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SECTION I

QUEERING THE  
MAINSTREAM



# MAKING JAPAN “OUT-AND-PROUD” THROUGH NOT-YET- CONSENSUAL TRANSLATION:

## A Case Study of Tokyo Rainbow Pride’s Website

KYOHEI ITAKURA

My work raises issues of translation in contemporary public sphere debates by offering a cyber-ethnography of a Japan-based LGBT organization, Tokyo Rainbow Pride (TRP). Today, TRP runs a multi-language—Japanese, English, and Chinese—website maintained by Japanese and non-Japanese staff to showcase their offline activities, such as annual parades and festivals. However, the linguistically and culturally diverse staff leave inconsistencies in the translation activities on the website—as if they have yet to collectively address their respective citizenship issues in Japan through consensual translation. I glean traces of translation from the TRP website and investigate what kinds of “publics” TRP creates in Japan and how. TRP forges a dualistic public—through which to recognize and rank difference, champion and commercialize queerness, etc.—by venturing to make Japan the “gayest” parade-hosting nation in Asia while exceptionalizing the United States as a queer utopia. Yet, TRP’s nationalized project remains inconsistently translated into non-Japanese languages. Perhaps without consensus on translation, the TRP staff assemble their website in a manner that upholds both Japanese nationalism and U.S. imperialism as if to re-enact Japan’s modernization in today’s pervasively commodified Japanese social landscape. I hope to

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contribute to the fields of public anthropology, Japan studies, and queer studies through my future participant-observation research on consensus building among the TRP staff.

### INTRODUCTION: INCONSISTENCIES IN TRANSLATION

In May 2011, a volunteer LGBT organization, Tokyo Rainbow Pride (TRP), rose out of the ongoing sexual minority movement in Japan.<sup>1</sup> The group has expanded its networks in Asia and beyond by recruiting non-Japanese staff and running a multi-language—Japanese, English, and Chinese—website.<sup>2</sup> Today, TRP aligns with heterosexuals, LGBT expatriates, and allegedly LGBT-friendly foreign embassies and multinational corporations, such as the embassy of the United States and the clothing retailer GAP, to annually host what the group calls “*parēdo ando fesuta*” (parade & festa) in Tokyo. Notably, TRP stages a pride parade coupled with a flamboyant festival to promote diversity in ostensibly homogeneous Japan.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the group showcases memories of parading and partying via their online webpage to advocate “out-and-proud” queer life (See Figure 1). Yet, TRP seems too busy celebrating to discuss inconsistencies in the translation activities on the website—as if the linguistically and culturally diverse staff have yet to communicate their respective citizenship issues (e.g., legal treatment) in Japan through consensual translation.<sup>4</sup>



Figure 1. The 2013 TRP pride parade participants marching in Tokyo while hoisting a rainbow flag to promote diversity. ©TRP

It is against the backdrop of TRP's queer activism wedded to consumerist indulgence in Japan that I raise issues of translation in contemporary public sphere debates (Crossley and Roberts 2004). As far as the TRP website is concerned, what kinds of "publics" does TRP create in Japan and how? TRP animates some sort of a dualistic public (inclusive and hierarchical, activist and consumerist, etc.) so that Japan comes out as Asia's "gayest" parade-hosting country amid U.S.-led globalization. Yet, the TRP staff inconsistently translate such a nationalized goal into non-Japanese languages. The TRP website as assembled, perhaps not entirely consensually, marches with not only Japanese national formation, but also American imperial expansion as if to encore Japan's modernization—the nation's attempt to reign in Asia if not within the U.S.-led world.

#### TRACING TRP'S PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT IN JAPAN: THEORIES AND METHODS

Theoretically and methodologically, I bridge transnational and translingual perspectives in my ethnography of the Japan-based TRP's public engagement in the digital age.<sup>5</sup> A transnational frame underpins my approach to notions of sexuality (Chauncey and Povinelli 1999; Grewal and Kaplan 2001; Lim 2005)<sup>6</sup> and publicness (Habermas 1989; Warner 2002; Fraser 2007).<sup>7</sup> While bearing the increasingly blurred boundaries of nation-states in mind, I also stress the resilience of the nation in sexual discourse by spotlighting TRP's civic participation. To document TRP's public messaging, I feature Japan's specificity in Asia vis-à-vis the West (Mackie and McLelland 2015)<sup>8</sup> and draw on the notion of duality from Japan scholarship (Sugimoto 2014).<sup>9</sup> Further, my work attends to language as a crucial tool for authorizing multicultural public discourses (Gal and Woolard 2001) and translation as a political process for creating hypothetical sign equivalences (Liu 1995).<sup>10</sup> In particular, I explore not just literal mono-modal text translation (Rosman and Rubel 2003) but (the inherently multimodal) audiovisual translation (Pérez-González 2014), which mediates transnational communication on sexuality.<sup>11</sup> As the diverse TRP staff collectively engages with the context-specific meanings of the globally circulating acronym "LGBT" in Japan, I examine how TRP iterates what counts as "Japanese" (or not) through translation within the local-plus-foreign paradigm.<sup>12</sup> Namely, I regard

the Japanese contact with foreign discourse as, in theorist Katsuhiko Suganuma's words, "always a new by-product of cross-cultural contact, constantly shifting the mutual construction of difference" (2012: 26).

As for methods, I analyze the TRP website as a multimodal text through my preliminary cyber-ethnography (Boellstorff et al. 2012).<sup>13</sup> The multi-language website consists of Japanese, English, and Chinese versions. Yet interestingly, their layout designs and general contents do not necessarily correspond, as though TRP unequally relates to (or invests in) the respective conceptual worlds. In terms of layout, the Japanese and English versions have many sections (e.g., organization history), while the Chinese version does not and appears to be quite nascent. And yet, even in the Japanese and English sections, the contents do not strictly match. Remarkably, TRP inconsistently translates the group objective (as stated in Japanese) into non-Japanese languages. For this paper, I navigate bilingually (Japanese and English), since my Chinese language ability is rudimentary.<sup>14</sup> Analytically, I adopt multimodality. According to linguist Luis Pérez-González, "multimodality does not prioritize language at the expense of other meaning-making modes [such as sound, music, and image]" (2014: 182). By juxtaposing the Japanese and English versions of the TRP website, I ask: what is said (how and why), left unsaid, and encouraged to be felt in what language(s) alongside what audiovisual contents? And what can be said and felt through translation? Because I do not engage in TRP's digital archiving through participant-observation, I use this work as preliminary research for my future fieldwork in Japan; I do find scholarly critique without social engagement ethically troubling.

