



HÁSKÓLI ÍSLANDS

HUGVÍSINDASVIÐ

Sexual Appreciation in Japan

A journey down the rabbit hole of kink

B.A. Essay

Ragnheiður Þóra Egilsdóttir

May 2016

University of Iceland
School of Humanities
Department of Japanese

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Ragnheiður Þóra Egilsdóttir
Kt: 071190 - 2939

Supervisor: Gunnella Þorgeirsdóttir

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Abstract

This thesis will discuss the perceived appreciation for sexuality in Japanese society dating back to the beginning of its civilization. It will not only examine the reverence for the male and female genitalia brought upon by religious practices and through artistic expression, but the thesis will also explore the impressive success of the various sex industry establishments of modern day Japan. Furthermore, a look into the fascinating world of the erotic comic industry in Japan will give added evidence to the society's admiration for carnal commodities.

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Introduction

Sex lies at the root of life, and we can never learn to reverence life until we know how to understand sex. (Henry Havelock Ellis, 1897).

Many people perceive the Japanese as being quiet, inhibited and strict; a society consisting of demure housewives with eyes cast down following their business-orientated husbands who possess a samurai-like discipline¹ - however, Hatano and Shimasaki (2004) have argued that, “this view is profoundly oversimplified, if not downright inaccurate when viewed within Japanese social and historical traditions,” (pg.665). Japan has a long and vastly interesting sexual history which dates back to the beginning of its civilization, and gives evidence to their unbridled hedonistic attitudes. The overall aim of this thesis is to examine the evidence of this libertine sexual outlook in Japan through a study of the role in which sexuality plays in mythology and religion, including the mass production of erotic art, and the significance of the phallus in Japanese culture. Not only will it explore the presence of sexuality through the ages, but in particular its place within modern Japanese society where out-of-this-world fetishes and non-penetrative sex brothels are among the norm.

What many people do not know is that Japan was built on sex - strictly mythologically speaking that is. Unlike the Christian, Judaic and Islamic religions where an almighty sexless God created the Earth out of nothing, termed *ex nihilo*² in Greek, ancient Japanese lore tells us of the divine creation through the sexual intercourse of two deities, Izanagi the male and Izanami the female³ - the rest can be interpreted as history. As a way of honouring and cherishing these sexual deities, the Japanese have throughout the years erected a great number of shrines and effigies for worshipping. These will be discussed more in depth in the first chapter, and following

¹ The *samurai* are known for having strict codes of conduct.

² *Ex nihilo* is Latin for ‘out of nothing’, therefore *creatio ex nihilo* means ‘creation out of nothing’ and is attributed to the creation myth accounted in the Book of Genesis. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

³ As creation theories go, this is referred to as a ‘World Parent’ creation, where two beings copulate in order to give birth to the land and all its creatures. The earth can also be created out of the secretion or dismemberment of the world parents. Retrieved from *Creation myths of the world* by David A. Leeming (see reference list for full information).

that, briefly the production of erotic art will be explored; the symbolism therein and the importance of its influence on the society and culture of Japan today.

Not only do the Japanese revere sex and all it encompasses by way of prayer and regular votive offerings, but they also boast one of the most affluent sex industries in the world; their yearly intake being estimated at a couple of trillion yen. These factors lead into the second chapter which will focus primarily on contemporary Japan and explore the many different types of establishments that make the sex industry what it is today. The second chapter will also touch upon the fetish industry of Japan - a niche but vastly interesting territory.

Even though prostitution makes up a large chunk of this business, pornography is perhaps even bigger, so the production of erotic comic books is too an important element of the sex industry. Not only is it valued internationally, but people of all ages in Japan have access to this explicit material giving light to the lax attitude towards drawn pornography.

Of course, like everywhere in the world, there is a darker much more dangerous side to the sex industry in Japan and I do not wish to treat these issues as unimportant. However, the theme of this thesis is the appreciation of sex in Japan and therefore the very serious problems of human trafficking, child pornography, and debt slavery will not be discussed.

In order to ascertain the best results possible, the research for this thesis relied mainly on a balanced consultation of news articles, academic journals and printed books. Furthermore, without having a focus on the thesis, an interview was done with a twenty-one year old female university student who works part-time at a hostess club in Japan. This interview was conducted in June of 2015 for a class taken at JF Oberlin University in Machida, Tokyo, Japan, during an exchange year abroad, and examined the lives of young Japanese hostesses. It became evident that the results of that interview could be of use, and therefore some references have been made in the second chapter to said interview. The questions for the interview in English can be found in Appendix A on page 39.

