AN INTRODUCTION TO “BOYS LOVE” IN JAPAN

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If you walk into a typical bookstore in Japan today, somewhere on the shelves you are likely to find various books depicting romantic and sexual relations between beautiful, stylish male characters. These male homoerotic stories might be found in the form of manga—the name for Japan’s globally known narrative comics—or in the form of “light novels” (raito noboru)—a local label for lowbrow, highly disposable prose fiction. If the store you’re wandering around is large enough, you might find these texts occupying an entire shelf, floor to ceiling, or even multiple shelves. In fact, it’s quite possible that the bookstore will have one section for manga and a separate section somewhere else for light novels, all depicting male–male romance. You may be able to find these sections by searching for a sign reading “boizu rabu” in the phonetic katakana script or perhaps even “Boys Love” spelled out in English. The sign might also just say “BL.”

If you pull one of those BL books off the shelf and start reading, more likely than not you’ll find that those beautiful male characters within the book do not think of themselves as “gay.” What’s more, while the widespread availability and relatively high visibility of BL narratives might give the impression that it’s easy to be openly gay in Japan, if you examine not the stories themselves but the context of their creation and consumption, you’ll learn that BL is only tangentially connected with the lives of actual gay men. To the contrary, in Japan BL is generally assumed to be created and consumed by heterosexual girls and women. The fact that this widely held assumption is not altogether accurate is one of the many points about BL upon which the contributors to this volume shed light.

As its title makes clear, Boys Love Manga and Beyond: History, Culture, and Community in Japan examines various aspects of the BL phenomenon in Japan. Written by scholars working in diverse fields including anthropology, cultural studies, history, literature, and sociology, the twelve chapters that follow address a number of key questions about BL, such as: Under what
Although most chapters in Boys Love Manga and Beyond are primarily focused on the creation and consumption of BL manga found in commercially published books and magazines as well as dōjinshi, some chapters give attention to other media as well.

A number of terms have emerged to label and categorize BL media over the past four decades. Although these categories overlap and the terms’ meanings have shifted over time, four have been predominant:

- **shōnen’ai**—This term combines “boy” (shōnen) and “love” (ai) and has been most widely used in reference to commercially published shojo manga from the 1970s into the 1980s. It is sometimes used retrospectively today to describe these works, but the term, now more closely associated in popular discourse with pedophilia, has largely fallen out of favor.

- **JUNE**—This word comes from the title of a commercial BL magazine published from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s and has been used to refer to the kinds of manga appearing in the magazine. It has also been used in reference to works produced and consumed outside commercial channels, particularly original rather than derivative works.

- **yaoi**—An acronym for yama nashi, echō nashi, imi nashi (which might be translated as “no climax, no point, no meaning”), this self-mocking label was coined in 1979 and disseminated by an influential dōjinshi circle. It became popularized in the 1980s in reference to BL works that have not been published commercially, but it is sometimes used to encompass both commercial and non-commercial works.

- **boys love**—Pronounced “boizu rabu” and usually written in the katakana script, this term first appeared in the commercial BL sphere at the beginning of the 1990s. It is most frequently used as a label for commercially published manga and light novels, but it can also be used as a label for non-commercial works. It is often abbreviated “BL.”

In addition to their overlapping usage in Japan, note as well that the common use of “shōnen’ai,” “yaoi,” and “boys love” in English and other languages among fans outside Japan often differs from the meanings given above.

(Reflecting the context. Because the meaning of these terms varies by context, however, chapter authors often offer their own more specific definitions.)
Other key terms used in the BL sphere in Japan not exclusive to BL culture include "tanbo" (aesthete or aesthetic), "aniparo" (short for "anime parody"), "sōsaku" (original work), "niji sōsaku" (derivative work), and "sanji sōsaku" (derivative work based on a derivative work).

