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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究は、シンガポールと日本での、非異性愛の女たちのアイデンティティや行為への、それぞれの国の政府の政策やイデオロギーの影響を明らかにした。シンガポールでは、経済的合理性という支配的なイデオロギーが、非異性愛の女たちの行動、振る舞い、他者との関係性の構築に大きな影響を与えていることが明らかになった。日本では、家族制度と異性愛主義のイデオロギーが、非異性愛の女たちの日常生活における「恐れ」を生み出しており、その「恐れ」が、女たちのアイデンティティの基盤にあることがわかった。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

本研究は、非異性愛の女たちという、一般的に誤解され、不当なラベルを貼られて、「不可視」化された少数グループの人々の内的な経験のいくつかに光を当てている。政府の政策やそれを支えるイデオロギーが、これらの人々の経験にどのような影響を与えているのか明らかにしている。少数グループの人々のアイデンティティや行動や振る舞いを理解することは、日本社会の社会的現実を理解し、それらの諸現実のさまざまな効果を再評価することにつながる。さらに、こうした理解は、広く女たちが経験する諸現実へのさまざまな疑問も提起し、また、女たちの諸現実に影響を与える政策やイデオロギーを再検討、再評価することを求めるものともなる。

研究成果の概要(英文)：The project shows the effect of governance on the subjectivity and conduct of the non-heterosexual women in Singapore and Japan. In Singapore, the ideology of pragmatism, in the sense of economic rationality, is dominant. And it shapes the behavior and the relation with others of non-heterosexual women. In Japan, the ideology of domesticity and heteronormativity, produces fear in non-heterosexual women, which shapes their subjectivity.

研究分野：教育学

キーワード：gender sexuality governmentality subjectivity identity

1. 研究開始当初の背景

This project began as an attempt at exploring a theoretical question regarding the interplay between governance and subjectivity, in particular the subjectivity of marginalized groups, by studying the different ways in which mechanisms of governance shape the subjectivity and by extension the conduct of lesbian women in Japan and Singapore. Singapore and Japan, both economically developed countries, are known to have strong, yet vastly different, mechanisms of governance that shape the everyday life of their citizens in meaningful ways. These refer to policies promoted by a government in the form of laws, rules, incentives, and the like, and that are articulated and given a rationality in a discourse. Mechanisms like those affect the politics of sexuality and their reproduction in each country, yielding substantially different realities in each. Within Singapore and Japan, sexual minorities are the object of surveillance explicitly and implicitly. In both societies lesbians are a highly marginalized group, yet their presence in the public sphere takes different forms as the effect of the policies of their respective governments. Our goal was to study the forms that these take in each country.

2. 研究の目的

The purpose of this research was to explore the interplay between governance and subjectivity. Through a comparison of lesbian communities in Singapore and Japan, it aimed to analyze how the mechanisms of governance in each country operate to help fashion the subjectivities of marginalized group members and their interactions with themselves and with others. In other words, this research was meant to explore how states govern their citizens, shaping the construction of the subjectivity of marginalized groups, and how the agency of the marginalized acts on and is acted upon in the process of that construction – how the agency of the marginalized takes expression in their respective contexts and how they negotiate their visibility and engage the spaces in which they become a group.

[Singapore and Japan – the current situation surrounding lesbian identity politics]

In Singapore male homosexuality is illegal and there is a strong resistance to female homosexuality, yet, compared to Japan, lesbians have become relatively visible in public spaces. It has been argued that the government's strong economic interests – an element that is central to what is usually understood as the “pragmatic” aspect of governance in Singapore – have opened a space for the lesbian community to become visible. For example, in her article "Illiberal Pragmatics and Lesbian Consumption Practices in Singapore" Audrey Yue suggests that by substituting a cultural citizenship for a sexual citizenship these interests have opened a window of opportunity to the LGBT community in Singapore. Yue argues that in the absence of sexual citizenship, visibility allows for a cultural citizenship which, when combined with the pragmatism of Singaporean culture, facilitates a sense of belonging for lesbian Singaporeans. At the same time, Yue suggests, this takes the pressure off organized demands for equality and creates a veneer of openness / tolerance that is inviting for global investment in Singapore, which furthers the government's economic objectives.

These assertions raise questions such as: are the spaces that have opened through governance sufficient to provide lesbians in Singapore a space that they can inhabit in their own terms? What does this cultural citizenship actually mean to the lesbians of Singapore? How do they define themselves as subjects? How do they negotiate a relation with themselves in such a context? How do they negotiate their relations with others – with family, at work, with society in general?

In Japan, on the other hand, where homosexuality, male or female, is not legally forbidden, lesbians have been invisible from public space. This is, as Yuri Horie and other scholars have argued, partly because the expression of lesbianism involves an “impossibility.” It is not rare to see female couples in public spaces in Japan, but it is always assumed that the women are heterosexual unless they explicitly claim to be lesbians, and when they claim to be lesbians they become “sexualized” and are marked by their sexual existence.