The original intent was to discuss all aspects of the sex industry in Japan, though that proved too vast a subject for such a short thesis. Therefore a focus was made on sex appreciation within mythology and religion, erotic art, different types of brothels and eroticism within contemporary Japanese comic books.

The Floating World of Japan

“We are all born sexual creatures...but it's a pity so many people despise and crush this natural gift.” (Marilyn Monroe, 1962).

Throughout the history of Japan there has always been an underlying appreciation for sex, and the first written account from which sexual beliefs may be understood dates from the early eighth century (c.711). Titled the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) it is the oldest extant record chronicling the origin of the Japanese archipelago and the *kami* which are the spirits worshipped in the ethnic religion of Japan called Shinto or ‘Way of the Gods’. It was transcribed at the charge of Empress Genmei (r.707-721) by Ō no Yasumaro (d.723) who was a chronicler and nobleman. Professor Stephen Turnbull (2014) argues that the mythology covered within the *Kojiki* “often has a pronounced sexual flavour,” (pg.95). It begins with the spontaneous birth of seven generations of heavenly deities ending with the birth of the male, Izanagi and the female, Izanami. These two deities are responsible for birthing the Japanese archipelago and numerous other gods. The birthing process was not one created out of nothingness like with the previous deities; “...[it] was of a very human kind, and a thinly disguised sexual metaphor appears early on in the story when they are commanded by the heavenly deities to ‘solidify’ the unformed land,” (pg.96).

Hereupon all the heavenly deities commanded the two deities [Izanagi and Izanami], ordering them to “make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land.” Granting to them a heavenly jewelled spear, they thus deigned to charge them. So the two deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine til it went curdle-curdle, and drew the spear up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This was the island Onogoro. (no Yasumaru, c.712, re-published 1882, pg.7).

There is further evidence that gives light to the Japanese acceptance and reverence for sex and procreation. An example of this can be seen in Philippi’s (1968) translation of the *Kojiki*:

Descending from heavens to this island, they erected a heavenly pillar and a spacious palace. At this time [Izanagi] asked his spouse Izanami, saying: “How is your body formed?”

She replied, saying: “My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed insufficiently.”

Then Izanagi said: “My body, formed though it be formed, has one place which is formed to excess. Therefore, I would like to take that place in my body which is formed to excess and insert it into that place in your body which is formed insufficiently, and [thus] give birth to the land. How would this be?”

Izanami replied, saying: “That will be good.”

Then Izanagi said: “Then let us, you and me, walk in a circle around this heavenly pillar and meet and have conjugal intercourse.” (pg.50).

Columnist Michael Hoffman (2007) writes in regards to Japan’s sexual history, “Sex is sacred. [Throughout history] lovers [have re-enacted] the divine creation of Izanagi and Izanami [and this] act of love celebrates Japan’s sexual origins.”

“Without a male and female principle nothing on earth can be born and grow...So it is quite natural and reasonable...that all sentient beings are sexually connected,”⁴ (as cited in Turnbull, 2014, pg.96). A supportive quote by Shinto priest Masuho Zanko (1655-1742) from his book *Shinro no tebikigusa* (1719, ‘A handguide to the path of the kami’) reads that “sexual activity between couples is part of yin and yang harmony, which is the primordial and sustaining energy of the cosmos,” (as cited in Hoffman, 2007 & Nosco, 1984, pg.180).

There are two additional *kami* that are regarded as having a sexual nature; Sarutahiko and Ame no Uzume. In regards to Ame no Uzume, the ‘uzu’ is believed to be derived from the Japanese word *usu* which means mortar, therefore she symbolises the female equivalent to the pestle (phallus; male) that enters the mortar - this being very suggestive of sexual intercourse, (Turnbull, 2014, pg.99). She plays a very important⁵ role in the mythologies recounted in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*⁶, and is also known as being the “embodiment of the female principle” and the goddess of merrymaking and joy, (“Amenouzume”, n.d.). Sarutahiko, on the other hand, is a formidable earthly deity and the divine guardian of the crossroads in which Ninigi no

⁴ Quote by Genchi Katō in his 1924 Study of the Development of Religious Ideas Among the Japanese People as Illustrated by Japanese Phallicism, in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan Supplement to the Second Series, Volume 1, pages 8-9.

⁵ For further reading see Philippi’s translation of *The Kojiki* (1968), Book 1 chapter 17.

⁶ *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀) is the second oldest record of the Japanese creation myths, but has added historical accounts containing the exploits of the first Emperors of Japan.

