Carpenter on Yamakawa and Japanese feminisms more generally. It suggests also a need for broader attention to queer cosmopolitanism and to Carpenterian modes of queer affiliations, friendships, and cultural comparison in thinking about twentieth-century Japanese feminisms.

While no longer mentioned in most histories of early Japanese feminism, Edward Carpenter turns up frequently in 1920s writings in political philosophy and the arts.[3] It is difficult to quickly characterize the thought of this socialist, philosopher, poet, composer, historian and theorist of sexuality, and founder of the Fabian Society, but a few examples can illustrate the broad appeal of Carpenter. We see Yoshiya Nobuko invoke Carpenter in her important essay "Loving One Another" ("*Aishiau kotodomo*," 1921). Her main purpose was to push back against women's education experts during a panic about relationships among schoolgirls after several famous double suicide incidents. Yoshiya argued that rather than condemning such relationships on the basis of outlying incidents, educators should value them because the "friendship love" (*yūai*) at girls' schools could serve as a transportable skill when they reach adulthood. Yoshiya's account brings out one of the appeals of this socialist thinker for Japanese feminisms in the 1920s, with attention to the possibilities for adolescent girls (*shōjo*):

> In his "Affection in Education" (*Ai no kyōiku*), Edward Carpenter points to this sort of feeling, this friendship love. When it occurs between older girl (*nenchō no shōjo*) and younger girl (*nenshō no shōjo*), or else between an instructor and student, it can be extremely advantageous from an educational perspective, and immeasurably so. When this happens, the younger girl's feelings towards the older girl or the teacher she loves do not stop at taking her as a love object; she worships her as a sort of hero for her own spirit and imitates her. Meanwhile, the older girl is touched by the dearness of that younger girl and becomes her protector and helper, and almost without realizing it they both develop a beautiful ethical, social, and unselfish character.[4]

Wondering by what means Yoshiya came to learn of Carpenter's thought, I discovered that she made use of Yamada Waka's paraphrase of Edward Carpenter's "Affection in Education" (1899) in a 1920 Japanese volume. As Yoshiya made only the slightest of modifications to Yamada's account,

in today's practice most would call this plagiarism. But this seems to have been a common practice at the time, and it is hard to know what went on behind the scenes in terms of personal exchanges of texts and translations. Yamada is using Carpenter to discuss a modern but still biologically grounded notion of gender difference.[5] Yoshiya's targeted change from Yamada is to use the word "*shōjo*" (girl) to replace "*shōnen*" (boy, or youth). This diverges from Carpenter's own focus on sexuality among schoolboys, to emphasize "pure" relationships among schoolgirls, which were under scrutiny at the time, though quite accepted among even quite conservative educators.

A standard reading is to focus on the "virginal," "pure," "spiritual," and "nonphysical" aspects of these relationships. Still, I would argue that Yoshiya is building on the embrace of same-sex sexuality as a part of social ethics in an established thinker to support her own view of passionate relationships among girls in her own time.[6] I think it is important not to underplay the extent to which these were represented by Yoshiya and others as having some physical elements and as erotic in nature, even if not considered "sexual" because they did not involve *heterosexual* sex. As Akaeda Kanako argues, it was also important that even as they used terms like "spiritual" they also were increasingly "including same-sex love in the category of sexuality" and that this "new knowledge" was related to the translation of Carpenter.[7]

Meanwhile, translator Tamura Hiroshi emphasizes instead the argument that "physical love and sexual love" (*nikutai ai to seishin ai*; glossed by the translator in his introduction with the English "sexual passion" and "spiritual love") are important parts of marriage and key to "liberation of women long-oppressed" (*sokubaku sarete kita onna no kaihō*); for this reason he chooses the title *Sexual Love Marriage: A Cry for Reform* (*Sei-ai kekkon: Kaizō no sakebi*) for *Love's Coming of Age*, and emphasizes the choice of one's own marriage partner.[8] We can see the ways that quite diverse feminisms were invoking Carpenter at this time with various nuances. By the time of her own translation in 1921, Yamakawa can easily write in her introduction that Carpenter "has a large number of books translated into Japanese, and his thought and the person are well known in Japan."[9]

As Jeffrey Angles discusses, Edogawa Ranpo and Hamao Shirō exchanged Carpenter's books along with those of John Addington Symonds as part of a passionate correspondence.[10] Somewhat earlier we

see a major translation of many of Carpenter's writing on diverse subjects, including music, translated by Miura Kanzō (1883–1960). In his introduction Miura writes that for him Carpenter would be a "Bible for our times," bringing the "proper joy of sex (*sei*, glossed as *sekkusu*) and limitless empathy, together with a new vision for an eternally harmonious world." Miura was a Methodist minister and translator (from English versions) of works by diverse writers including Tolstoy, Kropotkin, and Tagore. (In the postwar period Miura also translated Helene Blatvatsky and formed a school of yoga).[11] But first the introduction cites a passionate and sympathetic review of Oscar Wilde's *De Profundis* by Tanaka Ōdō (1868–1932), who himself had referred to Wilde as this "Bible for modern times."[12] Like Yoshiya's citation of Carpenter, these references are not surprising given that all of these figures are commonly discussed in terms of "same-sex love" and queer sexualities.

As prefigured by Miura's comments on a "harmonious world" and connections to Tagore, more recently Carpenter has become an important figure for rethinking liberalism, colonialism, and queer internationalism, such as in discussions of his friend E. M. Forster's fiction, and particularly Carpenter's inspiring influence for *Maurice*. Lauren Goodlad writes that friendship among men was "upheld as a liberating alternative to the status quo," and that in *The Intermediate Sex* (1906) Carpenter explored a utopian vision "describing 'Love' as a 'binding and directing force' that could harmonize bonds of sex, nurture, brotherhood, and citizenship." Including in his vision working-class men, women, and colonized peoples, Carpenter saw "inequality as a 'democratic' spark for mutually uplifting desire."[13] Goodlad's interpretation gives us a good sense of the appeal of *The Intermediate Sex* for Yamakawa.