My data includes literal texts and audiovisual materials (e.g., photographs and video clips), all gleaned from the Japanese and English pages I monitored from September 2014 to January 2016. TRP interlaces written descriptions of relevant events (e.g., the TRP parade & festa) with many photographs, and these appear consistently in the two versions. The TRP staff upload video clips featuring pride parades in Japan and abroad as well. These clips are available only in the Japanese version as if TRP targets the Japanese-speaking audience. Peculiarly, however, on both Japanese and English pages, TRP makes available a few short video clips as reference materials for the Stonewall Riots in the States.<sup>15</sup> America perhaps has to stand as a promised land of liberation after all, but for whom and what? Why now? As an aside, TRP renewed its website in 2015 and

earlier this year. "The website" in this work refers to the old TRP website, accessible through a link on the current website.<sup>16</sup>

In summary, my ethnography builds on what anthropologist Tom Boellstorff calls "a queer anthropology or critical anthropology of sexuality" (2007a: 25), as I discuss the TRP website by probing such axes of power as the nation, history, language, and sense. Below, I first contextualize the birth of TRP. After reviewing its birth story, I delve into the TRP website as a space for an ongoing discursive and audiovisual performance.

### TRP'S BIRTH: WHY CELEBRATING DIVERSITY?

On the Japanese and English pages of the website, TRP situates its birth in the up-and-down history of pride parades in Japan:

The very first pride parade for sexual minorities to take place in Japan was in August, 1994. However, due to problems in funding and organizing, the event was unable to continue in further years. Determined to make the parade an annual event, TRP was finally established as a not for profit organization. [. . .] [W]e aim to make the parade an event fitting of such a colorful city as Tokyo and to continue running it for many years to come.

The declaration does sound energetic. Yet, TRP stops short of addressing why such public demonstration as parading is necessary for queers in contemporary Japan, not to mention what such an event meant for the Japanese sexual minority movement in the first place. TRP leaves untold what queers in Japan have sought to challenge—including the voyeuristic media, the HIV/AIDS panic, and Japan's heteropatriarchal laws, all of which affect citizenship issues. It is an open objection to gender conformity and heterosexual marriage, rather than same-sex sexuality per se, that goes beyond *jōshiki* (common sense) in present-day Japan (Lunsing 2001). With these unspoken context-specific challenges in mind, I narrate the birth of TRP and highlight its potential.

After a series of small-group intermittent protests against heterosexism, large-scale political organizing among queers in Japan crystallized in the 1990s—a decade often referred to as Japan's "gay boom" in the academic and activist circle. Back in those days, long separated same-sex desiring women and men (and other sexual minorities) voiced their existence together, however their coalition conflicted due to gender and socioeconomic (and other) differences. Their mobilization might have remained unrealized without multiple coincidental forces in the 1990s.



One such contingent force, the Japanese media, sensationalized non-normative (in particular male) sexualities. While the mainstream media featured Tokyo's then unfamiliar queer district Shinjuku Ni-chōme, women's media romanticized same-sex intimacy between men for recreational consumption (Lunsing 1997; McLelland 2003). Such outsiders' attentions to male-male intimacy presumably discomfited same-sex desiring men. Except for a few political radicals who jeopardized, or perhaps took advantage of, male privileges for queer activism—e.g., Tōgō Ken (McLelland 2012)—, many same-sex desiring men had been discreetly enjoying their niche commercial market (mostly bar and pornographic) since the 1970s (Ryū 2009; Mackintosh 2010).

The HIV/AIDS crisis swelled as another force that affected particularly same-sex desiring men. The breakout of the AIDS epidemic catalyzed a societal obsession with locating a same-sex desiring (male) population first as a culprit for disseminating the HIV domestically and then as a risk group susceptible to the pandemic (Kazama and Kawaguchi 2010). As public health concerns about the “homosexual(ized)” disease grew, nationalistic panic forced the stigmatized to politicize their sexuality as an identity and transform, at least linguistically, into a responsible and patriotic gay, or *gei*, community (Kazama 1997; Shingae 2013).<sup>17</sup>

Long before *gei* men became vocal and visible due to the exploitative media and the HIV/AIDS panic in the early 1990s, same-sex desiring women had been engaging in grassroots organizing for *rezubian* (lesbian) consciousness as early as the 1970s. They began politicizing their lives as not only *onna* (woman), but also *rezubian* (lesbian) alongside accelerating women's liberation in Japan in the aftermath of the 1960s U.S. second-wave feminist movement (Chalmers 2002; Izumo et al. 2007; Maree 2015). Although *rezubian* organizing seemed ignored in heterosexist and male-dominated Japan, *rezubians* in the 1990s followed the still male-centered, but gradually more anti-heterosexist, social current perhaps without affording separatism. To recap, the above oppressive factors led some queers in Japan to take action collectively in the 1990s—marked by many scholars and activists, male-chauvinistically, as “gay liberation.”

Out sexual minority personae appeared one after another alongside the emergence of Japanese lesbian and gay studies publications during the 1990s. In 1991, critic Fushimi Noriaki came out as *gei* in *Puraibēto Gei Raifu* (Private Gay Life). Fushimi criticizes the “hetero-*shisutemu*,”

literally translated into English as hetero-system, and loosely, heteronormativity: a force in the direction of rewarding (and constraining) heterosexuality/the masculine as opposed to same-sex sexuality/the feminine (1991: 167-70).<sup>18</sup> In 1992, writer Kakefuda Hiroko declared her *rezubian* identity. She attacks the *koseki seido*, or the Family Registration System, which shackles citizens to Japan's heteropatriarchal family (1992: 56-83). The *koseki* system does not discriminate against queers explicitly. Rather, the Japanese law oppresses queers, as it maintains same-sex sexuality as a deliberately unstated constitutive counterpart of heterosexuality without either permitting same-sex marriage or granting support to same-sex couples—though, it has tacitly allowed Japanese queers to exploit adoption as a means to form queer intimacies (Maree 2014).<sup>19</sup> In 1997, sociologists Kawaguchi Kazuya and Kazama Takashi published *Gei Sutadīzu* (Gay studies) by collaborating with foreign scholar Keith Vincent. Their move to institutionalize sexuality studies in Japanese academia helped legitimize the subject matter as a topic worthy of public discussion. In bringing discussions about sexuality out from under the table, these activists and scholars affirmed *kaminguauto* or coming-out.