Mikoto⁷ on his descent to Earth had to cross. He is described as being red faced, with an unnaturally long nose (often depicted as being phallic) and rounded eyes. Shinto believers worship him as being the embodiment of male sexuality, (“Sarutahiko”, n.d.). Due to both of their involvement with Ninigi’s descent to the earthly plains, Sarutahiko and Ame no Uzume are often depicted as a couple; the story goes that upon seeing Sarutahiko, Ninigi (some translations say Amaterasu) orders Ame no Uzume to seduce Sarutahiko in order to let them pass. Ame no Uzume then proceeds to bare her breasts, and perform a suggestive dance that in the end persuades Sarutahiko to escort them.

In contemporary Japan, Sarutahiko and Ame no Uzume act as protectors of the roads or wayside (referred to as *michi no kami*, *dosojin* or *sai no kami*); in Hita (Ōita Prefecture), the couple is traditionally depicted as a pair of phallic and yonic⁸ stones titled *in’yōseki* in Japanese (see next page, Image 1), (Turnbull, 2014, pg.100-107). These *in’yōseki* can be found in many places around Japan - the In’yōseki at Kobayashi (Miyazaki Prefecture), the Myoto Iwa in Nakatsugawa (Gifu Prefecture), the couple of tree trunks at the Chiwaki Shrine in Morioka (Iwate Prefecture) are just a few (pg.175-180).



Image 1
In’yōseki representing Sarutahiko and
Ame no Uzume at Yasaka Shrine, Hita.



Image 2
Dōsojin, or protectors of the borders
and wayside.

⁷ Ninigi no Mikoto is the grandson of the goddess of the sun, Amaterasu, and was directed to descend to earth to plant rice. He is also regarded as being the great-grandfather of the first emperor of Japan, Jimmu. Retrieved from <http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/415743/Ninigi> (Encyclopaedia Britannica online)

⁸ Yoni meaning the vulva or a symbol of divine procreative energy, conventionally represented by a circular stone. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application). If one wanted to be linguistically correct, the usage of ‘kteis’ is also correct as it is the Greek translation, and Phallus being derived from the Greek word *phallos*.

The deifying of stones in the shape of a phallus or yoni is very prevalent in shrines all around Japan. Worshipping of these stones usually entails praying for bountiful harvests, conception of children, safe and easy delivery of children, protection against evil and even sexually transmitted diseases, (Turnbull, 2014, pg.1). These stones may sometimes be placed beside a road (referred to as *dōsojin*, see Image 2 above), or a field of crops, or they might even have their own miniature shrine which is often located near a bigger shrine that is used for a completely different purpose and is in no way sexual. Granted, the phallus is a more prominent symbol in Japan's sexual related shrines and Turnbull theorises that this could be due to the fact that it is a more easily recognisable image. However he also mentions that it could be due to the old-fashioned mentality of believing the male to be the dominant gender, (pg.5).

Notwithstanding, yonic symbols are present, the most common found at shrines being a naturally formed rock, not a man-made carving, which is worshipped as a *goshintai*, or sacred body of the *kami*. In this case it would be the female *kami* from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, for example Kanayama Hime⁹, Awashima-sama¹⁰, and Konohana Sakuya Hime no Mikoto¹¹ to name a few, (pg.154). Patrons make phallic-shaped votive offerings to these yonic *goshintai*, and surrounding the phallic shrines shells are often to be found; it is this harmony between the two sexual organs that symbolises the balance between the male and the female principles. Furthermore, *momo* the word for peach is a homonym that also means 'loins' and is too used as yonic symbolism, (pg. 150). Buckley (1895) adds that sexual symbols that occur naturally are much more valued than those that are man-made, "and being found in nature could hardly be taken for aught else than the veritable organ of the god", (pg.26). One such marvel can be found in Tochigi Prefecture - named Gozen Iwa, it is a fifteen meter high rock formation that boasts a vertical slit down the middle with some foliage, easily representative of the vagina with pubic hair (Image 3). Visitors provide offerings in a small shrine located on the opposite bank and pray for conception, easy delivery and women's illnesses, (Ken, 2013).

⁹ The goddess of metals, born out of the death throes of Izanami along with her brother Kanayama-Hiko. For further reading see Philippi's translation of the *Kojiki*. Retrieved from Handbook of Japanese Mythology by Michael Ashkenazi, pg.297.

¹⁰ The goddess of women's ailments, also said to be a daughter of Izanami (Turnbull, 2014, pg.154).

¹¹ Goddess of Mount Fuji and cherry blossoms, and also the wife of Prince Ninigi, (Turnbull, 2014, pg.154).



Image 3
The Gozen Iwa rock formation at Tochigi Prefecture



Image 4: Momobora no Taki in Ōdate, Akita Prefecture.