While many visions of late Meiji (1868–1912) and Taishō (1912–1926) era thought are often caught up in an "importation" model of Western thought, we see many Japanese progressive thinkers in the early twentieth century also writing and speaking in terms of a model of cosmopolitanism in their modes of boundary crossing rather than an East–West interaction. Sakai Toshihiko, who was probably the first to translate Carpenter (in 1895), writes with interest in the "cosmopolitan," seeking definitions in Japanese and English dictionaries, and with self-deprecating humor considering whether he might fit the definitions; he is most interested in the idea of being "free from local, or national ideas, prejudices, or attachments."[14]

It is worth noting that one area of boundary crossing between Carpenter and Japanese thinkers was quite literal. Carpenter corresponded with and met in person a significant number of Japanese people in the 1910s.[15] We see among these correspondents Noguchi Yonejirō (poet, critic, and father of Isamu Noguchi), Tomita Saika (translator and professor at Kansai Gakuen), Abe Isō (prominent thinker), and Itō Kei (aspiring woman novelist and comparative philosopher of religions who later published as Itō Megumu).[16] The most intense interaction was with Ishikawa Sanshirō, a Christian socialist involved in establishing the journal *Sekai fujin* (World women), who was also connected with figures involved in the High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku jiken*) of 1910.[17] In fact, it is likely that Ishikawa was spared prosecution because he had already been arrested for distributing Carpenter's ideas, which he had identified as an alternative to "mere mechanical materialistic socialism."[18] He wrote letters, often addressed, "My adorable Mr. Carpenter," and went to England to stay with Carpenter and joined various events and Fabian parties. Feminist Fukuda Hideko also wrote to Carpenter to thank him for helping Ishikawa while he was in England and for helping him find a supporter in Europe. After losing financial support in Japan, Ishikawa had gone "quite penniless and depressed" to Brussels, had been taken in as a helper to a friend of Carpenter's and was sustained by funds from Carpenter, and, it seems, bank transfers from friends such as Fukuda in Japan.[19] Ishikawa is also one of the links to Yamakawa, as he was a speaker at a forum on women's issues run by the feminist socialist group Red Wave Society (Sekirankai) that included Sakai Magara (Sakai Toshihiko's daughter), Yamakawa, and Itō Noe.

Carpenter sought news of and knowledge about Japan.[20] In response, Tomita Saika writes, for example: [*sic*] "It is my great pleasure to inform you your very recent work—translations of *Toward Democracy*—were found in here so remotest and farthest district of this country about seventeen hours' distance from the capital. A tea party with name of *TD* was took place by them last night."[21] Carpenter continued to ask these friends and translators about Japan, not only about his own reception there, but knowledge for the sake of his own thinking. He seems to have been aware of Mushanokōji Saneatsu's utopian socialist community New Village (Atarashiki Mura), which too was influenced by Carpentarian thought, as were some other nudist and utopian societies in Japan.[22] Carpenter in turn was fascinated by sexuality in Japan, as

introduced to him by the writings of late nineteeth-century resident of Japan Lafcadio Hearn, translations of seventeenth-century writer Ihara Saikaku, accounts of love among men in the samurai community, and conversations with Ishikawa. He writes to Ishikawa expressing sympathy over the imprisonment of radicals in Japan together with requests for more information about samurai love. Both of these affected Carpenter's own thought significantly. In short, these figures were part of a cosmopolitan, international network of thinkers, discussing sexuality and socialism across cultures.

While Carpenter corresponded directly with Olive Schreiner, who was so influential in Japan, as well as Fukuda Hideko and Itō Kei, as mentioned above, Japanese women were in contact with him primarily via acts of translation, and their community was a local one interested in socialism and feminism in the late 1910s and 1920s. Unfortunately, we know of no letters from Yamakawa or her direct associates to Carpenter, but I wish to take some inspiration from these connections and from the fact that she translated one of his most important works about affinity, love, and social change, *The Intermediate Sex*, to consider briefly the possible roles of translation and interpersonal connection in this important feminist's thought. The purpose is not to simply reinsert a forgotten figure, or forgotten connection, back into the history to fill in a gap. Rather it is to turn attention to the important roles that such connections, including international ones, played in activism and in thought about gender and sexuality in early twentieth-century Japanese feminism, and world feminisms more generally. In particular, I mark the importance of translation as a way for some women to participate in international activist movements, and as a way to be engaged outside the structures of marriage, especially when they lacked the resources to travel.[23] The Public Order Law (Chian iji hō; enacted in 1900 and subsequently revised various times) severely restricted women's public political speech, but translating and discussing socialist writings from abroad was one area of activity that remained possible.[24]

Yamakawa published translations of two of Carpenter's most influential works, *The Intermediate Sex* and *Love's Coming of Age*. The former appeared in the journal *Safuran* founded by former Bluestocking Society (Seitōsha) contributor Ōtake Kōkichi and the latter in an individual volume titled, *A Theory of Love* (*Ren'ai ron*, 1921).[25] Yamakawa is known for being devoted to keeping a discussion of women's position and gender

3 The textual history of Carpenter translations to Japanese is complex and at moments hard to determine. The earliest I have found is Sakai Toshihiko's translation of *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* as *Bunmei no hei oyobi sono kyūchi: Edowādo Kāpentā no chosaku o shōkai shita mono* (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1895), and later his translation of Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age* (New York: M. Kennerly, 1911) as *Jiyūshakai no danjo kankei* (Tokyo: Tōundō Shoten, 1915). Poet Tomita Saika translated Carpenter's "*Demokurashī no hō e*" (Towards democracy), in *Waseda bungaku* 116, no. 7 (1915). Another translation of *Love's Coming of Age* is *Seiai kekkon: Kaizō no sakebi*, translated by Tamura Hiroshi (Tokyo: Mita Shoten, 1921). Yamakawa also makes reference to having seen translations of Carpenter texts in a pamphlet called *Kakumei fujin*, a special issue of *Chokugen* in her "Shakaishugi fujin undō to Sekirankai," *Yamakawa Kikue shū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), 2, though I could not find any reference to Carpenter in the *Kakumei fujin* pamphlet, which introduces figures such as revolutionary Catherine Breshkovsky (1844–1934). I was unable to locate any issue of *Chokugen* that included Carpenter. Yamakawa also mentions "learning about Bebel and Carpenter" from the magazine *Kindai shisō*, and, although these are not in the table of contents of *Kindai shisō*, he is likely mentioned, as is his supporter Ishikawa Sanshirō. Sakai Toshihiko's *Shinsekai* magazine also discussed Carpenter, and Yamakawa mentions reading this as well. See Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna ni dai no ki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 165–166. According to Sheila Rowbotham, Carpenter was translated into Japanese for a magazine among the Japanese community in Los Angeles in 1919. See Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (New York: Verso, 2008), 348.

