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## TOWARD AN AFRO-JAPANESE AND AFRO-AINU FEMINIST PRACTICE

READING FUJIMOTO KAZUKO  
AND CHIKAPPU MIEKO

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Ayumu Kaneko, in chronicling the history of Black Studies as an academic discipline in Japan, presents us with a generative question: “What can black history in Japan do for critical interventions in contemporary issues of Japanese politics, society and culture?”<sup>1</sup> A new body of academic scholarship has recently been flourishing in examining the space where Japanese people engage with and adopt aspects of Afro-diasporic culture and political practice, a practice that is coming to be defined in the academic world as Afro-Japanese exchange. The twentieth century was the stage for some of the most intense expressions of Afro-Japanese solidarity and political exchange. Scholars have mapped the left-wing solidarities among Japanese and Black American and West Indian Marxists, the importance of Black literary aesthetics to Japanese postwar writers, and Japanese affective communities drawing on Rasta ideology.<sup>2</sup> This research has opened exploration into the cultural and political products created by Japanese people consuming and reflecting on Black cultural productions. In a similar vein, I show that Japanese and Ainu female writers from the 1980s and 1990s incorporated Black feminist thought into their political philosophies.

I will be focusing on two writers in this essay: Fujimoto Kazuko, an important translator of American literature, and Chikappu Mieko, an influential Ainu

activist and clothwork artist. Fujimoto was essential to translating several novels written by Black American women and has written books on Black feminist practice. Chikappu published an essay on Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* in an essay collection by writers interpreting the works of Walker and detailing their personal relationship to her body of work. It is essential that we acknowledge the political writings that these women produced based on their own experiences of Japanese society, their understanding of Japanese history, *and* their interpretations of Black American feminist writers. This is at the heart of what I would like to term Afro-Japanese and Afro-Ainu feminist practice. The intellectual production of these two women has been deeply impacted by the intellectual production of Black feminists, as have the writings of other Japanese writers and translators.

Little has been written on the relationship between Japanese women and the works of Black women and Black American feminists. The relationship of which I speak is one in which Japanese women have read, translated, disseminated, and incorporated the philosophical and political practices of Black feminists into their own work. While there are many working definitions of Black feminism, the most influential remains that posited by the Combahee River Collective, who see Black feminism as the "struggle against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression . . . and the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking."<sup>3</sup> While neither Fujimoto nor Chikappu define the kind of Black feminism that they are interested in, they are specifically engaging with the works of influential Black feminist and womanist activists: Toni Cade Bambara, Toni Morrison, and Alice Walker. From engaging with these writers, Fujimoto and Chikappu highlight the importance of building community, transmitting generational knowledge, maintaining the ability to love in the fight against oppression, and fighting the oppressive systems of racism, heterosexism, and capitalism simultaneously. It is these specific attributes of Black feminists that Fujimoto and Chikappu believe were essential to transmit to a Japanese audience. Both Fujimoto and Chikappu saw that Japanese society was ignoring the racist elements in their society, and they are visceral in their critique of Japanese support for assimilationist policies.

While this essay will be exploring a small section of this body of work, these writers were by no means the only people seeking out Black political thought. In the postwar period, scholar Nukina Yoshitaka established the Black Studies Association (Kokujin Kenkyuu no kai) and the *Journal of Black Studies* in 1956 with the specific goal of interpreting and disseminating Black literary works to nurture a democratic intellectual movement and push against the American-imposed dictatorship.<sup>4</sup> Japan would eventually transition from being an occupied, impoverished state to one of the wealthiest countries in the world. Nevertheless, Japan's rapid postwar development, the mistreatment of Japan's ethnic minorities, Japan's role in supporting American military hegemony in Asia, and its economic

exploitation of formerly colonized Asian countries created the conditions for uneasy reflection for many conscientious thinkers. Fujimoto, along with her professional peer, Atsuko Furomoto, were both members of Kokujin Kenkyuu no kai. They pushed to expand the reading of Black American literature to include Black American women.<sup>5</sup> Yoshida Ruiko, living in Japan, is a photojournalist famous for chronicling major events in Black American history for a Japanese audience. The period in which the Japanese female writers were most active in their engagement with Black feminism, the late 1970s and 1980s, was a period of intense development of Black internationalism and the decade that witnessed the start of Black American women writers achieving mainstream recognition.

Reading through Fujimoto and Chikappu's work shows that Japanese women's engagement with Black feminist literature was both varied and deeply enriching. Each writer interprets Black women in creative ways and uses Black feminist political practice to critique and change the shape of Japan's social movements. I would like to suggest that we call this interaction Afro-Japanese and Afro-Ainu feminist practice. It is possible that we can call this Japanese Black feminism, but as neither author is drawing their entire political practice from Black feminism, I do not wish to obscure the hybrid nature of their intellectual production. However, just as I do not want to obscure Fujimoto and Chikappu's own intellectual history, neither do I want to obscure their intellectual debt to Black American women; thus, there needs to be some acknowledgment of the importance of Black feminism to their body of work. Additionally, the use of "Afro-Japanese" and "Afro-Ainu" links the intellectual production of Japanese and Ainu women to the scholarly conversations on the intellectual production of Japanese men reading Black male political thought. Moreover, though I believe the practice should be named in this way, I do not want to suggest that I am labeling these women as feminist. Chikappu does not call herself a feminist for the same reason that many Black women did not call themselves feminist—because of the association of feminism with a white/Japanese liberal feminism that relied on racial and class subjugation.<sup>6</sup> However, as these women are drawing on the works of women who explicitly make clear their alignment with Black feminism or womanism, I am labeling the political practice itself. Finally, I am making a distinction between Afro-Japanese and Afro-Ainu. The Ainu is a collective name for the various communities that were indigenous to the northernmost territory of Japan, Hokkaido, and the Sakhalin Islands. As a result of the Japanese government's push for modernization and expansion during the Meiji era (1868–1912), Ainu communities were devastated and forcibly assimilated into the Japanese nation.<sup>7</sup> In reclaiming parts of their culture that were stolen from them, many Ainu activists, including Chikappu, do not acknowledge themselves as Japanese. Therefore, the combination of a Black feminist political practice with Japanese and Ainu social movements creates the hybrid of both Afro-Japanese and Afro-Ainu feminist practice.

It is within this history that we must interpret the Japanese and Ainu female writers who were moved by the political thought developed by Black American women. Fujimoto currently lives in the United States and also attended university there. Along with Atsuko Furomoto, she has translated several major literary works produced by Black American women. She was one of the lead translators of a seven-volume anthology collection published in 1981 and 1982. This collection includes the most famous writings of Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Mary Helen Washington, Ntozake Shange, Zora Neale Hurston, and many others. This was the largest widespread dissemination of Black women authors in Japan. In addition to her efforts to build a team that would translate Black women's writings, Fujimoto trained her team and other women writers to engage in close reading and critical reflection of these texts.<sup>8</sup>

It is with the goal of nurturing collective learning in Japan that Fujimoto presents us with in-depth interviews of and conversations between Black American women and interpretations of the works of Toni Cade Bambara and Toni Morrison. In this book, *Even the Blues are Just Songs: Black Women's Manifesto*, Fujimoto opens the book with a meeting she had with Toni Cade Bambara. In this meeting, Fujimoto asks what Bambara meant by the term "salt eaters," referring to Bambara's 1980 novel, *The Salt Eaters*. Of Bambara's response, Fujimoto writes, "Salt is the metaphor tying our bitter and painful experiences together, tying our souls together. Moreover, as salt has the capacity to heal wounds, a salt-eater is also a person who can heal wounds."<sup>9</sup> In Bambara's novel, salt acts as a kind of magic, neutralizing the poison in the soul that festered from the disgrace and humiliation of slavery. Fujimoto interprets these words as reflecting a practice that would allow one to live a long life without losing one's dignity, moving beyond a practice of mere survival. These views are reflected by the women that Fujimoto interviews in Wisconsin. They state, "We want to be able to thrive," and, "We want to be able to live."<sup>10</sup> Fujimoto highlights repeatedly the degree to which the Black women she sits down with talk of dignity, of their optimism and hope for the future, despite all the indignities they had suffered throughout their lives. Fujimoto allows the stories and conversations between the women in the book to flow naturally and does not bring up a discussion about Japan's racism until the end of the book. The purpose of the book is to allow Black American women to tell their story and share their thoughts on the future of the Black community in the hope that engaging in the practice of careful listening will stir Japanese readers to reflect more carefully on America's race relations and, consequently, on Japan's.

One of the most stimulating conversations in the book occurs between Juliet Martin, a prison psychiatrist; Deborah Washington, co-owner of a television network; and Mary Hinkle, a broker. At the center of this conversation is the danger of the assimilationist propaganda that all the women agree has halted the

progress of Black liberation. Martin recounts that during the 1960s, Malcolm X came to speak at Howard University. In his speech, he made clear that Black people will go on to gain doctorates and expect to be called Dr. X and Dr. Y but really will only ever be called “nigger.” This speech, Martin recalls, made many in the audience angry, including Martin. It pushed against the entire notion of respectability politics, that the appropriate appearance and profession could protect Black people from the effects of racism. That same day after the speech, some kids yelled out “nigger bitch” to Martin when she was at an intersection, dressed in her best suit. “It was from that moment that I began to seriously consider Malcolm X’s words. I had once thought the fight was over. I had deceived myself,” she states.<sup>11</sup> For Washington, “these people didn’t understand what the fight was about from the very beginning.” She states, “to gain a good income, to have a good job, if people thought that was the goal all along, then they were wrong about the battle. Black people currently have no political power. They’re still victims.”<sup>12</sup> Within this conversation, we can see both the critique of respectability politics as a vehicle for Black liberation and a distinction being made between the achievement of socioeconomic success for *some* and Black liberation for *all*. Washington highlights that in professional settings when she is a client, the receptionist will never refer to her by last name, yet white clients will be referred to as Mrs., Mr., or Ms. “They resent the fact that I am a woman, and they hate the fact that I am black. Everyday is like this. Are we really finished with the struggle?” Washington states. Professional achievements yield a certain economic comfort, but the contempt of white people remains.

The achievement of economic success for some within the Black community has exacerbated the class divisions between Black people. Drawing on the influential Black American scholar and educator Carter G. Woodson, Martin states, “Education will separate you from your group. If we only study the classes we need to take for credit at university, we will only be drawing conclusions from that one ideological system. . . . we need to have a confrontation with ourselves.” Hinkle adds, “if you can’t maintain a relationship with the group you belong to, it’s hopeless. You can assume that the color of your skin no longer exists as an issue for you, but all others see you as black.”<sup>13</sup> They recognize that in a perverse manner, the more success a small group of Black people achieves, the more the ties between Black people fall apart. This is both injurious to the Black people who are left in poverty and to the newly rich Black people who deceive themselves into thinking their race no longer matters and who find themselves without the support of their community when faced with continued racial aggression. For Martin, it is not enough to make this only about white people and their racism: “we must be critical of ourselves . . . to avoid becoming complicit in the oppressive system.”<sup>14</sup>

A recurring theme in the book is that Black liberation is not possible through achieving material success according to the logic of racio-capitalism, a key feature of Black feminist thought. Fujimoto writes that middle-class Black people enjoyed most of the socioeconomic gains made possible by the civil rights movement. She writes that “this situation has created what could be called an underclass. And we can see a pattern in the maintenance and reproduction of this underclass.”<sup>15</sup> While the gap between middle-class and poor Black people has widened since the civil rights movement, there has always historically been a small elite of wealthy Black people—the Black bourgeoisie. For Martin, this Black bourgeoisie has always been a barrier to the progress of poor Black people. As a poor dark-skinned girl from Key West, Florida, Martin had gained entry to a boarding school on the East Coast and then briefly attended Fisk University before dropping out. In both places, Martin was treated with contempt by “white-ish” or “barely black” rich Black people.<sup>16</sup> This hateful treatment led Martin to the study of psychology. She wondered what it was about her skin (and ultimately theirs) that triggered this behavior, that attracted such contempt from her society. It is why she repeatedly comes back to the idea that only through rigorous self-critique will we be able to rid ourselves of the oppressive systems we live under. For Black people to merely try and copy the success of white people would maintain the white supremacist oppressive structure. Black feminists are not interested in achieving parity with white elites but in completely undoing the system that allowed for such a concentration of wealth and power.

Throughout the conversation is a very clear repudiation of the idea of assimilation. In her own words, Washington states that one of the defining characteristics of Black people is this ability to resist assimilation: “I call our unique characteristic our power, if discrimination, etc., disappeared, I don’t think we would necessarily lose that power that kept us living. We must abandon the idea that we need to assimilate to survive, or we’re screwed. This is in our history, there is so much wisdom on existence that we need to recover.” Martin goes further and states, “In my sense, our survival necessarily includes the fact that we have not lost those qualities. Without them, we can’t expect to survive. For everyday life, if we don’t use our historical psychological legacy, we will not be able to live.”<sup>17</sup> Both speak to the cultural legacy of Black communities that have developed to resist “being locked in a corner”—in other words, that have developed the power to resist assimilation and cultural extermination. The language, music, art, literature, and political organization are all part of a cultural legacy that has been nurtured from one generation to the next. The women that Fujimoto interviews in this book are inheriting not only the legacy of oppression but the creative expression and resistance of their forebears.

Fujimoto writes, “I listened, I wrote, on such cruel and painful topics. I once wrote that the process of listening can also change us.”<sup>18</sup> Fujimoto believes that the process of listening and listening carefully is an ethical act. The refusal to listen, or to willfully misunderstand what an oppressed group is saying is itself an act of violence. She writes:

Some conscientious and self-believing people say that black people can and should be fully assimilated when their economic status improves. Whether American or Japanese, I am hurt by such words, which are spoken in a friendly manner. When African-Americans say that their lives are in danger if they abandon their blackness, those who do not take them seriously are fundamentally violent. We have been using such violence as leverage against the people of the earth . . . in Japan and in the world.<sup>19</sup>

It is with a view to challenging this idea that Fujimoto produces this book for a Japanese audience. Fujimoto is no stranger to the idea of assimilation, the idea that the abuse minorities experience will go away if only they behave and mix fully with those who cause their suffering. Such language is rife in Japanese government propaganda that seeks to create a homogenous society. Assimilation puts the burden of oppression on the oppressed. As was made clear in the conversation between Martin, Washington, and Hinkle, all assimilation does is destroy the community from which one draws strength while allowing racism to endure. Such language also ignores the historical reality that assimilation is often forced and violent. Chikappu speaks to this experience very clearly. Where people are colonized, such as was the case with the Ainu and Okinawans, assimilation becomes banning the speaking of one’s own language, banning fishing and hunting practices, destroying temples and artwork; entire cultures are destroyed to “encourage assimilation.”

While there is a searing indictment of those who believe in the process of assimilation, Fujimoto also remarks on a very important characteristic of these Black American women. She was moved by the stories Black women had to tell, not simply because they trusted in her enough to expose their personal stories and vulnerabilities to her. Fujimoto saw in their language and in their demeanor a powerful transformative element. She writes, “When I heard the voices of black women in North America telling their stories, I felt their words stabbing and shooting at me. I felt their sense of crisis as well.”<sup>20</sup> And yet, within this pain, there is also extraordinary joy and dignity. Despite the subject matter that Fujimoto is exposed to, she is astonished at the joy on display around her. She writes, “The women who have appeared in this volume know all about the mechanisms of such a world. And yet, they do not close their hearts. Their battles are endless and not optimistic, but they do not despair. They are women who laugh. And

they laugh joyously.”<sup>21</sup> The process of listening carefully to the pain and the joy, of being exposed to thought and spirit on display, stirs a transformation in the reader. Fujimoto hopes that a Japanese reader can be moved by the vulnerability and pain on display in this history and open their heart to resisting the violence Japanese society inflicts on its minority population.

The importance of vulnerability in Black women’s language cannot be overstated. Chikappu had also been drawn in specifically by the vulnerability displayed by Alice Walker. *The Color Purple* was first translated into Japanese in 1984 and was part of the wave of Black American women’s literature that was published during this decade. This followed the translation of Walker’s novel *Meridian*, which was part of the Black American women’s anthology Fujimoto and others published in 1981 and 1982.<sup>22</sup> Chikappu was an Ainu activist, famous for her role in pushing for the recognition and transmission of Ainu cultural heritage. She had done extensive work on teaching the practices of embroidery that were essential to transmitting the spiritual history and philosophy of different Ainu communities. She has written extensively on her experiences of Japanese imperialist violence and the effect this has had on Ainu families and especially on Ainu women. She has also written an essay on Walker, a nuanced and intimate reading of *The Color Purple*, in which Chikappu finds a kindred spirit with Walker. Chikappu understands and shares Walker’s philosophies that all parts of the natural world have spirit and deserve respect, not merely the humans. It is a philosophy that places a love for life at the center of fighting oppression and believes that if oppression is truly to be undone, a desire to live a loving life is essential.

Chikappu, in her essay “The Color Purple is the Brilliance of Existence,” writes deeply about personal experiences growing up Ainu: her community experience of violent discrimination, her reflections on her abusive father, her unhappy marriage, her spirituality, and how profoundly she related to several themes present in Walker’s novel. Part of the reason why Chikappu was able to connect so deeply to Walker’s novel is that Walker chooses to lay out the full scale of intimate partner violence experienced by Black women at the hands of Black men. Indeed, Walker’s generation of Black women writers were the first to publicly write about the violence that occurred within Black families and communities. Walker’s insistence in openly displaying the intracommunal violence present within Black communities attracted fierce critique from Black men who felt that Walker and other Black women writers were essentially playing into the hands of the white establishment by displaying Black community pain.<sup>23</sup> What these Black male critics failed to understand is that it is precisely due to the openness of these painful moments that Walker’s writings have touched so many. Far from introducing more reasons for people to look down on Black communities, the vulnerability and strength of Walker’s characters allowed others to connect to these experiences.



Chikappu finds multiple parallels between Ainu culture and Black American culture. One of these is the practice of Ainu embroidery, *ikarakara*, and Black American quilting. Chikappu states, "If the culture created by black people is quilts, the culture created by the Ainu is *ikarakara*. . . . [W]hat both quilts and *ikarakara* have in common is the thoughtfulness and overflowing love of their creators that has been poured in."<sup>24</sup> Love is at the center of quiltmaking, creating a blanket or item of clothing that has the dual purpose of enveloping a loved one and transmitting cultural history through the images, materials, and methods of sewing. ann-elise lewallen writes that "historically, Ainu women created motifs to protect loved ones and their own bodies."<sup>25</sup> lewallen shows that for contemporary Ainu revivalists, those determined to relearn and pass on traditional Ainu culture, relearning clothwork art and mimicking the traditional technique allows Ainu women to engage in memory creation and tap into a spiritual relationship with their ancestors. She writes, "engaging this spontaneous technical skill and tacit understanding with an unseen ancestral realm is empowering, therapeutic and redemptive."<sup>26</sup> Throughout her life, Chikappu has been trying to wrestle back aspects of Ainu beliefs and art that were stolen from her and her generation. From learning from her mother and looking at displays of Ainu clothing behind museum glass, she found ways to relearn *ikarakara*. Chikappu and other revivalists pushed against the currents of Japanese culture that would have seen knowledge of *ikarakara* destroyed. She writes, "People are similar to quilts, the passage of time passes as if the culture of the powerful is all that matters and those who stay quiet are eliminated. . . . However Walker says that if each of us is but a small dot, by connecting dots to lines, we can change the current."<sup>27</sup>

Chikappu exhibits a clear affinity with the spiritual ideas Walker displays in *The Color Purple*. She quotes Shug, the glamorous free-spirited woman who is constantly disrespected, as saying that "love is the call of love's spirit, when you cut down a tree, it is as if blood were flowing down your arm . . . the god on display here is one that is framed by a profound appreciation for existence, all of existence."<sup>28</sup> Central to Walker's philosophy (and indeed to many Black feminist activists) has been a vegan environmental practice that is deeply critical of the way humans have degraded nature to justify policies of resource extraction. In her essay "Everything is a Human Being," Walker writes, "But, in truth, Earth itself has become the nigger of the world. It is perceived, ironically, as other, alien, evil...While the Earth is poisoned, everything it supports is poisoned."<sup>29</sup> Chikappu shows that Walker's philosophy is about living and loving. Protecting and transmitting cultural knowledge from one generation to the next is an act of love and necessary for life; respecting the rest of the natural world around us is an act of love and necessary for life; and finally, for Chikappu, being vulnerable and sharing in pain is an act of love and necessary for life. She writes, "The act of

sharing mental anguish, together with the act of continuing to live and cultivating love, nourishes people.”<sup>30</sup>

In this, Chikappu shares a great deal with what drives Fujimoto to transmit Black women’s knowledge. The act of being open with one’s pain is a key component to building a community that can nurture love. Maintaining one’s dignity and love is essential to surviving under oppressive systems and the key to undermining them. When Fujimoto talks of Bambara’s *Salt Eaters*, she concludes that sharing and being exposed to a particular kind of pain is a creative act. It binds together those who have shared similar sufferings and shows that a life filled with love is not incompatible with a life filled with pain, and indeed, the strength of nurturing self-love, transmitting that self-love to those around you, is a powerful act. This is what Chikappu sees in the character Shug. Having experienced so much trauma in her life, Celie decries that “God is nothing but a man... He’s small-minded, screwed up, lax in everything he does, and vulgar.” To this, Chikappu quotes Shug’s response: “This is what I believe, listen to me. God is in you. He is in everyone. When you are born into this world, you are born with God in you. But only those who look for it can find it.”<sup>31</sup> Looking for God and nurturing love come to meld together here. For Shug, who spoke that “love is the call of love’s spirit,” the essence of a divine spirit and the essence of love are not separate. Shug’s response to Celie is both an encapsulation of her belief system and an act of love toward Celie who is on the precipice of despair.

Both the idea that God and love are everywhere and that one has to actively seek it out resonate with Chikappu. She writes, “The Ainu *kamuy* and Shug’s god are the same.”<sup>32</sup> Chikappu found the Ainu *kamuy* (divine spirit) when she began the process to learn her family’s traditional embroidery practices. She writes, “In the midst of such deep-rooted discrimination, we Ainu had to fight against ourselves, and in the midst of this struggle, we had the strength to regain our pride. Regaining Ainu culture will lead to regaining the pride of the Ainu people. I found the Ainu *kamuy* in Ainu *ikarakara* (embroidery).”<sup>33</sup> Regaining pride in one’s heritage and fighting to rebuild a community that was destroyed allows one to become closer to a divine spirit and to love. It is the drive to do this, to fight for such a life, that moves Chikappu. *The Color Purple* encapsulates the brilliance of fighting for love and fighting to rebuild a community under constant assault. “I want to fight for this life,” she writes.<sup>34</sup> At the end of the essay, there is a specific appeal to allies and comrades in Japan who must be moved to join forces with the Ainu: Japanese, Zainichi Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese, South and North Koreans, Okinawans, and Burakumin. The Japanese are included in the new future she wishes to build, but only by fighting together will everyone find the “brilliance of life” that Walker showed was possible.

Fujimoto and Chikappu have each contributed to the dissemination of Black feminist work in Japan. Fujimoto's book was republished in November 2020 and sold so well that it was reprinted again in January 2021.<sup>35</sup> It was influential among writers of that generation and has since come back in the public mainstream as a result of the 2020 summer of racial justice following the murder of George Floyd. One young writer discusses the reprint as part of *Vogue Japan's* book club.<sup>36</sup> Fujimoto's influence as a translator is probably most significant, having been indispensable to the translation of Black American women's work. Chikappu published her essay on Alice Walker in a special essay collection on Walker in 1991. As there is no information on how many copies this book sold, it is difficult to gauge the influence of this collection. However, Chikappu was a very important Ainu activist before passing away in 2010. She was involved in the establishment of *Rera no kai*, the Ainu Cultural Association, had fought and won court cases against the improper use of Ainu photos, and became well known for her clothwork art.

Both Fujimoto and Chikappu are explicit about what it is Black women have to offer Japanese political movements: the critique of assimilation, the critique of racial capitalism, how Black women communicate their suffering, how Black women resist by creating stronger community, by nurturing self-love and creating the space for others to join their philosophy. Fujimoto and Chikappu are examples of Japanese and Ainu women who show a nuanced and creative reading of Black women's work. They have produced political philosophies that meld their own historical understanding with the political thought of Black feminist writers. These texts critiqued racist and imperialist elements of Japanese society and aimed to convince readers of the transformative power within Black feminist writings and in turn encapsulate an Afro-Japanese and Afro-Ainu feminist practice.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Kaneko 2019, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Koshiro 2003, 190–94; Bridges 2020; Sterling 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Combahee River Collective 1977.

<sup>4</sup> Koshiro 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Onishi and Sakashita 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Iewallen 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Bukh 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Onishi and Sakashita 2019, 107–108.

<sup>9</sup> Fujimoto 1986, 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 83–84.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 261.

<sup>22</sup> Onishi and Sakashita 2019.

<sup>23</sup> Davis 1987.

<sup>24</sup> Chikappu 1991, 49.

<sup>25</sup> lewallen 2016, 163.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>27</sup> Chikappu 1991, 49.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>29</sup> Walker 2011, 258–259.

<sup>30</sup> Chikappu 1991, 51.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 44–45.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>35</sup> Takeshi 2021.

<sup>36</sup> Nakamura 2021.

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