Waterfalls are another natural feature that many deem distinctly yonic, especially one that is located deep in the mountains south of Ōdate in Akita Prefecture; Momobora no Taki can unquestionably be recognised as a labia (Image 4, above), (Turnbull, 2014, pg.167).

As previously mentioned most yonic representations are paired with phallic ones, and lone phallic symbols are noticeably abundant around Japan. Furthermore, many researchers believe the jewelled spear that the heavenly deities bestow upon Izanagi and Izanami to be phallic symbolism, interpreting that through the imagery of the spear the two deities were given a suggestion to mate and therefore proceeded to engage in sexual intercourse with the sole purpose of procreating (Turnbull, 2014, pg.96; Buckley, 1898, pg.23-24). Phallicism is the “worship of the generative principle as symbolised by the sexual organs or the act of sexual intercourse,” (“Phallicism”, n.d.). In Japan, the worshipping of the phallus has prevailed for a long period of time; “numerous excavations of phallic stone rods dating back to the Middle Jomon (ca 3600 BC - ca 2500 BC) period attest to the early forms of phallic worship,” (Quejada, 1998, pg.1). Ikeda writes that as time went on, phallic worship evolved into, “the worship of a god of fecundity, fertility, and marriage, and amalgamated with the worship of *dōsojin*,” (as cited in Quejada, 1998, pg.1).



Image 5
An assortment of *sekibō* dating from ca 1000 - 2000 BC.



Image 6
The Venus of Jomon, a famous *dogū*.
Dating from ca 3300 BC.

Sekibō (Image 5 above) are phallic-shaped stone rods that vary from hand-held to a couple of meters in length. “Many have prominent heads reminiscent of the glans of the penis, and uses for them have been suggested to [be] digging sticks and[/or] symbols of

authority,” (Turnbull, 2014, pg.61). Habu suggests that because the shape is similar to male genitals, like clay figurines (the *dogū*, Image 6 above) the stone rods are essentially a symbol of fertility. While also implying that stone rods are specifically related to hunting rituals conducted exclusively by men, (as cited in Turnbull, 2014, pg. 61-62). *Sekibō* can as well be found enshrined; some of these signify *goshintai* for the phallic *kami* Konsei Daimyōjin (Konsei the great shining god, also referred to as Konsei-sama), and others are simply protective wayside *kami*. Turnbull theorises that these shrines to Konsei Daimyōjin are representative of the “human wonder at the tremendous power of the male reproductive organ,”; they epitomise phallicism “*par excellence*”, and “as the god of the penis we come as close as is possible to encountering phallic worship in a literal sense,” (pg.230).

Pictures of spring & the floating world

The adoration of the male and female genitalia is also evident in Japanese erotic art; especially when they are exaggerated to great sizes. The production of sexually explicit art in Japan is as old as Japanese art itself, the *dogū* from the Jomon period a prime example. However, publication of erotic artworks reached its peak during the early Edo Period (1603 - 1868)¹² where *shunga* seems to have been enjoyed by all sections of society, from samurai to ordinary newly married couples. *Shunga* is a euphemism meaning ‘pictures of spring’¹³ (spring being a common metaphor for sex and fertility in Japan) and celebrates all facets of human sexuality, (Shagan, 2013, p.12). Most of these erotic prints are a type of *ukiyo-e*¹⁴ which means ‘pictures of the floating world’, and are woodblock printed or painted on hanging scrolls, as pamphlets, or even small comic-like books. Since the ancient times human sexuality has constantly been a predominant subject matter in art. Author and *shunga* collector, Ofer Shagan (2013), writes:

Throughout the world - from Africa, China and India to South America - erotic art, concerned as it is with one of life’s natural pleasures, was used decoratively but was also

¹² Also known as the Tokugawa Shogunate, it refers to the last feudal military government in Japan.

¹³ Made up of the Chinese characters ‘春’ meaning ‘spring’ and ‘画’ meaning ‘picture’ and/or ‘drawing’

¹⁴ *Ukiyo* (浮世) means ‘floating world’ and *e* (絵) means ‘painting/painting/drawing’, therefore ‘pictures of the floating world’. This ‘floating world’ represents the hedonistic attitudes of urban Japanese in the Edo period; *kabuki* theatre goes, and patrons indulging in geisha and courtesans in the pleasure quarters.

connected to concerns about fertility. In some societies it was thought that owning or praying to such works could increase vital forces. In Tibetan Buddhism sculptures depict sex between gods, based on the concept that the union of woman, representing wisdom, and man, representing compassion, creates a better world - a belief that spread through Asia, including Japan. (pg.22).

Ukiyo-e illustrated the “ buoyant, fleeting pleasures of the common people,” (“Japanese art”, n.d. