potential partner for Goh. Kurihara, however, turns out to be heterosexual and eventually rapes, impregnates, and marries Sayoko. As Kurihara rapes Sayoko, he repeatedly says that he loves her and Sayoko responds, "Think that I am Goh." Sayoko starts experiencing pleasure only after telling herself "this is fine, since you are the man Goh likes." That she identifies herself with Goh is further expressed by the camera cutting to Sayoko's point of view shot of Goh beckoning to her in the water.

Her second instance of nonconsensual sex with heterosexual men uses identification with a gay man as a means of avoiding co-optation into a heterosexual relationship. Her escape from the heterosexual timeline and family becomes a literal escape later in the film when she runs away from her life with Kurihara clutching her newborn son. In both cases, the sexual act becomes the initiation for Sayoko's subjection to the heterosexual family emphasizing her reproductive role. Sayoko's anxiety, then, is directed not only towards sexual aggression from straight men but also the traditional familial structure and the reproductive role of women.

If Sayoko's fear lies in the traditional familial structure, then Goh's appeal to Sayoko derives from his abjection from his own biological family as well as from his nonaggressive masculinity. Goh's family tries to arrange his marriage but fail to interest Goh in any of the partners. Goh accepts Sayoko into his house after she escapes from Kurihara. Goh lives in the house alone after his mother died under his care. As Goh's mother was his final connection to his family, Goh's disconnection from the family becomes a precondition for him becoming Sayoko's companion.

Goh's emergence as Sayoko's ideal partner comes at the expense of his sexual identity and his expulsion from his family. After breaking up with his lover Tochi, references and representations of Goh's sexuality decrease dramatically. Goh fails his family's wish for an arranged marriage and fails in heterosexual sex which results in his resembling an asexual, single man. Goh's status as an asexual man emerges in the scene where woman he was arranged to marry seduces and then ridicules him for lacking masculinity. When Goh confesses to a bartender that his penis went soft before he could finish having sex, the bartender comments, "when women seduce you with legs wide open, you couldn't get hard, even if you weren't gay." This comment extends Goh's loss of sexual desire into a universal condition, rather than limiting

it to his sexual orientation. Goh's marginalization from his family becomes associated with his inability to fulfill the sexual role allotted by his family, which mirrors Sayoko's situation within her foster family marks their deviation from the heterosexual timeline.

Only Goh's desexualization can guarantee his relationship with Sayoko; a point reemphasized at the end of the film as the two walk with Sayoko's child through the second ward of Shinjuku. Sayoko notices a man staring at Goh and asks "Is he your type?" Goh, who is holding the child, responds by saying "Not really." Sayoko tells him, "I don't mind." The three are consistently composed in the center of the frame accentuating the permanency of their relationship amidst the gay men and drag queens strolling the streets of the gay district. The stability of their relationship contrasts with ephemerality of other gay men constantly entering in and out of the frame sharing the space only temporarily with Goh's new family.

Okoge offers fantasies of alternative timelines and companionships while associating reproduction with the traumatic experiences of uninvited sexual advances. Traditional heterosexual families are sites that impose heterosexuality and reproductivity on unwilling individuals. Ironically, Sayoko's union with Goh leaves the impression of longevity and stability precisely for its proximity to the structure of the nuclear family. Gay boom media foregrounded the transgression of gender boundaries to articulate the benefits of the straight women/gay men relationships. In *Okoge* we observe an aspect only rarely mentioned—the significance of sexual difference in relationships. Goh and Sayoko's sexual difference allows the resolution of the film to resemble a heterosexual romance film with a happy ending and a happy family consisting of a couple. But this comes at the cost of the displacement of Goh's homosexuality.

Similarly, *Kirakira Hikaru* also displaces homosexuality through the deployment of the straight woman/gay man couple. Released two weeks after *Okoge*, *Kirakira Hikaru* was adapted

from a short story of the same name written by popular female romance writer Kaori Ekuni. Fuji Television produced the film and Herald Ace, an independent distributor known for European arthouse films, handled the distribution. Like *Okoge*, *Kirakira Hikaru* is about a single woman, Shôko, who marries a gay man named Mutsuki and find solace in each other's company. Both are in their late 20s and make a handsome couple. However, they each are burdened with social taboos, Shôko suffers with mental health issues and Mutsuki hides the fact that he is gay. They develop feelings for each other after sharing their innermost secrets and decide to get married but conceal the details of their relationship from each other's families. The film offers a serious critique of familial pressures to conform to a normative timeline by exploring the character's escape from their families through marriage. Ultimately, the narrative indulges in a conservative fantasy replicating the structure of a heterosexual nuclear family to create a sense of stability and security.

Throughout *Kirakira Hikaru* the film compares and contrasts Shôko and Mutsuki's marriage with that of Mutsuki's relationship with Kon, his gay lover and university student. The narrative clearly privileges Shôko and Mutsuki's relationship presenting them as sharing a deeper psychological bond. This is apparent from the beginning of the film, where Shôko and Mutsuki first meet for a potential arranged marriage. At first, Shôko and Mutsuki are hostile towards each other due to of their lack of interest in marriage. Gradually, however, they develop an emotional bond after Shôko confesses her mental health issues and Mutsuki reveals that he is gay. Their conversation is shot with both characters in formal clothing facing the camera immediately followed by a shot of the two sitting on top of a hill in casual outfits looking away from the camera at the view. This sudden transition and time gap suggest that by confessing the secrets that both families had tried to conceal, they forged an immediate bond between them.

Later in the film, Kon, Mutsuki's lover, tries to console Shôko after Mutsuki hit her in a fight. Mutsuki tells her, "I'm jealous. No matter how difficult I've been, he never hit me." Kon suggests that Mutsuki displayed some sort of intimacy through physical action by hitting Shôko. The film validates Mutsuki's problematic display of affection for Shôko via his lover intimating that although Mutsuki and Shôko lack sexual interaction they shared a more intimate form of physical relationship.

That Shôko and Mutsuki's relationship develops despite constant criticism by their family and friends attests to the ironic fact that their parody of married life has in fact produced a substantial relationship. The familial structure that they perform eventually subsumes Kon into it. Over the course of the narrative, Shôko befriends Kon becoming so committed to his place in her marriage that she asks a doctor to inseminate her with both Mutsuki and Kon's sperm. The development of Shôko's relationship with Kon subsumes Mutsuki's homosexual relationship within their family and Shôko's surveillance.

Kon's entry into the family is framed as a significant event that serves as a resolution to their relationship problems. After Shôko and Mutsuki's families discover their secrets, Mutsuki suggests that the couple separate which infuriates Shôko causing her to run away. At the end of the film, Shôko wakes up at dusk after sleeping on the street to find Mutsuki approaching her. Kon drives up, stops the car and steps out. The film recreates the emotional proximity of the characters physically; Shôko and Mutsuki are the closest, Kon is in the distance. The final three shots are close-ups of Kon, Mutsuki, and Shôko. Their gazes signal that Mutsuki and Kon's desperate search for Shôko has mended the relationship between all three.

The final reunion between Mutsuki and Shôko is significant in that Mutsuki's search for Shôko underlines their mutual affection and interdependence. At this point, Shôko realizes that

after searching for her all night with Kon, Mutsuki desires her presence as much as she relies on his. The strength of the marriage bond is affirmed and in comparison Mutsuki and Kon's relationship is relegated to a secondary status in the narrative. This is especially noticeable since by the end of the film the two men have virtually no intimate sexual interaction. Kon's presence, despite his reduced significance in the *mise-en-scène*, prevents the film from framing the characters as a happy nuclear family in the style of *Okoge*. Shôko and Mutsuki's exchange of gazes promises a conservative futurity modeled on a conventional nuclear family. But Kon's gaze questions that futurity as his presence hinders Shôko and Mutsuki from passing as a heterosexual couple. While the film generally follows *Okoge*'s downplaying the gay character(s) sexuality to represent a long-term straight woman/gay man relationship, *Kirakira Hikaru* exudes a residual sense of non-conformity to prevalent images of the family in the persona of Kon.

Okoge and *Kirakira Hikaru* seemingly offer an alternative to the heterosexual timeline by representing characters and couples who distance themselves from traditional families and kinship bonds. But ultimately, the straight woman/gay man relationship that develops over the course of the narrative is strikingly similar to a conventional heterosexual couple. *Crea* and other magazines suggested the compatibility of straight women/gay men and the potential for intimate friendship, but *Okoge* and *Kirakira Hikaru* extend the notion of compatibility much further to represent straight women and gay men able to develop intimate relationships almost like a heterosexual couple.

The affinity of straight women/gay men relationships to heterosexual couples is in direct proportion to a decrease in screen time of sexuality among gay characters. They either wind up losing their partners or ceasing to display any romantic affection. Downplaying homosexuality renders gay characters into patriarchal figures, albeit a somewhat reconfigured one. The films

place families headed by gay patriarchs in contrast to traditional families characterized by inappropriate sexual acts, pressure to conform to predetermined timelines, and masks of respectability that conceal stigmatized family members with mental health issues or marginalized sexualities. Societal pressure binds the traditional family to conform to a model of a respectable family while the film idealizes non-traditional family with the gay patriarchs as a community bound by mutual affection. The fact that communities headed by a gay patriarch take the form of families without any incentive or pressure to appear as a conventional family is what makes them ideal.

This idea of a family bound by mutual affection, however, is not a wholly new concept in Japanese culture. The “new family” phenomenon of the mid-1970s shared commonalities with the gay men/straight women families in familial bonds based on affection and a sense of equality between spouses. The alternative heterosexual timeline of gay boom films merely resurrected a nostalgic ideal of the “new family” which did little to redefine gender politics in the family. Media images of the “new family” may seem to support gender equality for they celebrate couples who do not strictly adhere to traditional gender roles as earlier generations had. In her study of the Japanese family system in postwar Japan, Emiko Ochiai writes that the “new family” represented “an attempt to build a democratic family held together by bonds of love, with equality between the partners and between parents and children; in short, the modern family was an aspiration to postwar democracy.”¹²⁴ However, a closer look reveals that the “new family” only relegated male dominance to the background rather than eradicating it.

The reality behind these “new families” based on equality between partners was that the generation most closely associated with the phenomenon in fact had the largest proportion of full-time housewives. Gendered divisions of labor constituted the basis for the “new family” and

Ochiai found that despite claims of equality, male dominance was implicated in their media representations.¹²⁵ Despite images of “new family” couples as peer-like relationships without clear hierarchies, the “new family” failed to question traditional gender roles and the division of labor. Gay boom representations of gay patriarch families closely resembled “new families” in that they were bound by affection and mutual respect. But in terms of family structure and gender roles they did not provide a viable alternative to the patriarchal nuclear family. Both films show their female characters diligently fulfilling prescribed gender roles through acts such as childbirth and childrearing in *Okoge* and ironing the bed for the husband in *Kirakira Hikaru*.

By indirectly invoking the past ideal of the “new family,” gay boom films situated the gay family on a prescribed timeline where the future was stable and predictable. Jose Esteban Munoz writes about timelines that reproduce societal structures in what he calls “straight time,” or that which “tells us that there is no future but the here and now of our everyday life.”¹²⁶ In Munoz’s work, straight time is a self-naturalizing future, a future that is rational, conceivable, and easily imagined because of its continuity from the present. The future as imagined through straight time cannot introduce radical change, as it is based on reproductive majoritarian heterosexuality. Queer time, in contrast, contains a future potentiality that arises from the desire to escape the here and now of straight time. Munoz explains,

Queerness is an ideality. Put another way, we are not yet queer. We may never touch queerness, but we can feel it as the warm illumination of a horizon imbued with potentiality. We have never been queer, yet queerness exists for us as an ideality that can be distilled from the past and used to imagine a future. The future is queerness’s domain. Queerness is a structuring and educated mode of desiring that allows us to see and feel beyond the quagmire of the present.¹²⁷

For the straight women characters in gay boom films the creation of a familial unit led by a gay patriarch creates a sense of stability, familiarity, and a happy futurity. However, the projection of a happy future also resembles a reproduction of the present in “straight time” rather than the utopian imagining of an alternative to the present of queer time. The projection of a linear timeline that extends to the future is the domain of heteronormativity. Factors such as stability and familiarity that enables the projection of a potential for a happy future are precisely the elements that lead to the films’ conservative reproduction of a patriarchal family.

During the early 1990s when notions of the reproductive family were fueled by fears over lowering birthrates, *Okoge* and *Kirakira Hikaru* offered fantasies of unions and companionships outside of the conjugal frame. The gay boom celebrated differences in timelines, gender norms, and sexuality. However, this celebration of difference was ultimately rendered safe and familiar through the placement of gay men into patriarchal roles thereby reproducing a structure similar to the traditional family. This transposition of gay men’s difference onto less subversive forms of difference will be further examined in the next chapter, which will interrogate how gay men’s difference was represented primarily through consumption patterns and lifestyles. This operation reframed marginalization of queer sexualities as different market demographic, creating a homogenized and contained concept of gay men’s difference.

Chapter 3

Fashioning Lifestyles: Gay Taste and Consumption During the Erosion of the Middle Mass Society

The previous chapter discussed the ways in which the gay boom presented gay men as embodiments of a fashionable alternative to the traditional heteronormative timeline, predominantly through the establishment of a dominant fashionable gay lifestyle. Women's magazines such as *Crea* focused on the fashionable qualities of gay culture and reinforced this association with fashionability through articles covering varied themes including gay men's likes and dislikes in women, cultural products, celebrities; in short, what effectively constituted gay men's taste and lifestyles. Although one function of representing gay men's taste was to valorize the aesthetics of women who constituted the readership of new women's magazines, gay taste was also motivated by a celebration and commodification of an identity constructed through lifestyle, the expression of "individuality in particularity of the assemblage of goods, clothes, practices, experiences, appearance and bodily dispositions."¹²⁸ This chapter analyzes the construction of normative gay lifestyles and gay taste in mainstream Japanese media in order to challenge this binding of consumption with sexual identity and social difference.

Associations of gay culture with consumption in the Japanese media dovetailed with the diversification of consumer lifestyles in 1980s and 1990s Japan. Lifestyles obscured social stratification and the increasing unattainability of middle class life in urban areas while responding to a need for increased domestic consumption in the face of burgeoning US trade deficits and increased valuation of the yen.¹²⁹ Framing gay men as tasteful consumers translated sexual others into a familiar form of difference, one expressed through the active cultivation of taste and consumption. This production of the gay consumer depoliticized sexual and social difference in part by presenting it as mere aesthetic difference. Gay boom media energetically

promoted a homogenized and homonormative notion of gay culture as an affluent, consumption-oriented subculture.

The first part of this chapter examines the popularization of consumption based identities in 1980s and 1990s Japan in order to demonstrate how consumption became a central factor in individual identity formation. Consumption created the condition in which difference in sexuality and social disposition was represented as merely difference in lifestyles in the gay boom. Because the gay boom presented male homosexuality as a lifestyle defined through consumption, gayness became situated within a neoliberal narrative of self-management where control and responsibility for one's own lifestyle promised a stable identity and a fashionable, happy life.

Cultivation of “gay taste” and its corresponding lifestyle was indicative of the accelerated diversification of lifestyles in 1990s Japan where various other identities were similarly maintained and conditioned through consumption. This proliferation of choice in lifestyles occurred exactly at the point when the existing institutions that provided social welfare, such as the family and corporate structures, were in the process of erosion. Thus diversification became a product of the atomization of the individual and increased pressure towards self-reliance.¹³⁰ The Japanese government’s unwillingness to provide social welfare in place of the family and corporations meant that responsibility was shifted back onto individuals. Discourses on an individual’s lifestyle choices accompanied the neoliberal project of personal responsibility and self-entrepreneurship. This in turn loomed behind the increasingly attractive proliferation of lifestyle choices and the potential of self-discovery through cultivating one’s own taste. This popularization of lifestyle consumption worked in conjunction with the government’s promotion of increasing domestic consumption. Representations of fashionable lifestyles in the mainstream media, including gay men’s lives during the gay boom, affirmed the desire for self-management

and cultivation by showcasing only those individuals who had attained the economic and social means to express their identity through consumption.

Conflicting projections of gay lifestyle and gay spaces as diversification and individualization on the one hand versus homogenization and communalism on the other was emblematic of the national identity crisis as Japan's status as middle mass society came under increased scrutiny. Discourses on gay men's lifestyles oscillated between homogeneity and diversity as the proliferation of lifestyle choices supported individualization at a time when idealized representations of the gay community disseminated utopian fantasies devoid of inequality. By the early 1990s, the widely held notion that Japan was a homogenized middle mass society began to be questioned in the face of widening economic disparity, native activism by marginalized indigenous groups, and increasing diversity in consumer demands.¹³¹ Despite the growing visibility of social and economic difference, the notion of middle mass society remained pervasive in census reports where the majority of the populace still chose to self-identify themselves as middle class. Yet this illusion of homogeneity and the lack of social stratification in Japan had begun to erode by the beginning of the recession in 1991.

The second section examines three of the most seminal publications in the gay boom, the three *Bessatsu Takarajima* issues. *Bessatsu Takarajima* conflated sexuality with consumption by showcasing various populist cultural products and activities that represented male homosexuality as a unique aesthetic lifestyle. The three special issues published by *Bessatsu Takarajima* include *Gay Gift* (1992), *Gay Toybox* (1993), and *Gay Heavenly Campus* (1994). Each issue played a crucial role in how gayness was represented as a specific aesthetic disposition. I argue that, collectively, the three publications occupy a unique position in the boom for three main reasons. Firstly, each issue represents a rare instance where a mainstream publishing company, motivated

by a surge in public interest in male homosexuality, allowed gay men (and, to a much lesser extent, lesbian women) to curate and organize an introduction to gay culture from their own perspectives. A main figure behind the publication of these issues was Takashi Otsuka, an artist/owner of a popular Tokyo gay bar and former radio personality before the boom. The deployment of this active figure from the gay community was consistent with *Bessatsu Takarajima*'s editorial policy of bringing popular and emerging cultural phenomena to a general readership via a host of experts on the subject.¹³²

Secondly, *Bessatsu Takarajima* was unique in their encyclopedic coverage of cultural products, sexual acts and fetishes, leisure activities, and introductions of spaces constituting gay lifestyles where other magazines only superficially covered vague notions of “gay taste” or lifestyles. More than any other publisher, *Bessatsu Takarajima* was responsible for establishing an image of a gay lifestyle that would capture the imagination of the mainstream media and crystallize the social values and aesthetics that those lifestyles espoused. Thirdly, *Bessatsu Takarajima*'s celebration of gay culture and lifestyle blurred the line between consumer identity and sexual identity in fundamental ways. The three special issues intriguingly presented consumption as a central facet of gay identity. Gay boom media promoted an idealized image of the gay community that effectively constructed a homonormative discourse where edgy, fashionable media outlets strategically selected which subjects would attain the status of good citizens through their purchasing power and contribution to the economy. This is not to say that fashionable lifestyles were the sole property of gay men. The popular media also focused on fashionable lifestyles of other social groups such as young women or precarious laborers. However, the gay community was especially well-positioned to be read as affluent, culturally

refined and aesthetically sensitive due to preexisting stereotypes of gay men and through their associations with Western gay culture.

The third section examines Ryosuke Hashiguchi's 1993 film *A Touch of Fever*, which subtly critiques the obscuring of social stratification as a result of naturalizing consumer identities. Hashiguchi exposes the media's hawking of diverse consumer lifestyles as a repackaging of individuals' atomization and alienation, which is addressed by his depictions of the breakdown of social institutions and various social hierarchies. In contrast to the media coverage of fashionable lifestyles that masked inequalities, Hashiguchi uncovered how hierarchical relations of income, age, social status, gender, sexuality, and sexual identity intersected to marginalize and alienate individuals. His films present the conditioning of subjectivity through an individual's situation across multiple social spheres in order to debunk the very notion of a stable identity as illusory. This position may appear relentlessly pessimistic, but I demonstrate that Hashiguchi also allows for the possibility of fleeting moments of solidarity among marginalized subjects through mutual acknowledgement of the unique forms of suffering that they experience.

Lifestyle, Individualism, and Gay Identity

In their weekly column in the men's magazine *SPA!*, popular twin gay celebrities Osugi and Piko reviewed the gay and lesbian activist organization OCCUR's trial against the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for barring gay men and lesbians from using a public lodging facility. When Piko wrote that the decision to use public lodging was "cheap," Osugi added, "That's right, they should have used a hotel!"¹³³ The two argued whether OCCUR's choice to use a

public facility with stricter guidelines than a hotel was intentional so as to gain publicity by accusing the facility of discrimination.

Piko and Osugi's accusations against OCCUR may seem absurd but their assertion that choice of a public facility was a deliberate is indicative of the extent to which national discourses in 1990s Japan attempted to avoid social class. The fact that Piko and Osugi ignored the financial situations that may have necessitated OCCUR choose a public facility, accused the organization of engineering a publicity stunt, and judged that hotels were more appropriate than cheap public lodging all indicate a perception of these decisions were based on aesthetic choices. For Piko and Osugi, OCCUR was guilty of an unfashionable choice. Ignoring the issue of public discrimination against homosexuals, they instead reduced the incident to a matter of style and implicitly accepted homophobia against those who failed to conform to idealized gay and lesbian lifestyles. Osugi and Piko's relegation of lifestyles to aesthetics rather than locating them in other social determinants such as income, geographical location, or education is instructive here. As this chapter will argue, stereotypes of gays as embodying unique aesthetics coincided with the popularization of discourses on lifestyle consumption. Collectively, these reduced the complex issues of sexual identity and social difference into a celebration of fashioning lifestyle into consumption, relativizing gay lives into merely one among myriad fashionable lifestyles.

This effect on lifestyle consumption on representations of gay men was not limited to the Japanese context alone but also played a central role in the formation of gay identity and community in the United States, which the *Bessatsu Takajima* issues repeatedly referenced as a model of gay emancipation. The depoliticization of gay culture in the US context is associated with an increasing emphasis on lifestyle consumption as well as a shift from political mobilization to enriching the domestic sphere. Gay and lesbian magazines in the US such as *The*

Advocate demonstrated this shift from politics to consumption. These magazines complied with homonormative discourses in constructing a normative image of homosexuality shaped by consumption and gay lifestyle. Katherine Sender surveys the trajectory of *The Advocate* arguing that the magazine defined a dominant gay lifestyle that appealed to the assimilationist professional-managerial elite demographic. This magazine changed the politics of the gay and lesbian community from “a publicly erotic, expressly political, activist stance to one more aligned with long-standing liberal notions of the private, consuming individual.”¹³⁴ Sender’s study persuasively demonstrates that the establishment of a consumption oriented, fashionable gay lifestyle was borne out of assimilationist politics that downplayed sexuality and privileged the representation of an elite class. The gay boom did not exclusively concern itself with domesticity and monogamous relationships beyond straight women/gay men unions but consumption became a favored site that formed and expressed normative gay identities.