4 Yoshiya Nobuko, "Aishiau kotodomo," in *Senzenki dōseiai kanren bunken shūsei*, ed. Furukawa Makoto and Akaeda Kanako, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2006). This essay was originally published together with one by Kamichika Ichiko in *Shinshōsetsu*, in January 1921. Yoshiya rewrote the essay later as "Dōsei o ai suru saiwai," in *Akogare shiru koro* (Tokyo: Kōransha, 1923). This is the starting point of my attention to Carpenter and Yamakawa Kikue. Meanwhile, Michiko Suzuki's focus is on Yoshiya's development of Carpenter's ideas for the purpose of discussing love among girls, another important part of this conversation about translations of Carpenter. See Suzuki, "The Translation of Edward Carpenter."

5 Yamada Waka, *Ren'ai no shakaiteki igi* (Tokyo: Tōyō Shuppanbu, 1920), 284–285. The original passage from Carpenter refers to "boyhood or girlhood"; the closest passage in the original essay is: "School friendships

13 Lauren Goodlad, "Where Liberals Fear to Tread: E. M. Forster's Queer Internationalism and the Ethics of Care," *Novel* 39, no. 3 (Summer 2006).
14 Sakai Toshihiko, *Sakura no kuni jishin no kuni, Gendai yūmoa zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Gendai Yūmoa Zenshū Kankōkai, 1928), 508–510.
15 Sheffield City Libraries, Fabian Economic and Social Thought Series 1, *The Papers of Edward Carpenter, 1844–1929, from Sheffield City Libraries* (Marlborough, Wilshire, England: Adam Matthew, 1994) (microfilm). Most correspondence with Japanese individuals is on reel 9. Some translations into Japanese are also found in this archive. An index is included in reel 1.
16 Itō, who is generally catalogued as Itō Megumu, wrote a book about Buddhism and Japanese culture in 1942 that seems to me to very much fit in with Kyoto School Philosophy in both erudition and fascism: Itō Megumu, *Nihon bunka to Nihon bukkyō* (Osaka: Shinshindō, 1942). She is also the author of *Saikin rinrigaku* (Tokyo: Nisshindō, 1922). I thank Kristen Williams for helping me to identify the author of these letters to Carpenter as Itō Megumu.
17 This was an apparent plot to assassinate the emperor; a total of twenty-four individuals were sentenced to execution in early 1911, though most had little or no connection to the plot itself.
18 In Chushichi Tsuzuki, "'My Dear Sanshiro': Edward Carpenter and His Japanese Disciple," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 6, no. 1 (November 1972): 3.
19 Fukuda Hideko to Edward Carpenter, November 14, 1914, in Sheffield City Libraries, *The Papers of Edward Carpenter*, reel 9, MSS 380–42.
20 Yamakawa Kikue et al., *Yamakawa Kikue no kōseki: "Watakushi no undōshi" to chosaku mokuroku* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1979), 19.
21 Tomita Saita to Edward Carpenter, July 13, 1916, in Sheffield City Libraries, *The Papers of Edward Carpenter*, reel 9, MSS 380–11.
22 An early translation of a short selection from Carpenter's *Angel's Wings* appears as "'Jiga' no hyōgen to jiyū," trans. Nagashima Naoaki, *Atarashiki mura* 4, no. 3 (March 1921). Nagashima Naoaki was an active Taishō-era (1912–1926) translator who did work for the *Shirakaba* and *Atarashiki mura* journals. He also translated Balzac's *Pere Goriot*, works of August Strindberg, and was one of the translators for the Shinchōsha collected works of Dostoevsky.
23 This is not meant to dismiss the restrictions on an imprisoned figure such as Ishikawa discussed earlier, or, on the other hand like Itō Kei, the extent to which many educated women *were* traveling and studying internationally in the 1910s and 1920s, to a degree often forgotten in scholarship.

24 Even translation remained an area of some controversy. Research has shown that the attribution of a translation by Yamakawa Kikue was suppressed by educator and feminist Tsuda Umeko because of her association with the left. See Yamakawa Kikue et al., *Yamakawa Kikue no kōseki*, 100.

25 Edward Carpenter, *Ren'ai ron* (Love's coming of age), trans. Yamakawa Kikue (Tokyo: Daitōkaku Shoten, 1921); Edward Carpenter, "Chūseiron" (*The Intermediate Sex*), trans. Aoyama (Yamakawa) Kikue, serialized in *Safuran*, nos. 3–5 (1914), facsimile reprints in *Safuran*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1984). Yamakawa's *The Intermediate Sex* translation was retitled "*Dōseiai*" (Same-sex love) and reappeared in combination with a portion of *Pure Sociology* by Lester Ward to form a volume called *Josei chūshin to dōseiai* (Gynocentricism and same-sex love) (Tokyo: Ars, 1919). The shift in titles is important, as discussed by Suzuki, "The Translation of Edward Carpenter," 201–205. Although the "Gynocentricism" portion of the title represents the Ward section of the volume, the use of "*dōseiai*" (same-sex love) was increasingly associated with love among girls in the 1910s, even at the same time as it was coming to be used more frequently to translate the English word "homosexuality." On the one hand, the term associated same-sex sexuality more closely with sexological discourse and less with the historical term of *nanshoku* (erotic relations among men). At the same time, many have also referred to *dōseiai* as being more "spiritual," as discussed in Suzuki, and also in J. Keith Vincent, *Two-Timing Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2012), 32, 48. It is possible that the Yamakawa–Ward volume was simply marketing the word that was more familiar by 1919. "*Chūsei*" much better reflects the originality and queerness of Carpenter's term "intermediate."

26 Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna ni dai no ki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 176–177.