As an aside, since the 1990s, English-speaking academics began publishing sexuality scholarship of Japan in the U.S. (and later Australia), an ocean apart. However well-intended, earlier scholars orientalized Japan as a "feudalistic" and "repressive" nation by victimizing queers there.<sup>20</sup> Yet, historians ironically show that a rich pro-same-sex and phallogentric sexual culture flourished in pre-modern Japan (e.g., Pflugfelder 1999). Official acceptance of sexual diversity continued until 1868, when the Meiji government intentionally forgot Japan's past and modernized the nation by adapting foreign capitalism, through which to compete with importunate Western powers (e.g., the U.S.) and colonize Asia. Such aspects of Japan's history, erased from school texts in the 1990s (and perhaps even today), remained (and presumably still do remain) relatively unknown even among Japanese citizens.

The year 1994 was a historic moment as the International Lesbian and Gay Association in Japan (ILGA Japan), supervised by *gei* activist Minami Teishirō, launched its first Tokyo Lesbian · Gay Parade.<sup>21</sup> The parade attracted an increasing number of—but allegedly less than a couple of thousand—participants in the following two years. Yet, Japan anthropologist and *gei* activist Sunagawa Hideki reports that the volunteer parade-hosting committee of ILGA Japan underwent infighting in

1997 due to the senior Minami's overbearing organizing and the general sexism prevalent among the staff (2007: 282-83).<sup>22</sup> According to sociologist Mark McLelland and his co-author Suganuma, some *rezubians* refused participation and preferred staging *daiku* (dyke) march, as they felt excluded from earlier parades' decision-making process (2009: 336). Minami himself organized smaller parades until 1999.

At the dawn of the new millennium, Sunagawa organized a new volunteer parade-hosting committee to revive the large-scale pride parade in Tokyo and became its head. The executive committee slightly altered the name of their pride parade from the "Tokyo Lesbian·Gay Parade" to "Tokyo Lesbian & Gay Parade" by replacing "·" with "&." The parade was paired with what Japanese sexual minorities affectionately call *reimbō matsuri* (rainbow festival) in Shinjuku Ni-chōme.<sup>23</sup> In fact, queers in Japan had been using the symbolic term *reimbō* for their private coming-out parties long before TRP began appropriating it to draw participants into public demonstrations. The festival has taken place every year since 2000 (to the present), but the parade was cancelled in 2003 and remained dormant in 2004 due to, as journalist Ogiue Chiki (2013) mentions, insufficient funding and organizational infighting.

In 2005, the committee started afresh as TOKYO Pride (TP), a volunteer queer-advocacy and parade-hosting NPO—a forerunner of TRP. Yet TP faced a deadlock in 2008, and again cancelled the annual parade. TP at one point offered an explanation on the website: problems in funding and management.<sup>24</sup> As for funding, TP relied on two sources: 1) HIV/AIDS research institutions sponsored by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare and 2) Shinjuku Ni-chōme gay bars willing to donate. Both of these sources tightened their budgets due to Japan's end-of-century lingering economic recession. Consequently, TP had trouble collecting funds. Also, TP failed to enlist support from diverse queers in Japan. Fushimi (2008) views the advent of the Internet as what impeded TP's efforts to mobilize them. The Internet serves primarily as a recreational tool for queers in Japan to explore non-normative practices fairly unrestrictedly in a discreet manner (McLelland 2008). Why bother with visibility when they can pursue diverse desires relatively easily and in privacy thanks to the Internet, however heterosexist Japan still may be at present?

Nonetheless, in 2010, after a two-year-long hiatus, TP resumed with the 7th Tokyo Pride Parade (formerly Tokyo Lesbian & Gay

Parade).<sup>25</sup> But then in 2011, TP once again suspended the parade. A few younger staff grew discontent, as they found diverse voices all silenced under TP's top-down management. Shortly, the discontents left TP. And these dissidents have created TRP, adding the catchword "rainbow" to their parental group's name and bearing hope of leading the sexual minority movement into 21st-century Japan.

TRP rhetorically and politically advocates diversity—as thematized in the 2014 event, "*jinsei iroiro, ai mo iroiro*" or "many ways to live, many ways to love." TRP hosted their first parade & festa in 2012. In 2014, TRP defined the event as a space (*ba*), through which to "celebrate the diversity of livelihood (生) and sexuality (性)"—both pronounced as *sei* and thus alliterated here. In the online downloadable 2014 TRP official parade & festa guide, we can see the schedule for celebratory events including live-music shows and drag performances, as well as the faces of many supporters, ranging from academics and activists to celebrities and politicians. Like TP, TRP initially discouraged unlimited photographing of the event, in particular of the pride parade, to protect some participants' privacy ("a no-photograph section"),<sup>26</sup> and accommodated both visibility and invisibility—at least until 2014.<sup>27</sup>

Today, TRP diversifies its membership, operates through an open and free dialogue among the staff, and solicits donations from foreign embassies and multinational corporations.<sup>28</sup> These attempts distinguish TRP from its predecessors, who had limited membership to Japanese nationals, assumed harmony through hierarchical management,<sup>29</sup> and financially depended on state (public health) institutions and domestic enterprises (gay bars).<sup>30</sup> TRP creatively handles common obstacles evidenced by the trajectory of queer activism in Japan, where such conundrums challenge advocacy groups of any kinds. The Japanese state strictly controls the civil sector through politico-legal and financial instruments, curtailing the growth of large professional activist organizations while facilitating that of small voluntary local associations—a situation that makes it hard for citizens to push for (especially legal) changes, as described by political scientist Robert Pekkanen (2006) as "Japan's dual civil society."

As TRP maneuvers within the Japanese civil sector's constraints, many transformative possibilities do dart in and out of the text that appears on the website. Outing diversity would counteract Japan's lingering homogeneity myth. Also, flexible recruitment and the stress on

equality among staff might serve as an opportunity to question the Japanese language system, which makes it difficult for speakers to address each other as equals under prescriptive rules for linguistic deference reflecting an age-based hierarchy. Moreover, Japan might change radically if TRP were to push legal reforms focused on the increasingly out-of-date Household Registration Law (*koseki hō*), a longstanding barrier to immigration and (same-sex) marriage between Japanese citizens and non-citizens (Chapman and Krogness 2014).

Despite TRP's glittering potentiality, the multicultural troop quietly skips over addressing, through their language(s), how celebrating diversity in Tokyo can rock the ongoing Japanese sexual minority movement. In other words, the diverse TRP staff seem to assume, if not stray from, the context-specific objective basis of the movement, which is citizenship issues for queers (and straights as well as non-citizens) in Japan. These issues include biased media-representation, HIV/AIDS-related moral panics, and legal discrimination, all inseparable from Japan's context.