While in contemporary Japan, appreciation for "beautiful boys" (bishōnen) in general and BL narratives specifically are most closely associated with adolescent girls and women, the depiction of the "beautiful boy" (bishōnen) has long been a romantic and sexualized trope for both sexes and commands a high degree of cultural visibility today across a range of genres from kabuki theater to pop music, anime, and manga. The celebration of youthful male beauty in Japanese culture arguably stretches back at least to the Heian period (794–1185), when prominent female authors celebrated the charms of aristocratic young men in texts such as the eleventh-century Tale of Genji and Buddhist priests penned "tales about beautiful boy acolytes" (chigo monogatari) for the reading pleasure of other Buddhist priests.4

It is not until the Edo period (1603–1868), however, that we see the development of a self-conscious literary tradition devoted to extolling the charm of youthful male beauty. This is associated particularly with famous novelist Ihara Saikaku, author of The Great Mirror of Male Love (1687), which contains love stories featuring relationships between older and younger samurai and rich townspeople and young kabuki actors. Homosexual themes were also prevalent in the kabuki and puppet theater of the times.1 During the Edo period the valorization of male–male love in the literary canon was also reflected in actual practice with many high-status individuals, including several shoguns, being renowned for their appreciation of youthful male beauty. Stories depicting male–male relationships (as well as such male–male relationships themselves) were described at this time as nanshoku (male–male eroticism), within which there were several categories, including the samurai-oriented shudō, or the "way of youths," a term that also named the norms which these relationships were expected to follow.

Yet, to speak of a tradition of "boys love" in Japan would be misleading since the historical and cultural contexts in which images of youthful male beauty have occurred differ widely over time and have been assigned often contradictory meanings. Furthermore, a history of boys love in Japan cannot be reconstructed without also attending to the changing nature of ideas about love itself in the Japanese context. In a compelling study of romantic love in Japanese and European literature, Takayuki Yokota-Murakami advances the provocative notion that romantic love as it was elaborated in European novels at the end of the nineteenth century was a concept unknown in Japan prior to the influx of Western culture beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.6 He notes that "the 'equality' between male and female lovers or spouses described in Western literary discourse was often quite incomprehensible to... intellectuals" in the Meiji period (1868–1912).7 There were no terms in Japanese at the time that could adequately express the fusion of spiritual and physical love that underlay Western notions of romantic love. Moreover, Confucian morality, which became increasingly influential in the latter half of the Edo period, saw women as inferior, sometimes evil, and certainly not as suitable objects of admiration.8 To the extent that anything similar to the Western concept of "romantic love" existed in Japan prior to the Meiji period, it had been explored in the context of tales of "devoted male love" between older and younger samurai.9

The absence of a native Japanese term approximating the English word "love" is conspicuous in early Japanese translations of Western novels where it was sometimes simply transliterated as "rabu." Yet, as Leith Morton notes, "there is no doubt that by mid-Meiji a revolution was underway in regard to notions of love, marriage and the status of women."10 By this time the notion of "romantic love," connoting elements of spiritual attraction between men and women, was being expressed in the newly coined compound "ren'ai," which combines the meaning of physical love contained in "koi" (also pronounced ren) with "ai," whose meaning had begun to encompass the wide range of feelings indexed by the English term "love." This "shocking new perspective" became an important talking point in the Japanese media and was popularized via women's literature and magazines and via Christian educators at private girls' schools.11 Despite the misgivings of many social commentators, the discourse of romantic love had an enormous impact upon culture generally, especially upon literature. As Jim Reichert has pointed out, lacking indigenous examples, Japanese novelists had to find convincing ways to develop "new literary languages [and] new approaches toward characterization and plot" in order to realistically depict romantic heterosexual relationships.12 One casualty of this process was that male–male erotic relationships, that is, nanshoku and shudō, both of which had been well represented in the literature of the previous period, were excluded from the new category.13 Their association with the now discredited "uncivilized" and "feudal" practices of the Edo period further placed male–male eroticism outside the bounds of civilized morality.

By the late Meiji period, the uptake in Japan of Western sexology that pathologized homosexuality, alongside the developing hegemony of heterosexual romantic love, had led to a narrowing of sexual identification and practice. Male homoeroticism did continue as a minor theme in Japanese literature, but as Jeffrey Angles points out, those authors who specialized in
this type of fiction had to resort to a range of strategies to disguise their interests. No longer could the “love of youths” be valorized as an ennobling experience or a cultural ideal.