27 Ibid., 166. The text they were reading was *Les lois sociales* by Jean-Gabriel de Tarde.

28 Yamakawa, *Ren'ai ron*, 1–2.

29 Ibid., 3.

30 Yamakawa Kikue, "Keihin tsuki tokkahin toshite no onna," in *Yamakawa Kikue shū*, vol. 5, 2.

31 Yamakawa, *Onna ni dai no ki*, 166.

32 An important aspect of thinking about feminist writing is certainly writing style, such as in Yamakawa's debates with feminist, anarchist writer Takamure Itsue, whose intensely passionate and serpentine sentences and logic contrast with Yamakawa Kikue's rigorous and crisp, clear logical argumentation.

33 Yamakawa Kikue, "Ore ga ore no ore ni ore o," in *Yamakawa Kikue shū*,

by feminists such as Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1983), Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar's "Challenging Imperial Feminism" (1984), and Chandra Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse" (1991), are foundational works that articulate how racism, classism, heteronormativity, and geopolitical hegemony have constituted many Euro-American middle-class feminist endeavors and practices.[5] Building on this feminist genealogy, which includes the work of Angela Davis, Gayatri Spivak, Kimberlé Crenshaw, M. Jacqui Alexander, and others, I take transnational feminism to involve an *intersectional* approach to feminist practice that accounts for how gender, race, ethnicity, class, and nation are constituted by imperialism and colonial modernity.[6] That said, the question of how transnational feminism negotiates the material and institutional structures of first world power-knowledge formations, as well as Euro-American and Anglocentric epistemic hegemonies, requires further examination. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan noted in 2001 that the very term "transnational" "has become so ubiquitous in cultural and critical studies that much of its political valence seems to have become evacuated."[7] In the context of neoliberal globalization, feminists continue to debate the efficacy of the terms "transnational" and "transnational feminism."

Critical Transnational Feminism as Praxis

In their introduction to *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis*, Richa Nagar and Amanda Lock Swarr emphasize the need to reassess the limits and contradictions of transnational feminism. This collection recognizes that transnational feminism "always runs the risk of unwittingly reinforcing the deeply problematic power relations that it seeks to disrupt."[8] The editors advocate critical transnational feminism as an "inherently unstable praxis whose survival and evolution hinge on a continuous commitment to produce self-reflexive dialogic critiques of its own practices.[9]

Building on such understandings of transnational feminism, in what follows I elaborate a praxis of *critical transnational feminism* in dialogue with Japanese feminism. In my elaboration of critical transnational feminism, I underscore the criticality of the power differences within feminism. The *criticality* of power not only implies *persistent critique*, but also recognizes that transnational feminism faces an imminent crisis

the other the minority are deploying a "mechanism and power structure that give themselves the superior and universal position."[48] This indictment would apply to many Japanese feminists (myself included) who have re-produced this naming and labeling of "minority" while belonging to the majority.

Jung goes on to decry the reproduction of "white supremacy" (*hakujin shijōshugi*) in feminism that claims that the origins of modern feminism lie with white middle-class feminism based on Eurocentric narratives about first- and second-wave feminism.[49] Jung demonstrates how racism has operated among U.S. white middle-class feminists to exclude black feminists and she posits Japanese women in Japan as analogous to white women in the United States in terms of their civil rights.[50] Tomomi Yamaguchi and Becky Thompson have also pointed out the problems of using the term second wave, noting how it privileges white middle-class feminists as the pivotal agents of feminist history.[51]

Hegemonic feminist paradigms about first and second wave have been adopted and canonized within Japanese academic feminism. For example, the opening volume of Iwanami Shoten's series, *Feminism in Japan*, begins by placing *ūman ribu* as the beginning of "second-wave feminism" (*dai ni ha feminizumu*) in Japan.[52] This collection, edited by influential feminist scholars Ehara Yumiko, Inoue Teruko, and Ueno Chizuko, (re)produces the dominant master narrative of white-feminist waves and categorizes colonized subjects in Japan as "minorities." The adoption and investment in paradigms of white middle-class feminism by Japanese feminists is also then related to questions of translation. As part of the theory of CTF, I would underscore the importance of further analyzing how racialized economies of translation operate in conjunction with modalities of imperialism and axes of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. What kind of hierarchies are reinforced through economies of translation and publication?[53] Do Japanese feminist exchanges and translations that privilege Euro-American feminism reinforce first world hegemonies?

Given this kind of criticism, what changes can scholars of Japanese feminism and (Japanese) feminists make? CTF emphasizes greater dialogue and solidarity between different forms of feminist discourse, in this case, between Japanese feminists and non-Japanese feminists in Japan, as well as with feminists beyond Japan. Queer women of color feminism in the United States and non-Japanese/ethnic feminists illuminate the

the discourse of Euro-American abolitionists and suffragettes, Ono's statement at once conflates the oppression and de facto enslavement of Africans with the oppression of *all women*, and appropriates this suffering to render the plight of all women as somehow commensurate, similar, or analogous. Moreover, in 1972 the National Organization of Women (NOW) presented Ono and Lennon with the "Positive Image of Women" award for the song's "strong feminist statement." Ono's discourse and recognition from NOW highlight a convergence of white feminism and Japanese raciality. Ono's image decorated the cover of Japan's inaugural edition of the first commercial feminist magazine, *Feminisuto* (Feminist), which sold 22,000 copies in 1977. Founder and editor of *Feminisuto*, Atsumi Ikuko, describes this new Japanese feminist magazine as "five years behind American feminists," referring specifically to the publication of *Ms.* Magazine in 1972.[63] This Japanese-English bilingual publication was representative of the transnational circuits of Japanese feminism that invested in connections with Euro-American feminists. As arguably the most famous Japanese woman across the United Kingdom, United States, and Japan at the time, Ono's discourse and image symbolize the multivalent *transnational* connections between Euro-American feminism and Japanese feminism.

Thus, a vital question that CTF raises is the following: When does the transnational function to normalize the status quo, and when does it serve to decolonize power relations?[64] Following from this question, an analytical distinction to make is whether the *trans* in transnational feminism is queer/(non)heteronormative and guided by an anti-imperialist politics or a desire to further strengthen one's position by an appeal to the cultural capital of the West. When transnational feminist solidarities remain between first world nations, we might ask if these connections reproduce imperial forms of power. If transnational feminist practices are not anti-imperialist or decolonial, do they run the risk of reproducing neo-imperial forms of feminism?