#### THE TRP WEBSITE: AN UNCANNY ARTIFACT AMONG THE DIVERSE BUT ALL COMPLICIT STAFF

I remember that uncanny sensations penetrated me when I first browsed TRP's activist-consumerist website. On the one hand, I became struck by new attempts at public messaging; TRP embellishes the website with diverse audiovisual materials, introduces LGBT movements happening in and outside Japan, and lists sponsoring embassies and corporations as if to advertise foreign countries and the latest goods. On the other hand, not-so-surprising material appeared; TRP casts Japan as a protagonist, creates a cute mascot for publicity, and boosts the U.S. as an emancipatory and touristy destination. In the novel yet familiar cyberspace, I noticed that it is only in the Japanese language that TRP's dualistic objective—of 1) attracting the Japanese mainstream public and 2) making Japan Asia's most powerful parade-hosting nation—is articulated, as if the very diversity of the staff proves their complicity in the nationalized project regardless of their intensions. Such an impulse to sweep over Asia in the U.S.-led world uncannily resembles Japan's modernization.

Before the 2014 annual parade & festa, representative Yamagata Shinya appreciated the increasing presence of non-Japanese folks as well as heterosexual families in the previous year's event, and reaffirmed TRP's

goal on the website (The English translation immediately following the Japanese text, offered to highlight what is “lost” in TRP’s English translation, is mine):

- L1: *Mainoriti tōjisha ga sonokomyunitī no uchigawa ni mukatte nomi katsudō shiteiteha mūbumento ni hirogari ha umaremasen.*  
 If a minority group only acts facing inward toward its own community, the movement will not spread.
- L2: *Shakai ha kawatte ikimasen.*  
 Society will not change.
- L3: *Majoritī ni mukatte “Wātashi tachi ha koko ni iru” to koe wo age, majoritī no naka ni wakeitte “Tomo ni ikiyou” to te wo tazusaeru.*  
 [We queers] must voice our existence to the **majority**, saying “We’re here,” and hand in hand push in among the **majority** so that we convey the message, “Let’s live together.”
- L4: *Erujībītīfurendoī na shiensha tachi to tomoni kōshinshi, tayōsei wo tomo ni shukufuku surukoto ga sono daiippo.*  
 Celebrating diversity through a parade with LGBT allies is the first step.

However, the gist of Japanese-language L3—where Yamagata articulates TRP’s core direction of joining together with the **majority** for coexistence through coming-out—disappears in TRP’s English translation:

- L1: [corresponding to Japanese-language L1] If a minority group keeps to itself, the movement will not spread to greater society.
- L2: [corresponding to Japanese-language L2] Nothing will change.
- L3: [a combination of Japanese-language L3 and L4, a rather new message]  
 So I think our next step is really to embrace diversity by reaching out to different minorities and saying “let’s work together” and really support all manners of LGBT friendly people.

In constructing English-language L3, the translator combines some parts of original L3 and L4 (e.g., “let’s live together” as replaced with “let’s work together”), while adding new elements, such as “reaching out to different minorities.” The English translation makes it sound as if TRP were willing to “support all manners of LGBT friendly people,” whom-ever these may be (e.g., non-citizens). The 2014 TRP official guide presents a message from disability activist Ototake Hirotsada, which might signal TRP’s alliance with people with disabilities. Yet, Yamagata does not mention any coalition with other social, if not sexual, minorities in Japan. Rather, he underscores joining the heterosexual public—the majority—in asserting sexual difference.

Because Yamagata claims equality with Japanese (especially married) heterosexuals (who have kids) by inducing their respect for queerness, TRP's English translation fails to capture his vision of pursuing LGBT recognition within Japan's *mainstream* logic. Maybe Yamagata did not check his inconsistently translated message. Or the translator did not have him proofread it. On whom or what does TRP place responsibility for such inconsistent translation?

Through translation, TRP also twists "foreign" thought. According to TRP spokesperson Inui Hiroteru (Ogiue 2012), the group models itself after a foreign activist mantra—presumably propagated by English-speaking staff—that "there's no dance, there's no revolution."<sup>31</sup> Yet TRP introduces its foreign-inflected motto in Japanese as "*Saikō no pāti wo teikyō suru* [translated literally back into English, 'We provide the best party']."<sup>32</sup> The English-loan word *pāti* resonates with "dance" in the supposedly foreign thought. Yet, the Japanese-language catchword contains no linguistic reference to revolution.

Perhaps, TRP chose "*pāti*" as a metaphor for revolution by indirectly encouraging website viewers to assume the latter without words. Inui stresses that TRP prioritizes partying over complaining, in the expectation that resistance to change would be reduced rather than exacerbated. But what if partying ends up being just commercialization? Last year, TRP hosted an after-party at a posh restaurant in Shinjuku. Who can squeeze the entrance fee (which was about \$40), after perhaps having already traveled to Tokyo and purchased special goods including T-shirts, flags, and budes, all sold presumably as a way for TRP to fundraise during the parade & festa? What is revolutionary about such an event open only to those who can afford participation? I recall critic Ryū Susumu's work about the Japanese sexual minority movement's tendency to privilege sexuality over other issues including class and income disparity.

Remarkably, the inconsistencies in translation peaceably coexist with upbeat and colorful audiovisual contents on the website—through which the diverse staff collectively, but perhaps not entirely consensually, establish Japan's position in Asia vis-à-vis the West. First, the website allows site visitors to glimpse short video clips of past TRP events. If we click the streaming icon for the 2012 pride parade, rhythmic music kicks in. And we can see diverse (in terms of age, fashion, and race) participants gleefully marching in Tokyo. Such virtual experience made

me momentarily high, not only numbing my memories of normative silence about same-sex sexuality in Japan, but also ballooning my hope that Japan is becoming publicly queer-friendly.



Figure 2. The TRP mascot *Tobī*.  
©TRP

Also, TRP produces a rainbow-colored mascot named *Tobī*: a pun on phonetically similar Japanese and English terms, “*tobu*” meaning to fly and “to be” as in being who you are (See Figure 2). The name perhaps reflects TRP’s sentiment for fusing seemingly opposing concepts, “*tobu*” (mobility) and “to be” (stability), as though TRP wishes that all queers could come out like flying birds in the sky. Although the mascot name consists of a mixture of Japanese and English words, TRP defines *Tobī*—on

both Japanese and English pages—as “*Nihon koyūshu no musasabi de shinjuku no mori ni seisoku* (a giant flying squirrel, **native to Japan** and residing in the forest of Shinjuku).” Even if TRP appropriates a global LGBT ecumene’s rainbow symbolism, the group insists on *Tobī*’s indigeneity as if to locate *Tobī* in Japanese, rather than Western, history. What memories or meanings are the diverse TRP staff and heterogeneous supporters creating through the mascot?