It is at this point chronologically that chapters in this volume begin to examine the prehistory of BL with Barbara Hartley’s discussion of Taisho-period artist Takabatake Kashō. The Taisho period (1912–1925) saw significant economic growth and technological developments in Japan that resulted in major advances in the living standards of the urban population and in educational advances for both girls and boys. A vibrant literary culture developed, especially around popular monthly magazines aimed at differing readerships such as housewives, businessmen, and boys and girls. Kashō was one of the best-known illustrators of the period and created beautiful illustrations of both girls and boys used as cover art and to illustrate the content of leading boys’ and girls’ publications. In boys’ magazines, Kashō tended to represent boys as young, beautiful, and sometimes effeminate-looking male figures that, as Hartley points out, “project an air of homoeroticism.” Indeed, as Hartley, citing well-known Japanese cultural critic Takahara Eiri remarks, many of the scenarios featuring these beautiful boys also featured depictions of older men, thus referencing the chigo (boy acolyte) tradition of Buddhist iconography discussed above. Kashō’s illustrations of boys reflect the homosexual environment of the early twentieth century and in many of his pictures “there are no girls or women in sight.” Given that contemporary accounts suggest that all male environments such as boarding schools and military barracks were sites for homosexual activity, it would be reasonable to assume that the homoeroticism of many of Kashō’s beautiful-Boy figures inspired interest and desire in the eyes of some male readers.

It is a potential audience of female readers that Hartley draws attention, however. She notes that many girls would have had access to these images through brothers and other male relatives who subscribed to the magazines. Whereas girls’ magazines offered depictions of women and girls in training for “respectable domesticity,” boys’ magazines focused on an outdoors’ lifestyle of exploration and adventure, with boys often seen fighting and dying alongside their male comrades. These male figures—inflected with an oblique and therefore perhaps all the more thrilling sexuality—not doubt attracted interest among female readers. Noting that such images could also be featured in girls’ magazines, such as Shōjo no tomo (Girls’ friend), Hartley suggests that it was precisely the absence of women in the frame of these pictures—and hence their homoerotic charge—that may have attracted girl readers. Hartley speculates that the girl viewers of Kashō’s illustrations may have interpolated themselves into the pictures and thereby the scenarios they represented in an attempt to discover “something beyond the flower girl aesthetic that characterized much narrative for girls.” Hartley proposes that the homosocial world of Kashō’s beautiful boys anticipates in some ways the cross-gender identifications that later come to characterize BL.

James Welker’s historical overview of BL manga also stretches back to this period. Referring to a growing body of scholarship charting the prehistory of shōjo manga, Welker draws attention to the role Kashō and his male contemporaries—as well as to the shōjo literature they were illustrating—in creating the aesthetic foundation for shōjo manga in the postwar. The predominantly male artists creating shōjo manga in the 1950s and 1960s would pick up and further develop the images of delicate girls with large twirling eyes, providing a portal into the illustrated girls’ psychological state and inviting identification by viewers. In the 1970s, the creation of shōjo manga was taken over by a new generation known as the Fabulous Year 2 4 Group (Hana no nijiiro’nen-gumi), or just the Year 2 4 Group, as most of them were born around the year Showa 2 4, that is, 1949. In English, they might more fittingly be called the “Fabulous Forty-Niners.” Building on such developments in manga and borrowing elements from foreign and domestic literature, film, history, and folklore, the Fabulous Forty-Niners invigorated shōjo manga with lavish illustrations and complex narratives. These new works were appreciated for their literary qualities by a readership well beyond the targeted audience of shōjo manga magazines.

It is also at this time that some Fabulous Forty-Niners began creating narratives featuring romantic—and eventually sexual—relationships between beautiful adolescent boys. While they were not the first writers to show an interest in male homosexuality, nor the first artists to create shōjo manga with male protagonists, this new “shōnen’ai” manga arguably set the stage for the emergence of diverse genres of manga and other media that would depict male–male romantic and sexual relations in subsequent decades, continuing to the present. Welker traces the historical development of these BL genres from the first manga published in commercial magazines in the early 1970s to a highly diverse market combining professional and noncommercial production and distribution channels, with an estimated annual domestic size approaching $2.5 million. He draws attention to key sites of creation and consumption, particularly commercial magazines and “spot sale events” (sokubai kai) for dojinshi. In tracing the emergence of these genres as well as the etymologies of the labels “shōnen’ai,” “yaoi,” and “boys love” (boizu rabu), Welker suggests points of overlap in the development of the genres themselves that may account for frequent conflation in popular and critical discourse on BL.
Well-known and frequently cited shōjo manga critic Fujimoto Yukari addresses this conflation in a chapter revisiting some of the arguments she made about shōnen'ai and yaoi more than twenty years ago. Fujimoto argues that, while "shōnen'ai first emerged as a mechanism offering an escape from the social realities of gender suppression and the avoidance of sex(uality)," the development of yaoi "made it possible for girls to 'play with sex(ality)' (sei o asobu) and opened up possibilities for them to shift their own point of view from passive to active engagement." A central aspect of this play is directed by what she calls the "seme–uke rule," that is, the norms whereby characters in a relationship are determined to be the "seme"—the "attacker," that is, the dominant and insertive sexual partner—and the "uke"—the "receiver," that is, the passive and receptive sexual partner.