As a final point, I make an analytical distinction between Japanese first world anti-imperialism and decolonial praxis.[65] I make this distinction because the former did not necessarily translate into anti-imperial solidarity work with other colonized women in Japan. A decolonial feminist politics would involve solidarity work with (formerly) colonized women/feminists, whereby first world (Japanese) feminists would *support* rather than lead and determine the political agenda. Hence CTF

advocates a shift from an open-ended transnational perspective, which often reproduces the dominant logics of the nation-state, to a decolonial feminist trajectory, which focuses on solidarity that traverses and unsettles axes of power and (post)colonial logics of violence. Decolonial feminism recognizes that colonial logics structure, contour, and haunt contemporary conditions and that the process of decolonization is unfinished, always imperfect, and requires creative and strategic alliances.

Conclusion

These preliminary thoughts about a praxis of CTF are indebted to lessons drawn from the *ūman ribu* movement. By revisiting *ūman ribu*'s limits and seeming contradictions, we are reminded that various forms of violence within and among feminists can be productively reconceived as opportunities to better address power abuse and aggression among women. Such a feminist politics would involve an understanding that these kinds of constitutive contradictions contribute to a better praxis of CTF *if* feminists prioritize the importance of communicating openly about existing structural conflicts, and *create effective ways* to work through them. Differences of power and hierarchy need not be deemed antithetical to feminism and obscured, but rather should be openly discussed as the extant material conditions that require transformation. CTF thus aims to practice and theorize counter-hegemonic logics without presuming an absence of contradiction and conflict. By analyzing and working through the multiplicity of violences within feminist formations and histories, we may discover a new approach to power within feminism. Power differences among feminists within a transnational context need not be an impediment to coalition, but rather provide a basis for a praxis of CTF that recognizes exposing and harnessing the potential violence of feminist power as imperative for the future of feminisms.

Notes

I thank Ayako Kano, James Welker, Tamara Ho, Dylan Rodriguez, Akwi Seo, Tomomi Yamaguchi, and Ayano Ginoza for their comments on this chapter.

1 *Ūman ribu*'s call for comprehensive political, economic, social, cultural, and sexual revolution, constitutes what has been defined as "radical

feminism." See Machiko Matsui, "Evolution of the Feminist Movement in Japan," *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 2, no. 3 (1990).

2 Setsu Shigematsu, *Scream from the Shadows: The Women's Liberation Movement in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

3 In part 1 of *Scream from the Shadows*, "Genealogies and Violations," I elaborate multiple domestic and transnational political genealogies that intersected to shape the emergence of the *ribu* movement.

4 Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan ask "how to link diverse feminisms without requiring either equivalence or a master theory . . . without replicating cultural and economic hegemony." See "Introduction," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 19.

5 Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (New York: Kitchen Table, 1983); Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar, "Challenging Imperial Feminism," *Feminist Review*, no. 17 (Autumn 1984); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, ed. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

6 Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983); Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991); M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Women in Difference," in her *Outside the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 77–95.

7 Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Global Identities: Theorizing Transnational Studies of Sexuality," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001).

8 Richa Nagar and Amanda Lock Swarr, "Introduction: Theorizing Transnational Feminist Praxis," in *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010), 17.

9 Ibid., 9.

10 In her "Under Western Eyes Revisited," in *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 227, Chandra Mohanty complicates the usage of the terms first world and third world to account for the socioeconomic differences,

39 See Akwi Seo's chapter for more details on Koreans' loss of rights during the U.S. Occupation.

40 When we consider the rise of feminism in the United States and Japan as part of modern histories of imperial powers, we can compare how colonized people became "minoritized" within these nations.

41 Koshiro, *Transpacific Racism*, 3.

42 Masako Osada, *Sanctions and Honorary Whites: Diplomatic Policies and Economic Realities in Relations between Japan and South Africa* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing, 2002), 145. Although the term "honorary whites" was never used in official or legal language in South Africa, it began to be widely used to describe the exceptional treatment that Japanese received in South Africa, such as being allowed to live in white-only areas.

43 Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property," in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, ed. Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: The New Press, 1995), 283.

44 Setsu Shigematsu, "Intimacies of Imperialism and Japanese-Black Feminist Transgression: Militarised Occupations in Okinawa and Beyond." *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 37 (2015), http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue37/shigematsu.pdf.

45 Sonia Ryang, "Love and Colonialism in Takamure Itsue's Feminism," *Feminist Review* 60 (1998): 2 (emphasis in the original).

46 "A-san," interview, January 1, 2016. Suzuki Mieko, a Buraku activist, similarly states, "I think that Japanese feminists have a limited perspective. . . . The economic and social background of these 'middle-class feminists,' and, consequently, their perspectives, are also very different from those of the Buraku women. Recognizing these differences is crucial. I think that feminists in Japan are lacking in terms of their understanding of minority issues and the structure of discrimination." See Suzuki Mieko, "Commitments to Women's and Buraku Issues," in *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, ed. AMPO, *Japan Asia Quarterly Review* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 156.

47 For example, in AMPO, *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, three out of twenty-six chapters provide women's perspectives from Buraku, ethnic Korean, and Ainu communities.

48 Jung Yeong-hae, "Feminizumu no naka no reishizumu," in *Wādomappu feminizumu*, ed. Ehara Yumiko and Kanai Yoshiko (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1997), 89. I thank Ayako Kano for directing me to this important essay on racism within feminism.

49 Jung, "Feminizumu no naka no reishizumu," 97. See also Becky

62 Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980). Evans' work is an example of this form of white feminism.

63 Kathryn Tolbert, "Feminist Magazines Appear in Japan," *Herald Tribune*, November 25, 1977, 17B.

64 M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Cartographies of Knowledge and Power: Transnational Feminism and Radical Praxis," in *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis*, 24.