The heightened importance of lifestyle consumption in 1980s and 1990s Japan aligned with the apolitical, exclusive, and consumption oriented image of gay lifestyle in the US. Similar to how the definition of dominant gay lifestyle in the US rendered social class less visible, lifestyle consumption in Japan also functioned to maintain the illusion of a classless middle mass society. The concept of lifestyle management existed well before the 1980s, but it was more intimately tied to rational pragmatic consumption rather than luxury consumption. Both the lifestyle improvement movement (*seikatsu kaizen undô*) from the 1920s to the 1960s and the New Life movement (*shin-seikatsu undo*) from the late 1940s to 1985 were loosely coordinated government and private initiatives that set out to modernize and rationalize rural women’s domestic lives, From the 1960s, corporate interests linked these movements to consumption through the promotion of modern farming technology and more efficient electronic home

appliances.¹³⁵ The New Life movement's message of promoting restrained, rational consumption and frugality lost momentum, however, by the 1980s when Japan's trade surplus and the rising yen led to increased emphasis on consumption. A new generation of consumers born after the economic recovery dictated the invigorated consumer culture in the 1980s. This generation, dubbed "the New Breed (*shinjinrui*), embraced consumption as pleasure amidst a proliferation of consumer products and leisure activities.¹³⁶

For this new generation, consumption of luxury products was a nascent form of identity formation. Diverse lifestyles made it possible for individuals to consciously and creatively express their individuality. Yet it also obscured disparities in income and maintained the illusion of Japan as a largely middle-class nation. Historian Yumiko Iida characterizes consumer culture at this time as an "optimistic nihilism that welcomed the full advent of consumer culture and material snobbism as a new source of identity."¹³⁷ As the cost of middle class life became unattainably high, consumers shifted their focus to smaller, more manageable luxuries that were attainable in cost. This shift allowed them to further differentiate themselves from other consumers while sustaining the illusion that they were a part of the middle class. One reoccurring symbol of rampant consumerism in 1980s Japan is the novel *Nantonaku, Kurisutaru*. The novel largely consists of a continuous flow of the names of brands, shops, and locations—a veritable laundry list of all of the elements of a fashionable lifestyle. Iida claims that *Nantonaku, Kurisutaru* "reads like a curious celebration of affluence, of sophistication in taste, and of a sense of freedom from an identity that might anchor one to moral obligation or political responsibility."¹³⁸ The sense of freedom of identity gained through consumption further illustrates the extent of the atomization of the individual that was brought about by new consumption practices and was offset by the homogeneity provided by the notion of Japan as

middle mass society. A move towards the fragmentation of lifestyles on one hand and a definition of a homogenous and classless society on the other may seem contradictory but both effectively obscure social stratification. If lifestyle articulate different ways of living, they also can render difference as a choice for the individual, obscuring structural inequalities.¹³⁹

Beyond the illusion of a middle mass society, increased consumption aligned neatly with Japan's national policy to reduce the trade surplus by boosting domestic demand.¹⁴⁰ The popularization of lifestyle consumption coincided with the loss of momentum of developmentalism in Japan. This had the effect of shifting household expenditures from savings and reinvestment towards enhanced individual consumption.¹⁴¹ John Clammer writes of the politics of consumption in mid-1990s Japan stating that "Politics for many Japanese is increasingly becoming a question of life politics rather than of national ones, of a concern with cultivating the individual body and self rather than with the construction of the nation, and even less the state."¹⁴² Thus, consumption served to boost domestic demand while also consolidating the notion of individual self-cultivation.

The increased emphasis on individualism along with the atomization of the individual in consumer culture may in part be understood as responses to the breakdown of the traditional family and corporations. These institutions until that time had provided social welfare in lieu of the government. Changes in social welfare in Japan created a discourse of the "productive self" where the individual was expected to shoulder the loss of social welfare through personal risk management. Glenn D. Hook and Takeda Hiroko contend that the concept of "self-responsibility" is the direct result of this new relationship between the government and the individual. The concept appeared in the wake of increased risks brought about by the War in Iraq and the burst of the economic bubble. "Self-responsibility" shifted the burden of risk

management onto individuals rather than social institutions or the government. It sought to “foster individual initiatives and the autonomy to organize one’s own life” while criticizing or marginalizing those individuals and corporations who failed to contribute to the national economy.¹⁴³

One result that the trend towards self-responsibility indicates is a new form of governmentality that defines individual subjects’ inclinations towards economic and cultural activities. Hook and Takeda explain that “productive selves” produced through discourses of self-responsibility demand that “to be a legitimate citizen of the Japanese state, individual members of the national population are required to manage various external and internal risks in a productive way, in accordance with the principle of the productive individual, as shaped by the apparatus of the state.”¹⁴⁴ The neoliberal discourse of autonomous, self-managing subjects became a model of the new Japanese citizen.

The “productive self” can be understood as constructed through consumption as much as production, as the self is constructed and displayed through the accumulation of commercial products in late capitalist Japan. The government off boarded accountability for risk management to the individual, and as a result politics and consumption patterns also demonstrated a shift in concern from collectives to individual selves. Self-responsible individuals need to manage their consumption to externalize their image of a productive self. The promotion of lifestyle consumption occurred in the context of the deployment of neoliberal policies and an increase in the employment of low-wage flexible labor. Social stratification and inequalities became associated to degrees of success and failure of the individual in exercising self-responsibility in their management of lifestyle consumption.¹⁴⁵

The move towards individualism and negation of collective identities only succeeded in constructing a superficial self, devoid of subjectivity, hopes, and political or spiritual ideals. For Iida, skepticism towards political ideologies in the 1960s resulted in nihilism in the 1970s, and that turned into the decline in the institutions of the family and corporations from the 1980s onwards, which produced atomized, vacant identities. Within this context, consumers were attracted to alternative social formations that offered promises of meaningful and purposeful consumption.

Not all citizens, however, were seduced by the lure of commercial identities of consumption. A significant alternative is the Aum religious cult that gained notoriety in 1995 for the deadly Sarin gas attack conducted in the Tokyo subways. Iida explains Aum's appeal as offering "a lost integrity" to a "fragmented, disembodied, and claustrophobic subjectivity" that haunted the postmodern late capitalist society of the 1990s.¹⁴⁶ Aum's alternative lifestyle retained some reliance on a consumption-based identity formation. Instead of commercial luxury items, however, elevating one's status within the group depended on purchasing knowledge-enhancing headsets, Aum teachings in manga form, or the guru's bathwater.¹⁴⁷ For Japanese consumers with vacuous identities, Aum was an attractive "collective imaginary where life was filled with meaning" even though the group itself relied on consumption as an expression of devotion.¹⁴⁸ While lifestyles offered an individualized identity that provided differentiation from others, there was a pressing need for a center that provided meaning to the consumption based lifestyle, which the gay boom sought to satisfy.

Gay boom media circumvented the atomized, vacant identities that haunted 1990s Japan by crafting and disseminating utopian images of fashionable consumption centered on sexuality. Gay identity and its connections to unique aesthetics such as camp became a model of an

idealized lifestyle that retained a certain depth by showing a definite connection between lifestyle consumption and addressing social oppression and marginalization, although the defining of a unique, gay lifestyle rendered invisible those who lacked the resources or proximity to those lifestyles. Japan's gay boom added a socially conscious element that would differentiate its consumers from the snobbish materialism of Japanese consumer culture.

Lifestyle and Gay Identity in *Bessatsu Takarajima*

Gay boom media reports on gay men's aesthetic dispositions were inseparable from representations of their sexuality because connecting those sexual identities with lifestyles were integral to adding meaning and interiority to consumerist identities. For instance, special issues in magazines such as *Crea* devoted pages to trends in gay culture as well as to the details of gay taste. Topics ranged from gay men's views on attractive male and female celebrities to their opinions on cultural products such as comic books, television shows, and films. The cover page for *Crea*'s "Gay Renaissance" issue defines gay men as being "strong in art, sensitive, and a bit cynical."¹⁴⁹ Refinement in taste, fashionable consumption, and possessing critical faculties became the central characteristics of "gay taste" as popularized in gay boom media.

The concept of gay taste and aesthetics were central features of the *Bessatsu Takarajima* issues, which were all written and edited primarily by members of the gay and lesbian community. Compared to special issues in women's magazines, *Bessatsu Takarajima* had a stronger focus on marginalized lifestyles, including queer consumer products and leisure activities. Women's magazines focused on the ways which gay men addressed issues of gender and sexuality in an increasingly conservative social climate whereas the *Takarajima* issues

struggled to define a new image of gay men at a time when segmented marketing and consumption patterns conditioned individual identities.

The *Bessatsu Takarajima* trilogy idealized the new landscape of social relations when the erosion of social institutions led to increased individualism and differentiation of lifestyles through consumption. The ways in which *Bessatsu Takarajima* conflated consumer identity with sexual identity functioned in three main ways. Firstly, they presented gay identity as organized and characterized by gay taste, a process constructed through various practices of consuming cultural products. Secondly, the popularization of the term “coming out” (*kamingu auto*) reinforced the notion that gay culture was based on consumption. All three issues represented coming out as necessitating entry into patterns of consumption offered through gay culture. Thirdly, this representational strategy limited the appropriation of gay identity to those in metropolitan areas with the economic means to adopt these consumption patterns. It is through these strategies that the issues presented gay identity as an aesthetic disposition and consumption as the primary method to manage identities and social relations.

The *Bessatsu Takarajima* issues were unprecedented in the sheer volume and scope of information they provided on male homosexuality for a mass audience. The special issues followed the established format of previous *Bessatsu Takarajima* magazines. “*Bessatsu*” is a subseries of the parent magazine *Takarajima*, which reports on various subcultures in music, fashion, and sex. Each special issue offered in-depth information on extremely wide-ranging subjects from English education, ecology, country living, gambling, masculinity, China, occultism, and various sexual subcultures and fetishes, etc. Because each volume featured a different writing style (ranging from sensationalistic reports to essays by academic writers), they

constituted a chaotic amalgam of discourses that related to the theme of that individual issue. However, this did not mean that their themes and content were completely inconsistent.

Takarajima's editorial direction invariably pursued edgy and sensationalistic subjects ever since its conception as a counter-cultural magazine. The magazine's famous ground-breaking issue on marijuana in 1977 is a prime example. One critic described the historical trajectory of *Bessatsu Takarajima* as maintaining the sensibility of the 1970s *Takarajima* issues. This suggests a tendency to shock readers via sensationalistic or taboo material as well as the sheer volume of information on seemingly trivial topics.¹⁵⁰ *Takarajima's* faced a number of shifts in editorial direction since its inception. When *Takarajima's* parent company published Robert Mapplethorpe's controversial photographs of Lady Lisa Lyon it typified the magazine's defiant attitude towards conventional mores. Further, in 1992, the magazine challenged social taboos against explicit representations of genitals by showing pubic hair in its "hair nude" photographs.

The magazine defined Japanese gay subcultures through a spectrum of commodified products and activities. The magazine defined sexual identities through such economic and leisure activities as consuming cultural products, collecting various commodities, and items associated with sexual fetishes. Through the sheer volume of products and activities it introduced, the magazine created an astonishing sense of diversity in gay lifestyles while also offering a homogenized image of gay culture as uniformly affluent and urban. *Bessatsu Takarajima* defined gay culture as participation in the connoisseurship of navigating fashionable products and the urban landscape through the cultivation of gay taste.

In addition, while the myriad of cultural products and practices in the issues may point to diverse potentials in the development of taste and aesthetics, the homogenized representation of

gay community as affluent and fashionable subsumes these differences. Rosemary Hennessy writes that redressing “gay invisibility by promoting images of a seamlessly middle-class gay consumer or by inviting us to see queer identities only in terms of style, textuality, or performative play helps produce imaginary gay/queer subjects that keep invisible the divisions of wealth and labor that these images and knowledges depend on.”¹⁵¹ Hennessy’s criticism is especially relevant to articles in the issues that promote niche marketing as a method to raise gay visibility. These articles stressed the affluence and urbanity of gay men to frame them as good consumers. The result of which was the creating of an image of an imaginary community without difference save for various individual expressions of sophisticated taste. These articles are also remarkable for their expression of utter faith in the capacity of the market to grant equitable representation for sexually marginalized subjects, ignoring the mediation that occurs in gaining visibility as a market demographic.

In the article “Aim for the Gay Market!” in the *Gay Gift* issue, the writer explained that Calvin Klein’s advertisement with Bruce Weber created a niche marketing trend towards gay men among the underwear, fragrance and toiletry industries. He continued, suggesting that the need for gay marketing was justified because gay men had higher educations, higher incomes, and a heightened sense of beauty – all of which characterized “gay taste.” The writer concluded that gay men lived in urban areas and were more fashionable than “straights,” thereby emphasizing the links between urbanity, taste, and income.¹⁵² The article cited visibility through niche marketing as proof of a homogenized gay culture where affluence and urbanity were the norm.

The article, “Give Me Money: Introduction to Economy for Gays” had a stronger focus on the disparities between gay marketing in Japan and in the United States. It argued that

Japanese gay culture should have stronger visibility as a market demographic and suggested that establishing gay men as consumers will lead to better visibility. The blurb accompanying the article stated that the market responds most acutely to trendy consumers and the flow of money generated by marketing will lead to acknowledgement of the gay men. The article expressed an underlying idealism in the lack of discrimination in marketing and economic decisions, and proposed foregoing the achievements of Civil Rights to “leap straight to” visibility in the market.¹⁵³ The writer privileges consumption over political activism, demonstrating the depoliticization of gay identity by associating consumption with difference.

These two articles presuppose a uniformly affluent gay class equally represented by the heightening of visibility in niche marketing. Both articles portray gay culture as a marriage between two cutting edge sensibilities: the progressive aesthetic sensibility of gay culture and the economy’s ability to seek out untapped markets. These articles presented gay consumers as a privileged figure in late capitalism who rigorously engaged in economic activity and produced new aesthetic trends. Representation of difference as a consumer demographic should remind us of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s biting critique that difference loses its subversive quality in postmodernism through cooption into marketing strategies. Hardt and Negri note that the celebration of difference, which was imagined as a liberating force in postmodern and postcolonial theories is now fully integrated into postmodern marketing which “recognizes the difference of each commodity and each segment of the population, fashioning its strategies accordingly. Every difference is an opportunity.”¹⁵⁴ The cooption of difference into marketing also results in homogenization, as marketing assumes that the marketable demographics share similar tendencies in consumption. As a result, marketing eradicates differences within market

demographics by constructing a homogeneous image of difference. In other words, marketing imagines sameness among different others.

These articles also bring the differences between the normative gay images produced in gay boom media and homonormativity in the US into dialog. Lisa Duggan defines homonormativity as a discourse that “does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but upholds and sustains them, while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption.”¹⁵⁵ If homonormativity places an emphasis on consumption in order to conceptualize privatized gay lives, then rights-based activism, including the legalization of gay marriage, was also a major force in constructing a privatized and depoliticized gay culture.¹⁵⁶ The writer of “Give Me Money: Introduction to Economy for Gays” advises readers to leap past rights-based activism relying solely on consumption to promote visibility. This Japanese version of homonormativity is different from that in US as it does not necessarily stigmatize hypersexuality and promiscuity. However, Japanese homonormativity obscures social stratification and forcibly constructs a sense of homogeneity in Japanese gay culture, furthering marginalization of certain subjects based on economic inequality. Gay taste works to reinforce the imagined homogeneity within the gay community by positing a shared aesthetic inclination stemming from a profound sameness in identity.

Concepts such as camp (*kyanpu*) that denote oppositional, subversive readings and the appropriation of mainstream culture are mobilized so as to reinforce homogeneous affluence and the fashionability of gay culture. “The First Day of Opera! I Love Scandals” showcases the author’s cultural capital in discussions of the joys of attending an opera opening to actively seek out potential failures and accidents.¹⁵⁷ The article does not explicitly connect this sort of activity

with homosexuality but there remains an underlying supposition that the very unconventionality of this approach to opera embodies the essence of gay taste by its self-consciously oppositional reading of non-queer cultural products. This difference of perspective highlights the writer's connoisseurship and affluence, not the least of which is evident from the writer's financial capacity to attend the opera and his ability to differentiate between multiple performances.

In a similar way, "This Penis, That Penis, Which Penis?" ascribes notions of connoisseurship and oppositional reading to gay taste. The article provided readers with 32 images of penises cropped out of famous art and asked them to identify which works the images originated from.¹⁵⁸ The effect is one of playful introduction to homoeroticism via the act of viewing art works with images of penises. The article presupposes the reader's familiarity with art and art history (as well as the writer's) as well as a certain level of cultural capital to conduct such oppositional readings. Gay taste appears as a homogenized image of gay culture while also excluding the uncultured and uneducated who lack the required connoisseurship to be tasteful.

As these articles associate gay men's uniqueness with aesthetic dispositions that express their inner being, gay taste represents the internalization of what Pierre Bourdieu called the "classificatory schemes" of taste.¹⁵⁹ For Bourdieu, the internalization of social structures produce cognitive structures such as those found in "Applaud the Rooms that Ooze with Gay Taste!" in the *Gay's Lesson to Happiness* issue. Here, taste is an expression of gay men's essential being. Rooms can be intense expressions of gay taste where the small quiet songs of individual objects work together to "make a melody like in an opera chorus, singing the owner's outlook on life."¹⁶⁰ The emphasis on the collection and arrangement of objects is crucial, as collections most often require a certain economic status, and foregrounds the collector's taste and connoisseurship. The

association of gay taste to a tasteful assemblage of objects essentializes and homogenizes gay culture as affluent and tasteful despite the diverse aesthetics of the rooms.

Intriguingly, the article highlights the unique aesthetic sensibilities of the gay house owners which in turn deemphasizes the fact that these collections are also markers of socioeconomic status. For instance, the writer praises an apartment for its embodiment of the common conception that “gay men have superior artistic sense” and as demonstrated by the resident’s collection of records, books, and original art works.¹⁶¹ Other apartments featured similar displays of taste, wealth, and uniqueness in the form of collections of old lowbrow pop records, tropical fish, and lizards. While the featured objects and collections are quite diverse and not conventionally associated with gay culture, they are similar in that they express their owner’s connoisseurship in various fields. The collections also display gay taste as an alternative aesthetics ranging from kitsch to the grotesque, exemplified by objects such as original artworks, “embarrassing” vintage records, and exotic pets. The article envisions sexuality as aesthetic difference and a lifestyle difference sustained by the implied high economic and cultural capital of its owners. The tastefully furnished rooms naturalize associations of gay men with privileged status.

The fact that all the living spaces introduced in this article are urban apartments rather than detached homes reveals another underlying supposition in the issues: the equation of gay lives with urban lives. Not only in *Bessatsu Takarajima*, but also in the woman’s magazines and film representations did gay culture’s fashionability rely on the foregrounding of consumption practices that were primarily urban. *Bessatsu Takarajima* frequently features Shinjuku ni-chôme, the premier gay district in Tokyo, situating Tokyo as the central site for the cultivation of gay taste. The color photo article “Our Sunday (Bokutachi no Nichiyoubi)” featured in the *Gay’s*

Lesson to Happiness issue documents a day in the life of a gay couple, the majority of which is spent in Shinjuku purchasing gay culture items.¹⁶² The cultivation of gay taste creates narratives of self-realization and self-discovery through consumptive practices in urban spaces. *Bessatsu Takarajima*'s narrative that equate the cultivation of gay taste with an embracing of a urban gay lifestyle closely resembles what Judith Halberstam and Scott Herring dub "metronormativity," discourse that presents queer cultures as stratified with geographical hierarchies that "imagines 'the city' as an urban mecca to which rural-identified queers must assimilate."¹⁶³

Metronormativity, in addition to its exclusion of rural queers, embeds queer lives into a normalizing discourse of uniform queer lifestyles.¹⁶⁴ Non-urban lives remain invisible in the gay boom, marking the boundaries between a fashionable life in Tokyo and non-fashionable closeted lives elsewhere.

Bessatsu Takarajima depicts gay culture as embedded in consumption, hence reducing the celebration of sexual difference into celebrations of urban stylistics, conspicuous consumption, and a false sense of diversity. Depictions of the aesthetics of gay culture emphasized its difference from mainstream culture where even goods, leisure, and entertainment that circulated in mainstream culture are consumed and appreciated from a queer perspective. Records by Japanese divas, famous artworks, operas, and saunas take on a different meaning within the gay subculture, establishing the distinctiveness of gay taste.

Sexual fetishisms, erotic acts, and sexual recollections introduced in the *Gays in Wonderland!* issue strengthened the connections between sexuality and consumer identity with catalogue photos of men's underwear, introductions to cruising spots, and guides to men's sex toys. The issue represented differences in sexual identity through commodities and leisure spots geared towards gay men. As subcultural theorists Andy Bennett and Steven Miles noted,

lifestyles are mobilized in subcultures to actively experiment with identities allowing individuals to take control their representations. In that sense, *Bessatsu Takarajima* mobilized lifestyles and taste in order to assert the differences between gay culture and heterosexual culture, which diverted the incessant claims of the similarity between gay men and straight women in the gay boom. Patterns of consumption stressed the difference of gay culture while asserting its cutting-edge status.

The equation of gay identity with lifestyle consumption represents the internalization of consumer identity, and personal accoutrements and patterns of consumption becomes associated with bodily desires. The trilogy exemplifies Lowe's theory of late capitalist lifestyle as sexualized through commodities that place clear markers of the consumer's sexual identity. Lowe explains, "We currently present ourselves, and see ourselves and others, as sexual persons who exude the allure and power of the sexualized commodities we consume."¹⁶⁵ Commodities become sexually charged and sexual identity becomes sustained and relayed through the consumption of sexualized commodities. Representation is endowed only onto subjects who can take part in this sexualized consumption, and are able to mobilize gay taste for fashioning one's own identity through commodities. Eric O. Clarke observed that the attribution of authenticity to "good homosexuals" works to legitimize representations of positive images as equitable while masking the mediations occurring in the definition and representations of "good homosexuals." Clarke contends that authenticity "under the sign of equivalence appears to displace homophobia, yet in the process displaces from critical scrutiny the mediation of queer legitimacy through inequitable value-determinations."¹⁶⁶ In the gay boom, value-determinations privileged those with enough cultural capital and/or economic capital to cultivate a fashionable lifestyle.

There were critical voices of this exclusive quality of gay taste such as gay activist Masaki Satô who noted that the gay boom provided a skewed representation of gay culture by showing only fashionable and good looking gay men.¹⁶⁷ His criticism is not merely indicative of selective representation, but of the significance of fashionable lifestyle in late capitalist Japan. Consumer culture's promotion of diversified lifestyles that suggest agency, choice, and the fashioning of one's self obscures the social stratification that allows cultivating certain tastes and lifestyles. In this process, the issues masked numerous differences such as variances in social class, cultural capital, degree of identification with a sexual identity, and geographical locations to represent a gay community that is diverse in cultural tastes but homogeneously fashionable, affluent, and cultured. While marginalized subjects questioned the homogeneity of Japan's middle class, the assumed homogeneity within fragmented consumer groups constructed a renewed sense of sameness.

It is no coincidence that *Crea* and *Takarajima* who championed "alternative lifestyles" were central to the gay boom as these magazines were constantly at the vanguard of cultivating new tastes and trends. The multiplicity of lifestyles skirt the traditional images of social class and stress the individuality of the consumer by creating a sense of equal access to diverse ways of cultivating the self. Articles such as the one on gay marketing communicate the vitality of the consumer in the economy while underscoring the notion that gay men can attain the status of a "productive self" through consumption.

Questioning Identity in *A Touch of Fever*

The openly gay filmmaker Ryosuke Hashiguchi dismantles gay boom's euphoric celebration of consumption through gay lifestyle by depicting how the intersection of hierarchies of age, attractiveness, fashionability, and social class conditions perceptions of the self. In Hashiguchi's film *A Touch of Fever* (1993), he focused on the relationship between two men in their late-teens illustrating the social constraints that emerged in their traversing through school, family, and the gay bar where they work selling companionship to gay men. If films such as *Okoge* or *Kirakira Hikaru* depicted ideal gay men/straight women couples in egalitarian relationships and cutting familial ties, then *A Touch of Fever* bared enduring stratifications in the gay community while rejecting utopian views of gay culture. *A Touch of Fever* investigated how the instability of corporate employment, erosion of the institution of the family, and urban alienation intersected with sexuality in a highly complex manner. The film avoids offering recourse to deteriorating social institutions, consumption based identities and imagined communities, or sexual relationships as potential remedies for alienation and atomization. Instead it offers a nomadic subjectivity that dispels the illusion of a unitary identity and suggests the possibility of multiple and fleeting alliances with others.

A Touch of Fever is Ryosuke Hashiguchi's first feature film and produced with scholarship funds from the Pia Film Festival, which is known for featuring independent films by new and unknown directors. *A Touch of Fever* expands on the theme of romance between men that Hashiguchi explores in his 8mm work, *Yûbe no Himitsu* (1989), which won Pia's grand prix award and scholarship. In such works as *Like Grains of Sand* (1995), *Hush!* (2001), and *All Around Us* (2008), Hashiguchi explores the intersection of homophobia with familial relations, misogyny, and social alienation. His debut feature *A Touch of Fever* delivered the most poignant critique of the homogenization of the gay community in the gay boom.

A Touch of Fever is about a 19-year-old university student and hustler Tatsuru, Shinichi, a high school student and hustler at the same gay bar, and Yoriko, a woman in Tatsuru's university club. The young, handsome, and quiet Tatsuru silently observes his colleagues and friends at the university and gay bar while rarely engaging in jokes or expressing his thoughts and desires. Tatsuru's ambiguous definition of his own sexuality also represents his detachment from social circles. The film emphasizes Tatsuru's solitary life in a small apartment as a form of self-alienation after his father's remarriage.