Due to recent changes in the central and municipal governments' policies regarding LGBT rights, however, the Japanese LGBT community has begun to gain visibility. Unlike Singapore, the presence of visible LGBT persons seems to be allowed only in circumscribed public spaces. That is, Japanese LGBT people are now being talked about and are even being seen in public spaces, but they are so in their non-existence.

This raises questions about how Japanese lesbians see and negotiate to themselves and to others the recent changes regarding LGBT policies. What does it mean for them to become visible in this way? To what extent have the new policies changed the realities of sexual minorities? How have these new policies changed the ways in which lesbians define themselves as sexual subjects given the continuing effect and production of the more traditional mechanisms of sexual governance in Japan? What mechanisms of governance shape the subjectivity and social interactions of lesbians in Japan?

In Singapore, we found, the answer to these questions seems to be connected to a rational/pragmatic system of governance that prioritizes economic interest and a discourse of globalization. In Japan, the narratives of our interviewees indicate that the answer to our questions seems to be the effect of an ideology of domestication and domesticity still salient in political and social discourse.

Although the growing acceptance of lesbian communities can have political implications, the process of "(be)coming out," - a process that suggests that politics does not end at the point of being recognized but it is always in the process of choosing and constructing - always involves the shaping and reshaping of lesbian subjectivities within a field of power. That is, it is within the interplay with a particular governance in a particular context that the subjectification of lesbians emerges. The way in which lesbians become visible and negotiate their relations with themselves and with others is certainly a manifestation of the process of "(be)coming out." By delving into such interplay, we shall see how agency is exercised in each context.

3. 研究の方法

This project used qualitative, in-depth interviews to collect data from what we now prefer to call non-heterosexual women, rather than lesbians, in both Singapore and Japan. We will explain our shift of language in the next section of the report. Interviews were conducted during 2018 and 2019, face-to-face in a diversity of locations of our interviewees' choice. All interviews followed an interview schedule designed to capture how these women understand and negotiate their sexuality and relate to their particular social worlds. After the interviews were completed, they were transcribed then coded for analysis.

The selection of women was done by using a snowballing method. The method consists in identifying a few respondents and having the respondent to introduce another potential respondent. A flaw of this method is that it potentially brings together people with similar experiences, but given the nature of the population of the study - a population that is largely invisible and reluctant to be interviewed - it was the only possible method to follow. This study is not aimed at identifying generalizable principles. The aim of the study is to understand how those experiences are perceived and interpreted by the women that we interviewed, and to identify in those narratives the effects of the mechanisms of governance in each country. The interviewees were women ranging in age from 20s to 60s in Japan, and from 20s to the late 40s in Singapore with diverse occupations and education in both countries, the vast majority living in urban spaces. The total number of participants is 54, 22 in Singapore and 32 in Japan.

Respecting research respondents' privacy was of the utmost importance. Confidentiality was maintained and the study followed all of the appropriate procedures required to ensure this, including seeking IRB approval before data collection began. We also obtained consent to record the content of the interviews on a digital recorder.

QUESTIONS

The interviews in the two countries covered three domains:

The first asked about the respondents' education, their experiences about becoming aware that they were attracted to women and their negotiating a sexual

identity to themselves – some sort of “coming out to themselves.” Obviously, each story was a deeply personal one, yet many of the interviewees spoke of their difficulties in defining a sexual identity to themselves. Many were reluctant to call themselves “lesbians” and identify as such. A few were uninterested in engaging in sexual relations with other women. It was at this point that we decided to change the terminology of our project and substitute “non-heterosexual women” for “lesbians” (the concept of bisexual does not apply since none of them spoke of being attracted to men).

The second domain raised questions about the respondents’ experiences with their families and at work and their negotiations of their interactions with family, friends, and at work. Here we could notice how the interviewees’ narratives were often significantly shaped by effects of the mechanisms of governance in each country – the pragmatic dimension of governance in Singapore, and the effects of domestication and domesticity in Japan.

The third domain asked about the respondents’ relations with the lesbian community in general in their respective countries and the role that it played in the construction of their sexual identity.

4. 研究成果

The first paper that we wrote, “Towards a Framework to Study Intimate Same-Sex Relationships among Women in Japan,” which was presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting in 2018, took a theoretical approach to the history of intimate relations of women in Japan. It explored how spaces for intimate relations between women existed in the past in Japan and how these spaces continue existing today. We suggest that these spaces provide a foundation that helps shape a desire to move beyond the existing modes of conduct and relationality as shaped by heterosexualism and the sexist and the masculinist culture of Japan, and the practices of domesticity perpetuated by the mechanisms of governance that this culture gave rise to. The analytical terms of the research help to account for the existence of a fluidity among Japanese women, both in terms of sexualities and in forms of relationality – a point that indeed helps explain the reluctance of many non-heterosexual Japanese women to develop any form of stable sexual identity visible in our interviews, including forms of stabilization deriving from foreign understandings of sexuality.