65 For a further distinction between Japanese anti-imperial feminism and decolonial feminism, see Shigematsu, "Intimacies of Imperialism and Japanese-Black Feminist Transgression."

women in Japan have been positioned, and their strategies for participating in the political sphere at the organizational level. Then, I explore Korean women's involvement in campaigns for redress for "comfort women," analyzing the narratives of former Yeoseong-Net members based on personal interviews. Lastly, I discuss the multiplicity of efforts made by Korean women in Japan to challenge structural oppression.

Engendering Korean Diaspora in Japan

As a result of Japanese colonial rule in Korea (1910–1945), there were approximately two million Koreans in Japan at the defeat of the Japanese Empire. Two-thirds of them returned to a liberated homeland, but postwar political instability on the Korean peninsula, which was intensified by the Cold War, made an estimated 600,000 Koreans decide to postpone their repatriation in anticipation of a Korean unification that still has not occurred. The Korean diaspora in Japan is characterized by the insecurity and political ambiguity of their status as former colonial subjects who are perceived as temporary residents, sojourners, and exiles.[7]

The postwar restructuring of Japanese nationhood gradually yet systematically excluded former colonial subjects from its membership. Technically speaking, people from the colonies (the Korean peninsula and Taiwan) initially had Japanese nationality, but were subjected to a newly introduced alien registration system in 1947. Upon ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, the Japanese government unilaterally revoked their Japanese nationality. Koreans in Japan were suddenly made stateless. This institutional arrangement reflecting an ethnically exclusive concept of nationality was then used to justify the exclusion of Koreans as "foreigners," disentitling them from social welfare services such as public housing, the national pension plan, national health insurance, voting rights, and employment in public service.[8] In the private sector, discrimination was rationalized against even subsequent generations of Koreans, who had acquired Japanese language and culture. This rationalization was based on their lack of Japanese nationality. It was not until normalization of the diplomatic relationship between Japan and South Korea in 1965 that Koreans in Japan were entitled to permanent residency on the condition of their affiliation to the Republic of Korea (ROK), while the legal status of those Koreans not supporting the ROK was not stabilized until the early 1980s.[9]

of women's effort to transcend ideological borders within the Korean diaspora community, and a space where individual Korean women in Japan who had been divided and marginalized in conventional organizations encountered each other and rediscovered themselves, found what they wanted to do, and dispersed in diverse directions. Yeoseong-Net was a counterpublic of Korean women in Japan that found the right words to express their thoughts, reframing their situation through the concept of intersectionality, and proposing counter-discourses to mainstream public space. Their practice of traversing intra-ethnic group differences empowered them to resist multiple forms of oppression, and nourished their capacity to create transnational activism cross-cutting ethnicity and nationality, country of residence and language, overcoming differences between the "colonizer" and the "colonized," "majority" and "minority." The position of Korean women in Japan is not single, but changes in various contexts; they belong to an ethnic "minority" group in Japan, situated at the "periphery" in relation to the "homeland" Korea, and they are also residents in the "colonizer" country. As postcolonial transnational feminists, their new subject position is enabled only through their efforts to articulate their intersectional positionality and to overcome these binaries at the same time.

It is not my intention to celebrate Yeoseong-Net as an example of a diasporic women's counterpublic. However, their marginalized position led them to initiate a new transnational activism linking feminisms that had been divided by nation-states. As bell hooks argues, understanding marginality as a position of resistance and power is crucial for oppressed, exploited, and colonized people.[41] These margins have been both sites of repression and sites of resistance. Thus they are also sites of possibility that offer radical perspectives from which to imagine alternatives. At the margin, these women created a new site of resistance, allowing the entrance of women from different backgrounds who expressed solidarity toward the mutual goal of liberation.

Notes

A great debt of gratitude for time and generosity is due the former members of Yeoseong-Net whom I interviewed. Special thanks go to Kim Puja, who introduced me to former Yeoseong-Net members and offered insightful advice. This chapter was written based on my dissertation research on Korean women's

movements in Japan. I am thankful to my PhD advisor, Prof. Ito Ruri and my committee member, Prof. Jung Yeong-hae. Research for this article was carried out through an F-Gens research grant sponsored by Ochanomizu University.

1. Kim Puja et al., "Atogaki," in *Chōsenjin josei ga mita "ianfu mondai,"* ed. Yoon Jung-ok et al. (Tokyo: San-ichi Shobō, 1992), 278–279.
2. "*Uri yeoseong*" is a Korean word meaning "our (Korean) women." In Japanese "*yeoseong*" (women) is pronounced "*yoson*," but in this chapter, I am Romanizing it based on the word's Korean pronunciation.
3. See Vera Mackie's writing on the topic: "Dialogue, Distance and Difference: Feminism in Contemporary Japan," *Women's Studies International Forum* 21, no. 6 (1998); "The Language of Globalization, Transnationality and Feminism," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, no. 2 (2001); *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and "Shifting the Axis: Feminism and the Transnational Imaginary," in *State/Nation/Transnation: Perspectives on Transnationalism in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Brenda S. A. Yeoh and Katie Willis (London: Routledge, 2004). See also Ulrike Wöhr, "A Touchstone for Transnational Feminism: Discourses on the Comfort Women in 1990s Japan," *Japanstudien* 16 (2004).
4. Kim Puja, "Looking at Sexual Slavery from a Zainichi Perspective," in *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, ed. AMPO, *Japan Asia Quarterly Review* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996); Kim Puja, "Global Civil Society Remakes History: 'The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal 2000,'" *positions: east asia cultures critique* 9, no. 3 (Winter 2001); Yamashita Yeong-ae, "Revisiting the 'Comfort Women': Moving Beyond Nationalism," in *Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference* (New York: The Feminist Press, 2011).
5. Inderpal Grewal, "Autobiographic Subjects and Diasporic Locations: *Meatless Days* and *Borderlands*," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 234–235.
6. Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.
7. Sonia Ryang, "Introduction: Between the Nations: Diaspora and Koreans in Japan," in *Diaspora without Homeland: Being Korean in Japan*, ed. Sonia Ryang and John Lie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Sonia Ryang, *Writing Selves in Diaspora: Ethnography of Autobiographics of Korean Women in Japan and the United States* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008).

8 Institutional discrimination against foreign residents in social welfare was mostly abolished after Japan ratified the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1979 and the International Refugee Convention and Protocol in 1982.

9 The majority of Korean residents hold the special permanent residence status available to colonial-era immigrants and their descendants. As Japanese nationality law is based on *jus sanguinis*, which grants nationality only to those who were born to nationals, foreigners including Koreans born in Japan remain foreign unless they undergo naturalization. Until the 1980s, naturalization was permitted to applicants only upon verification of their assimilation. For example, they were required to adopt Japanese-sounding names. In recent years the number of ethnic Koreans with Japanese nationality has been increasing. This is due to the increase in naturalization as well as in intermarriage with Japanese nationals, whose children acquire Japanese nationality from birth. See Chikako Kashiwazaki, "The Foreigner Category for Koreans in Japan: Opportunities and Constraints," in *Diaspora without Homeland*.

10 Sonia Ryang, "Introduction," 16. These harsh circumstances led to the repatriation of nearly 90,000 Koreans from the late 1950s to the 1970s. There were also hundreds of Japanese wives of Koreans who repatriated to North Korea, expecting a better life, education, and employment. Most Koreans repatriating to North Korea originally came from what is now South Korea.

11 Song Yeon-ok, "Zainichi Chōsenjin josei to wa dare ka," in *Keizoku suru shokuminchishugi*, ed. Iwasaki Minoru et al. (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2005), 262–263.

12 The following are examples of state oppression of Korean family and community. Producing Korean alcohol called *makgoli* was a typical form of livelihood for impoverished Korean families in the years immediately following the war, and an activity in which women played a significant role. Because such alcohol production was unlicensed and illegal, producers were often subject to police raids. Another example is the hundreds of Korean-language schools that were built in the postwar period to prepare Korean children for repatriation. Because most of these schools were affiliated with the ethnic organization supporting the communist faction in Korea, they were forcibly closed by the Japanese Ministry of Education under the command of the General Headquarters of Allied Powers (GHQ) in the late 1940s. These raids and closures were often violent and even resulted in deaths. Such experiences of oppression increased the cohesion of ethnic organizations and their resistance against Japanese authority.

netto nenji hōkokusho 1992 (Tokyo: Jūgun Ianfu Mondai Uri Yoson Nettowāku, 1993), 15.

32 Kim Puja, "Zainichi Chōsenjin josei to Nihongun 'ianfu' mondai kaiketsu undō: 1990-nendai no Yoson Netto no undō keiken kara," *Sensō to sei* 28 (2009).

33 Many Koreans in Japan use *tsūmei*, or "passing" Japanese names, in everyday life to avoid discrimination. These *tsūmei* are a legacy of the colonial-era policy of *sōshi kaimei*, according to which Koreans had to adopt Japanese names. In contrast to *tsūmei* are *minzokumei* (ethnic names) or *honmyō* (real names), which are the Korean names listed in official documents such as foreign registration cards and driver's licenses. The issue of names has been crucial for the identity politics of Koreans in Japan.

34 Kimberle W. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 139 (1989).

35 Mackie, "Shifting the Axis: Feminism and the Transnational Imaginary," 243.

36 See Park Hwami, "Sei no nijū kihan kara 'guntai ianfu mondai' o yomitoku," in Yoon Jung-ok et al., *Chōsenjin josei ga mita "ianfu mondai,"* 222–225; Song Yeon-ok, "Chōsen josei no feminizumu ni tsuite," *Allim* 9 (1994); Yamashita, "Revisiting the 'Comfort Women,'" 217–220; and Kim Puja, "Josei kokusai senpan hōtei ga norikoeta mono to norikoenakatta mono," in her *Keizoku suru shokuminchishugi to jendā* (Yokohama: Seori Shobō), 139–159.

37 Yeoseong-Net included Japanese and male members at the rank of "observers."

38 Gurūpu Chame, *Zainichi Korian josei no tame no enpawāmento wākushoppu hōkokusho* (Tokyo: Gurūpu Chame, 1997), 9.

39 Kim Puja, "Josei kokusai senpan hōtei," 155.

40 Mackie, "The Language of Globalization, Transnationality and Feminism"; Mackie, "Shifting the Axis."

41 bell hooks, "marginality as site of resistance," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1990).

I am embarrassed to admit this, but it was just such a calculation that kept me from learning more about Takemura's work. As someone who writes about Japanese literature in English, I really should know better; to the extent that if such a policy is applied in the other direction, it can only invalidate my own work. Why read what a white American man like me has to say about gender and sexuality in Japanese literature when one can go "directly to the source"? This sort of attitude is not at all uncommon in Japan, and in the United States for that matter, and it is one that I am always eager to denounce as narrow-minded and essentialist. And yet, with regard to Takemura's work, I was clearly not practicing what I was preaching.

I am grateful to have this essay included in this volume because it has given me the chance not only to go back and read more of Takemura's work, but to think more broadly about what Japanese Americanists and American Japanologists have in common, and how feminism and queer theory might help us to articulate those commonalities. It has also been a pleasure to re-acquaint myself with, and in many cases to learn about for the first time, aspects of the history of feminism and queer theory in the United States, through Takemura's eyes. Thanks to her 2012 book *The Challenge of the Power of Literature* (*Bungakuryoku no chōsen*) I now know, for example, that Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* can be read as a queer text.[1] I learned that Kate Millet's classic 1970 work of feminist literary criticism *Sexual Politics* ends with a chapter in which she writes approvingly of the gender politics of Jean Genet, and that Millet's analysis of homophobia and misogyny in D. H. Lawrence presages the work of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick fifteen years later in *Between Men*.[2] In a brilliant chapter on American anti-intellectualism, Takemura draws on Richard Hofstadter's classic book on the subject going back to the nineteenth century "Know Nothing Party" to contextualize the awarding of the "Bad Writing Prize" to Judith Butler by the Johns Hopkins–based journal *Philosophy and History* in 1998.[3] As she points out in that chapter, there were any number of poststructuralist theorists whose prose were more difficult than Butler's, and plenty of other winners of the award whose selection failed to bring any notice from the mass media. But these two facts together suggest that what was at issue was not so much the fabled difficulty of Butler's prose but the challenge it posed to fiercely guarded "commonsense" notions about gender and sexual norms, notions that

question of "positionality." It is also, at its core, about what makes literature literature. It was in her close and loving readings of literary texts that Takemura Kazuko found room for something other than nation, institution, and identity—something unexpected and queer—to "crawl up and wriggle out" from between the lines.