Shinichi and Yoriko are similarly disengaged from their social surroundings. Shinichi is an openly gay high-schooler and hustler who works with Tatsuru. His parents threw him out of the house after he expressed that he wanted to be a fashion designer rather than go to college. Besides Tatsuru, Shinichi's social interactions are limited to two high school classmates that chide him with homophobic comments, the hustlers at the gay bar who have little interest outside of gossiping about their colleagues, and his female friend Atsumi, who has a secret crush on him. Yoriko, Tatsuru's female senior in college, is heterosexual but she is uncomfortable with heterosexual relationships and the narrowly defined parameters for femininity that it allows. This leads her to eventually break up with her boyfriend and develop an intimate but complicated relationship with Tatsuru. The film's loose narrative offers a cynical perspective on the frictions and attractions surrounding Tatsuru's interactions with Shinichi, Yoriko, his family members, university club members, and gay bar clients. Hashiguchi utilizes long shots in long take, a familiar technique in his oeuvre to create in the viewer a sense of detachment from the characters and thereby effectively communicate a theme of urban alienation.

Gay boom media generally emphasized gay taste as the underlying structure that sustains a stable, coherent gay identity. *A Touch of Fever* questions the concept of a stable identity via

Tatsuru's ambiguous sexual identity. While it is true that he has sex with his clients, experiences intimate physical contact with Shinichi, and attempts to kiss Yoriko, Tatsuru avoids clearly self-identifying as gay, heterosexual, or bisexual. When asked if he is gay, Tatsuru responds, "Don't label me like that. If you are asking me whether or not I sleep with men, then you can say I am gay. But there are a lot of men who can only sleep with women but like their male friends much more." While this dialogue comments on Tatsuru's ambiguous relationship with Shinichi and Yoriko, the reference to male friendships questions the privileging of sexuality in defining one's identity. By asking why men who love male friends are not defined as gay, Tatsuru questions why certain modes of affection are associated with identity while forms of affection, such as friendship, are deemed irrelevant.

This inquiry foregrounds identity as a discursive product. Unlike gay boom media that used sexual identity to naturalize the aesthetics of consumption as an organic product derived from the consumer's internal identity, *A Touch of Fever* shows a protagonist that questions the relevance of these prescribed identities to his sense of being. Tatsuru's questions also bring attention to the gay boom's conflation of sexual identity with consumer identity privileging interest in unambiguously gay identified individuals. Tatsuru's figure resists an essentialized definition of gay identity and interrogates the discursive construction of sexual identity through his questions of what acts and affections constitute gay identities.

Yoriko also displays discomfort towards prescribed identities such as in the scene where she and Tatsuru take a walk after drinks. She says that she dislikes people making assumptions about her based on her romantic involvements and questions why men say "Let's live together, let's get married, let's go out together, or declare 'you're mine'." Yoriko indicates that heterosexual relationships come with a host of expectations and possible futures including the

roles and responsibilities of heterosexual couples, membership in a family, and adherence to a prescribed timeline of coupledness.

Similar to Tatsuru's previous questioning of why certain forms of affection amount to an identity, Yoriko asks why affection needs to define an individual's identity and lifestyle. Her dialogue resonates throughout the film from the scene where Shinichi's friend labels Tatsuru as gay to the incessant queries from Tatsuru's peers asking if he is romantically involved with Yoriko. Tatsuru and Yoriko's dissatisfaction with the association of sexuality with a lifestyle or timeline is expressed by their discomfort in having their identities defined externally in relation to their romantic relations or sexual orientation. Their statements that incessantly question why people define their being through their sexual relationships disentangle the naturalized connection between sexual identity, sexual orientation, and a myriad of issues such as timelines, lifestyles, and membership in certain communities. Likewise, their questioning of the significance of labelling sexuality challenge the concept of a stable, unitary identity.

Similarly, the director's handling of these characters' discomfort with existing social institutions and the relationships cultivated within them furthers skepticism towards prescribed identities. Tatsuru's classmates and co-workers can express a sense of belonging to social groups through jokes and ridiculing others in the group, but Tatsuru remains detached and disinterested in their interactions. His university friend attempts to include Tatsuru in their relationship by offering playful jibes of resentment to his assumed romantic relationship with Yoriko. Tatsuru initially tries to deny the accusations, but soon gives up and lets his friends talk on. Tatsuru's detachment from his family appears in his avoidance of his father's phone calls. When Tatsuru finally answers, his father only complains about his own financial situation, Tatsuru's tuition, and how those expenses forced his stepmother to have an abortion rather than raise the child. The

depth of Tatsu's alienation echoes in his retort to Shinichiro; "What's so meaningful about understanding others? What's meaningful about others understanding you?"

Throughout the film alienation underscores the sense of deterioration of established social and financial institutions as pillars of stability in 1990s Japan. Tatsu's divorced parents, who represent the rising divorce rates that destabilized the family, fail to offer either financial or emotional security. The film avoids evoking nostalgia or idealizing the nuclear family by highlighting the secrecy and deception within Yoriko's traditional family. In contrast to Tatsu's emotionally distant and physically absent family, Yoriko's family first appears to be ideal and stable. For example, Yoriko talks about her close relationship to her father, her mother's aprons and cooking skills as symbols of her role as a dutiful full-time housewife, and how such her home's furnishings (low tables, tatami mats, etc.) represent traditional family values.

However, when Tatsu visits her home he finds this ideal family is an illusion. We learn that Yoriko's father is Tatsu's former client/sex partner. In a seven-minute shot of the characters sitting around a traditional Japanese low table, Yoriko's father spits out his beer as the mother comments, "It's a nice change to have a boy in the house. It feels like we have a son now." The mother's innocent joke mirrors an earlier comment made by the father before having sex with Tatsu, where he joked that it would be wonderful to have Tatsu as a son. The similarity of the comments reveals the operation of heteronormativity in an innocent, family conversation by juxtaposing the clichéd and socially acceptable suggestion of heterosexual marriage with the pseudo incestuous desire to have a "good son." The scene ends with Tatsu vomiting on the table as if in rejection of his incorporation into a family that retains its structure by masking the father's sexuality. The modern family's weak ties may result in the atomization

of its members, but the film also criticizes strongly bonded families for the heteronormativity predicated by the familial structure and the invisibility and suppression of homosexuality that it enforces.

A Touch of Fever offers a subtle critique of identity politics during the gay boom by avoiding depictions of the gay community as an egalitarian sphere lacking social stratification. Gay boom media depicted gay communities mostly as united by shared taste and aesthetics in consumption that denoted similarity in income and social class. Yet, *A Touch of Fever* presents gay communities as stratified as other communities thus creating relationships of hierarchies and oppression based on age, occupation, and class. These young hustlers who cannot or will not desire a gay lifestyle and identity, offer a critique of images of gay culture as lifestyle consumption that were epitomized by attractive, affluent, and uniformly cultured gay men. By presenting a socially stratified gay community where the representative lifestyle is attainable only to some, the film further dispels gay culture as being a homogeneous community with common aesthetics.

Hashiguchi exposes pervasive hierarchies in the gay community at the bar where Tatsuru and Shinichiro work; here power imbalances between employer and employees and hustler and clients determine human interactions. In this way, *A Touch of Fever* differs radically from gay boom media idealizations of the gay community as universally affluent and egalitarian. Hierarchical relationships at the gay bar are personified by the bar owner's professional and romantic partner who pressures hustlers to pose for sexual photographs "for clients." Shinichiro tries to evade becoming his newest target for the camera. Hashiguchi shoots both characters in a single take in long shot cramped in a small space, amplifying the general sense of claustrophobia and constraint. Although Shinichirô manages to fend off the partner, he later finds a photo of

Tatsuru in the album which he steals and burns. For Shinichirô, the photo is a distressing fact that the man he loves is also subject to hierarchical relations within the bar.

Despite the film's representation of the partner as oppressive, the employees constantly undermine his authority, treating him with open disdain for his photo fetish and for his acne. They finally steal the partner's bag containing his photo album and deride everything in it including Tatsuru and the other model's photos. The covert derision and abuse of the owner's partner is yet another instance of the layered power structures and social capital that complicate hierarchies in the community as being multilateral rather than simple top-down relationships.

This network of oppression should remind us of Leo Bersani's criticism of Altman's portrayal of gay bathhouses as egalitarian, democratic spaces that foster brotherhood. Bersani counters that anyone "who has ever spent one night in a gay bathhouse knows that it is (or was) one of the most ruthlessly ranked, hierarchized, and competitive environments imaginable. Your looks, muscles, hair distribution, size of cock, and shape of ass determined exactly how happy you were going to be during those few hours, and rejection, generally accompanied by two or three words at most, could be swift and brutal, with none of the civilizing hypocrisies with which we get rid of undesirables in the outside world."¹⁶⁸ Bersani's analysis complements Hashiguchi's film revealing that communities idealized for their egalitarian and homogenized qualities are in fact strictly ranked and stratified beyond the obvious markers of social class, income, race, and sexuality. Here, one's attractiveness, fashionability, and body shape figure as important factors as well. Hashiguchi's representation of gay community is not necessarily more or less accurate than the one offered by magazines such as *Bessatsu Takarajima*. However, *A Touch of Fever* deviates from typical gay boom media representations for their raising awareness of the various hierarchical relations and discriminations that intersect and overlap within the community.

The complex social relations in the gay community and at the bar culminate in the film's climax, when a client (played by the director himself) pleads, demands, and orders the unwilling Shinichirô and Tatsuru to "have fun" with him. In the scene, Tatsuru is sent to the client's hotel room when Shinichirô refuses to have sex with the client. Upon his arrival, Tatsuru also becomes silent and unresponsive, possibly due to Shinichirô previous rejection of Tatsuru's forceful attempt to kiss him. The client's friendly demeanor gradually vanishes as his frustration grows. He orders them to have sex together but Tatsuru and Shinichiro fail to get an erection. The irritated client rebukes the boys telling them that they are paid to have erections before launching into a monologue about the loneliness and discrimination that he has endured because of his sexuality.

The monologue is presented sympathetically but Shinichirô and Tatsuru's lack of response indicates their inability to connect with the tale of failed love and random relationships. In fact, his story has little relevance to the protagonist, who themselves are commodified and their mutual attraction transformed into a paid transaction. This scene belies the impossibility of conceiving of a homogeneous gay community, especially when concrete conditions of age, profession, and personal relationships render untenable any definition of a unitary experience of oppression, discrimination, and suffering. Hashiguchi's nuanced depiction of the unique experiences of individuals that alienate them from communities and prescribed identities bares all communities as a construct.

This critical representation of communities and the relationships that they create may seem to be pessimistic, negative representations of gay culture. It challenges fixed identity categories, which negate the basis for communities built on the foundation of sexual identity. In fact, the film presents all interpersonal connections, from communities to romantic relationships,

as unstable and ephemeral. Tatsu's relationship with Shinichirô deteriorates when he tells him to go home to his parents and then commences to kiss him only to be rejected by Shinichirô because he does not think of Tatsu "that way." Tatsu's relationship with Yoriko also sours when he kisses her on the way home after vomiting on her family's dining table. Yoriko says that she likes him but is not sure how. Yoriko and Shinichirô share Tatsu's uneasiness towards established relationships and their surrounding communities, yet they each remain isolated. At a glance, the portrayal of the characters in *A Touch of Fever* seem to embody the national identity crisis in 1990s Japan. We clearly recognize the alienation from the family, distance from corporate identities as flexible laborers, and the claustrophobic, fragmented subjectivities that Iida attributes to Japanese society. Taking a stance critical towards prescribed communities and identities, it would appear that Hashiguchi revels in a grim depiction of individuals' atomization and alienation without recourse.

A Touch of Fever also points toward the possibilities of fleeting connections and moments of understanding. In the scene with the abusive client, Shinichiro starts singing a children's TV show theme and Tatsu joins him in a bizarre show of solidarity in front of the client. Tatsu's response is significant as this is the first time that Tatsu actively demonstrates sympathy or agreement to an expression of human distress. This song about envy for humans who have a place to go home crystallizes the solidarity that the two have developed by acknowledging each other's sense of alienation. They do this in the face of their client who even in his profound isolation still manages to be an oppressive force over the two.

The final scene serves as a reminder of the boys' embeddedness in a complex web of power relations. As Tatsu and Shinichiro walk through town at dawn, Shinichirô confesses that he saw Tatsu's photo in the album. Tatsu explains that he only agreed to the photo because

he felt sorry for the partner's earnestness. Shinichirô scoffs, telling him that he should have sold himself at a higher price. Tatsuru agrees and the two continue their walk smiling. This ending echoes a larger ambivalence between the light-hearted tone of the boy's conversation and the pessimistic conclusion. Shinichirô and Tatsuru's agreement to sell themselves at a higher price remind us of the power relations that the two are embedded in and a solidarity founded on temporarily shared positionalities.

A Touch of Fever's non-essentializing depiction of identity and its critical depiction of the gay community and other forms of communities extends what Rosi Braidotti has called a nomadic consciousness, or "a form of resisting assimilation or homologation into dominant ways of representing the self."¹⁶⁹ For Braidotti, nomadic consciousness eschews the notion of a fixed or stable identity and the nomad "makes those situated connections that can help her/him to survive, but s/he never takes on fully the limits of one national, fixed identity. The nomad has no passport—or has too many of them."¹⁷⁰ While the nomad evades fixity, they are diametrically opposed to the commercialization of flexible identities in late capitalist consumerism as the latter still retains the idea of a unitary and underlying identity that can be expressed through lifestyles of consumption. Braidotti criticizes the privileging of fixed identities, stating:

(A)n exclusive focus on unitary identity, especially in the liberal tradition of individualism and in its off-shoot: the pluralistic multiplication of options, is of hindrance rather than assistance. Identity involves a narrowing down of the internal complexities of a subject for the sake of social conventions. A multi-layered subject is no guarantee that molar power formations have been de-territorialized: a change of scale may not be a qualitative shift. Transposing the subject out of identity politics into a non-unitary or nomadic vision of selves as inter-relational forces is a more useful approach.

Tatsuru's displacement and the bond he develops with Shinichirô through their mutual acknowledgement of a shared intersectional disempowerment are a display of a budding nomadic

consciousness. Tatsuru's rejection of a fixed identity tied to the family, university, or bar equates to a denial to participate in the value systems and oppression that each of these spheres reproduce. This is a complex depiction of power relations across different communities that illustrates a multiplicity of positionalities produced through social hierarchies and rendering any imagination of a contiguous community virtually impossible. This representation of hierarchical relations creates a critical perspective of envisioning homogeneous communities, including the egalitarian and idealized gay community in gay boom media or the persistent myth of Japanese middle mass society.

By dispelling the myth of homogeneous, egalitarian communities and the representation of the diverse positionings produced through hierarchies, Hashiguchi presents individualism as de facto alienation in the erosion of social institutions in 1990s Japan. Yet Hashiguchi avoids glorifying an illusionary communal past through his skeptical views on the hierarchical relations that plague every community. In Hashiguchi's work, the acknowledgement of everyone's alienation forms the precondition for empathetic interactions. Hashiguchi rejects obscuring social difference through illusions of individualism attained by lifestyle consumption and a middle mass society.

A Touch of Fever delimits the "positive" image of gay men as presented in gay boom media, in particular the *Bessatsu Takarajima* issues. The film's multitude of positionalities produced through power relations across various spheres provides an alternative discourse to the egalitarian and homogenized image of gay culture in gay boom media. Gay boom representations of gay culture and taste paralleled the functions of lifestyle in the persisting myth of middle mass society. This presented social stratification as a matter of aesthetics and taste expressed through patterns of consumption. In this schema, the gay boom represented gay identity as being shaped

and externalized through lifestyle consumption, which enabled the representation of gay culture as an egalitarian field where cultivating gay taste and lifestyles occurred without recourse to social status.

Hashiguchi's film offers an alternative perspective of the protagonists' identity as having been conditioned by their situation in the intersection of various power relations limiting their personal agency. The presentation of hierarchical relations and social inequality within gay communities diverts *A Touch of Fever* from dominant representations in gay boom media of gay culture as being a classless, homogeneous entity maintained by shared aesthetics in daily life. In the film, lifestyle consumption and cultivation of gay aesthetics become a privilege not accessible to all. By presenting demographics of gay communities that do not or cannot fashion their own gay lifestyle, Hashiguchi concludes that representing gay culture as a lifestyle delimits the subjects who can represent "positive" images of gay culture.

The media's celebration of diverse lifestyles contributed in the maintenance of homogeneous, middle class while celebrating a non-threatening form of difference that was defined through consumption. The emergence of diverse, fashionable lifestyles also generated opportunities to celebrate national difference in contained, limited spaces. As Shunya Yoshimi notes, fashionable and exotic shopping districts within Japan contributed in a superficial embracing of multiculturalism and domesticating the foreign.¹⁷¹ Similarly, the gay boom's representation of gay men as hybrid subjects whose sexuality binds them to Western gay culture created implications of national difference. The next chapter will analyze the implications of gay men's national otherness and hybridity as it intersects with the redefinition of national identity during a period when globalization generated anxieties over the dissolution of national boundaries.

Chapter 4

Defining Japanese-ness: Gay Men, Hybridity, and the Delineation of the National Body

Introduction

The last chapter examined the ways in which the gay boom defined gay identity through patterns of consumption. This definition of gay lifestyle largely entailed association of gay men with Western gay culture, as well as the assertion of gay men's cosmopolitan taste expressed through consumption of foreign cultural products that were little known in Japan. The gay boom placed gay men in an ambivalent position as hybrid subjects that navigated the boundaries between Japan and the West. This chapter will examine how the gay boom associated gay men with Western gay culture and hybridity, solidifying the concept of national boundaries during increased global flows through delineating assimilable and non-assimilable bodies. This association constructed a sense of multicultural and internationalized Japan complacent with the ongoing redefinition of national identity in response to increased need to interact with foreign others.

These operations dovetailed with *kokusaika* discourse in Japan that called for internationalization in response to external pressures to open Japan's market to foreign goods. The *kokusaika* discourse circumvented national anxiety over adapting to increasingly global flows by producing an image of an already internationalized Japan. The gay boom presented Japan as already internationalized, already diversified, and adaptable to assimilations of foreign cultures and marginalized subjects without introducing actual structural change. Similar to the previous chapter, where I examined gay boom's contribution to the diversification of consumer

lifestyles that obscured social stratification, the gay boom created a sense of diversity through gay men's embodiment of national and sexual others. This façade of a multicultural Japan did not in fact problematize the notion of a national essence and coherent national identity but left it intact.

The gay boom left national essence and identity as an unproblematic realm because the boom's representation of gay men corresponded to discourse of hybridism in Japan that posits hybridity as an essential and unchanging characteristic. Japanese hybridism was a product of Japan's encounter with Western modernity that turned more confident and aggressive with Japan becoming an imperial power from the early 20th century.¹⁷² Iwabuchi writes that hybridity "destabilizes the very notion of identity, whereas hybridism does not create such a liminal space in which fixed and exclusive national/cultural boundaries can be blurred. Rather, it reinforces the rigidity of these boundaries."¹⁷³ My examination of the representation of gay spaces in the gay boom shows that gay men remained labelled as the other, and that their national/sexual difference was framed positively on the condition that they were visible only in designated spaces. As the multicultural space of Shinjuku in *Okoge* (1991) or *Bessatsu Takarajima*'s featuring of foreign gay products demonstrates, gay spaces and gay men stood in for the foreign other becoming a tool to stage a multicultural Japan.

The media's associated gay men with segregated or contained spaces to delineate the concentric boundaries of Japaneseness. Mainstream films such as *Okoge* (1991) dovetailed with mitigating anxiety towards internationalization by containing homosexuality in domestic spaces and gay districts, hence affirming the containment of foreign others. Gay spaces segregated homosexuality from hegemonic culture while the media fetishized gay districts for voyeuristic examination by non-homosexual viewers and consumers. Celebration of multiculturalism in the

gay boom designated an unproblematized segregation of homosexual spaces, leaving the rest of Japan as an unmarked heteronormative and essentially Japanese space.

In contrast to the mainstream media's segregation of gay spaces, the experimental film *Tarch Trip* (1994) made by the gay director Hiroyuki Oki questions the presumed heteronormativity of public spaces by interjecting homoeroticism. This experimental film and personal documentary presents a discourse alternative to the gay boom that demonstrate dissident voices that problematize the gay boom's safe celebrations of diversity and multiculturalism. Spatial boundaries within Japan differentiated the exotic from the familiar, the Japanese from the foreign, and normative from non-normative. Yet Oki's seamless movement through different spaces denaturalizes the segmentation of spaces and his breakdown of spatial boundaries blurred the contours of a homogeneous Japanese national identity.

Gay Men as Hybrid Subjects

The inception of the gay boom in *Crea* took place in the context of increased interest towards internationalization, which young, working women spearheaded. Magazines for working women such as *Crea* embraced this theme of internationalization, which the special issue on gay men confirmed by offering information and images of foreign gay lives. In her book *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams*, anthropologist Karen Kelsky describes how longing for the occidental is constructed through comparison between oppressive Japan and the liberatory West. Kelsky writes that by "insisting that women as a gender are marginalized in Japan but liberated abroad ("in America our abilities are evaluated just as they are"), the imagined other and the possible (Western) alternatives, even if left untaken, still serve to

intervene in domestic gender relations for any woman inclined to rely on them. The foreign alternative becomes not simply an external site of professional opportunity, but an internalized marker of transformed identity.”¹⁷⁴ According to Kelsky, women’s identification with the foreign alternative already intervened in domestic gender relations even without physically removing oneself from Japan.

Crea capitalized on this popularization of internationalization among women and its implications of desiring gender relations with a difference. Targeted at young professional women with discretionary income, *Crea* featured distinctive contents such as advertisements of non-Japanese high fashion brands and global politics such as the Iraq war. *Crea* engaged with discussions on contemporary political situations through articles such as “What Should We Do with the Gulf War, What’s Going to Happen to the Soviet Union?” which was a rare and progressive editorial direction for women’s fashion magazines. *Crea* and other magazines such as *Nikkei Woman* and *Cosmopolitan Japan* differentiated their magazines through content that featured articles on international current events thus establishing themselves as oriented towards women who are interested in the “foreign alternative” and the liberation of women that it insinuates.

Crea’s interest in internationalization and gender relations in the West is demonstrated in the *Gay Renaissance* issue, which closely associated gay identity, gay culture, and gay rights with Western and primarily American culture. Various articles on Western gay culture in Berlin, New York, or interviews with the performer Joey Arias and Leigh Bowery comprise almost half of the articles in the special issue. Photos and drawings of mostly white and black men accompany the articles for decorative rather than functional purposes further associating male homosexuality with Western culture. Western loanwords such as “gay” (*gei*) and “coming out”

(*kamingu auto*) in conjunction with the images of white and black men implied that discussions of male homosexuality situated writers and readers within a supposedly progressive Western discourse on male homosexuality.

Crea also implied that gay men equaled Westerners by stressing their desirability over straight Japanese men. Kelsky contends that such ridiculing of Japanese men for their lack of sexual ability, cultural refinement, and general inability to assimilate progressive gender politics was an essential way to establish the desirability of Western men. According to Kelsky “the romantic or sexual rejection of Japanese men was also an integral part of the international trajectory,” which functioned to confirm women’s desire towards Western men and their progressive gender politics.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, *Crea* rejected straight Japanese men on the cover of its special issue that stated gay men could provide “a sense of freedom that you don’t feel from boring straight men.” Other frequently occurring descriptors included gay men’s “sensitivity,” “similar taste (to women),” and “fashionability,” all of which foregrounding their desirability while differentiating them from straight men. If internationalized women framed Western men as preferable alternatives to their loveless, incommunicative, and distant Japanese counterparts, then gay men represented the potential for genuine empathy and interaction. The capability for honest communication, proximity to Western culture, and the potential for escape from antiquated gender roles elevated gay men to the status of alternatives for Western Caucasian men as desirable partners.

This idealized yet tenuous relationship between hybrid Japanese gay men and straight Japanese women mitigated many of the anxieties and stigmas associated with heterosexual interracial relationships. Such relationships risked hostile reactions as demonstrated by misogynistic male outcries against the “yellow cab phenomenon” (Japanese women who have

sex with non-Japanese men) in the Japanese media. Popular men's magazines harshly condemned Japanese women for expressing their sexual agency, while the phenomenon provided the media an opportunity to reflect on a general discontent with Japanese men, gender roles, and the risks in interracial relationships.¹⁷⁶

Straight women/gay men relationships in Japan were also stigmatized (hence the derogatory term *okoge* to refer to straight women who fraternize with gay men), but unlike the yellow cab phenomenon, these relations lacked the potential for women to be cast as hypersexual and promiscuous. In fact, articles promoting the desirability of gay men frequently mention the lack of sexual contact as a key characteristic.