Despite the desire to center Japan in queer space-time, TRP maps out its authority by exceptionalizing America as a “liberated” nation—whose shamefully white-gay-male-dominated queer history is privileged over subordinate queer histories elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> To begin, on both Japanese and English pages,<sup>34</sup> TRP designates the U.S. 1969 Stonewall Riots as the catalyst of pride parades elsewhere by offering a photograph of the historic moment (See Figure 3).<sup>35</sup> In the picture, it is gender-conforming, presumably gay, white men who were taking rebellious actions against a police raid at Stonewall Inn in Manhattan. Historian Susan Striker reminds us that diverse bar patrons, such as women and gender non-conforming queers of color, fought back against the police (2008: 83). Yet they make no appearance in the snapshot presented to visualize the event. TRP’s narrative casts American white gays as visible heroes (as opposed to all the rest who are perhaps supporting characters at best).<sup>36</sup>





Figure 3. The Stonewall Riots as the origin of pride parades worldwide.

The Japanese-language section on pride parades conceptually divides the world into three parts—“Asia,” “Japan,” and “the global”—and has three subsections reflecting the tripartite world: pride parades in 1) Asia, 2) Japan, and 3) the global, all instrumental in elevating America. The first two subsections still remain under construction (*Tōbī* politely instructs us to wait as if to make a vague promise able to be indefinitely deferred). TRP tucks a variety of regions—except for the Middle East<sup>37</sup>—under the category of the “global” in the third subsection, where Central America serves as a foil for (legally progressive or pro-same-sex-marriage) North America. TRP confesses that more pride parades do take place in Central America than the group—or the website manager(s)?—expected. TRP additionally acknowledges that the actual circumstances of queers in the Central American region remain generally unknown. But after having made such a remark, TRP conclusively highlights the legal plights of LGBTs in Central America rather than respecting different challenges Central and North American LGBTs, respectively, confront. Unfinished areas are South America, Europe, Oceania, and Africa. Simply put, TRP gestures at representing the heterogeneity of the global with multiple geographical labels, only to expose that such differences have yet to receive (or deserve?) equal treatment.

In contrast, the English-language section on pride parades employs a West-versus-other paradigm and has no subsections. It begins, “Pride parades occur annually in cities around Europe and America.” After such

a simplistic, yet powerful, statement, the English page recounts the Stonewall Riots and asserts, "The concept of Pride Parades has spread to other cities in America and all over the world." The circumstances of queers in rural America (Gray 2009) is unmentioned in the English (and Japanese) version(s) of the website.

So far, it is the U.S. that comes out as an epicenter of sexual liberation on the TRP website. TRP frames the Stonewall Rebellion as the origin of pride parades worldwide by dealing in so-called from-Stonewall-diffusion fantasy (Bacchetta 2002). In the narrative, Japan is no doubt the subject, but as a nation entitling the U.S. to occupy the top of the relational hierarchy.

In such a hierarchical world, TRP strives to rise as the "gayest" parade-hosting nation in Asia. Although TRP does not necessarily aim to overtake America, the TRP staff do make it explicit that the group endeavors to reach the top in the East Asian region. Ogiue (2012) interviews a TRP staff, who enunciates TRP's immediate goal; "By the year of 2016, we hope to host a pride parade that beats Taiwan, whose pride parade attracts fifty thousand participants and is currently the biggest in [East] Asia." TRP explicitly endeavors to leave Taiwan behind. When it comes to a long-term goal, TRP places the size of the NYC pride parade at the farthest point in the ascending scale. And the group merely hopes to match it. TRP rarely identifies Western nations as rivals, but rather names Asian ones, as if to skirmish in the region.

While ascending through allegedly progressive competition, TRP attracts corporate enterprises, as seen in the annually published TRP event guide.<sup>38</sup> The page number of the guide increased from four in 2013



Figure 4. GAP supports TRP's "Out in Japan" project. Courtesy of GAP and TRP

to eleven in 2014, but advertisements for recruitment or consumption (targeting a middle-class or higher audience) dominate more than half of the space.<sup>39</sup> GAP is one example of supportive multinational corporations. TRP receives sincere (and financial) support from GAP for "Out in Japan," which is a 5-year-range project to collect photographs of ten thousand sexual minorities—clothed in GAP outfits?—in Japan (See Figure 4).

Moreover, TRP allows (at least) financially generous foreign embassies to appear in the official guide and set up their own booths for advertising during the annual event. Controversially, TRP let the Israeli embassy hyperbolize Israel as “the only gay-friendly nation among Middle Eastern nations” in the 2014 official guide. TRP bolsters “pink-washing,” or in theorist Jasbir Puar’s words, “Israel’s promotion of a LGBTQ-friendly image to reframe the occupation of Palestine in terms of civilizational narratives measured by (sexual) modernity” (2013: 337). In short, TRP encourages queers in Japan to shop and travel as “out-and-proud” lavish consumers for those whom the staff identify as using an English-loan word *arai* (ally).

Overall, TRP’s multicultural activism meets Japan’s national politics, as TRP encourages Japan to embrace diversity proudly (that is publicly) on the verge of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics—which will coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the NYC pride parade commemorating the Stonewall Riots. In the 2014 official guide, Chair Yamagata expresses a conviction that Japan’s qualification for handling Olympics depends on whether Tokyo becomes a place congenial to diversity. TRP’s queer activism of promoting (rather than resisting) Japan as a queer-friendly nation approximates “homonationalism,” a queer politics compatible with the heteronormative logic of the nation (Puar 2007 & 2013).

As much as TRP appeals to Japan for formal acceptance of queerness by advocating diversity without much resistance, national elites of today seem likely to accept, rather than dismiss, such polite contestation. On August 28 in 2012, the Japanese government announced its decision to consider special policies for sexual minorities in the comprehensive provision of suicide (*jisatsu sōgōtaisaku*), as if they are subjects worthy of legal protection.<sup>40</sup> This monumental decision resulted in part from social research by Japanese academics, such as Hidaka Yasuharu, who utilize statistics and count (Japanese) LGBTs’ ordeals (e.g., verbal harassment, lack of information on sexuality, and suicidal wishes).<sup>41</sup> In 2013, the former head of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, Fukushima Mizuho, and the former president of the Democratic Party of Japan, Kaieda Banri, expressed support for TRP.<sup>42</sup> Last year, the TRP event welcomed first lady Abe Akie, a wife of conservative Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo.<sup>43</sup>

In January 2015, TRP kicked off the *shinsei* (newborn) TRP by soliciting same-sex marriage rights from the state.<sup>44</sup> Immediately after

the 2015 TRP parade & festa in April, the current Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan, Caroline Kennedy, cheered on TRP on behalf of the U.S. embassy; “[t]he U.S. government, under President Obama’s leadership, is working hard to create a brighter future for LGBT individuals in the United States and around the world,” and “engaging foreign governments to promote and protect the human rights of LGBT persons everywhere. [. . .] Here in Japan, I have worked with Mrs. Akie Abe to promote a message of equality and zero discrimination.”<sup>45</sup> Aside from her gracious gesture, Kennedy, just like TRP, is silent about what such objectives actually entail in Japan.