In the modern period, sexuality emerged as a difficult terrain for girls to navigate, burdened as they were with state-sanctioned demands to be pure and chaste (see McLelland's chapter in this volume). Hence, some early commentators on BL—including those relying on Fujimoto's criticism—argued that through imagining a male homosocial world without girls, and through focusing on "forbidden" relationships that took place exclusively between male bodies, girls were able to explore issues of sexual attraction and desire in a safe environment. However, Fujimoto critiques this position since she feels that it diminishes girls' agency as readers. Instead, she puts forward the argument that through the yaoi genre in particular, which is frequently a parody of existing texts created by and for male readers, women's re-appropriation of these characters in a homosexual setting is an example of girls' agency in imagining sexual scenarios, including sadomasochism and rape, that have traditionally been considered the preserve of male sexual fantasy.

In a related vein, in her chapter Kazuko Suzuki points out how the proliferation of different terms referring to genres of male–male romance in Japanese makes it difficult to make generalizations about either authors or readers without attending to specific terminology. She argues that much closer attention should be paid to various subgenres in academic writing about BL in order to facilitate "more refined historical, cross-national, and comparative analyses encompassing empirical research." Based on interviews with professional BL writers, Suzuki works to establish how those most closely associated with the production of male–male romance stories understand the various terms used to label it. While from the outside the categorization of narratives into subgenres may seem a purely esoteric pursuit—most suitable perhaps for caffeine-fueled late-night debates among fans—Suzuki demonstrates that these categorical distinctions are quite significant to the artists who create these texts as they point to fans' expectations and, thereby, delimit narrative possibilities.

In discussing the categories "shōnen'ai," "tanbi," "JUNE," "yaoi," and "BL," Suzuki's interviewees stress both chronological and narrative (content) differences between these terms. For instance, they associate the traditional term shōnen'ai with the pioneering manga by the Fabulous Forty-Niners, an important influence on most of the artists she interviewed. Many of these artists also cite as influential "tanbi" (aesthetic) literature most associated with themes explored by "aesthetic" authors such as Thomas Mann and Oscar Wilde in Europe, as well as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Mori Mari in Japan—though the term "tanbi" has sometimes been used to refer to male–male romantic narratives in this sphere. The groundbreaking commercial magazine JUNE, published between the late 1970s and mid-1990s, sought to combine elements of highbrow tanbi culture with pornography and popular entertainment, and "JUNE" has come to be treated by some as a genre in its own right. While sharing with earlier shōnen'ai and tanbi stories an obsession with tragedy and unhappy endings, JUNE also developed more explicit sexual scenarios between the characters. It is the introduction of more explicit reference to sexual behavior between men that leads some BL writers to identify JUNE as the foundation of contemporary BL. BL has inherited the formal seme–uke distinction established in the yaoi genre, but unlike JUNE stories, which were often tragic, there is the expectation that BL stories will have happy resolutions. The picture Suzuki's research paints is complicated, however, by the fact that the terms are not used consistently within Japan, as well as that, as Suzuki notes, their meanings have also shifted as they have been taken up in Western fandoms.

Contrasting to varying degrees with Fujimoto, and Suzuki, in their chapter Kazumi Nagaie and Tomoko Aoyama "avoid . . . drawing clear boundaries" among BL genres since the genres are so "thematically intertwined," a sharp delineation between them has never been universally accepted, and because in Japan "many BL researchers use 'BL.' . . . as an umbrella term, without clearly delineating these subgenres." It is this BL research and criticism in Japan that is their focus. Central in their overview of Japanese BL studies is Nakajima Azusa, known for her early writing on shōnen'ai and her contributions to the magazine JUNE, including both critical writing under that name, as well as male homoerotic fiction she penned under the name Kurimoto Kaoru. In 1991, Nakajima expanded the horizons of Japanese BL studies with her influential book, Communication Dysfunction Syndrome (Komyunikēshon fuzen shōkōgun), arguably "the first full-fledged critical analysis of Japanese
Nagaike and Aoyama attempt to clarify and elaborate on certain aspects of her analysis, and, in so doing, trace the historical development of the discourse surrounding Japanese BL studies over a period of twenty years.