“Cool gay men are not interested in women, so they don't hang out with women who are just cute, or are treated well just because they are women. Only women who are attractive, even to gay men, can become their girlfriends.”¹⁷⁷

As the preceding article in *Crea's* “Gay Renaissance” issue demonstrates, the lack of sexual desire negates the possibility of gay men choosing women as partners because of sexual objectification or fetishism towards Japanese woman's race or nationality. This affirms the genuine attractiveness of women who are friends with Japanese gay men. In turn, partnerships with gay men affirmed women's lack of fetishism for white Western bodies in her pursuit of internationalization. This lack of sexual desire for Western bodies is evidenced in Kelsky's interviews with women with a “deep and passionate commitment” to internationalist work who view the “reduction of the West to the eroticized body of the white man as sexual commodity was evidence only of the lagging consciousness of young Japanese women.”¹⁷⁸ In relations with foreign or hybrid others, the lack of sexual desire is prized as a lack of fetishization or motives that taint genuine attraction and appreciation. Thus, gay men's images in *Crea* provided readers

access to internationalization through knowledge about a hybrid other while avoiding the sexual fetishization of whiteness that stigmatized such knowledge with the label of having a “lagging consciousness of young Japanese women.” Similar to association of gay men with Western Caucasian men, the discourse on HIV/AIDS also established Japanese gay men’s proximity to Western bodies prior to the gay boom by situating gay men outside of the national body politic. An examination of HIV/AIDS discourse how the global effects of the epidemic constructed the notion of an affective connection between Japanese and Western gay culture.

Hybridity, HIV/AIDS and the National Body

By 1984, medical reports first recognized AIDS symptoms in hemophiliacs who contracted HIV through imported blood. The earliest official report on AIDS in Japan was in 1985 about a gay man who had contracted the disease while living in the United States. New cases of HIV/AIDS reported in Japan during 1985-86 were all gay men which fueled assumptions in the mainstream Japanese media that they contracted the virus in the United States, reinforcing the concept that AIDS was a Western disease contracted by gay men.¹⁷⁹ The Ministry of Health and Welfare quickly designated foreign women and gay men as risk groups together with male homosexuality as risk behavior. Gay men and foreign women were treated as foreign agents who threatened to contaminate the national body. In their study on the representation of gay men and HIV/AIDS, sexuality scholars Takashi Kazama and Kazuya Kawaguchi write that by creating an analogy between the male body and the national body “this discourse has attempted to exclude or expel HIV/AIDS and its supposed carriers from the

Japanese body (politic).”¹⁸⁰ This problematic designation of gay men’s as a risk group ironically associated gay men with hybridity that the gay boom foregrounded.

Gay men’s abjection also indicates another function of HIV/AIDS, which was reinstalling national boundaries that differentiates between foreign and domestic subjects. In the discussion of global responses to HIV/AIDS, John Binnie states that “the very real national differences in terms of the political response to the pandemic, mean that far from implying the death of the nation-state and the insignificance of the national scale, AIDS has rendered nationalism and national identity as significant as ever.”¹⁸¹ If we apply Binnie’s thesis to the Japanese context, the media reports along with the government’s designation of gay men as a risk group reinforced nationalism and national identity by designating Japanese gay men as the foreign other.

However, HIV/AIDS did not merely solidify national boundaries, but also constructed a sense of proximity between Japanese and foreign gay cultures. In an article on gay art during HIV/AIDS, Takashi Otsuka writes, “How do we, as gays in Japan, accept and make use of the lessons that gay people learned about AIDS in the United States, where the problems of the modern age manifest themselves most vividly and at the earliest moment?”¹⁸² Otsuka’s statement recognizes HIV/AIDS as an epidemic and a cultural phenomenon emanating from the United States to Japan.

Otsuka’s statement recreates an ethnocentric view of Japan-US cultural relations utilizing it to envision a Japanese gay culture that is continuous with US gay culture. Discourses on HIV/AIDS during the gay boom demonstrated allegiance to a new, internationalized gay identity. In his work on the effects of globalization in HIV/AIDS discourse, Dennis Altman writes that “the internationalization of sexual identities, above all ‘gay’ identities, have been hastened by the requirements of HIV surveillance and prevention.”¹⁸³ It is this internationalized gay identity that

writers of *Bessatsu Takarajima* addressed through expressing sympathy and solidarity to devastating effects of HIV/AIDS in the US. HIV/AIDS becomes a means to construct an affective link between US and Japanese gay culture, and reinforce the notion of the internationalization of gay identity in Japan.

This internationalized gay identity is referenced in *Bessatsu Takarajima* through fashionable consumption of HIV/AIDS related products. The photo essay “Our Sunday” represent an internationalized gay identity manifested in AIDS related events and fashion. Here, two young, fashionable gay men spend their weekend in the city wearing red ribbons symbolizing support for HIV/AIDS patients.¹⁸⁴ Red ribbons adorning the two men’s fashionable clothing consolidates their connection to US gay culture through HIV/AIDS, transforming tragic loss into fashionable activism. Similarly, an article entitled “Introduction to Volunteering for Gay Boys” in the *Gay Toybox* issue encouraged readers to purchase designer t-shirts, books, CDs, and videos from vendors that donated the proceeds to international HIV/AIDS charities. The article also mobilized its readers to attend charity disco parties and pride parades as a viable way to support HIV/AIDS activism. The cheerfully worded article promised to “introduce you to the how to’s of dealing with one of our most intimate problems, ‘AIDS!’” In associating AIDS with parties, t-shirts, and parades the article repackaged HIV/AIDS into fashionable consumption, glamorous activism, and a sense of connection to an internationalized gay identity.¹⁸⁵

In this context, the men’s magazine *SPA!* employed Patrick Bommarito, a white, American gay man and one of the most prominent representatives of gay HIV/AIDS patients in Japan to write a regular column on the disease. *Takarajima* article featuring Bommarito is unique in its deviation from common representations in the US media of AIDS patients as having sickly

and deteriorating bodies.¹⁸⁶ The cover featured Bommarito completely naked on a white background, wearing a fedora hat and holding an LP record cover over his genitals. Bommarito's assertive stance and comically quizzical expression created an overall impression of a healthy, active body with no hint of illness. The stylized cover shot and photos of Bommarito's foray into modeling accentuated his involvement in fashionable cultural production. The article detailed his work in US and Japanese gay cultures, presenting him as an ideal hybrid figure that could transverse and break down boundaries. Bommarito criticized the lack of awareness of HIV/AIDS in Japan from a position of an enlightened activist from the US. His fluent Japanese, status as a Tokyo club DJ, and his love for Shinjuku gay bars identified him as a local in Japanese gay culture.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps more directly than anyone, Bommarito represented the emergent hybridity of Japanese gay culture in the internationalization of gay identity during the HIV/AIDS crisis.

Beyond Bommarito, there are rarely any voices of HIV/AIDS patients that are featured in the gay boom. For example, the four-part series on the "Tokyo Homosexuality Trial" construct the sense that HIV/AIDS is contained in the past, creating a new, victimized, and desexualized gay community. This series is written by nonfiction author Makiko Ida for the women's magazine *Josei Seibun*. "Tokyo Homosexuality Trial" refers to OCCUR's suit against the Tokyo prefectural government for discriminating against their members' use of prefecture-owned lodging. However, most of the series focused on OCCUR member Hiroshi Niimi's trip to San Francisco to join the pride parade and reflect on Japanese gay identity in US gay culture. Ida argued that US gay culture changed profoundly due to the crisis and that HIV/AIDS was "not just a sexual disease. It's a 'disease of our time' that involves people with different life principles, social status, and ideology, which traverses national borders and seas to spread throughout the world."¹⁸⁸ Ida's point was that until the HIV/AIDS crisis, white gay men and drag

queens dominated the gay community. But after, the gay community became more open to non-whites and lesbians, monogamous gay couples, and gay families with adopted children.

Here among gay activists of color in this transformed gay community Niimi found his model for Japanese gay identity. Ida claims socially conscious and sexually conservative gay activists of color were more conducive models for the Japanese gay community than white, sexually driven pre-HIV/AIDS gay culture. She showed that the victimization and decreased sexualization of the gay community brought about by HIV/AIDS was essential to create a positive image of internationalized gay identity. Further, she replaced anonymous white gay men who spread HIV/AIDS with individually identified Asian-American HIV/AIDS activists, thus creating a sense of containment of HIV/AIDS while solidifying a normative gay lifestyle through the emergence of an internationalized gay identity.

Similar to Ida's differentiation between pre-HIV/AIDS and post-HIV/AIDS culture, the article "Gay Culture: Creator or Destroyer" in the upscale men's magazine *Brutus* produces the dichotomy of uncontrolled pre-HIV/AIDS promiscuity and post-HIV/AIDS domesticated normalization. In his introduction to the diverse sexual practices in the art produced in Andy Warhol's studio Factory, the author alerts readers of the "sophistication" of gay culture after HIV/AIDS resulted in sex being replaced by ingesting ecstasy and attending raves. The laments the passing of "the pre-AIDS era, where the horrible disease Kaposi's sarcoma was yet unknown, when the gay scene was pushed to the limit...it was a time of extravagance where various pleasures were pursued."¹⁸⁹ Celebrating the pursuit of sexual pleasure in the pre-HIV/AIDS era Factory, the article echoes the tone of the "Tokyo Homosexuality Trial" series by identifying HIV/AIDS as the catalyst that transformed promiscuous pre-AIDS gay culture into a sexually inactive, normative gay culture. Yet unlike "Tokyo Homosexuality Trial" which condemned a

sex-centered, whitewashed pre-HIV/AIDS gay culture, “Gay Culture: Creator or Destroyer” celebrated that same culture as narrowly defined by Warhol’s Factory. Both represent a homogenous pre-HIV/AIDS culture so as to reify the stereotype of a post-HIV/AIDS gay culture where sexual contact has been evacuated in order to idealize the past and affirm a normative gay identity in the present.

Yet within this context, another notable characteristic of gay boom media discourses on HIV/AIDS are a lack of voices of HIV/AIDS victims. Beyond Bommarito, Japanese media offered few references to actual people with the disease, save for the brief reference to Kaposi’s sarcoma cited above or references to volunteer Asian-American activists caring for terminal AIDS patients in “Tokyo Homosexuality Trial.”¹⁹⁰ In both cases, sickly bodies are contained in the past either through death or by substitution with ecstasy and raves. Here, the absence of stereotyped bodies with Kaposi’s sarcoma indicate a trend towards “positive” representations of gay men with HIV/AIDS and help mitigate anxieties over high-risk groups. In an article entitled “The Elegant and Abstinent Lives of Executive Gays” Singer Momo Yajima conflated the containment of HIV/AIDS with fashionable lifestyles to argue that containment of AIDS was a precondition for positive representations of gay culture. Yajima opens with an anecdote of a gay friend who abstained from sex following the death of his friends from AIDS. She applauded his sheer willpower, “despite the decline in sex drives among intellectuals and the increasing urgency of living a meaningful life without thinking about sex from the early 80s, he was the only one who actually succeeded in abstaining.”¹⁹¹ Yajima understands the death of AIDS patients as a precondition for the emergence of gay male abstinence. She suggests that the abstinent lifestyles of rich, executive gay men contributed to an increase in the popularity of attending churches, opera, and museums in the gay community. Setting aside its problematic

celebration of abstinence as an intellectual solution, the article is in fact instructive. In both its defining a “sophisticated” post-HIV/AIDS culture and melancholy over the loss of AIDS infected bodies the article effectively contains those bodies in the past. By containing HIV/AIDS in the past, these articles created the illusion of solid national boundaries and the safety of the national body.

Japanese media reports before the gay boom associated Japanese gay men as implied by as carriers of a “foreign” disease, the result of which was their symbolic abjection from the national body. Sex acts conjured up notions of corporal connections between Japanese and foreign bodies that could penetrate Japan’s national borders. Such physical links between Japanese and Western gay men were deemphasized in gay boom media as HIV/AIDS shifted from a signifier of physical to cultural or affective connections between Japanese and Western gay men. Since its purpose was to mitigate anxieties over HIV/AIDS as a global epidemic that traversed borders, images of sickness and debates on the transmission of disease rarely appeared in gay boom media. Instead, media coverage of HIV/AIDS created an opportunity to express and establish empathetic connections between Japanese and US gay culture, as well as expressions of solidarity through consumption of HIV/AIDS charity related products. Yet, solidarity and empathy proved to not be universal and failed to extend beyond white, Western HIV/AIDS patients and US gay culture. Such expressions of solidarity assumed a shared culture and identity between Japanese gay men and US gay men. This sense of shared culture and identity along with progressive gender politics framed gay men as hybrid subjects, which made them prime candidates for assimilation to construct a sense of multicultural and internationalized Japan.

Kokusaika and Hybridity

Stereotypes of Japanese gay men breaking archaic gender roles, their conflation with Western gay culture, and their fluid status within the social context of HIV/AIDS represented them as hybrids. Such hybridity, however, neither challenged inconsistencies within Japanese national identity nor marginalize representations of Japanese gay men from essentialized notions of Japanese culture or nationality. Intellectuals and politicians deployed the concept of domestic culture as being inherently hybrid in order to create a coherent and essentialized national identity in the face of such social changes as modernization, imperialist expansion, and postwar economic growth in the 20th century.

Scholars such as Kôichi Iwabuchi have differentiated this strategic hybridism from discourses of hybridity, by arguing that Japanese hybridism recognizes neither cultural difference nor liminal spaces but instead “strategically attempts to suppress ambivalence generated by the act of cross-fertilization, relentlessly linking the issue of cultural contamination with an exclusivist national identity, so that impurity sustains purity.”¹⁹² What results is an essentialized national character with tremendous elasticity able to retain an exclusivist notion of Japaneseness while at the same time adopting foreign influences. Such hybridism is specifically oriented towards the West as “the exclusive attention to the binary opposition ‘Japan’ and ‘the West’ conspires with Japan’s postwar hybridism, which exploits Japan’s difference in a unitary mode of opposition to ‘the West’.”¹⁹³ This domestication of the West is relevant to the hybridity of Japanese gay men in the gay boom, since the blurring of national boundaries can only take place in relation to Western and, more specifically white, gay male culture. Representations of hybridity as an essential characteristic of homosexual identity also resemble designations of hybridism as an essential element of Japanese national character.

As hybridity infringes upon the boundaries between national identities, it can signify transgression and deviance from gender norms and identities. Hybridity can subvert masculine notions of nationality and national identity. I argue that specific deployments and representations of hybrid subjects frequently gender hybridity, which delimit those subjects and methods that can embody hybridity. Gay men could be represented as hybrid without the threat of emasculation, as discourse on gay men in the gay boom established the essential difference in the masculinity of gay men in comparison to straight, Japanese men. Hybrid gay men functioned to partly masculinize internationalization, especially its identification with Western modernist values and consumption of Western cultural goods, which Japan's postwar narrative framed as feminine acts.

Examples of hybridity's feminizing implications can be observed from Japan's colonial period. Jennifer Robertson examines the favorable representations of Japan's assimilation of other Asian cultures during colonialism in the all-woman Takarazuka revue to argue that the androgyny of women in male roles attained a homological relationship to assimilation of colonial subjects.¹⁹⁴ Takarazuka revues, with their fluid performance-based identities were an ideal platform for envisioning colonial subjects who attempted to assimilate Japaneseness by emulating the appearances and behaviors of Japanese people. In other words, the androgynous bodies of the all-women revue celebrated not only the fluidity of gender but also the malleable boundaries of nationality by celebrating the protean abilities of colonial Japan.

Robertson's analysis of Takarazuka demonstrates self-fashioned hybridity and feminization, but Japan's defeat in the war and the occupation imposed feminization of the national body. Post-war occupation narratives cast "the United States as a male and Hirohito and Japan as a docile female, who unconditionally accepts the United States' desire for self-

assurance.”¹⁹⁵ The appearance of *pan pan* girls, Japanese prostitutes who sold themselves to US soldiers of all races, also underlined the feminization of Japan in relation to the US. The *pan pan* girls proximity to US military personnel and lack of racial discrimination in their practices were identified as the representatives of the new post-war democracy in Japan.¹⁹⁶ These women, with their fluency in a hybridized pidgin English dubbed “panglish,” became “striking symbols of the whole convoluted phenomenon of ‘Americanization’ in which everyone was in some way engaged.”¹⁹⁷ The penetration of the national body by the atomic bomb, occupation, and prostitution feminized Japan’s national body, which in turn constructed a link between hybridization and foreign exchange with femininity.

In this context, Japan’s internationalization entailed feminization of the national body, which the conservative politician Shinichirô Ishihara sought to reject in his bestselling book *Japan That Can Say No* written with Sony founder Akio Morita. If dissolution of the boundaries of Japanese-ness during the occupation feminized Japan, then *Japan That Can Say No* attempted to revive Japanese masculinity through the construction of a renewed Japanese cultural uniqueness. Ishihara argued that the Occupation was a failed start in Japan’s post-war history that resulted in Japan’s continuous compliance to the US. He argued that Japan bashing by the US in the 1980s confirmed Japan’s technological superiority and debunks any necessity of Japan’s dependency on the West. By constituting clear national boundaries and renewed national pride, Ishihara presented the potential of Japan to be “a manly nation that rewrites the feminine position and passive role through which the nation understood itself into masculine and active ones.”¹⁹⁸ However, Ishihara’s techno-nationalism is merely an inversion of techno-orientalist discourse notions of Japan as a “dehumanized and technological power” representing “alienated and dystopian image of capitalist progress” in the techno-orientalist discourses generated by the

West.¹⁹⁹ Ishihara's masculine national identity merely repackaged unattractive images of Japan as a technologically driven dehumanized nation and tagged it as a new masculine image of Japan.

Popular representations of gay men as hybrid subjects may be understood as responses to Japan's gendered status in relation to the West thus creating a mode of hybridity that bridged Japan's feminized postwar history and the new masculine national identity proposed by Ishihara. Yet the hybrid gay man clearly differs from Ishihara's masculinist, nationalistic assertion of Japanese superiority in the global arena as well as Kelsky's stereotypes of Japanese men as incapable of having relations with non-Japanese. In fact, gay boom representations of gay men form an antithesis to the stereotypes analyzed in Kelsky's work. Rejecting cross-cultural identification and cultural mixing, they emphasized identification with Western modernist values and assume shared aesthetic sensibilities across global gay culture. Gay men were notable for their affective connections to Western culture and affirmation of the desirability of Japanese male bodies. "Tokyo Gay Trial" noted the romantic feelings that the Western activist displayed for the Japanese protagonist in the final report of the series. Such mutual desire between Japan and the West provided an alternative approach towards Japan's internationalization that was distinct from the self-Orientalism inherent in Ishihara's techno-nationalism. Japanese media alternately represented gay men at the vanguard of internationalization in the cultural (and sexual) sphere yet also imbued them with a sense of exotic otherness as the not-quite-Japanese hybrid subject.

The image of the hybrid gay men aligned with Japanese attempts to reinvent its national image and assert it as a modernized, progressive, and internationalized nation. Gay bodies were coopted into this project of redefinition of national identity. This consolidation between

homosexuality and imaginations of the nation resembles Jasbir K. Puar's description of homonationalism in the US in the post-9/11 era, where the inclusion of "certain domesticated homosexual bodies" that exhibit homonormative characteristics into nationalistic discourse represent the tolerance and exceptionalism of the nation. This in turn "provide[s] ammunition to reinforce nationalist projects" of condemning the Orientalist other for their intolerance and undomesticated perverse sexuality.²⁰⁰ This operation obscures the homophobia and discrimination exercised upon queer bodies in the US thus contributing to the discourse of US sexual exceptionalism. Homonationalism thus is an instance where the limited acceptance of certain queer groups that pose a minimal threat to heteronormativity align with the nationalistic imaginings of US exceptionalism.

Similarly, the gay boom in Japan mobilized homosexual bodies and used the implication of foreignness and whiteness to produce images of hybrid gay men as Japan's internationalized future. The "Tokyo Gay Trial" article draws a parallel between post-HIV/AIDS conservative US queer culture and an earnest Japanese gay activist seeking links between US sexual exceptionalism, domesticated homosexual bodies, and Japanese gay culture. However, championing gay men as a vision of an internationalized Japan was a process constantly in tension with the spatial politics of the gay boom. It further conflicted with internationalization discourses in the Japanese media which sought to limit, domesticate, and segregate foreign others in designated spaces. The creation of a discourse on a masculinized Japan in the global stage was particularly relevant during the gay boom due to the urgent need for internationalization in Japan from the 1980s as Japan's trade surplus increased external pressure to open Japan's market to foreign goods.

***Kokusaika* and Spatial Imaginaries within Japan**

In 1984, Japan's Economic Planning Agency published a report entitled the "Japanese Economy's Response to a Renewed *Kokusaika*." The report warned that the primary concern of the national economy was to maintain Japan's trade surplus while defending against a foreign backlash. The term *kokusaika*, which roughly translates to internationalization, became ubiquitous, being widely debated throughout the 1980s. The Nakasone cabinet made the implementation of *kokusaika* a priority by promoting a variety of programs such as increasing the number of foreign exchange students in Japan. *Kokusaika* became a catchphrase for Japan's transformation into a nation able and ready to interact with the world. Motivated initially by external pressures, *kokusaika* evolved into a self-motivated "process in which Japan attempted to exercise some control over her own fate."²⁰¹ Critics claimed that *kokusaika* was a defensive reaction by Japan to "open up" and "more about taking Japan to the world than it was about bringing the world to Japan, and perhaps more about nationalism than internationalism."²⁰² It is within this context that we must understand Ishihara's *Japan that Can Say No*. The book exemplified motivations in Japan to internationalize while reinforcing demarcations between Japan and its Others through asserting Japan's cultural uniqueness and superiority—a phenomenon that Iwabuchi calls inter/nationalism.²⁰³

Marilyn Ivy correctly notes that "instead of opening up Japan to the struggle of different nationalities and ethnicities, the policy of internationalization implies the opposite: the thorough domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world."²⁰⁴ Ivy's assessment reveals that *kokusaika* was grounded in an intense anxiety over contact with racial or national others and predicated on the domestication of the foreign. One cultural

phenomena meant to alleviate this anxiety was the creation of segregated commercial spaces such as theme parks and shopping districts where contact with racial/national others could be staged. These spaces created for tourism provided sanitized contact zones, assuring consumers of the success of Japan's future internationalization while simultaneously ensuring containment of any contact with the foreign to these designated spaces. Gay spaces and gay districts represented in the gay boom functioned in a similar manner; exotic and commercial gay spaces were havens where heterosexual consumers could safely encounter the gay Other. The spatial politics of the gay boom media at once labeled gay men as exotic foreign others and symbolically contained homosexuality to strictly designated commercialized spaces. This strategy sought to maintain the assumed heteronormativity of Japan outside of those gay spaces.

Anxieties over internationalization and globalization in Japan affected organization and representations of various spaces, ranging from regional theme parks to commercialized districts in Tokyo. Representation of these spaces envisioned assimilation and containment of exotic others. Since gay culture implied exotic otherness and hybridity, representations of gay spaces also sought to place hybrid subjects in relation to the national body. Assimilation, containment, and occasional abjection represented in these spaces connoted the uneasy relationship between the Japanese media and gay men as embodiments of masculinized hybridity despite the media's effort to present non-homophobic reports on gay men.

Jennifer Robertson examines a similar anxiety over racial/national others in her article "Empire of Nostalgia: Rethinking 'Internationalism' in Japan Today." Robertson deconstructs *kokusaika* as a method for mitigating fears of internationalization demonstrating how Japan's international relations related to the organization of spatial politics within Japan, namely relations between Tokyo and the rest of Japan. Robertson writes that "the Tokyo versus rest-of

Japan relationship is so totalizing, discursively speaking, that it renders redundant an equally evolved relationship between Japan and the rest of the world in order to dramatize and allegorize cultural distinction and national difference.”²⁰⁵ One significant way in which cultural, national, and racial differences were reimagined within Japan is represented by “national” theme parks. Such theme parks as the Dutch “Huis Ten Bosch,” which opened in 1992 created sanitized, essentialized, and exoticized versions of the nations that they represented. This strategy effectively constructed and contained national, cultural, and racial others within the domestic body. Robertson writes that “the assimilation and containment of multicultural differences and the incorporation of multicultural phenomena into local place-making projects are central to the ongoing processes of socio-psychological security, national cultural identity formation and capitalist market development in Japan.”²⁰⁶ As Robinson notes, cultural difference is pronounced in these theme parks, yet difference is simultaneously segregated in a commercialized space and thus domesticated.

Segregated exoticized spaces are not limited to theme parks in regional areas, but Tokyo itself is subdivided into myriad districts staging encounters with foreign others. As Shunya Yoshimi writes, Tokyo districts such as Shibuya that were redeveloped by the Seibu Group, mirror how Tokyo Disneyland creates exoticized spaces that similarly stage interactions with the other. Yoshimi claims that Disneyland embodies the complex postwar relationship that Japan shares with America. Here, America does not merely represent a nation or locale foreign to Japan but rather, “‘America’ is the system of consumption which constructs Japanese self-identity as consumable or as something to be colonized.”²⁰⁷ For Yoshimi, the Japanese visitor’s experience of Disneyland is marked by encounters with multiple others across various “lands” such as the American frontier of Westernland or the globalized terrain of Adventureland. Yet

these encounters do not necessarily replicate the boundaries between self and other. Yoshimi explains:

In Disney's fantasy world, the 'external' is already a part of the internalized world, where everybody is tamed into a cute being. And this same structure functions in other lands as well. The strange 'external' that was colonized in Fantasyland is the 'wild West' of Westernland, the 'tropics' of Adventureland, and the 'strange planet' of Tomorrowland. Thus every 'Other' in this 'kingdom of dream and magic' is tamed, and there is no room for an 'external' world to exist.²⁰⁸

In Tokyo Disneyland, encounters with the other are non-threatening because the other already appears in an assimilated cute form. This situation bears an uncanny resemblance to the Takarazuka Revue during Japan's colonization of Asia discussed above. In that context, racial and national others were assimilated through their placement within the musical world of Takarazuka Theater. Here, Tokyo Disneyland's ability to design non-threatening encounters with the other resembles the redevelopment of Shibuya by the Seibu Group that also produced exoticized and enclosed spaces. Similar to how park guests negotiate the consumable world of Disneyland, the redevelopment of Shibuya into an exotic, fashionable shopping district transformed the "area as the open 'theater' of cultural consumption where every consumer can take a role of their consumable self-images."²⁰⁹ Seibu created maze-like paths and named each location with foreign names, which segmented the areas off from others and lent an exotic sense to Shibuya's spaces.²¹⁰ The collapse of the internal/external in Tokyo Disneyland parallels the consumer's encounters with the fashionable other in these exoticized areas while becoming a part of the exotic landscape of Shibuya. Exotic spaces are already tamed and contained as places accessible to consumers that celebrate the absorption and assimilation of otherness. In addition, these spaces represent the exoticness of Japan, which feeds in to Japan's strategies of self-exoticization and the internalization of Orientalism.²¹¹ Yoshimi's analysis of Shibuya's

commercialized spaces provides insight into how the designation of gay spaces functioned within the segmentation and compartmentalization of Tokyo. Such spaces communicated to consumers a sense of membership in an exotic, multicultural Japan while limiting contacts with exotic others to commercialized spaces.

The trends that Yoshimi finds in popular spaces in 1980s and 1990s Tokyo are directly relevant to the representation of Shinjuku 2-*chome*, Tokyo's predominant district. Historically, interest in the gay spaces of Shinjuku preceded the gay boom as *Crea* editor Tadashi Saitô confirmed in a 1992 article in *Asahi Shimbun*, "I saw a lot of women in the gay bars of Shinjuku, so I edited a special issue on it and it did well." Gay boom media exoticized Shinjuku in part by associating the space with male homosexuality and commercialized nightlife activities. Yet the district retained an unselfconscious and unmanaged atmosphere that lent it a sense of authenticity. Shinjuku's gay district is generally thought to have begun in the 1960s and 1970s although some publications have traced the district's origins back to the prewar brothel district. Nevertheless, the gay district's organic formation differentiated it from the more strategically developed commercial districts of Shibuya. Magazine articles published during the gay boom present nostalgic statements about Shinjuku's disappearing community, which bears a resemblance popularization of rural towns around the same period that expressed "fears of a vanishing Japan and loss of Japanese identity."²¹²

For example, in a series of Shinjuku guides published in *Takarajima 30*, the writer complains about lack of respect in recent visitors of Shinjuku: "I complain because I love. I gripe because I'm true to my sexuality. This town is our last stronghold. That's why I want it to be a 'town that's kind to people'."²¹³ The article, "Mecca for Gays" in *SPA!* quoted a local building owner who claimed there was an inherent "warmth" unique to the district: "there's an unseen

camaraderie between the businesses here. Compare this place to Kabukichô (a nearby entertainment district). Nobody cares if yakuza cause trouble. They only think about themselves. That never happens here.”²¹⁴ Another pub owner echoed this sentiment, stating that “the reason that people who are tired of Kabukichô and Roppongi come to this district is because this town has a warm heart, which we should preserve.”²¹⁵ Allusions to the “warmth” and “camaraderie” of Shinjuku resemble discourses on Japan’s rural areas which are often depicted as repositories of premodern virtues of compassion and communality.²¹⁶ Yet, associations of nostalgia and communality are also applied to underdeveloped historical districts in Tokyo called *shitamachi* or “downtown.”

Jordan Sand examines this commodification of nostalgia for Tokyo’s *shitamachi* in late 1980s. Sand understands that evocations of nostalgia for a space create an interplay of exoticization and self-exoticization and that interest in *shitamachi* is partly driven by a younger generation’s attraction to unmanaged, unselfconscious spaces as a form of resistance against the highly commercialized shopping districts of Shibuya. This new generation of consumers may feel ambivalent towards Japan’s managed consumer society, yet they can only express their ambivalence through the consumption of commodified nostalgia.²¹⁷ Sand does not explore the implications of this phenomenon on national identity, but I contend that consumer interest in such retro landscapes are motivated by a desire for a nostalgic, essentialized, and exotic Japan barely touched by such capitalist Westernized redevelopment projects as Shibuya or Tokyo Disneyland.

Ironically, any pursuit of an alternative to the managed commercialized spaces of Tokyo reproduces the self-exoticization and self-Orientalism that also permeates spaces such as Shibuya. One key aesthetic difference is that cutting edge styles create a sense of exoticism of

Shibuya, while the exoticism of *shitamachi* is maintained through an imagined nostalgia for Japan's untouched and unchanged past. Thus, the case of Shinjuku's gay district is unique in that it represents an "'authentic' version of urban life" that is markedly different from the "homogenization of urban life-styles into the 'new middle class'" happening through the redevelopment and commercialization of Tokyo.²¹⁸ Shinjuku is simultaneously exoticized and valorized as a vanished part of Japan much like the *shitamachi* district.

In "Tokyo Gay Cruise *Kesshitai* (Suicide Squad)," the *Crea* article written by self-identified straight male writers, heterosexual men reported their experiences cruising the bars in Shinjuku 2-chome. These covert reports of the district and its residents by heterosexual journalists sold voyeuristic entertainment for heterosexual a readership. Some reports emphasized the area's difference in such passages as "I was appalled when I realized the abnormal situation that I found myself in" to explain how the writer wound up in a gay bar with exclusively male clientele.²¹⁹ Similar exoticism ran throughout an article in the woman's gossip magazine *Bishô*, adding a tone of moral panic in the headline warning that young and obedient teenagers "convene tonight in Shinjuku!"²²⁰ Or another piece in *Bishô*, a collection of rumors about celebrities that frequent Shinjuku for entertainment.²²¹ Questions of the reliability aside, this collection conveyed a sense of secrecy, concealment, and exotic nightlife by presenting stories of celebrities' secret nights out.

Other reports introduced a scopophilic element to the exoticism of cruising gay spaces. A sensationalist angle in the article; "Homo Hangout: Document of Infiltration" began with a disclaimer on the writer's heterosexuality and utilized a writing style based solely on superficial observations from a distance. The accompanying photograph showed three men, all in extreme long shot perhaps to hide their identities.²²² This photograph dovetailed with tone of the article,

which stripped gay men of their individuality or subjectivity and reduced them to faceless figures observed from a distance.

Exoticism and nostalgia in representing gay districts were not necessarily mutually exclusive impulses and at times worked together in complex ways. The men's magazine *Friday*, for instance, showcased a Tokyo cruising spot in "*Hikyô Tanken*," an investigation into untamed, hidden, and mostly rural places. This cruising spot was a public bath, which formerly functioned as communal spaces in Japan until their popularity dwindled with the rise of private baths during the 1960s era of High Economic Growth. A possibly unintentional sense of intimacy and nostalgia pervades the tone of the piece, especially writer's brief physical contact with a client and his fear of the interaction possibly turning sexual.²²³ The public bath and the writer's interaction with strangers evoked a nostalgic rural Japanese community. However, the writer's perspective as a straight man in a gay cruising spot foregrounded the anxiety and exhilaration of a scopophilic outsider's perspective into an unknown local community, labeling gay men as the other.

The oscillation between nostalgia and exoticism characterizes representations of Shinjuku and other gay spaces. The blending of the familiar and unfamiliar in these spaces parallels the ways in which gay boom media represented gay men, especially with regard to hybridity. Gay men and spaces are situated at the interstices of Japaneseness and foreignness and reinforce the impression of gays as hybrid beings. Similar to the experience of Tokyo Disneyland outlined by Yoshimi, representations of gay men and spaces stage an encounter with the exotic other, already assimilated within Japan. While not quite as sanitized as Yoshimi's Disneyland or Robertson's Huis Ten Bosch, gay boom images of gay spaces safely contained same sex intimacy within a limited, commercialized space. Returning to the final scene of *Okoge*, Shinjuku is

idealized as a diverse, egalitarian space in a succession of shots of people of various gender identities and nationalities happily conversing and physically interacting as the protagonist's family walks through the streets. This scene visualizes the idea that Shinjuku houses both the domestic and the foreign alike; from Japanese drag queens wearing kimonos to masculine Caucasian men. Like Disneyland, the heterosexual woman comes into contact with exotic, hybrid others, but she also becomes an exotic minority in this queer town. Shinjuku and gay men represent the duality of Japanese identity that "stands on both sides of 'the Westerner' and 'the Other,'" where the self is at once native and exoticized.²²⁴

However, homophobic and scopophilic articles on gay cruising spots outside Shinjuku, however, suggest that Yoshimi's theory of Disnification is not universally applicable. There are instances where the gay other remains the unassimilable other. Writers' explicit homophobia and fear of interaction permeate the two articles about unnamed cruising spots located outside of Shinjuku. Unlike the segregated spaces of Disneyland, the commercial spaces of Shibuya, or the publicly acknowledged gay space of Shinjuku, the cruising spots depicted in the articles render the other visible in spaces without warning. Containment and segregation are essential elements for staging encounters with the other that minimizing anxiety.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki argues that there is a move towards a limited multiculturalism in contemporary Japan in which diversity is celebrated under certain restrictions, such as designated and supervised spaces. Morris-Suzuki calls this "cosmetic multiculturalism" which dictates that "cultural diversity is to be displayed in particular, controllable forms and spaces. Okinawan music can be incorporated into the celebrations surrounding the Summit; Thai dance can become part of local multicultural festivals. But, for example, groups of Nigerian men performing rock music in an urban underpass are something else altogether."²²⁵ A non-threatening form of

multiculturalism depends on distinguishing acceptable forms of encountering difference from incongruous expressions of cultural difference. Specific spaces and events may permit acts that signify difference but these acts create anxiety or hostility once they are dislocated from their “appropriate” times and occasions. Rosi Braidotti has written about such celebrations of containment within the context of the European Right. Braidotti states that celebrations of identities rest on “fixed notions of one’s territory” and lead to notions of difference that are “deterministic, and also exclusive and intrinsically xenophobic” because the celebration of identities relies on essentialized notions of identity.²²⁶ Thus we might understand the containment of gay space as retaining the imaginary heteronormativity of public spaces. This sort of spatial containment of homosexuality is in evidence in Mark McLelland’s explanation for why one of his gay interviewee chose not to come out at his workplace so as to avoid making his co-workers uncomfortable. McLelland attributes this sense of uncomfortableness to a general discomfort felt by some in Japan “when aspects of life which are normally understood to be a part of the private sphere are brought out and discussed in public.”²²⁷ Celebrations of marginalized sexualities can only occur under the premise that difference is expressed in designated spaces that are contained and segregated.

Incidents such as the Fuchû trial (1991-1997) illustrated the subtle ways that access to space has reinforced discrimination against queer subjects. This incident occurred when the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education rejected the gay and lesbian activist organization OCCUR’s request to use one of their hostels. The Board of Education stated that since the hostels forbid people of different genders to occupy rooms, they could not allow homosexual people to stay in their rooms because “the emotions and feelings felt towards other sexes by heterosexuals are directed towards the same sex for homosexuals.”²²⁸ What is at stake for the

Board of Education is clearly not the impossible task of policing any “emotions and feelings” that may occur between residents of the same room. By rejecting OCCUR’s request to use their facilities, the Board of education invoked the unstated heteronormativity of this public space.

Restricted access to spaces is also evident in other aspects of gay men’s lives including booking hotels, motels, and renting real estate. In a 1994 survey of several real estate companies and hotels, it was learned that companies and hotels repeatedly rejected accommodating two men using such nonsensical excuses as “two men living together will invite friends and will generate complaints” or “gay people have a different understanding of the world than normal people, so they do not pay rent on time.”²²⁹ The media can celebrate Shinjuku 2-chome, but there remains strong resistance to homosexuals occupying spaces other than private or designated spaces.

Examining the containment and segregation of homosexuals and homosexual acts reveals that celebrations of hybrid spaces and subjects during the gay boom was little more than cosmetic multiculturalism where foreign acts and identities required policing and containment so as not to fan public anxiety. Discourses on socially “appropriate” uses of spaces routinely relegate marginalized sexuality to delimited spaces within the imagined geography of Japan, ensuring that the other is easily accessible but securely contained. Such segregation of the other protects the heteronormativity and homogeneity of Japanese national identity even while celebrating multiculturalism.

While gay men may represent an idealized and masculinized version of Japan’s hybridity, the politics of space reveal unseen yet strongly enforced boundaries separating public heteronormative spaces from marginal gay spaces. Gay boom media celebrated male homosexuality on the condition that it remained within designated spaces. Media outlets with less tolerance for the gay boom (men’s weeklies, etc.) treated same sex intimacy with animosity

whenever it appeared outside the confines of gay districts or private spaces. In this sense, gay men were hybrid not only for their associations with Western gay culture but also for their segregation to the exotic margins outside of heteronormative Japanese culture. Gay men's hybridity as seen in HIV/AIDS-related topics suggests the permeability of national borders. Yet gay boom media also represented gay men as having limited mobility, residing in designated gay spaces or concealing their sexuality at work or other public spaces. This sort of marginalization in the imagined geography of Japan relied on conceiving gay spaces and heterosexual spaces as fixed sites where any celebration of national and sexual others was a contained phenomenon.

It is perhaps not surprising to realize that the boundaries between gay space and heterosexual space remained rigid in mainstream films *Kirakira Hikaru* (1992) and *Okoge* (1992) released early in the gay boom. Both followed the dominant discourse on homosexuality and space in the gay boom by reproducing segregation of homosexuality in certain spaces. Each film constructs homosexual space as only being possible in locations that were secluded from the heteronormative family or heterosexism. In *Okoge*, private spaces such as the bedroom are associated with homosexuality, but once a member of the gay man's family penetrates that space, its potential as homosexual space is dissipated. Displays of homosexual desire in mainstream films only occur in spaces already designated as non-straight, or those that are invisible to heteronormative society thus maintaining social needs to segregate and erase male homosexuality. Even though these films represent relatively positive images of gay men as sympathetic characters, the narratives reinforce the predetermined divisions separating gay spaces from heterosexual public spaces.

In these media representations, heterosexual space and gay space become fixed, installing a binary distinction between spaces. Phil Hubbard argues that "labelling certain spaces (e.g. the

suburbs, the rural, exotic resorts) as paradigmatic spaces of heterosexuality is problematic: rather than theorizing such spaces as heteronormal, geographers need to explore the heterosexual acts and rituals that give these the appearance of being heteronormal.”²³⁰ As gay men encounter spaces where their sexuality is deemed inappropriate, or displays of homosexuality are met with repulsion by heterosexuals, these moments produce demarcations that marginalize sexual minorities.

Adapting Judith Butler’s theory that gender is not fixed but maintained through reiterative and performative practices, David Bell et al. argue that notions of appropriateness and the heteronormativity in public spaces are also maintained through performative acts. Bell et al. argue that spaces are labelled as heterosexual “not prediscursively, or essentially, but *actively*, through the performance of a set of identities which employ the heterosexual matrix of sex, gender, and desire.”²³¹ By considering spatial imaginaries as performative, they can be regarded as being constantly in flux and thus introduce slight modifications with each performance.²³² Representations of space in the gay boom may not physically produce acts and rituals that demarcate gay space from heterosexual space, but representations may be read as having performative aspects in which the repeated association of certain spaces with sexuality or their omission, can code spaces as either queer or heterosexual spaces.

For example, Yuko Ogasawara writes about celebrating marriage retirements for women employees in Japanese companies, in which a retiring woman parades through the company building, receiving congratulatory remarks from other employees.²³³ These acts label workspaces as heterosexual through repetition, which renew the heteronormativity of the workplace and deems queer sexualities as unfit for public consumption. If associations between space and sexuality are performative, then so is the embodiment of *kokusaika* and the staging of encounters

with others in spaces such as Disneyland and Shibuya. Representing gay men and spaces as embodiments of the foreign other is similarly performative, an iterative production of a homogenized Japan by segregating subjects outside the norm.

To consider representations of space as performative acts then, opens the way for interjecting public spaces with practices and representations of queer sexuality which can subvert the assumed heterosexuality of spaces. Discussions of cruising spots by gay writers during the gay boom naturalized ubiquitous gay cruising spots as gay spaces thereby offering an alternative to angst-ridden reports by straight writers who framed the acts in those spaces as intrusions into heterosexual space. An instructive example may be found in *Gay Heavenly Campus*, in an article on etiquette in cruising spots. The writer complains about straight couples and jogging elders in the parks at night, saying that he would like to “tell them off so that they wouldn’t come to a place like this at this late hour.”²³⁴ The writer further designates parks at night as gay spaces thus reframing heterosexual couples and joggers as the intruders and transgressors. This example demonstrates how the public space of a park becomes a gay space through the performative act of cruising.

In *Welcome to the Gay World*, published as an introductory guide to living as a gay man, the writer ponders, “Aren’t cruising spots the best invention in gay society? It probably existed from a time when you couldn’t reveal your sexuality and it isn’t hard to imagine specific parks and public bathrooms used to meet people then.”²³⁵ The writer imparts a sense of permanency and historical continuity to cruising spots representing them as established permanent gay spaces and reinforcing the imaginary boundaries dividing gay and heterosexual spaces. Such a separation may indicate the start of a counterpublic, but this dualistic separation also works alongside the exoticism of spaces produced by center-periphery relations as discussed above.

Gay boom media cloaked gay spaces in the metaphors of margin vs. center, which in turn maintained the marginalization and exoticization of gay men. This spatial division between the margins and the center is scrutinized and dissolved in the films by the gay experimental filmmaker Hiroyuki Oki. Oki's films reflect on the performativity of the sexualized aspects of spaces through camera movements and editing techniques which call attention to the continuity between spaces and the arbitrary quality of strict spatial divisions. His films questions the heterosexuality of national and communal spaces through associating them with homoerotic acts thereby disrupting any association of those spaces with a coherent national or local identity. *Heaven 6 Box* (1994) and *Tamaasobi* (1996) focus on the interactions between gay subjects and local residents in rural areas outside the metropolitan areas. *Heaven 6 Box* adheres to the tradition of lyrical avant-garde films by presenting portrait shots of residents in recurring locations such as the local train station and the shrine. *Tamaasobi*, loosely translated as playing with balls, adopts an experimental narrative about two male former high school baseball players who develop a sexual relationship while playing for a company baseball team. The sexual acts that occur both on and off the baseball field inject homoeroticism into a sport known for being the national pastime and a source of national pride. Oki explores the spatial relations between the players and the field through such techniques as 360 degree pans and heavy handed use of zoom lenses. Further, he uses reoccurring quotes from Shiki Masaoka, a famous 19th century poet and avid baseball player, to further queer the national pastime. Through eroticizing the baseball field, a symbol of Japan's history of modernization, Oki transforms the space into one of homoerotic interaction.

Among Oki's films, *Tarch Trip* (1994) most thoroughly examines these themes of local space and sexuality. In this film, the private space where homosexual acts occur is connected to

larger public spaces in the district through editing and the traveling camera which blur divisions between homosexual and heteronormative space. The camera examines and documents various spaces around a rural train station in the countryside of Kôchi city. Oki repeatedly films in a clearing in front of the station and an apartment where homoerotic acts occur to establish a direct link between public communal space and private eroticized space. Oki uses cinematography to establish a connection between these spaces early in the film by moving the camera from the apartment hallway to show a man sleeping on the floor, and then by tilting upward to reveal a balcony outside the window. Through nuanced camera movement and editing, the sequence slowly progresses from the room to the clearing between the room and on to the train station. By the end of the sequence, the camera pans back to the clearing and then to the balcony. Oki brings our attention to subtle yet important spatial connections linking the room to its environment. He does this by moving our vision from inside the room to the train station and then moving outward to the balcony as viewed from the train station.

In an interview conducted at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, Oki explained his interest in space stating that since training in architecture he has long held an interest in the very personal and physical experiences that spaces provide; “[including] somebody’s house at dusk, or the route you take to the train station.”²³⁶ This strategy is in clear view in *Tarch Trip*’s repeated presentation of mundane, everyday spaces that through director Oki’s eye accrue new meanings with every repetition and thus his method closely approximates the process of performativity.

The most intensely expressed performative aspects of space occur in scenes where camera movement and editing link same sex intimacy in the private spaces with public spaces. An example of this occurs in a scene with two men talking with each other on the balcony. In the

first shot, the camera is situated within the room framing the men in a long shot between the windows. A medium long shot of the men conversing with each other is followed by a hard cut showing one man licking the other's ear. Then we cut to a high long shot of the balcony with a man looking back at the camera. The camera pans left to the clearing in front of the station and zooms in on the two gay men from before, now standing together in the clearing. The display of intimacy occurs in the private space of the balcony but the final shot of the two men taken from the public space of the clearing breaks down the boundaries between private/public, gay/heterosexual space, and center/periphery.

Elsewhere, this iterative association of space and sexuality brings performativity of representations of space to the fore illustrating how spaces attain labels actively through recurrent acts. For example, in another scene, Oki pans the camera from the station to the window revealing the inside of the room where a man sits in his underwear. The next shot is from inside the room where we have a closer look at the man. The following shot is of the station taken from the balcony. This is followed by a shot similar in composition to the earlier interior shot, but in this one, the man is masturbating naked. Although the masturbation takes place in an enclosed space, the editing emphasizes a spatial continuity between the station, the clearing, and the room; presenting the man as if he were masturbating in the space of the station. Through repeatedly linking the public space to displays of sexuality, we realize that the spectator's perceptions of rural public space have gradually become altered.

Such gradual change in perception affects not only spaces, but occupants and events within the spaces involved. For example, another scene begins with a shot from street level of a man leaning on a balcony rail. A middle-aged man enters the frame as the camera tracks backwards following the man as he walks. The camera follows him into a building and cuts to a

shot of the same man in a house with children. The shot of the man on the balcony, where acts of sexual intimacy take place, is juxtaposed with the shot of the middle-aged man and his children, which leaves the middle age man's sexual orientation ambiguous and challenging viewer's ability to assume the sexual orientation of the people in this film. Through this ambiguity, the film effectively destabilizes and denaturalizes the association of prescribed labels onto space and people.

Conscious destabilization of the conventions of ascribing of heterosexuality with public spaces is strategic and affects the spectators' perception of local communities. For instance, the festival scene is comprised of static shots edited together with the recurring space of the balcony. Several shots from the same angle document the progression of the festival from the parade entering the space to the disassembly of the float. The scene can be variously interpreted as: a symbol of the local community, an example of maintaining ties to traditional culture, or invoking the homoeroticism of the active male bodies that support and move the float. The float scene during the festival is the most direct interjection of performativity to occur in the clearing. Since festivals are often seasonal or annual events and highly gendered in the division of labor, this festival is a performative act that produces a communal identity. This identity affirms local history and traditions, traditional gender roles and hierarchies, and heterosexuality. The balcony again provides a subtle insertion of residual homoeroticism echoing earlier scenes in the film and disrupting the performative functions of the festival. The clearing remains imbued with associations of local community and heterosexuality. However, as the film introduces gradual change through associations of the space with homoerotic acts, the clearing encapsulates multiple sexual identities through acknowledging the arbitrary nature of spatial divisions.

Tarch Trip presents the clearing as a space for the local community in one scene and a homosexual space in another, revealing the constantly shifting meanings and usages of the space. This fluidity in the meaning of space denaturalizes the heterosexism of public spaces while revealing that performativity produces heteronormative spaces. Oki demonstrates the ephemerality and constant self-renewal of meanings of spaces through the actions of the town's inhabitants. The active deconstruction of spatial divisions evocatively illustrates the extent to which marginalized private spaces can affect perceptions of centralized public spaces. Gillian Rose and Nicky Gregson have written about a similar disruption of central-periphery relations in their study of how the marginalized and temporary space of car boot sales, akin to flea markets, affect consumer's perceptions of hierarchical relations between shopping areas.

And interestingly, too, this mutual yet unequal infusion is at a considerable remove from the dualistic separation suggested by the physical location of the car-boot sale as a temporary presence on the geographical margins of exchange, with malls and high streets as permanent features of the centre. Instead, what we have here is as good an illustration one could hope to find of the way in which the hierarchies embedded in physical location, in absolute space, can be challenged through the working out in practice, through performance, of metaphors of margin and centre, margin-in-centre, and centre-in-margin.²³⁷

Through various spatial practices executed by the people in the film and Oki as filmmaker, *Tarch Trip* similarly denaturalizes the hierarchical relationship between center and margin by depicting the continuity between public and private spaces, highlighting the arbitrary boundaries between them. Nor are private spaces unique in this sense; indeed every space has the potential of becoming a counterpublic site, a queer space, where ephemeral personal acts can lead to subversion and transformation even though those subversions may themselves be ephemeral.

The limited elasticity of Japanese hybridism evident in the spatial politics of the gay boom reveals that while there are some liminal spaces in hybridism, conservative notions of appropriateness and morality contains and marginalizes these spaces. The maintenance of these boundaries function to uphold the contours of Japanese national identity. National identity is invariably defined against non-normative, non-Japanese who must be excluded in order to delineate these boundaries.

Director Oki Hiroyuki's works unlock the permeability of these spaces while critiquing the performative nature of these exclusionary spaces and their association with heteronormative morality. *Tarch Trip* gestures towards the inherent potential to transform spaces through mundane acts of mobility and the penetration of spatial boundaries that blur the implicit moral codes of spaces. Oki acknowledges that continuity between the margins and the center to denaturalize the myth of hybridism as well as the notion that hybridity maintains the essence and the core of what constitutes Japaneseness. He reveals practices and representations from the margins to render ambiguous the clear delineations of what or whom constitutes the center. Gay boom media rarely challenged this relation between center and margin and in fact retained it. It did so by preserving notions of the familial structure, middle mass society, and national identity while celebrating gay culture as non-threatening alternatives. Within this context, I argue that Oki's film works to subvert these relations, dissolving the center by interjecting homoeroticism and questioning its heteronormativity and showing the potential to construct a space in Japan where hegemonic norms are denaturalized.

Epilogue—Areas for Future Scholarship

While conducting research for this dissertation on the gay boom in the 1990s, I engaged literature and potential research directions that I was unable to address due to matters of maintaining a manageable scope and focus. My purpose here is to discuss several of the most salient trends in recent scholarship that fall beyond the scope of the present study but that would enrich and extend the theoretical and practical questions that I have raised. Three interrelated strands of scholarship emerged as I conducted my research: the need for increased attention to a multiplicity of voices, the dynamics of cultural production and reception, and the assimilation of queer sexualities into hegemonic narratives. Investigating in such directions in the future enables us to further situate the multifarious modalities of power from the adoption of hegemonic gender roles such as housewives and mothers to the production of images, the shaping of national policies, and different forms of citizenship. In future scholarship, I intend to identify where and how the flows of power are interrupted especially in lesbian activism, queer cinema, and alternative social formations. The works I discuss in this section may not appear to directly relate to the gay boom but they provide potential models and points of inquiry to look further into the operations of discourse on sexuality in contemporary Japan.

Scholarship on the voices of subjects that negotiate discourses of gender and sexuality in Japan, in particular, includes ethnographic approaches that analyze the construction of women's positionalities in Japan. Such studies are instructive for their analyses of the negotiations, coercion, and resistance that occur as women and marginalized subjects adopt certain roles in Japanese society. The ways in which these roles are constructed and adopted through internalization of social ideals and everyday practices will enrich inquiries into how the

mainstream media at times constructed alternative positionalities that diverted from hegemonic norms of gender and sexuality.²³⁸

Much of this scholarship is being conducted at this time. Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni's *Housewives of Japan: An Ethnography of Real Lives and Consumerized Domesticity* is particularly relevant in theorizing the process by which women internalize normative roles of housewives and mothers. Since the participants of her study are women who were in their early 20s during the gay boom, Goldstein-Gidoni's work is instructive for identifying various relationships and institutions that play formative functions in this process. This generation, dubbed the "*Hanako* tribe," after the magazine known for its promotion of conspicuous consumption, were roundly criticized by conservatives for their avid consumerism, hedonistic lifestyle, and late marriage.²³⁹ Particularly illuminating in Goldstein-Gidoni's study is her discussion on how these women, contrary to social anxiety over their lifestyles, smoothly transitioned into marriage and motherhood. This matrix of familial expectations, women's roles within corporate culture, and their relationships with their life partners made this transition seem self-evident.²⁴⁰ Then how did this transition from conspicuous consumer to model housewives initiate or respond to these women's changes in media consumption? Goldstein-Gidoni's housewives can be extended to discuss how normative timelines interact with media consumption alongside various manifestations of societal pressure that she discusses.

Susan D. Holloway's ethnographic study on motherhood in contemporary Japan contrasts significantly with Goldstein-Gidoni's approach by depicting the pervasive force of the ideals of motherhood and how mothers struggle against those ideals. She demonstrates that there is a constant negotiation between lived subjects occupying the role of mothers and the ideals of motherhood espoused in the media. Her work poses possibilities for future research in my first

chapter on women's magazines, specifically in interrogating how readers responded to different feminine ideals. Intriguingly, Holloway discusses how her participants' ideals of motherhood were inspired by the serial television drama *Oshin* (1983-84) in spite of the drastic changes in the family structure and socioeconomic conditions during the drama's early 20th century setting.²⁴¹ This interaction between media representations and internalization of ideals, when applied to the context of the early 1990s, may produce intriguing results on how working women related to new ideals of dual-income housewife or glamorous singlehood. This may result in a more comprehensive understanding of reading practices of women's magazines and how alternative positionalities espoused in them were mobilized, applied, or ignored in women's lives.

The women's roles discussed in these works are about their roles in the institutions of the family. Then, how did women's roles in institutions work with and against new understandings of selfhood in contemporary Japan? Akiko Takeyama's ethnographic research on a housewife who frequents host-clubs (bars where female customers enjoy conversations with men) analyzes the negotiations between fulfilling familial roles and pursuing personal development through romance. This housewife embodies a self-autonomous neoliberal subject, who utilizes romance to create self-defined projects to invigorate her womanhood.²⁴² The positive connections that this woman makes between her romance and her family life present a complex picture of how the narrative of neoliberalism is molded to comply with her narrative of her role as a housewife. This complicates the notion of womanhood in Japan, since this housewife's self-perception demonstrates multifaceted construction of her identity, as she negotiates between her belonging in a collective with the neoliberal narrative of individual development. Attending to women's voices may create a more comprehensive and complex understanding of diverse women's cultures, as their commitment to collectives and communities parallel their notion of self-

development. Takeyama's study shows the increasing importance in attending to discourses of selfhood as I continue my research on Japan's discourse on sexuality in a neoliberal climate.

While most of my research examined the mainstream media, studies on alternative media, marginalized communities, and narratives from marginalized subjects point to a different way of understanding how hegemonic norms are perpetuated and subverted. These normative roles are also defined through implied alternatives or dissident voices and marginalized subjects that are abjected from hegemonic norms. Sharon Chalmers' interdisciplinary study of lesbian culture in Japan and James Welker's more recent examination of lesbian histories and lesbian communities present themes that would introduce a critical perspective to the sole interest in male sexualities in the gay boom. Chalmers's work, for instance, would significantly compliment the lack of lesbian voices indicative of gay boom media discourses. She writes in great detail on the myriad inequalities that women face as lesbians, such as stigmatization from lack of marital status and deprivation of housing subsidies for couples. Since these were also issues that Shiho Tanimura addressed on her book about single women, Chalmers study indicates the possibility of finding various ways and discourses women countered these pervasive social pressures in lesbian culture.²⁴³

James Welker goes further in this reclamation of lesbian voices by examining lesbian writers in the 1990s. These women mobilized history in order to create an image of a utopian future and a monolithic narrative of linear progress. This ubiquitous notion of a better, more progressive Japan alarmingly parallels the gay boom's celebration of Japan's emergent multiculturalism in a safe manner, and suggests how marginalized communities can be compliant with this discourse. Welker cites Horie Yuri's most recent history of lesbians as being a far more critical in warning against homonormativity, particularly in her suggestion to mobilize lesbians'

anger to challenge heterosexist social norms²⁴⁴ Horie's work functions to warn against complying with the alluring narrative of progress. Welker's work on lesbian history demonstrates that homonormativity and the euphoria of cosmetic multiculturalism was not limited to the mainstream media and the gay boom. His study suggests the need of further assessment of how multicultural discourse permeated different social spheres.

Chalmers' and Welker's works potentially broaden an analysis of the pervasive social pressures and narratives of multiculturalism that pervaded the gay boom. Although it was not possible for this dissertation, I believe that further investigation into the production and distribution of small-scale printed media known as *mini-komi* independently published by lesbian groups would meaningfully address how lesbian communities addressed these pervasive forces. Although difficult to access, such primary evidence would recast the dominant discourse on gender, sexuality, and multiculturalism in the gay boom. Jonathan D. Mackintosh's study of mainstream masculinity in 1970s gay magazines may similarly illuminate a method for analyzing the vagaries of oppressions faced by queer female subjects and queer male subjects in 1990s Japan. Combining these two areas together may clarify various ways in which discourses on the nation and concepts of citizenship are adapted, parodied, or resisted in different avenues of queer media. In order to conduct such studies, clarifying the dynamics of cultural production and reception is essential to understand how dissident voices are mediated.

Recent research in media representations of queer sexualities point towards potentially beneficial approaches to study where meaning-making occurs in the realm of production and reception. Closer investigations on the producers and consumers of cultural products would greatly benefit future projects on spaces where a multiplicity of voices can be accommodated. Further contextualization of liminal filmmakers and their oeuvres promise to dynamically

question the definitions of nation identity as well as marginalized film communities within national cinema cultures. Currently, Song Hwee Lim's *Tsai Ming-Liang and a Cinema of Slowness* is the only book-length scholarly study of queer Asian filmmakers. Lim's approach that links the technique of long takes, resistance against modernity, and queer politics to Tsai's films potentially provide a more thorough analysis of how works by queer filmmakers Ryosuke Hashiguchi and Hiroyuki Oki are reactions to the politics of mainstream Japanese cinema and society. Integrating the social context of the gay boom into this broader discourse would significantly contribute both to existing studies of queer Asian cinema as well as studies of sexuality in Japan. Especially the distinctive style of these gay auteurs, such as Hashiguchi's use of long takes and Oki's rejection of a narrative structure, deserves to be considered in conjunction with their insightful content on communities, sexuality, and social hierarchies.

The intersection of cultural aesthetics with nationalism or soft power define another area for future research. How cultural products flow within the restructuring of borders in Japan's soft nationalism creating alternative positionalities would benefit from recent studies on *fujoshi* (women who consume and/or produce homoerotic *boys love* manga).²⁴⁵ For example, Patrick Galbraith's refined investigation of how homoerotic fantasy "opens up the potential for intimacy latent in and separate from the everyday"²⁴⁶ or Fran Martin's pioneering research on Taiwan readers of *boys love* collectively construct an imagined geography in which Japan is characterized by "sex-gender ambiguity/fluidity/non-conformity."²⁴⁷ These scholars link how cultural products on homoerotic relations are utilized by readers to create real interactions and spaces that allow alternative positionalities.

How these products are received by consumers interacting with hegemonic notions of the nation and its people form another potential site of critical analysis for this project. For example,

the transnational circulation of *boys love* comics when analyzed alongside Japan's soft nationalism produces a condition that "engenders exclusionary politics of the nation, as it newly provokes the clear demarcation of 'us' and 'them' through an inter-national administration of cultural diversity."²⁴⁸ This raises questions as to how the shift in the media's interest from marginalized sexualities in the gay boom to female *fujoshi* consumers furthers the notion of sexuality as constructed through consumption. Within such a context, how could we critically assess cultures that embrace difference through celebrating homoerotic acts?

Jane Ward's studies on homoerotic acts between straight identified men approaches a similar question through discussing the risk of homoeroticism's appropriation into heterosexist politics. Through the analysis of personal ads and media representations of "straight" men seeking same-sex intimacy, Ward argues that this homosexual sex without homosexuality "is marked by disidentification with gay men, affirmation of men's investments into misogyny and gendered violence, and deliberate deployment of a nostalgic homosocial narrative that (re)situates the sexual within the realm of normal male bonding."²⁴⁹ Homoeroticism by itself does not constitute deviation from heteronormativity, but in fact may reaffirm heterosexist values and violence. Ward's study indicates the importance of considering the exclusions that occur even in the representations of homoeroticism. My dissertation dealt largely with representations that are clearly labeled as gay, but Ward's study may be potentially used to extend my focus to representations of homoeroticism and assessing its relation to heterosexist politics.

This sensitivity to exclusionary aspects of homoerotic representations should be considered in conjunction with the dynamics of image production in the media. Katherine Sender's *Business Not Politics: Making of the Gay Market*, which critically engages with the exclusionary practices that play into mainstream corporations and media's appealing to the gay

market, is particularly useful in conceptualizing the ways in which the rational, objective guise of sound business practices obscure the selective process in which queer representations are regulated for profit.²⁵⁰ Sender's study raises new, unanswered questions such as the influence of ideological contexts such as changing concepts of hegemonic norms of gender, sexuality, race, and class in determining profit-driven decisions on gay inclusivity. Sender's emphasis on marketing and nuanced analysis of niche marketing may be applied to advertisements for gay boom films and magazines published to open up analysis of how these products were expected to appeal to certain demographics. Understanding underlying profit-driven decisions may further illuminate how these business decisions conditioned representations in the gay boom.

Perhaps no other area has experienced such exciting new developments as the study of queer Asian sexualities. For instance, the recent wealth of studies on queer sexualities in Singapore intriguingly address the concept of homonationalism as discussed by Jasbir Puar. Puar reads the notion as a de facto policy for limited tolerance of queer lives designed to promote the national interest.²⁵¹ In the context of Singapore, the state's wholesale rejection of LGBT rights is officially litigated by the notorious penal code 377A which criminalizes male homosexuality outright. This position is offset by economic policies that promote cultural liberalization so as to capitalize on the nation's creative industries. The result is a profound conflict of economic pragmatism or what John Whittier Treat has aptly characterized as "Singapore's ideological and thus structural need for a state homophobia to define itself, negatively and against the West."²⁵² What remains is a unique homonormativity where the government's espousal of neo-Confucian values clash with Singapore's pragmatism that "has irrationally also created an environment where the non-liberal local gay discourse of catch-up has emerged to replicate the homonormative values of neoliberalism in the West."²⁵³ These studies on the case of Singapore

remind us of the numerous inconsistent and ambiguous spaces occupied by queer subjects due to the conflicting and ambiguous concepts of citizenship. The ways in which local values, national image, and neoliberalism intersect to create and delimit spaces for queer subjects is relevant to investigating the correspondence between forms of citizenship and gay representations in the Japanese context. Charting trajectories of national policy may create a more comprehensive image of citizenship in contemporary Japan that the gay boom worked with and against.

The tensions between the local and the transnational that construct hybrid gay subjects is an intriguing subject that has only now begun to gather the attention of researchers on Chinese male homosexualities. Travis S.K. Kong argues that “kaleidoscopic” views of how global flow of queer images are “experienced, mediated, embodied, articulated, appropriated and interpreted by Chinese gay men who live in specific localities.”²⁵⁴ Kong’s research conceptualizes how local circulation of queer images and specific cultural contexts create hybridized identities that is constructed through national policy and queer communities. This approach can be adopted to my research to investigate how hybridity is constructed through national conceptualizations of citizenship and formation of queer communities in addition to representations. Particularly intriguing is his examination of homosexuality in mainland China after the reform period, where the nation’s reinvention as a modern, global society made it possible for male homosexuals to represent a new type of humanity rather than a pathological or deviant subject. However, this new image of mainland China marginalizes subjects such as rural-to-urban migrants and male prostitutes called “money boys,” who continue to be discriminated against by both straight and gay communities.²⁵⁵ “Money boys” tells how the celebration of gay men as new citizens continue to produce new exclusions and networks of oppression. Examining the exclusions that occur in euphoric celebrations of inclusion is an increasingly urgent matter in Japan, where local

governments have started to acknowledge same-sex partnerships and LGBT people have gained access to rights such as hospital visitations in Shibuya Ward in Tokyo. These limited steps of progress are predicated on moral codes such as monogamy and primacy of sexual relations, which may result in marginalization of subjects and relations that do not comply to a certain model of citizenship.

This continuous questioning of exclusion is what I find to be at the core of my future projects. This is not because I am adopting what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick dubs “paranoid hermeneutics” that “takes its shape from a generational narrative that’s characterized by a distinctly Oedipal regularity and repetitiveness” that perpetuates a constant expository mode.²⁵⁶ Kong’s work demonstrates that social change often produces new marginalized subjects which must be addressed critically. My belief is that through this operation that we may conceive a potential queer futurity that Munoz promised that will “allow us to see and feel beyond the quagmire of the present.”²⁵⁷ To achieve this end I will continue examining narratives in contemporary Japan that maintains its efficacy through the invisibility of marginalized others. I recognize how current studies have displayed increasing sensitivity and complexity in examining how national policies, media representations, discourse on citizenship, and everyday practices create compliant subjects. However, I find it more challenging to envision a comprehensive social change that will disrupt the process of continuous assimilation of certain queer subjects and exclusion of others. I believe that my ongoing research will not only contribute to a more nuanced understanding of power and locating sites of production of power and resistance, but also with a hope to incubate theoretical grounds for radical change.

¹ Anne Allison, "A Challenge to Hollywood? Japanese Character Goods Hit the Us," *Japanese Studies* 20, no. 1 (2000): 81.

² Takashi Otsuka, "Introduction: Youki Ni, Nigiyaka, Ni, Jinsei Wo Tanoshimu Tame Ni," in *Bessatsu Takarajima Ex: Gei No Omocha Bako*, ed. Ueda Takashi (Tokyo: JICC, 1993).

³ Jonathan M. Hall, "Japan's Progressive Sex: Male Homosexuality, National Competition, and the Cinema," *Journal of Homosexuality* 39, no. 3/4 (2000): 41.

⁴ Wim Lunsing, "'Gay Boom' in Japan: Changing Views of Homosexuality?," *Thamyris: Mythmaking from Past to Present* 4, no. 2 (1997): 267.

⁵ Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro, "The Postmodern and Mass Images in Japan," *Public Culture* 1, no. 2 (1989): 9.

⁶ Lise Skov, "Environmentalism Seen through Japanese Women's Magazines," in *Women, Media, and Consumption in Japan*, ed. Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (Richmond: Curzon, 1995), 175-76.

⁷ Hitoshi Ishida, and Murakami, Takanori, "The Process of Divergence between 'Men Who Love Men' and 'Feminised Men' in Postwar Japanese Media " *Intersections*, no. 12 (2006), <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue12/ishida.html>.

⁸ Ibid.; Mark McLelland, "Japan's Original "Gay Boom"," in *Popular Culture and Globalization in Japan*, ed. Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto (New York: Routledge, 2006); "From the Stage to the Clinic: Changing Transgender Identities in Post-War Japan" (paper presented at the Japan Forum, 2004).

⁹ See "Gei Tachi No Sugao Ga Shiritai!," *SPA!*, February 1 1995; "Fudangi No Gei," *Marco Polo*, February 1994.

¹⁰ See Mark J. McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000); *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age*, Asian Voices (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Wim Lunsing, *Beyond Common Sense : Sexuality and Gender in Contemporary Japan*, Japanese Studies. (London ; New York: Kegan Paul, 2001).

¹¹ McLelland, *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age*.

¹² Monique Wittig, "The Straight Mind," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson (New York: MIT, 1990).

¹³ See James Valentine, "Skirting and Suiting Stereotypes," *Theory, Culture & Society* 14, no. 3 (1997); Hall; McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities*.

¹⁴ See Eric O. Clarke, *Virtuous Vice : Homoeroticism and the Public Sphere* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000); Ron Becker, *Gay Tv and Straight America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Katherine Sender, *Business, Not Politics : The Making of the Gay Market, Between Men--between Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out : The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); L. Henderson, *Love and Money: Queers, Class, and Cultural Production* (NYU Press, 2013), 31-59.

¹⁵ See Clarke; Sender; Chasin; Becker; Karin Quimby, "Will& Grace: Negotiating (Gay) Marriage on Prime-Time Television," *Journal of Popular Culture* 38, no. 4 (2005).

¹⁶ Clarke, 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁸ Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing : Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁹ Yumiko Iida, *Rethinking Identity in Modern Japan: Nationalism as Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.

²⁰ Richard Light and Wataru Yasaki, "J League Soccer and the Rekindling of Regional Identity in Japan," *Sporting traditions* 18, no. 2 (2002); James Shields, "Revisioning a Japanese Spiritual Recovery through Manga: Kobayashi Yoshinori's 'Gōmanism' as Aesthetics and Ideology," *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 47 (2) (2013).

²¹ Clarke, 14.

²² *Crea* was first published in 1989 as a high fashion magazine for young, working women. For the first several years, before a change in editorial direction, *Crea* was known for producing in-depth special issues on global politics and current events unconventional for women's fashion magazines. *Takarajima* is a subcultural magazine originally published as *Wonderland* in 1973 known for its edgy content and shock value. The subseries *Bessatsu Takarajima* delivers in-depth information on a specific theme with every issue and covered gay culture through three issues in the 1990s.

²³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 27.

²⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures : Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital*, Music Culture (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).

-
- ²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 101.
- ²⁶ Kuniko Shibata, "Neoliberalism, Risk, and Spatial Governance in the Developmental State: Japanese Planning in the Global Economy," *Critical planning* 15 (2008): 100.
- ²⁷ Iida, 199.
- ²⁸ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 112.
- ²⁹ Sharon Chalmers, *Emerging Lesbian Voices from Japan* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002), 72.
- ³⁰ Otsuka.
- ³¹ See McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities*; Hall.
- ³² Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni, *Housewives of Japan : An Ethnography of Real Lives and Consumerized Domesticity* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 58-66.
- ³³ See Emiko Ochiai, "Bijyuaru Imêji to Shite No Onna: Sengo Jyosei Zasshi Ga Miseru Seiyakuwari," in *Hyôgen to Media*, ed. Teruko Inoue, Chizuko Ueno, and Yumiko Ehara, *Nihon No Feminizumu = Feminism in Japan* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995); "Decent Housewives and Sensual White Women: Representations of Women in Postwar Japanese Magazines," *Japan Review*, no. 9 (1997).
- ³⁴ Hidekazu Kogiso and Seimei Hoken Bunka Sentâ (Tokyo Japan), *80-Nendai Josei No Seikatsu : Genzai to Shôrai* (Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 1983), 12.

³⁵ Laura Dales, *Feminist Movements in Contemporary Japan*, Asian Studies Association of Australia Women in Asia Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 2009), 21.

³⁶ *Nonno* and *Anan* also occasionally used bold red fonts for their magazine covers, but the difference in content, fashion style, and gender politics between these two magazines and the *akamoji-kei* magazines were pronounced, and they were not considered a part of the *akamoji-kei* magazines.