#### CONCLUSION: TOWARD A SOCIALLY ENGAGED ETHNOGRAPHY

In conclusion, I contemplate one possible way to study civic engagement—using the methodological bedrock of anthropology, participant-observation. Participant-observation research has shaped the trajectory of the field by sparking controversies over ethnographic authority due to tensions surrounding the relationship between the anthropologist and the studied (Clifford 1983). Boellstorff calls for “mak[ing] one’s presence and accommodations to the present part of what is being studied” (2007b: 12). Pondering on the sociopolitical landscape with regard to the sexual minority movement in Japan, I recall anthropologist Karen Nakamura’s reference to divides among Japanese academics, activists, and queers (2007). Such gulfs prevent diversity in Japan from going public. Against this, I strive to practice public anthropology (Borofsky 2011) by facilitating both anthropology’s theory production and TRP’s consensus building among the diverse staff—whose multilingual website runs parallel, not counter, to Japanese homonationalism and U.S. rainbow imperialism through not-yet-consensual translation.

As an anthropologist in the making, I ask to myself what I would do if I were a TRP staff while conducting scholarly research in Japan. First and foremost, I could share this research with TRP to see what the diverse staff think of their translation activities (that is, of my performance). Devoting oneself to something (whether social activism or academic research) tends to correlate inversely with relativizing one’s action. Can my collaboration with TRP help each party stay attentive to our respective complacency? If TRP sets out to celebrate diversity

seriously, I would propose that we document the history of the Japanese sexual minority movement on the multi-language website so that visitors to the cyberspace come to question what challenges (everyone's) life in Japan amid U.S.-led globalization. The issue at stake is, I believe, citizenship for all.

As I turn off my computer projecting the TRP website at my home in the U.S., I confirm my commitment to a socially engaged ethnography of a messy democratic process among those who, such as the TRP staff, survive through, if not overcome, existing inequality.

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#### NOTES

1. TRP emerged in the shadow of the 3.11 triple—earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear—disasters in Japan.

2. [Http://www.tokyorainbowpride.com](http://www.tokyorainbowpride.com). All quotes from TRP are from this website unless otherwise noted.

3. Many scholars (e.g., Oguma 1995 and Befu 2001) regard Japan's "homogeneity" as a myth based on the existence of difference within Japan (e.g., class). Yet, the myth lingers in contemporary discourses, both national and global.

4. According to a "Sutaffu shōkai [Staff introduction]" page, TRP consists of approximately thirty core members. On the page, these core staff list their names, either real ones or nicknames. Judging from the names listed, the number of male core staff seems slightly over that of female core staff, and there seem to be six non-Japanese core staff. I can identify two English-named persons—*Edo* (Ed) and *Kei* (Kelly)—and one Chinese-named person—*On* (Ong). I also see three potentially non-Japanese staff: *Bemu* (Bem?), *Kurimuzon* (Crimson?) and *Mato* (Matt?). *Edo*, *Kei*, *Kurimuzon*, and *Mato* (besides *Dōmo*, who I guess is Japanese) are designated as those in charge of website management. Thus, they are likely to be native speakers of

English or Chinese (or some might be Japanese and proficient with either or both). On English pages, *Kurimumazon* posts online entries written in flawless English. I am not sure if or how much these non-Japanese staff are familiar with the Japanese language. Only the Japanese version of the website has this "staff introduction" page. Although I cannot confirm who speaks what language(s) without participant-observation, TRP does have an international body, which enables multilingual operation.

5. The so-called digital revolution in Japan dates back to the 1990s. Commercial and personal use of the PC Internet spread slowly across Japanese society from the mid-1990s through the late-1990s. Prior to the 1990s, research institutions, large corporations, and governmental agencies primarily used the PC Internet to experiment and elaborate network technology. Computers remained expensive and beyond most citizens' ability to purchase until the 1990s. Yet, once Japan saw the influx of inexpensive devices after the opening of the national market to foreign computer companies in 1992, the number of general Internet users started growing. The more computers became affordable through the late-1990s, the more people became casual users of the Internet. The number of Internet users skyrocketed after 1999, when Japan's major telephone company NTT DoCoMo introduced i-mode through *keitai*, literally translated, "something one carries with oneself," loosely "portable phones." Sociologist Misa Matsuda observes, "The barriers of technological knowledge and pricing that inhibited PC Internet adoption do not apply to the *keitai* Internet, and many Japanese first connected to the Internet through *keitai*" (2005: 33). For relevant literature, see Gottlieb and McLelland (2003) and Ito, Okabe, and Matsuda (2005).

6. While taking up a call for "studying sexuality transnationally," many anthropologists, including Tom Boellstorff, Evelyn Blackwood, Lisa Rofel, and Jafari Allen, re-examine the significance of the nation in what theorist Eng-Beng Lim (2005) describes as "glocal queering": LGBT identity formation through mutually reinforcing, continuously shifting Western and non-Western discourses. I follow their footsteps, but my work differs in that I trace the nationally, linguistically, and culturally diverse TRP staff's collective engagement with the context-specific meanings of the seemingly universal acronym "LGBT" in Japan.

7. In 2007, political scientist Nancy Fraser called for "transnationalizing the public sphere" to depart from the premise of a bounded political community with its own monolingual media and territorial nation-state. According to sociologist Jürgen Habermas (1989), a discursive social realm called "the public sphere" burgeoned through such institutions as periodicals, coffee houses, and salons in modern Europe, but its rational-critical function for monitoring state authority has declined due to the advent of mass advertising. Arguing against the bourgeois and masculinist Habermasian model of the public sphere, Fraser (1990) offers the notion of "subaltern counterpublics" (e.g., feminist bookstores) as marginalized persons' alternative spaces constitutive of the mainstream public sphere. Theorists Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant also propose the notion of "queer counter-publics" as radical spaces from which to challenge authority (2002: 187-208). Yet, again, Fraser reminds us that many academics including herself advanced their discussions by assuming a national and monolingual subtext. While I feel aligned with her critique and the theorists

of counter-publics—as I also hope to find resistance against authority—, I stop to scrutinize what is really “counter” about TRP, which did appear to contest Japan’s ways of organizing queer life, at least (and perhaps only) initially.