They begin with an examination of the initial stage of BL studies, in which scholars generally took an essentially psychoanalytic approach to these narratives. Later, other BL scholars explored a wider variety of theoretical frameworks, including media studies, minority discourse, author–audience studies, gender studies and queer studies, literary studies, and so forth. This historical and analytical overview reveals that Japanese BL studies have provided an analytical space for the cultivation of such interdisciplinary approaches. However, Nagaike and Aoyama also investigate a number of potential future paths in Japanese BL studies, such as transnational research concerning BL developments, both in Japan and abroad.

The concept of fantasy as a dominant force that characterizes the male homosexual narratives created by women is shown in the psychoanalytic approaches taken by several early BL critics, such as Matsui Midori, Tanigawa Tame (later known as Mizuma Midory), and the aforementioned Nakajima Azusa. In order to explore the prevailing circumstances of female subconscious desires and repressions, these critics have discussed the framework of female fantasies of male homosexuality as an identity-creating process in terms of the psychoanalytic domain. In her chapter, Rio Otomo offers a different model for reading BL as fantasy, interrogating BL narratives as feminist—or more precisely, feminist-utopian—pornographic fantasies. Otomo looks at feminist theories of how fantasy works in women's pornography in order to challenge the common perception that pornographic imagery is necessarily degrading or demeaning. To highlight this reading, Otomo contrasts the essentially narcissistic autoeroticism of Modernist writer Mishima Yukio's obsession with three-dimensional male bodies with female BL artists/readers' fascination with the flat, two-dimensional bodies of fantasized male BL characters. The absence of female characters in the BL text entails the negation of their own female bodies, and thus enables the “floating away from a fixed identity” and an erotic autonomy that is not tied to any specific viewpoint or sexual identity. In this way, Otomo alerts us to potentially liberatory readings of BL as autoerotic female pornography.

This stress on women's agency as both readers and (re)creators of BL texts has gained ground in recent academic scholarship, in part in recognition of the growing awareness among BL consumers that they represent a particular subgroup or community. Around 2000, the word “fujoshi” emerged as a term of mocking self-reference among avid fans of male–male romance on the notorious BBS 2-channel. The term itself is a homophone of a word meaning “girls and women,” but, in this case, BL fans have replaced a kanji character to create the neologism “rotten girls.” Fuchoshi have emerged in media discourse as a specifically female equivalent of the male otaku (obsessive fan or nerd), whose preoccupations sometimes include rorikon (Lolita complex) fantasies about the sexuality of or sex with precocious girls. In the case of fuchoshi, rather than attempting to evade confronting or problematic aspects of female sexuality through fantasizing about love between boys, these girl readers actively embrace their “rottenness” and accept that their preoccupation with BL is not socially acceptable.

Patrick W. Galbraith, in his contribution to this volume, offers a fascinating glimpse into the fuchoshi world. Galbraith's work is particularly important for its ethnographic approach. Rather than speculate about the possible motivations and desires of girl consumer-creators of BL products, Galbraith follows a group of fuchoshi over a period of a year. His female interviewees allowed him access to their “rotten friendships” with other girls and young women who share their interests in the transgressive potential of male–male desire. Galbraith reinforces Fujimoto's critique of the “escapism” argument accounting for the development of the BL genre, noting how his informants characteristically divided their emotional energy between physical partners and fictional characters, with affective responses to the latter expanded in intimate communication with fuchoshi friends. Galbraith highlights the importance of sharing moe chat among BL fans. “Moe,” a term literally meaning “to bud,” has come to refer to the erotically charged interest that manga and animation fans feel for fictional characters. It is now used more broadly throughout various fandoms to refer to any kind of scenario, fictional or otherwise, that evokes (erotic) desire on the part of the viewer. Galbraith notes how his fuchoshi informants are constantly on the lookout for moe moments inspired by real and fictional people and events, and the shared nature of these moments means they are transforming the relations they see in the world around them.

Whereas Galbraith's chapter offers ethnographic insight into the workings of the fuchoshi subculture, in his chapter Jeffry Hester looks at the emergence of the fuchoshi as a controversial and contested figure in popular culture. As Hester notes, the fuchoshi is not necessarily in control of her own image, and a variety of discourses have emerged in the media seeking to comprehend and explain these “rotten” women. As he observes, fuchoshi are read as a kind of otaku, but until the emergence of the fuchoshi in popular discourse, female otaku were only ever “a derivative and misty presence.” In recent years, however, the fuchoshi, characterized by her interest in male homoerotic
the late twentieth century fears about pedophilia resulted in a "criminalization of awareness of the desires and charms of boys" in Western societies. A major contribution of this volume has been to draw attention to the many different meanings that youthful male beauty has attracted in Japan and to provide a foundation for understanding the spread of BL narratives elsewhere, including, increasingly, Western nations.

As we have detailed above, there is not a singular "tradition" of boys love in Japan. The styles, contexts, and meanings associated with the love of boys and young men have been radically transformed over time. When accounting for this process of transformation it has been necessary to look at the way in which love and intimate relationships have been conceived in the Japanese tradition. Ironically, in the period directly preceding Japan's opening to the West in the mid-nineteenth century, the love expressed by older men for male youths was the closest exemplar of the spirituality and equality that underlay Western notions of "romantic love." However, as husband–wife relationships were reimagined as central to the new nation-building project of the Meiji State, male–male love was sidelined and came to be regarded as an exemplification of a "feudal" and uncivilized past. But the new stress on the primacy of heterosexual relations as part of the nation-building project had the effect of subsuming personal feelings under national goals. Women, in particular, were constrained by these new ideologies, which exhorted them to be pure and chaste until the time of marriage, when their duty was to become good wives and wise mothers. It is not surprising, then, as Hartley illustrates, that in the early twentieth century some girl readers looked on enviously at the freedom and passion that boy characters were able to express in their exciting lives outside the confines of the home. At a time when patriarchal, heterosexual norms were increasingly stressed for both men and women, it is also not surprising that some readers were attracted by new kinds of transgressive relationships that could be imagined between men.

Although from the late Meiji period on, male–male sexual relationships came to be represented as base and carnal in mainstream discourse, the very domestication of male–female relationships in the interests of the State enabled a radical reimagining of male–male romance as somehow outside or beyond the demands of the family system. For some readers, male–male lovers became exemplars of what Anthony Giddens calls "pure relationships," that is, relationships that are driven entirely by the sentiments of the two people involved and which do not depend on any exterior support or motivation. In the postwar period, particularly with the emergence of shōnen'ai and subsequent BL genres, male–male love once again becomes an exemplar of true romance, especially for female readers whose own lives were often circumscribed by expectations of childbirth and domestic duties. Yet, as the contributors to this collection show, women have never been passive readers in relation to BL narratives. Not content with interpolating themselves into existing representations of male–male love, over the last four decades women readers have become creators of BL culture. Not only have some women appropriated and recreated existing characters from traditional boys' genres in their dōjinshi, but, as Galbraith argues, they have come to view all of culture through their "rotten filters," constantly on the lookout for homoerotic interpretations of otherwise everyday situations and events. In their radical reimagining of the potentialities of affection between men, Japan's rotten girls avant la lettre have opened up new spaces for the exploration of masculinity and femininity for men and women alike.

Notes

1. While often translated into English as "girl," as many others have observed, the term "shōjo" does not convey the same meaning. A succinct discussion of the category "shōjo" within the context of Japanese culture in general and shōjo manga specifically can be found in Jennifer S. Prough, Straight from the Heart: Gender, Intimacy, and the Cultural Production of Shōjo Manga (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011), 7–10.

2. While sometimes written with an apostrophe ("boys' love" or "boy's love"), we have chosen to omit the apostrophe to keep the meaning of the term more open-ended.

3. The encyclopedia on the popular website Anime News Network, for example, repeats a distinction between "shōnen'ai" and "yaoi" commonly made in English. The former, it says, focuses on romance and love, while the latter points to sex. See the respective terms in "Lexicon," Anime News Network, last accessed January 16, 2013, http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/encyclopedia/lexicon.php.


7. Ibid., 36.

8. This can be seen, for instance, in the idea of danson joshi, or "respect men, despise women."


10. Ibid.