³⁷ *Zasshikyô Jidai: Odoroki to Bakushô to Seiyoku Ni Mamireta "Zasshi" to Iu Wandârando Daikenkyû*, (Takarajima, 1997), 138-40.

³⁸ *Kôji Nanba, Sôkan No Shakaishi, Chikuma Shinsho (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2009), 75.*

³⁹ , *Anan*, January 1 1988, 14.

⁴⁰ , 98.

⁴¹ Taiki Morohashi, *Jendâ No Katararekata, Media No Tsukurarekata*, Dai 1-han. ed. (Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 2002), 71.

⁴² "Nihon No Taishûzasshi Ga Egaku Jendâ to "Kazoku"," in *Media Ga Tsukuru Jendâ : Nichi-Doku No Danjo, Kazokuzô O Yomitoku = Das Geschlecht Als Konstrukt Der Medien*, ed. Yasuko Muramatsu and Hilaria Gössmann (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1998), 197.

⁴³ *Jendâ No Katararekata, Media No Tsukurarekata*, 71.

⁴⁴ Nanba, 105-09.

⁴⁵ Thornton, 10.

⁴⁶ Waifu Henshûbu, *Anchi "Kurowassan Shôkôgun" : Kekkoshinai Onnatachi No Sugao*, Shohan. ed. (Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1989), 79-81.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁸ Nanba, 120-24.

⁴⁹ Rika Kayama, "Orîbu Shôjo No Yokubô No Arika," in *Shôjo Zasshi Ron*, ed. Eiji Otsuka (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1991), 114.

⁵⁰ "cute" is a translation of the Japanese *kawaii*, which is a word that becomes extremely significant in the aesthetics of *shôjo* culture.

⁵¹ Takuya Kikuda, "Shôhi Shakai to Zakka: 1980 Nendai, Zasshi "Olive" No Bunseki Wo Tsûjite," *Bunkagakuendaigaku Kiyô Fukushokugaku Zôkeigaku Kenkyû*, no. 45 (2014): 41.

⁵² "Aki Ichiban, Romanchikku Shôjo to Yobaretai," *Olive*, September 3 1983.

⁵³ Eiji Otsuka, *Shôjo Minzokugaku: Seikimatsu No Shinwa O Tsumugu "Miko No Matsuei"*, Shohan. ed., *Kôbunsha Bunko* (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1997), 78.

⁵⁴ Kazuko Honda, "Ima, Shôjo Wo Kataru Koto," in *Shôjo Shôsetsu Wandâ Rando: Meiji Kara Heisei Made*, ed. Satoko Kan (Tokyo Meiji Shoin, 2008), 25.

⁵⁵ Otsuka, 20-21.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 249; Deborah Michelle Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship : The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 4.

⁵⁷ Mizuki Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of Shojo Manga," in *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*, ed. Mark W. MacWilliams (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2008), 116.

⁵⁸ Shamoon, 31.

⁵⁹ Midori Matsui, "Little Girls Were Little Boys: Displaced Femininity in the Representation of Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics," in *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, ed. Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (Halifax, N.S: Fernwood, 1993), 177.

⁶⁰ Slash fan fiction represents a romantic relationship between two male characters of an existing text.

⁶¹ Akiko Hori, "On the Response (or Lack Thereof) of Japanese Fans to Criticism That "Yaoi" Is Antigay Discrimination," *Transformative Works and Cultures* 12 (2012), <http://journal.transformativeworks.org/index.php/twc/article/view/463>.

⁶² James Welker, "Lilies of the Margin: Beautiful Boys and Queer Female Identities in Japan," in *Asiapacificqueer : Rethinking Genders and Sexualities*, ed. Fran Martin (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

⁶³ Kathryn Bond Stockton, "Growing Sideways, or Versions of the Queer Child: The Ghost, the Homosexual, the Freudian, the Innocent, and the Interval of Animal," in *Curioser : On the Queerness of Children*, ed. Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 296.

⁶⁴ Ueno 322

⁶⁵ James R. Kincaid, *Erotic Innocence : The Culture of Child Molesting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 16.

⁶⁶ Nanba, 122.

⁶⁷ Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley, "Curioser: On the Queerness of Children," in *Curioser: On the Queerness of Children*, ed. Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), xiv.

⁶⁸ Norma Field, "The Child as Laborer and Consumer: The Disappearance of Childhood in Contemporary Japan," in *Children and the Politics of Culture*, ed. Sharon Stephens (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 1995), 68.

-
- ⁶⁹ Kôji Nanba, "Sengo Yûsu Sabukaruchâ Wo Megutte: Kogyaru to Urahara Kei," *Kansai Gakuin Daigaku Shakaigakubu Kiyô* 100 (2006): 104.
- ⁷⁰ *Sôkan No Shakaishi*, 126.
- ⁷¹ Yoshihiro Yonezawa, *Sengo Shôjo Mangashi*, Chikuma Bunko (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2007), 299-300.
- ⁷² Ishida, 12.
- ⁷³ Keiko I. McDonald, *Reading a Japanese Film : Cinema in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 13; Nobuko Kawashima, "The Film Industry in Japan — Prospering without Active Support from the State?," in *Cultural Policies in East Asia: Dynamics between the State, Arts and Creative Industries*, ed. Hye-Kyung Lee and Lorraine Lim (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 214.
- ⁷⁴ Chiyoko Tanaka, "1999-Nen No Natsuyasumi," *Kinema Junpô*, March 15 1988, 86-87.
- ⁷⁵ James Welker, "Beautiful, Borrowed, and Bent: "Boys' Love" as Girls' Love in Shôjo Manga," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture Society* 31, no. 3 (2006): 865.
- ⁷⁶ Tanaka, 83.
- ⁷⁷ Chris Straayer, *Deviant Eyes, Deviant Bodies : Sexual Re-Orientations in Film and Video*, Film and Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 54.
- ⁷⁸ John Whittier Treat, "Yoshimoto Banana Writes Home: Shojo Culture and the Nostalgic Subject," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 2 (1993): 384.
- ⁷⁹ McDonald, 138.
- ⁸⁰ Otsuka, 197.

-
- ⁸¹ Mary C. Brinton, *Women and the Economic Miracle : Gender and Work in Postwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 80.
- ⁸² McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities*, 112.
- ⁸³ Hall, 65.
- ⁸⁴ Labour and Welfare Ministry of Health, *Kôsei Hakusho* (Tokyo: Kôseishô, 1996).
- ⁸⁵ Miho Ogino, "Abortion and Women's Reproductive Rights: The State of Japanese Women, 1945–1991," in *Women of Japan and Korea: Continuity and Change*, ed. Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief Palley (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 89.
- ⁸⁶ Hiroko Takeda, *The Political Economy of Reproduction in Japan : Between Nation-State and Everyday Life* (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 181.
- ⁸⁷ Yuko Ogasawara, *Office Ladies and Salaried Men : Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- ⁸⁸ Susan D. Holloway, *Women and Family in Contemporary Japan* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 205.
- ⁸⁹ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 141.
- ⁹⁰ Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 93..
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Ito Peng, "Social Care in Crisis: Gender, Demography, and Welfare State Restructuring in Japan," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 9, no. 3 (2002): 67.
- ⁹³ Marcus Rebeck, "Changes in the Workplace and Their Impact on the Family," in *The Changing Japanese Family*, ed. Marcus Rebeck and Ayumi Takenaka (New York: Routledge, 2006), 88.

⁹⁴ Lee Edelman, *No Future : Queer Theory and the Death Drive*, Series Q (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 11.

⁹⁵ Kumiko Nemoto, "Postponed Marriage," *Gender & Society* 22, no. 2 (2008); Yoko Tokuhiko, *Marriage in Contemporary Japan*, Routledge Contemporary Japan Series (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2010); Akiko Yoshida, "No Chance for Romance: Corporate Culture, Gendered Work, and Increased Singlehood in Japan," *Contemporary Japan*, no. 23 (2011).

⁹⁶ Akiko Takeyama, *Staged Seduction: Selling Dreams in a Tokyo Host Club* (Stanford University Press, 2016), 126.

⁹⁷ Tokuhiko, 26.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Shiho Tanimura, *Kekkonshinai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun* (Tokyo: Shufu no Tomo, 1990), 23.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰² Ibid., 123.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 132.I

¹⁰⁴ Yoshida, 230.

¹⁰⁵ "Gei to Okama Wa Chigaunoyo," *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 68-69."

¹⁰⁶ *Olive shôjo* are teen magazine readers who were sexually reclusive and adore cute objects.

Aya Sugimoto is an actress/model known for her revealing clothing and sharp wit.

¹⁰⁷ "Bokutachi Ga Mitomeru Gei Kankaku: Sakurazawa Erika to Sugosugi Bôizu," *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 93.

-
- ¹⁰⁸ Momo Yajima, "Eguze Gei No Yûga Ni Shite Kinyokuteki Na Seikatsu," *ibid.*, 2/1 1991.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁰ *Zasshikyô Jidai: Odoroki to Bakushô to Seiyoku Ni Mamireta "Zasshi" to Iu Wandârando Daikenkyû*, 144.
- ¹¹¹ Nemoto, 230.
- ¹¹² "Bokutachi Ga Mitomeru Gei Kankaku: Sakurazawa Erika to Sugosugi Bôizu," 92.
- ¹¹³ Shitamori "Gei Tono Kaiteki Seikatsu Wo Mezasu Onna Tachi," 104-05.
- ¹¹⁴ "Ima Hoshiinowa Gay Boy Friends." *More*, November 1991, 296-97.
- ¹¹⁵ *Zasshikyô Jidai: Odoroki to Bakushô to Seiyoku Ni Mamireta "Zasshi" to Iu Wandârando Daikenkyû*, 143.
- ¹¹⁶ Yasuko Murota, "Gei Ni Koi Suru Onna Tachi," *Asahi Journal*, July 12 1991.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ "Shigoto Ga Dekiru Onna Wa 'Gei' Ga Suki," *DIME*, May 16 1991; "'Dôsôkai' Asunaro Hakusho' ... Saikin Terebidorama Wa Nazeka 'Homo' Darake," *Shûkan Bunshun*, December 2 1993; "Okoge Gyarû Zadankai," *Scola*, June 9 1994.
- ¹²⁰ "Risô Wa Sokubaku No Nai Sekkusu? Dôseiai Sekkusu Wa Sôgo Onanî No Junsui-Gata Ka," *SPA!*, January 12, 1994."
- ¹²¹ Robert D. Retherford, Naohiro Ogawa, and Rikiya Matsukura, "Late Marriage and Less Marriage in Japan," *Population and Development Review* 27, no. 1 (2001).
- ¹²² Chris Berry, "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities," *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3-4 (2001): 218.

¹²³ Murota, 25.

¹²⁴ Emiko Ochiai, *The Japanese Family System in Transition : A Sociological Analysis of Family Change in Postwar Japan* (Tokyo: LTCB International Library Foundation, 1997), 111.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹²⁶ José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia : The Then and There of Queer Futurity*, Sexual Cultures (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 22.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹²⁸ Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, 2nd ed., Theory, Culture & Society (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2007), 84.

¹²⁹ Iida, 199.

¹³⁰ Glenn D Hook and Takeda Hiroko, "'Self-Responsibility' and the Nature of the Postwar Japanese State: Risk through the Looking Glass," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 33, no. 1 (2007).

¹³¹ See William W Kelly, "At the Limits of New Middle Class Japan: Beyond "Mainstream Consciousness", *Social Contracts Under Stress: The Middle Classes of America, Europe, and Japan at the Turn of the Century. New York: Russell Sage* (2002). Gabriella Lukács, *Scripted Affects, Branded Selves : Television, Subjectivity, and Capitalism in 1990s Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). Richard Reitan, "Narratives of "Equivalence" Neoliberalism in Contemporary Japan," *Radical History Review* 2012, no. 112 (2012).

¹³² "Bessatsu Takarajima, Konshû 100gô E Mukete Kaisô Ninki No Himitsu Wa...," *Asahi Shinbun*, January 30 1989.

¹³³ "Osugi to Pîko No Mitsume Ga Iku," *SPA!*, May 30, 1990, 111.

¹³⁴ Katherine Sender, "Gay Readers, Consumers, and a Dominant Gay Habitus: 25 Years of the Advocate Magazine," *Journal of Communication* 51, no. 1 (2001): 95.

¹³⁵ See Andrew Gordon, "Managing the Japanese Household: The New Life Movement in Postwar Japan," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 4, no. 2 (1997); Simon Partner, "Taming the Wilderness: The Lifestyle Improvement Movement in Rural Japan, 1925-1965," *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 4 (2001).

¹³⁶ See Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, "Introduction: Hiding in the Light: From Oshin to Yoshimoto Banana," in *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan*, ed. Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (Richmond: Curzon, 1995), 30-31; Penelope Francks, *The Japanese Consumer : An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 183-88.

¹³⁷ Iida, 199.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 177.

¹³⁹ Lukács, 7.

¹⁴⁰ Shibata, 100-01.

¹⁴¹ Kuniko Fujita and Richard Child Hill, "Industry Clusters and Transnational Networks: Japan's New Directions in Regional Policy," *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberal Spaces in Asian Developmental State* (2012): 30.

¹⁴² John Clammer, *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption* (John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 65.

¹⁴³ Hook and Hiroko, 107.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 127.

-
- ¹⁴⁵ Lukács, 7.
- ¹⁴⁶ Iida, 243.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 240.
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 244.
- ¹⁴⁹ "Gay Renaissance," *Crea*, 2/1 1991, 63.
- ¹⁵⁰ Kyôko Kawamura, *Bessatsu Takarajima*, November 15, 1997, 48.
- ¹⁵¹ Rosemary Hennessy, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism* (Routledge, 2002), 140.
- ¹⁵² "Gei Mâketto Wo Nerae," *Bessatsu Takarajima*, July 27, 1992, 21.
- ¹⁵³ Tonto Kuribayashi, "Atashi Ni Okane Wo Chôdai! Gei No Tame No Keizaigaku Nyumon," *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku*, February 27, 1994, 150.
- ¹⁵⁴ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2001), 152.
- ¹⁵⁵ Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? : Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*, 1st ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003), 50.
- ¹⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁷ Reki Aizawa, "Opera Wa Shonichi! Sukyandaru Daisuki," *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Omocha Bako*, January 10 1993.
- ¹⁵⁸ Azuma Ogura, "Kono Chin Ano Chin Dono Chinchin? ," *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku*, February 17, 1994.
- ¹⁵⁹ Bourdieu.
- ¹⁶⁰ Azuma Ogura and Takashi Otsuka, "Nijimideru Gei Teisuto No Oheya Ni Hakushu!," *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku!*, February 17, 1994, 34.

-
- ¹⁶¹ Ibid., 37.
- ¹⁶² "Bokutachi No Nichiyôbi," *Bessatsu Takarajima EX*, February 17, 1994.
- ¹⁶³ Scott Herring, *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism* (NYU Press, 2010), 14.
- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 75.
- ¹⁶⁵ Donald M Lowe, *The Body in Late-Capitalist USA* (Duke University Press, 1995), 137.
- ¹⁶⁶ Clarke, 12.
- ¹⁶⁷ Wim Lunsing, "Yaoi Ronso: Discussing Depictions of Male Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics, Gay Comics and Gay Pornography," *Intersections*, no. 12 (2006).
- ¹⁶⁸ Leo Bersani, "Is the Rectum a Grave?," *October* 43 (1987): 206.
- ¹⁶⁹ Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects : Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, Gender and Culture. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 25.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 33.
- ¹⁷¹ Shunya Yoshimi, "Consuming America, Producing Japan," (London: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- ¹⁷² Koichi Iwabuchi, *Recentering Globalization : Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 55.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid., 54.
- ¹⁷⁴ Karen Kelsky, *Women on the Verge : Japanese Women, Western Dreams*, Asia-Pacific (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 121.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 152.
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 139.
- ¹⁷⁷ "Gay Renaissance," 104.

¹⁷⁸ , 199.

¹⁷⁹ Yasushi Sawazaki, "Gay Men and Hiv in Japan," *JAIDS Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 14 (1997).

¹⁸⁰ Takashi Kazama and Kazuma Kawaguchi, "Hiv Risk and the (Im)Permeability of the Male Body: Representations and Realities of Gay Men in Japan," in *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan : Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa*, ed. James E. Roberson and Nobue Suzuki (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003), 195.

¹⁸¹ Jon Binnie, *The Globalization of Sexuality* (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2004), 121.

¹⁸² Takashi Otsuka, "Eizu to Tomo Ni Ikite Yukô," *Bessatsu Takarajima*, July 27, 1992 1992, 58.

¹⁸³ Dennis Altman, "Globalization, Political Economy, and Hiv/Aids," *Theory and Society* 28, no. 4 (1999): 578.

¹⁸⁴ Shinji Ishii, ed. *Gei No Gakuen Tengoku!*, Bessatsu Takarajima Ex (Tokyo: Takarajima-sha, 1994), 5.

¹⁸⁵ *Gei No Omocha Bako*ibid. (Toyo: JICC, 1993), 191-95.

¹⁸⁶ See Bersani; Douglas Crimp, "Introduction," *ibid.*; Jenny Kitzinger, "The Face of Aids," in *Representations of Health, Illness and Handicap*, ed. Robert M. Farr and Ivana Markova (Amsterdam Harwood, 1995); Simon Watney, "The Spectacle of Aids," *October* 43 (1987).

¹⁸⁷ Rika Yokomori, "Aru Gei Ando Kurabu Dj No Kokuhaku," *Takarajima*, May 24, 1993 1993.

¹⁸⁸ Makiko Ida, "Tôkyô Dôseiai Saiban," *Josei Sebun*, November 21 1991, 264.

¹⁸⁹ Shû Fujisawa and Toshifumi Jinno, "Gei Karuchâ Wa Hakaisha Ka Sôzôshu Ka: Wôhoru No Fakutorî," *Brutus*, August 15 1991, 92.

¹⁹⁰ Ida.

¹⁹¹ Yajima, 84.

¹⁹² Iwabuchi, 54.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁹⁴ Jennifer Ellen Robertson, *Takarazuka Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). 97.

¹⁹⁵ Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press., 2000). 29.

¹⁹⁶ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat : Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁹⁸ Mackintosh, 95.

¹⁹⁹ David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity* (Routledge, 2002), 170.

²⁰⁰ Jasbir K Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007), 39.

²⁰¹ Chris Burgess, "Maintaining Identities: Discourses of Homogeneity in a Rapidly Globalizing Japan," *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* (2004).

²⁰² Jeremy Breaden and Stacey Steele, *Internationalising Japan: Discourse and Practice* (Routledge, 2014), 7.

²⁰³ Koichi Iwabuchi, "Complicit Exoticism: Japan and Its Other," *Continuum* 8, no. 2 (1994).

²⁰⁴ Ivy, 3.

-
- ²⁰⁵ Jennifer Robertson, "Empire of Nostalgia: Rethinking 'Internationalization' in Japan Today," *Theory, Culture & Society* 14, no. 4 (1997).
- ²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.
- ²⁰⁷ Yoshimi, 210.
- ²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 215.
- ²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 216.
- ²¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹¹ Iwabuchi, "Complicit Exoticism: Japan and Its Other."
- ²¹² Millie Creighton, "Consuming Rural Japan: The Marketing of Tradition and Nostalgia in the Japanese Travel Industry," *Ethnology* 36, no. 3 (1997): 251.
- ²¹³ "Shinjuku 2 Chôme Kyûkyoku Gaido," *Takarajima* 30, July 1994.
- ²¹⁴ "Gei No Tamariba: Sennyû Dokyumento," *SPA!*, November 15 1994.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.
- ²¹⁶ Jennifer Robertson, "Furusato Japan: The Culture and Politics of Nostalgia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 4 (1988): 503.
- ²¹⁷ Jordan Sand, "The Ambivalence of the New Breed: Nostalgic Consumerism in 1980s and 1990s Japan," *Garon, S. & Maclachlan, P.(eds)* (2006).
- ²¹⁸ Theodore Bestor, "Rediscovering Shitamachi: Subculture, Class, and Tokyo's Traditional Urbanism," *The cultural meaning of urban space* (1993): 56.
- ²¹⁹ Ritomo Tsunashima, "Tokyo Gay Cruise Kesshitai," *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 90.
- ²²⁰ "Atashitachi Kogei: Onna Nante Kitanakute Aisenai!," *Bishô*, December 14, 1994, 209.
- ²²¹ "Geinôkai Homo Zeimnâru," *Bishô*, April 24, 1993.

-
- ²²² "Gei No Tamariba: Sennyû Dokyumento," *SPA!*, November 15, 1994.
- ²²³ Eiichi Seino, "Hikyô Tanken," *Friday*, April 29, 1994, 70.
- ²²⁴ Yoshimi, 220.
- ²²⁵ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Immigration and Citizenship in Contemporary Japan," in *Japan-Change and Continuity*, ed. Jeff Graham, Javed Maswood, and Hideaki Miyajima (New York: Routledge, 2003), 171.
- ²²⁶ Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses : Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming* (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Published by Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 8.
- ²²⁷ McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities*, 198.
- ²²⁸ "Gei Riberêshon," *Impaction*, no. 71 (1991): 58.
- ²²⁹ "Dôseiaishatachi Wo Sabetsu Suru Nippon Shakai No Genjô," *Views*, May 11, 1994, 89.
- ²³⁰ Phil Hubbard, "Here, There, Everywhere: The Ubiquitous Geographies of Heteronormativity," *Geography Compass* 2, no. 3 (2008): 653.
- ²³¹ David Bell et al., "All Hyped up and No Place to Go," *Gender, Place Culture* 1, no. 1 (1994): 44-45.
- ²³² Josh Watkins, "Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions," *Geography Compass* 9, no. 9 (2015).
- ²³³ Ogasawara, 59-60.
- ²³⁴ Seiichi Ôtaki, "Hatten-Ba No Manâ," in *Gei No Gakuen Tengoku!*, ed. Shinji Ishii (Tokyo: Takarajima, 1994), 47.
- ²³⁵ Mitsuo Fukushima, "Hattenba," in *Dôseiai Nyûmon*, ed. Noriaki Fushimi (Tokyo: Pot, 2003), 102.

-
- ²³⁶ Jimukyoku Yamagata Kokusai Dokyumentari Eigasai. Tokyo, *Dokyumentari Eiga Wa Kataru : Sakka Intabyu No Kiseki* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 2006), 213.
- ²³⁷ Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, "Taking Butler Elsewhere: Performativities, Spatialities and Subjectivities," *Environment and Planning D: Society and space* 18, no. 4 (2000): 446.
- ²³⁸ Goldstein-Gidoni; Holloway; Takeyama.
- ²³⁹ Goldstein-Gidoni, 57.
- ²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 60-79.
- ²⁴¹ Holloway, 48.
- ²⁴² Takeyama, 110.
- ²⁴³ Chalmers, 78-91.
- ²⁴⁴ James Welker, "Toward a History of 'Lesbian History' in Japan," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 58, no. 2 (2017).
- ²⁴⁵ Koichi Iwabuchi, *Resilient Borders and Cultural Diversity: Internationalism, Brand Nationalism, and Multiculturalism in Japan* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).
- ²⁴⁶ Patrick W Galbraith, "Fujoshi: Fantasy Play and Transgressive Intimacy among 'Rotten Girls' in Contemporary Japan," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 1 (2011): 228.
- ²⁴⁷ Fran Martin, "Girls Who Love Boys' Love: Japanese Homoerotic Manga as Trans-National Taiwan Culture," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (2012): 378.
- ²⁴⁸ Iwabuchi, *Resilient Borders and Cultural Diversity: Internationalism, Brand Nationalism, and Multiculturalism in Japan*, 20.

²⁴⁹ Jane Ward, *Not Gay: Sex between Straight White Men* (New York: New York University 2015), 151.

²⁵⁰ Sender, *Business, Not Politics : The Making of the Gay Market*.

²⁵¹ Puar.

²⁵² John Whittier Treat, *The Rise and Fall of Homonationalism in Singapore*, vol. 23 (2015), 357.

²⁵³ Audrey Yue, "Introduction: Queer Singapore: A Critical Introduction," in *Queer Singapore: Illiberal Citizenship and Mediated Cultures*, ed. Audrey Yue and Jun Zubillaga-Pow (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University 2012), 12.

²⁵⁴ Travis SK Kong, *Chinese Male Homosexualities: Memba, Tongzhi and Golden Boy* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 8.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 176-78.