8. I position Japan in (East) Asia vis-à-vis the West, just as TRP aspires to ascend in the region within the U.S.-led world—reminiscent of Japan’s modernization project after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. The then new Meiji government adapted foreign capitalism, idealized a male-headed heterosexual household, and learned first from Germany and then the U.S. to achieve *datsu-A nyū-ō* or “Leaving Asia, Entering Europe” (Oguma 2006). Meiji elites’ hierarchical worldview—Euro-America (top), Japan (middle), and Asia (bottom)—helped justify Japan’s colonization of Asia to catch up with, if not assimilate into, the West (Sugimoto 2014: 196–97). Japan scholars Mark McLelland and Vera Mackie stress imperial Japan’s role as a channel of Euro-American knowledge into East Asia from the late 19th-century until Japan’s defeat in WWII (2015: 3). After the loss in WWII, Japan’s tripartite political-economic relation has continued, as the nation has served as “*ajia ni okeru amerika no kerai*” or “America’s loyal retainer in Asia” (Oguma 2006). Throughout my work, I reject turning away from Japan’s past and face TRP’s deceptively “radical” action, which runs parallel, rather than counter, to Japanese history.

9. To capture TRP’s public engagement, I utilize the notion of duality from Japan scholarship developed from anthropologist Ruth Benedict’s controversial yet fascinating work. In her theory (or imagination?), Benedict (1946) considered Japan (in contrast to the U.S.) best characterized by contradictions, as if she intuitively believed that a series of opposing traits can coexist simultaneously among the Japanese (unlike Americans). Despite her sweeping generalizations about the Japanese, Benedict does leave an axiomatic message about Japan; “[b]oth the sword and the chrysanthemum are a part of the picture” (1946: 2). Indeed, contradiction, or better put, duality, has survived as a pivotal concept in Japan scholarship and Japanese life. The notion includes double codes, such as *tatemae-honne*, formally established public principles versus informally felt private feelings (Sugimoto 2014: 34–35). The concept of duality resonates with TRP’s open-to-all (*tatemae*) yet discriminatory (*honne*) method, which replicates Japan’s dualistic social control described by Sugimoto as “friendly authoritarianism”: a use of “joyful, amusing, and pleasant entertainments such as songs, visual arts, and festivals to make sure that authority infiltrates without obvious pains” (2014: 325–26). In my work, I view TRP’s civic participation as a dual process—inclusive and hierarchical, activist and consumerist, etc.—conducive to the ever-continuing Japanese nation-state building project.

10. Issues of language and translation stand salient in my work. To trace political authority formation, linguistic anthropologists urge us to contextualize two inseparable ideological processes: 1) the public construction of languages and 2) the linguistic construction of publics (Gal and Woolard 2001). The importance of language as a means to authorize publics weighs as heavily as that of translation as a politics to mediate communication in time and place. Literary scholar Lydia Liu regards translation as processes of inventing hypothetical equivalences. While distinguishing “host” from “guest” languages, she grants agency—however limited it may

be—to non-Western folks as cultural creators, who develop their “host” language(s) and concepts) in relation to the foreign “guest” one(s) in the unequal world.

11. Although translation increasingly interests anthropologists, audiovisual translation seems relatively unexplored perhaps because non-discursive texts bother social scientists in general. Yet an analysis of such texts through audiovisual translation can, as linguist Luis Pérez-González suggests, help scholars create a space for diverse modes of be(com)ing and feeling (2014:141-42). Thus, I experiment with audiovisual translation in my work just like TRP—though we have yet to agree on how.

12. The Japanese writing system combines two character types: logographic *kanji* adopted from China on the one hand, and syllabic *kana* on the other. *Kana* consists of *hiragana* (used for Japanese words) and *katakana* (used for foreign words). Japanese-language speakers almost always use a mixture of *kanji* and *kana*. All quotes from TRP are their translations unless otherwise noted. All quotes from Japanese sources and persons are my translations unless otherwise noted. I italicize Japanese terms followed by English translations in parentheses, like *parēdo ando fesuta* (parade & festa). I use the common spelling for names and words used customarily in English: Tokyo or Meiji. Japanese names are given in the culturally appropriate order, family name first, except when I discuss scholars, such as anthropologist Harumi Befu, who have published in English or are otherwise known internationally. As a note on terminology, I avoid universalizing “LGBT” signifiers and assume that Japanese folks adapt them in using English-loan words, such as *rezubian*, *gei*, *baisekushuaru*, and *toransujendā* (often shorthanded as *erujibī* using the alphabet LGBT), which at least linguistically correspond to “lesbian,” “gay,” “bisexual,” and “transgender.” Throughout my writing, I use “sexual minority” or “queer” as an inclusive category when I refer to LGBTs in general. In discussing the particular, I use Japanese terms (e.g., *rezubian*) to stress sexuality/queerness as a lived concept and experience.

13. To gather information about TRP, I additionally visited a website maintained by Tokyo Rainbow Week (TRW). In 2013 and 2014, TRW hosted an LGBT celebration week during Japan’s holiday week known as *gōruden wīku* (Golden Week) that spans from late April through early May. The two groups merged in 2015 as TRP incorporated TRW in January and obtained a state-authorized non-profit organization status in the summer of that year. The current TRP website has a link to the 2015 TRP website, which has a link to the old TRW website.

14. I thank my colleague Mei Chun Lee, who helped me get a rough idea of the Chinese version of the TRP website.

15. For example, we can watch a movie trailer for the 2010 American film *Stonewall Uprising*.

16. The 2015 TRP website is bilingual, as English translations immediately follow Japanese-language texts. The navigation tabs are generally English. Yet, TRP keeps the “parade & festa” section multilingual—Japanese, English, and Chinese, *plus* Korean and Portuguese. At first, I interpreted these changes as TRP’s solid focus on celebrating. Yet, TRP manages both recreational and educational activities (based on a patriotic pride), as the group annually organizes a variety of events across Japan, ranging from outdoor picnics to open lectures on such topics as (LGBT) schooling,



loving, and aging—all productive sites for participant-observation. The 2015 TRP website resembles the current one.

17. Sociologist Kazama Takashi and anthropologist Shingae Akitomo both view the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Japan as a catalysis of *gei* identity and community formation. Yet the two differ in that the former emphasizes same-sex desiring men's agentive response to the crisis as well as these men's resistance against stigmatization, while the latter argues that *gei* collectives had shown themselves able to peaceably exist within state-led public health mores.

18. In his later work, Fushimi (2004) notes that sociologist Ueno Chizuko has renamed *hetero-shisutemu* as *seibetsu nigen sei* (dual sex system), credited him for the idea, and circulated it among the (Japanese) academic audience.