Interestingly, our interviews strongly suggest that the fluidity in the perception of sexual identity by Japanese women does not imply a weakening of the mechanisms of governance in the form of heterosexualism and domesticity. As we discuss in the article “Fear and Invisibility among Non-heterosexual Women in Japan: Implications for Research,” the interviews attest to the salience of the discourse of heterosexuality in the subjectivity of non-heterosexual women in Japan and the central importance that it plays in the interactions of non-heterosexual women in Japan with others, making them, through a production of fear, to “become” invisible.

The mechanisms of governance in Singapore produce a very different form of “invisibility.” We explored one dimension of this in our paper, “Relationships between non-heterosexual women and their families - comparison of cases between Singapore and Japan-,” in which we analyzed the relation of non-heterosexual women in Singapore with their families, in particular their mothers. At work here is a form of governance that Singapore scholars have called “pragmatic” (e.g., Chua, 1985; Tan, 2012). This form of governance, applied to vast areas of Singapore society, including education, and housing arrangements, consists in applying an instrumental, rational logic to action and conduct in the service of economic growth and efficiency in all realms of life. The interviews with non-heterosexual women in Singapore show how, in spite of very strong initial reactions from their mothers, their relations develop into what one of the interviewees calls a “don’t ask, don’t tell” relation – except that both mother and daughter are fully aware of the daughter’s sexuality, in contrast to the situation in Japan where the sexual orientations of daughters often remain unclear, if they are at all discussed.

In a paper on which we are working now in preparation for a book manuscript we are expanding the findings above to the relations of non-heterosexual women in Singapore to their work and the society in general and further develop the strategies they use to manage their sexual identities, both to others and to themselves. Interestingly, one major characteristic that we have identified relates to the need of

non-heterosexual women in Singapore for clarity and stabilization, two characteristics that we again associate to the pragmatic ideology at the heart of Singaporean governance. In spite of sharing in the initial fluidity that we observed among Japanese non-heterosexual women, Singapore non-heterosexual women do develop a sexual identity, one, however, that they refuse to assimilate to Western definitions of non-heterosexual women, including “lesbian,” but that gives them the necessary clarity to mobilize the dominant ideology of pragmatism.

In another work in progress, we discuss how both in Japan and in Singapore non-heterosexual women show significant reluctance to defy the existing order of things in their respective countries, yet in Singapore this is once again an effect of the pragmatic ideology at the core of governance while in Japan it is associated with fear and social pressure as an effect of the perpetuation of heterosexuality and an ideology of domesticity, both still actively promoted by the mechanisms of governance in Japan in spite of some gestures for greater openness.

Further research

In a new project we would like to expand on the findings about the fluidity of sexual identity among non-heterosexual women in Japan and, in contrast to what we found among Singapore non-heterosexual women, their reluctance to establish a stable, clear identity to themselves. We would like to research how women who are attracted to men negotiate their own sexual identity. As our first paper showed, the fluidity of sexual identities among young girls was relatively common in the past. Is this still so? How? And if it is, do contemporary Japanese women develop a clear identity as bi- or heterosexual? This question seems particularly pertinent given the growing number of young women in Japan who, as recent surveys seem to point out, show little interest in sexual intercourse with another person. How do they negotiate and experience their sexuality?

We would also like to explore further how education, in particular post-secondary, influence the negotiation of sexual identity of both in Japan and Singapore women. Our data suggests that there are some qualitative differences in the way in which women with lower education and women with a post-secondary education in Japan struggle with their sexuality and their own sense of self. Women who have lower education achievement seem to be limited in their articulation of themselves and more dependent on conventional ways of understanding sexualities. Their struggle seems to be very severe and intense. The struggles of women of higher education achievement, by contrast, seem to involve a more expanded way of articulating themselves, while the entire process seems to be qualitatively different. All our interviewees in Singapore had some sort of post-secondary education. Yet we would still want to explore whether the level and type of education matters in Singapore. We would suggest that given the very strong influence of the pragmatic ideology at the core of governance in Singapore, the differences will be smaller than in Japan.

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5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計2件（うち査読付論文 1件/うち国際共著 0件/うちオープンアクセス 2件）

1. 著者名 虎岩朋加	4. 巻 30
2. 論文標題 非異性愛の女たちと家族との関係 シンガポールと日本のケースの比較	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 敬和学園大学研究紀要	6. 最初と最後の頁 87-99
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オープンアクセス オープンアクセスとしている（また、その予定である）	国際共著 -

1. 著者名 虎岩朋加	4. 巻 29
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1. 発表者名 Tomoka Toraiwa, Kris D'Amuro
2. 発表標題 Towards a Framework to Study Intimate Same-Sex Relationships Among Women in Japan
3. 学会等名 2018 meetings of American Sociological Association（国際学会）
4. 発表年 2018年

〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

6. 研究組織

氏名 （ローマ字氏名） （研究者番号）	所属研究機関・部局・職 （機関番号）	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8 . 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関			
シンガポール	SIM/University at Buffalo	Independent Scholar		