Notes

An earlier version of this essay appeared online on the "Women's Action Network" website. Thanks to Professor Ueno Chizuko for publishing it there, and to Naoko Uchibori, for translating it into Japanese. The Japanese translation can be found here: http://wan.or.jp/article/show/1278.

1 Takemura Kazuko, *Bungakuryoku no chōsen: Famirī, yokubō, terorizumu* (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha, 2012).
2 See Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970); and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
3 Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012).
4 Takemura describes her encounter with Butler's work in "Kiki-teki jōkyō no naka de bungaku to feminizumu o kenkyū suru imi," in *Kenkyū suru imi*, ed. Komori Yōichi (Tokyo: Tokyo Tosho, 2003).
5 Takemura Kazuko, "Yakusha kaisetsu," in *Jendā toraburu: Feminizumu to aidentiti no kakuran* (Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity) by Judith Butler, trans. Takemura Kazuko (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1999), 295 (emphasis mine).
6 The culmination of this work was a special issue of the journal *Gendai shisō* 25, no. 6 (May 1997), titled "Rezubian/gei sutadīzu" (Lesbian/gay studies). The issue included an essay by Takemura on bisexuality: "Bōkyaku/torikomi no senryaku: Baisekushuariti josetsu."
7 Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Josei, neitivu, tasha: Posutokoroniarizumu to feminizumu*, trans. Takemura Kazuko (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995).
8 Judith Butler, *Antigonē no shuchō: Toinaosareru shinzoku kankei*, trans. Takemura Kazuko (2000; Tokyo: Seidosha, 2002); Judith Butler, *Shokuhatsu suru kotoba: Gengo, kenryoku, kōitai*, trans. Takemura Kazuko (1997; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004); Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Kokka o utau no wa dare ka? Gurōbaru suteito ni okeru gengo, seiji, kizoku*, trans. Takemura Kazuko (2007; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008).

CONCLUSION

On Rethinking Japanese Feminisms

AYAKO KANO

Why We Need to Rethink Japanese Feminisms Now

The first word of the title of this volume, "rethinking," points toward moments of reflection and reconsideration. The second word, "Japanese," raises the question of national boundaries, and the third signals multiplicities in the plural "feminisms." Why *feminisms* rather than feminism? What is the plurality that must be attended to? Why *Japanese*, what does the modifier mean, and what is the status of the national as a modifier? And why is there a need to rethink Japanese feminisms? Why now? And how? To answer these questions, this chapter begins by considering the present moment, and then weaves together the insights of three feminist scholars, Ueno Chizuko, Vera Mackie, and Barbara Molony, whose keynote addresses originally inspired this volume.

Why rethink Japanese feminisms now? In the wake of the massive earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown of March 2011—a disaster that shook the nation and its people's faith in government—the Liberal Democratic Party returned to power after ousting the Democratic Party of Japan. The new prime minister, Abe Shinzō, was a distressingly familiar face to feminists in Japan because he had spearheaded a conservative backlash against them in the late 1990s to early 2000s, as discussed in Tomomi Yamaguchi's chapter in this volume.[1] Cleverly, and initially a little confusingly, this time he proposed a series of measures highlighting women's roles in boosting national confidence and economic growth, while at the same time seeming to expect them to remain "good wives and wise mothers" in the conventional sense. Under the term "womenomics," Abe made a number of eye-catching feminist gestures.[2] At

Notes

As the organizers of the 2013 conference, we invited four prominent figures in Japanese feminist scholarship as keynote panelists. Mizuta Noriko, who in the end could not participate due to health issues, is a pioneer in the field of feminist literary criticism and higher education in Japan—having earned a PhD in American literature from Yale University and having become one of the first female presidents of a major Japanese university (Jōsai University, later Jōsai International University). The journal that she co-founded, *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal*, has been an important venue for publication of scholarship on feminism and gender issues, and Jōsai International University was one of the first institutions in Japan to offer a graduate degree in women's studies. Her many books on literature and feminist criticism include: Noriko Mizuta Lippit, *Reality and Fiction in Modern Japanese Literature* (White Plains, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1980); *Feminizumu no kanata: Josei hyōgen no shinsō* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991); *Joseigaku to no deai* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2004). *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* was initially published in Japanese, as *Nichibei josei jānaru*, with English-language supplements.

1 See also Ayako Kano, "Backlash, Fight Back, and Back-Pedaling: Responses to State Feminism in Contemporary Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 8, no. 1 (2011).
2 Ayako Kano and Vera Mackie, "Is Shinzo Abe Really a Feminist?" *East Asia Forum*, November 9, 2013, http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/11/09/is-shinzo-abe-really-a-feminist/.
3 As noted in the introduction to this volume, the terminology is itself contentious. See also note 22 below.
4 See for example, the controversy incited by conservative commentator Sono Ayako's statements to this effect: *J-Cast News*, "'Shussan shitara o-yamenasai': Sono Ayako kikō de netto mo daigekiron," September 8, 2013, http://www.j-cast.com/kaisha/2013/09/05183030.html?p=1. On Sono, see also Barbara Hartley's chapter in this volume.
5 Kano, "Backlash." See also Tomomi Yamaguchi, "'Gender Free' Feminism in Japan: A Story of Mainstreaming and Backlash," *Feminist Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014).
6 The phrase is from Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 7.
7 On modes of identification and non-identification, see Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 44–48.

Yeoseong-hoe (Association of Korean Women in Japan for Democracy), 235–236, 238, 239, 240, 249n.23
Yeoseong-Net (Korean Women's Network on the Comfort Women Issue), 230–231, 236–245, 249n.29, 250n.37. *See also* comfort women
Yoneyama, Lisa, 215
Yoon Jung-ok, 236, 238
Yoshiya Nobuko, 188–189, 200n.4
Young Sailor (*Wakaki funabito*; Kashō), 139–140, **140**, 144, 146, 148
Yūsen (periodical), 72–73

Za daiku (periodical), 58, 65n.40