19. Adult adoption (*yōshi engumi*) has served as one way for Japanese queers to nurture same-sex relationships, as it allows one partner (an older one) to adopt another (a younger one) as an offspring family member within the *koseki*.

20. For example, Barbara Summerhawk, Cheiron McMahill, and Darren McDonald, the trio editors of *Queer Japan* (1998), sympathetically collect personal stories from Japanese LGBT-identifying people. Yet, they go so far as to represent—better put, translate—Japan as so oppressive that many queers still live in the dark except for a few exemplary cases of out queers (ibid.: 1–16). Also, Francis Conlan translates a Japanese openly gay couple's autobiographical book, entitled in English *Coming Out in Japan* (2001), in a similar manner.

21. ILGA is now known as the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association.

22. A disagreement within ILGA Japan led to the inevitable split, resulting in the launch of another activist, but not parade-hosting, group OCCUR (*ugoku gei to rezubian no kai*) by the younger dissidents.

23. The official name of the festival is the Tokyo Rainbow Festival. The Shinjuku Ni-chōme Promotion Association (Shinjuku Ni-chōme *shinkōkat*) hosts it by running small events and food stalls within the limits of the district. For details, see Sunagawa (2015).

24. TP used to run its own website (<http://www.tokyo-pride.org>). It closed in 2013, when TP dissolved.

25. TP had renamed its annual pride parade to the Tokyo Pride Parade in 2007.

26. Jason Romero, a witness to TP's pride parades during his fieldwork in Tokyo, recalls TP's embrace of invisibility in his online essay. See "Gay Men in Japan Are Like Cockroaches: Transnational Gay Discourses and the Politics of (In)Visibility in Tokyo," *Scribd*, June 15, 2010, accessed December 19, 2012, <http://ja.scribd.com/doc/33090487/Gay-Men-in-Japan-Are-Like-Cockroaches-Transnational-Gay-Discourses-and-the-Politics-of-In-Visibility-in-Tokyo>.

27. TRP has recently abandoned the pride parade's "no-photograph section." In the parade participation precaution for the 2015 TRP pride march scheduled on April 26th, TRP states, "*Parēdochū dōchū kara satsuei sareruto komaru baai ha bōshi ya sangurasu nado jikobōei wo onegaishimasu*" [Please take self-protection by wearing hats or sunglasses if you prefer not being photographed during the parade]. Based on the

group's faith in visibility, TRP now shifts responsibility on individuals by instructing participants to protect themselves in case of not wanting to be photographed.

28. According to the 2013 fiscal report, TRP received two million and three hundred fifty thousand yen (¥2,350,000), or twenty three thousand and five hundred dollars (\$23,500), for its ad revenue. TRP has not uploaded fiscal reports since 2013.

29. For instance, anthropologist Chie Nakane (1970) regards the principle of hierarchy (or "verticality" in her expression) as pivotal in understanding Japanese society.

30. The government rules about fundraising on a formal basis are burdensome. Thus, activists (of any kinds) in Japan are generally volunteers, who have day-job professions but perform fund-raising in their spare time for activism.

31. The 2006 American-German political thriller film *V for Vendetta* comes to my mind; V expresses a similar sentiment to Evey, "A revolution without dancing is a revolution not worth having." Another American film *Footloose* (1984) similarly deals with the relationship between dancing and revolution. Also, my colleague Tanzeen Doha drew my attention to Russian writer Emma Goldman, whose famous quote reads, "If I cannot dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution."

32. In 2014, TRP stated the Japanese-language catchword on the TRW website.

33. Queer theorist Judith (Jack) Halberstam (2005) discusses racial and gender power dynamics in U.S. queer communities, as she (he) shames white gay masculinity. As for the concept of shame in regard with whiteness and queerness, I recall *Gay Shame*, co-edited by historian David Halperin and literary scholar Valerie Traub (2009).

34. The Japanese version has an independent section on pride parades, while the English version has a subsection on pride parades in an "about us" section.

35. As for TRP's literal descriptions of the milestone, the Japanese version uses words, such as *dōseiaisha* (same-sex loving persons), and *sekushuaru mainoriti* (sexual minority), which do not appear in the English version. Both versions use "LGBT," but the English version adds another letter "Q" To the acronym.

36. When I had email correspondence with TRP to obtain permission for my use of the snapshot in this work, a staff responded that the group picked it up somewhere from cyberspace and thus did not have credits. I wonder if TRP purposefully chose such an image in which white (gay) men stand out or the group was simply unable to find something else. In the former case, we can ask who ultimately made a decision to use the snapshot and why, and in the latter case, who did the search of images, how, and why alternatives are unavailable in the first place. About a week after my first contact with TRP, I received an email from co-representative Yamagata-san. He told me that the provenance of the snapshot is beyond his recollection. What Yamagata-san remembers is, as he continued, that TRP searched relevant images by entering "Stonewall" in some Internet search engine.

37. It is not clear why TRP leaves out the Middle East in the section on global pride parades. Such events take place in the region (e.g., Tel Aviv Gay Pride Parade), and TRP seems aware of it as the group does allow the Israeli Embassy to advertise the nation as a queer-welcoming tourist destination in the TRP official guide.

38. The TRP website has links to the websites of these corporations if they have one.

39. An increasing number of Japanese corporations, including the cosmetic company DHC, seem to have interest in supporting TRP (See the 2015 TRP official guide downloadable online).

40. TRP discusses this incident in the 2014 official guide.

41. Hidaka Yasuharu, "Ikizurasa wo 'mieruka' suru [Making ordeals visible]," The 2014 TRP official guide.

42. Many local-level politicians, including Kamikawa Aya, Ishikawa Taiga, and Ishizaka Wataru, support TRP as well. In addition, academics such as feminist sociologist Shibuya Tomomi and political philosopher Shirai Satoshi, as well as celebrities such as singer-model Hamasaki Ayumi and singer-actress Sonin, express support. All of these public figures contributed personal messages to TRP's past events. Visit <http://trp2014.tokyorainbowpride.com/2013/messages.html>.

43. "First Lady Joins the Parade," *The Japan Times*, [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/04/27/national/first-lady-akie-abe-joins-tokyo-rainbow-pride-parade/#.U7PN\\_5RdUUI](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/04/27/national/first-lady-akie-abe-joins-tokyo-rainbow-pride-parade/#.U7PN_5RdUUI).

44. The Shibuya district council has recently approved a same-sex partnership certificate—which grants *some* of the rights of married heterosexual couples to same-sex couples. For literature on same-sex marriage issues in Japan, see Minami (2015).

45. [Http://tokyorainbowpride.com/messages](http://tokyorainbowpride.com/messages).

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