²⁵⁶ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 1997), 147.

²⁵⁷ José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University, 2009), 1.

Bibliography

. *Anan*, January 1 1988.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Aizawa, Reki. "Opera Wa Shonichi! Sukyandaru Daisuki." *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Omocha Bako*, January 10 1993, 105.

"Aki Ichiban, Romanchikku Shôjo to Yobaretai." *Olive*, September 3 1983, 14-47.

Allison, Anne. "A Challenge to Hollywood? Japanese Character Goods Hit the Us." *Japanese Studies* 20, no. 1 (2000/05/01 2000): 67-88.

Altman, Dennis. "Globalization, Political Economy, and Hiv/Aids." *Theory and Society* 28, no. 4 (1999): 559-84.

"Atashitachi Kogei: Onna Nante Kitanakute Aisenai!". *Bishô*, December 14, 1994, 209-14.

Becker, Ron. *Gay Tv and Straight America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Bell, David, Jon Binnie, Julia Cream, and Gill Valentine. "All Hyped up and No Place to Go." *Gender, Place Culture* 1, no. 1 (1994/03/01 1994): 31-47.

Berry, Chris. "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities." *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3-4 (2001): 211-31.

Bersani, Leo. "Is the Rectum a Grave?". *October* 43 (1987): 197-222.

"Bessatsu Takarajima, Konshû 100gô E Mukete Kaisô Ninki No Himitsu Wa..." *Asahi Shinbun*, January 30 1989.

Bestor, Theodore. "Rediscovering Shitamachi: Subculture, Class, and Tokyo's Traditional Urbanism." *The cultural meaning of urban space* (1993): 47-60.

Binnie, Jon. *The Globalization of Sexuality*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2004.

"Bokutachi Ga Mitomeru Gei Kankaku: Sakurazawa Erika to Sugosugi Bôizu." *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 92-93.

"Bokutachi No Nichiyôbi." *Bessatsu Takarajima EX*, February 17, 1994, 4-9.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Braidotti, Rosi. *Metamorphoses : Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Published by Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

———. *Nomadic Subjects : Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Breaden, Jeremy, and Stacey Steele. *Internationalising Japan: Discourse and Practice*. Routledge, 2014.

Brinton, Mary C. *Women and the Economic Miracle : Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Bruhm, Steven, and Natasha Hurley. "Curioser: On the Queerness of Children." In *Curioser: On the Queerness of Children*, edited by Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley, ix-xxxviii. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Burgess, Chris. "Maintaining Identities: Discourses of Homogeneity in a Rapidly Globalizing Japan." *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* (2004).

Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Chalmers, Sharon. *Emerging Lesbian Voices from Japan*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2002.

Chasin, Alexandra. *Selling Out : The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Clammer, John. *Contemporary Urban Japan: A Sociology of Consumption*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011.

Clarke, Eric O. *Virtuous Vice : Homoeroticism and the Public Sphere*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000.

Creighton, Millie. "Consuming Rural Japan: The Marketing of Tradition and Nostalgia in the Japanese Travel Industry." *Ethnology* 36, no. 3 (1997): 239-54.

Crimp, Douglas. "Introduction." *October* 43 (1987): 3-16.

Dales, Laura. *Feminist Movements in Contemporary Japan*. Asian Studies Association of Australia Women in Asia Series. London ; New York: Routledge, 2009.

"Dôseiaishatachi Wo Sabetsu Suru Nippon Shakai No Genjô." *Views*, May 11, 1994, 88-90.

"'Dôsôkai' Asunaro Hakusho' ... Saikin Terebidorama Wa Nazeka 'Homo' Darake." *Shûkan Bunshun*, December 2 1993, 256-59.

Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat : Japan in the Wake of World War II*. 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999.

Duggan, Lisa. *The Twilight of Equality? : Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. 1st ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 2003.

Edelman, Lee. *No Future : Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Series Q. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Featherstone, Mike. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. Theory, Culture & Society. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2007.

Field, Norma. "The Child as Laborer and Consumer: The Disappearance of Childhood in Contemporary Japan." In *Children and the Politics of Culture*, edited by Sharon Stephens, 51-78. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 1995.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish : The Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen Lane, 1977.

———. *The History of Sexuality*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

Francks, Penelope. *The Japanese Consumer : An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

"Fudangi No Gei." *Marco Polo*, February 1994.

Fujisawa, Shû, and Toshifumi Jinno. "Gei Karuchâ Wa Hakaisha Ka Sôzôshu Ka: Wôhoru No Fakutorî." *Brutus*, August 15 1991, 92-97.

Fujita, Kuniko, and Richard Child Hill. "Industry Clusters and Transnational Networks: Japan's New Directions in Regional Policy." *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberal Spaces in Asian Developmental State* (2012): 27-58.

Fukushima, Mitsuo. "Hattenba." In *Dôseiai Nyûmon*, edited by Noriaki Fushimi. Tokyo: Pot, 2003.

Galbraith, Patrick W. "Fujoshi: Fantasy Play and Transgressive Intimacy among "Rotten Girls" in Contemporary Japan." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 1 (2011): 219-40.

"Gay Renaissance." *Crea*, 2/1 1991.

"Gei Mâketto Wo Nerae." *Bessatsu Takarajima*, July 27, 1992, 20-21.

"Gei No Tamariba: Sennyû Dokyumento." *SPA!*, November 15, 1994, 51.

"Gei No Tamariba: Sennyû Dokyumento." *SPA!*, November 15 1994, 51.

"Gei Riberêshon." *Impaction*, no. 71 (1991).

"Gei Tachi No Sugao Ga Shiritai!". *SPA!*, February 1 1995.

"Gei to Okama Wa Chigaunoyo." *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 68-69.

"Geinôkai Homo Zeimnâru." *Bishô*, April 24, 1993, 69-62.

- Goldstein-Gidoni, Ofra. *Housewives of Japan : An Ethnography of Real Lives and Consumerized Domesticity*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Gordon, Andrew. "Managing the Japanese Household: The New Life Movement in Postwar Japan." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 4, no. 2 (1997): 245-83.
- Gregson, Nicky, and Gillian Rose. "Taking Butler Elsewhere: Performativities, Spatialities and Subjectivities." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18, no. 4 (2000): 433-52.
- Hall, Jonathan M. "Japan's Progressive Sex: Male Homosexuality, National Competition, and the Cinema." *Journal of Homosexuality* 39, no. 3/4 (2000): 31-82.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Henderson, L. *Love and Money: Queers, Class, and Cultural Production*. NYU Press, 2013.
- Hennessy, Rosemary. *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*. Routledge, 2002.
- Henshûbu, Waifu. *Anchi "Kurowassan Shôkôgun" : Kekkonshinai Onnatachi No Sugao*. Shohan. ed. Tokyo: Shakai Shisôsha, 1989.
- Herring, Scott. *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism*. NYU Press, 2010.
- Holloway, Susan D. *Women and Family in Contemporary Japan*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Honda, Kazuko. "Ima, Shôjo Wo Kataru Koto." In *Shôjo Shôsetsu Wandâ Rando: Meiji Kara Heisei Made*, edited by Satoko Kan. Tokyo Meiji Shoin, 2008.
- Hook, Glenn D, and Takeda Hiroko. "'Self-Responsibility' and the Nature of the Postwar Japanese State: Risk through the Looking Glass." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 33, no. 1 (2007): 93-123.

- Hori, Akiko. "On the Response (or Lack Thereof) of Japanese Fans to Criticism That "Yaoi" Is Antigay Discrimination." *Transformative Works and Cultures* 12(2012).
<http://journal.transformativeworks.org/index.php/twc/article/view/463>.
- Hubbard, Phil. "Here, There, Everywhere: The Ubiquitous Geographies of Heteronormativity." *Geography Compass* 2, no. 3 (2008): 640-58.
- Ida, Makiko. "Tôkyô Dôseiai Saiban." *Josei Sebun*, November 14 1991.
- . "Tôkyô Dôseiai Saiban." *Josei Sebun*, November 21 1991, 252-56.
- Igarashi, Yoshikuni. *Bodies of Memory Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Iida, Yumiko. *Rethinking Identity in Modern Japan: Nationalism as Aesthetics*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Ishida, Hitoshi, and Murakami, Takanori. "The Process of Divergence between 'Men Who Love Men' and 'Feminised Men' in Postwar Japanese Media " *Intersections*, no. 12 (2006).
<http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue12/ishida.html>.
- Ishii, Shinji, ed. *Gei No Gakuen Tengoku!*, Bessatsu Takarajima Ex. Tokyo: Takarajima-sha, 1994.
- , ed. *Gei No Omocha Bako*, Bessatsu Takarajima Ex. Toyo: JICC, 1993.
- Ivy, Marilyn. *Discourses of the Vanishing : Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Iwabuchi, Koichi. "Complicit Exoticism: Japan and Its Other." *Continuum* 8, no. 2 (1994): 49-82.
- . *Recentering Globalization : Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- . *Resilient Borders and Cultural Diversity: Internationalism, Brand Nationalism, and Multiculturalism in Japan*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.

Kawamura, Kyôko. *Bessatsu Takarajima*, November 15, 1997 1997, 46-49.

Kawashima, Nobuko. "The Film Industry in Japan — Prospering without Active Support from the State?". In *Cultural Policies in East Asia: Dynamics between the State, Arts and Creative Industries*, edited by Hye-Kyung Lee and Lorraine Lim, 210-26. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014.

Kayama, Rika. "Orîbu Shôjo No Yokubô No Arika." In *Shôjo Zasshi Ron*, edited by Eiji Otsuka, 103-24. Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1991.

Kazama, Takashi, and Kazuma Kawaguchi. "Hiv Risk and the (Im)Permeability of the Male Body: Representations and Realities of Gay Men in Japan." In *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan : Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa*, edited by James E. Roberson and Nobue Suzuki, xv, 222 p. London ; New York: Routledge, 2003.

Kelly, William W. "At the Limits of New Middle Class Japan: Beyond “Mainstream Consciousness”." *Social Contracts Under Stress: The Middle Classes of America, Europe, and Japan at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Russell Sage (2002): 232-54.

Kelsky, Karen. *Women on the Verge : Japanese Women, Western Dreams*. Asia-Pacific. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001.

Kikuda, Takuya. "Shôhi Shakai to Zakka: 1980 Nendai, Zasshi “Olive” No Bunseki Wo Tsûjite." *Bunkagakuendaigaku Kiyô Fukushokugaku Zôkeigaku Kenkyû*, no. 45 (2014): 37-45.

Kincaid, James R. *Erotic Innocence : The Culture of Child Molesting*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Kitzinger, Jenny. "The Face of Aids." In *Representations of Health, Illness and Handicap*, edited by Robert M. Farr and Ivana Markova, 49-66. Amsterdam Harwood, 1995.

Ko, Mika. *Japanese Cinema and Otherness : Nationalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Japaneseness*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Kogiso, Hidekazu, and Seimei Hoken Bunka Sentô (Tokyo Japan). *80-Nendai Josei No Seikatsu : Genzai to Shôrai*. Tokyo: Nihon Hôsô Shuppan Kyôkai, 1983.

- Kong, Travis SK. *Chinese Male Homosexualities: Memba, Tongzhi and Golden Boy*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Kuribayashi, Tonto. "Atashi Ni Okane Wo Chôdai! Gei No Tame No Keizaigaku Nyumon." *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku*, February 27, 1994 1994, 145-50.
- Light, Richard, and Wataru Yasaki. "J League Soccer and the Rekindling of Regional Identity in Japan." *Sporting traditions* 18, no. 2 (2002): 31-46.
- Lowe, Donald M. *The Body in Late-Capitalist USA*. Duke University Press, 1995.
- Lukács, Gabriella. *Scripted Affects, Branded Selves : Television, Subjectivity, and Capitalism in 1990s Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Lunsing, Wim. *Beyond Common Sense : Sexuality and Gender in Contemporary Japan*. Japanese Studies. London ; New York: Kegan Paul, 2001.
- . "'Gay Boom' in Japan: Changing Views of Homosexuality?". *Thamyris: Mythmaking from Past to Present* 4, no. 2 (1997): 267-93.
- . "Yaoi Ronso: Discussing Depictions of Male Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics, Gay Comics and Gay Pornography." *Intersections*, no. 12 (January 2006).
- Mackintosh, Jonathan D. *Homosexuality and Manliness in Postwar Japan*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Martin, Fran. "Girls Who Love Boys' Love: Japanese Homoerotic Manga as Trans-National Taiwan Culture." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (2012/09/01 2012): 365-83.
- Matsui, Midori. "Little Girls Were Little Boys: Displaced Femininity in the Representation of Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics." In *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, edited by Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman. Halifax, N.S: Fernwood, 1993.
- McDonald, Keiko I. *Reading a Japanese Film : Cinema in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- McLelland, Mark. "From the Stage to the Clinic: Changing Transgender Identities in Post-War Japan." Paper presented at the Japan Forum, 2004.

- . "Japan's Original "Gay Boom"." In *Popular Culture and Globalization in Japan*, edited by Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- McLelland, Mark J. *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan : Cultural Myths and Social Realities*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000.
- . *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age*. Asian Voices. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. *Kôsei Hakusho*. Tokyo: Kôseishô, 1996.
- Mitsuhiro, Yoshimoto. "The Postmodern and Mass Images in Japan." *Public Culture* 1, no. 2 (1989): 8-25.
- Morley, David, and Kevin Robins. *Spaces of Identity* [in English]. Routledge, 2002.
- Morohashi, Taiki. *Jendâ No Katararekata, Media No Tsukurarekata*. Dai 1-han. ed. Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 2002.
- . "Nihon No Taishûzasshi Ga Egaku Jendâ to "Kazoku"." In *Media Ga Tsukuru Jendâ : Nichi-Doku No Danjo, Kazokuzô O Yomitoku = Das Geschlecht Als Konstrukt Der Medien*, edited by Yasuko Muramatsu and Hilaria Gössmann, 6, 351 p. Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1998.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "Immigration and Citizenship in Contemporary Japan." In *Japan-Change and Continuity*, edited by Jeff Graham, Javed Maswood and Hideaki Miyajima, 163-78. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: New York University, 2009.
- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia : The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. Sexual Cultures. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Murota, Yasuko. "Gei Ni Koi Suru Onna Tachi." *Asahi Journal*, July 12 1991, 22-28.
- Nanba, Kôji. "Sengo Yûsu Sabukaruchâ Wo Megutte: Kogyaru to Urahara Kei." *Kansai Gakuin Daigaku Shakaigakubu Kiyô* 100 (2006): 101-32.

———. *Sōkan No Shakaishi*. Chikuma Shinsho. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2009.

Nemoto, Kumiko. "Postponed Marriage." *Gender & Society* 22, no. 2 (2008): 219-37.

Ochiai, Emiko. "Bijyuaru Imêji to Shite No Onna: Sengo Jyosei Zasshi Ga Miseru Seiyakuwari." In *Hyōgen to Media*, edited by Teruko Inoue, Chizuko Ueno and Yumiko Ehara. Nihon No Feminizumu = Feminism in Japan, 97-132. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.

———. "Decent Housewives and Sensual White Women: Representations of Women in Postwar Japanese Magazines." *Japan Review*, no. 9 (1997): 151-69.

———. *The Japanese Family System in Transition : A Sociological Analysis of Family Change in Postwar Japan*. Tokyo: LTCB International Library Foundation, 1997.

Ogasawara, Yuko. *Office Ladies and Salaried Men : Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Ogino, Miho. "Abortion and Women's Reproductive Rights: The State of Japanese Women, 1945–1991." In *Women of Japan and Korea: Continuity and Change*, edited by Joyce Gelb and Marian Lief Palley, 69-94. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

Ogura, Azuma. "Kono Chin Ano Chin Dono Chinchin? ." *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku*, February 17, 1994 1994, 72-75.

Ogura, Azuma, and Takashi Otsuka. "Nijimideru Gei Teisuto No Oheya Ni Hakushu!" *Bessatsu Takarajima EX: Gei no Gakuen Tengoku!*, February 17, 1994 1994, 34-40.

"Okoge Gyarū Zadankai." *Scola*, June 9 1994, 158-60.

"Osugi to Piko No Mitsume Ga Iku." *SPA!*, May 30, 1990.

Ôtaki, Seiichi. "Hatten-Ba No Manâ." In *Gei No Gakuen Tengoku!*, edited by Shinji Ishii. Tokyo: Takarajima, 1994.

Otsuka, Eiji. *Shōjo Minzokugaku: Seikimatsu No Shinwa O Tsumugu "Miko No Matsuei"*. Kōbunsha Bunko. Shohan. ed. Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1997.

- Otsuka, Takashi. "Eizu to Tomo Ni Ikite Yukô." *Bessatsu Takarajima*, July 27, 1992 1992, 55-58.
- . "Introduction: Youki Ni, Nigiyaka, Ni, Jinsei Wo Tanoshimu Tame Ni." In *Bessatsu Takarajima Ex: Gei No Omocha Bako*, edited by Ueda Takashi, 18-19. Tokyo: JICC, 1993.
- Partner, Simon. "Taming the Wilderness: The Lifestyle Improvement Movement in Rural Japan, 1925-1965." *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 4 (2001): 487-520.
- Peng, Ito. "Social Care in Crisis: Gender, Demography, and Welfare State Restructuring in Japan." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 9, no. 3 (2002): 411-43.
- Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Quimby, Karin. "Will& Grace: Negotiating (Gay) Marriage on Prime-Time Television." *Journal of Popular Culture* 38, no. 4 (2005): 713-31.
- Rebick, Marcus. "Changes in the Workplace and Their Impact on the Family." In *The Changing Japanese Family*, edited by Marcus Rebick and Ayumi Takenaka, 75-93. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Reitan, Richard. "Narratives of 'Equivalence' Neoliberalism in Contemporary Japan." *Radical History Review* 2012, no. 112 (2012): 43-64.
- Retherford, Robert D., Naohiro Ogawa, and Rikiya Matsukura. "Late Marriage and Less Marriage in Japan." *Population and Development Review* 27, no. 1 (2001): 65-102.
- "Risô Wa Sokubaku No Nai Sekkusu? Dôseiai Sekkusu Wa Sôgo Onanî No Junsui-Gata Ka." *SPA!*, January 12, 1994, 54.
- Robertson, Jennifer. "Empire of Nostalgia: Rethinking 'Internationalization' in Japan Today." *Theory, Culture & Society* 14, no. 4 (1997): 97-122.
- . "Furusato Japan: The Culture and Politics of Nostalgia." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 1, no. 4 (1988): 494-518.

- Robertson, Jennifer Ellen. *Takarazuka Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Sand, Jordan. "The Ambivalence of the New Breed: Nostalgic Consumerism in 1980s and 1990s Japan." *Garon, S. & Maclachlan, P.(eds)* (2006): 85-198.
- Sawazaki, Yasushi. "Gay Men and Hiv in Japan." *JAIDS Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 14 (1997): S47-S50.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Durham, NC: Duke University, 1997.
- Seino, Eiichi. "Hikyô Tanken." *Friday*, April 29, 1994, 70.
- Sender, Katherine. *Business, Not Politics : The Making of the Gay Market*. Between Men--between Women. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- . "Gay Readers, Consumers, and a Dominant Gay Habitus: 25 Years of the Advocate Magazine." *Journal of Communication* 51, no. 1 (2001): 73-99.
- Shamoon, Deborah Michelle. *Passionate Friendship : The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Shibata, Kuniko. "Neoliberalism, Risk, and Spatial Governance in the Developmental State: Japanese Planning in the Global Economy." *Critical planning* 15 (2008): 92-118.
- Shields, James. "Revisioning a Japanese Spiritual Recovery through Manga: Kobayashi Yoshinori's 'Gōmanism' as Aesthetics and Ideology." *Japan Focus: The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, no. 47 (2) (2013): 1-21.
- "Shigoto Ga Dekiru Onna Wa 'Gei' Ga Suki." *DIME*, May 16 1991, 13-17.
- "Shinjuku 2 Chôme Kyûkyoku Gaido." *Takarajima* 30, July 1994, 130-52.
- Skov, Lise. "Environmentalism Seen through Japanese Women's Magazines." In *Women, Media, and Consumption in Japan*, edited by Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, 170-96. Richmond: Curzon, 1995.

- Skov, Lise, and Brian Moeran. "Introduction: Hiding in the Light: From Oshin to Yoshimoto Banana." In *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan*, edited by Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, 1-74. Richmond: Curzon, 1995.
- Stockton, Kathryn Bond. "Growing Sideways, or Versions of the Queer Child: The Ghost, the Homosexual, the Freudian, the Innocent, and the Interval of Animal." In *Curiouser : On the Queerness of Children*, edited by Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley, 277-316. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Straayer, Chris. *Deviant Eyes, Deviant Bodies : Sexual Re-Orientations in Film and Video*. Film and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Takahashi, Mizuki. "Opening the Closed World of Shojo Manga." In *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams, 114-36. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2008.
- Takeda, Hiroko. *The Political Economy of Reproduction in Japan : Between Nation-State and Everyday Life*. London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005.
- Takeyama, Akiko. *Staged Seduction: Selling Dreams in a Tokyo Host Club*. Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Tanaka, Chiyoiko. "1999-Nen No Natsuyasumi." *Kinema Junpô*, March 15 1988, 83-87.
- Tanimura, Shiho. *Kekkonshinai Kamoshirenai Shôkôgun*. Tokyo: Shufu no Tomo, 1990.
- Thornton, Sarah. *Club Cultures : Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital*. Music Culture. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1996.
- Tokuhiro, Yoko. *Marriage in Contemporary Japan*. Routledge Contemporary Japan Series. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Treat, John Whittier. "Yoshimoto Banana Writes Home: Shojo Culture and the Nostalgic Subject." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 2 (1993): 353-87.
- Tsunashima, Ritomo. "Tokyo Gay Cruise Kesshitai." *Crea*, February 1, 1991, 89-91.

- Valentine, James. "Skirting and Suiting Stereotypes." *Theory, Culture & Society* 14, no. 3 (August 1, 1997 1997): 57-85.
- Ward, Jane. *Not Gay: Sex between Straight White Men*. New York: New York University 2015.
- Watkins, Josh. "Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions." *Geography Compass* 9, no. 9 (2015): 508-22.
- Watney, Simon. "The Spectacle of Aids." *October* 43 (1987): 71-86.
- Welker, James. "Beautiful, Borrowed, and Bent: 'Boys' Love' as Girls' Love in Shôjo Manga." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture Society* 31, no. 3 (Spring2006 2006): 841-70.
- . "Lilies of the Margin: Beautiful Boys and Queer Female Identities in Japan." In *Asiapacifiqueer : Rethinking Genders and Sexualities*, edited by Fran Martin, 46-67. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008.
- . "Toward a History of 'Lesbian History' in Japan." *Culture, Theory and Critique* 58, no. 2 (2017/04/03 2017): 147-65.
- Whittier Treat, John. *The Rise and Fall of Homonationalism in Singapore*. Vol. 23,2015. doi:10.1215/10679847-2861026.
- Wittig, Monique. "The Straight Mind." In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Russell Ferguson, 51-57. New York: MIT, 1990.
- Yajima, Momo. "Eguze Gei No Yûga Ni Shite Kinyokuteki Na Seikatsu." *Crea*, 2/1 1991, 84-85.
- Yamagata Kokusai Dokyumentari Eigasai. Tokyo, Jimukyoku. *Dokyumentari Eiga Wa Kataru : Sakka Intabyu No Kiseki* [in Japanese]. Tokyo: Miraisha, 2006.
- Yokomori, Rika. "Aru Gei Ando Kurabu Dj No Kokuhaku." *Takarajima*, May 24, 1993 1993.
- Yonezawa, Yoshihiro. *Sengo Shôjo Mangashi*. Chikuma Bunko. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2007.
- Yoshida, Akiko. "No Chance for Romance: Corporate Culture, Gendered Work, and Increased Singlehood in Japan." *Contemporary Japan*, no. 23 (2011): 213-34.

Yoshimi, Shunya. "Consuming America, Producing Japan." 63-84: London: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Yue, Audrey. "Introduction: Queer Singapore: A Critical Introduction." In *Queer Singapore: Illiberal Citizenship and Mediated Cultures*, edited by Audrey Yue and Jun Zubillaga-Pow. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University 2012.

Zasshikyô Jidai: Odoroki to Bakushô to Seiyoku Ni Mamireta "Zasshi" to Iu Wandârando Daikenkyû. Takarajima, 1997.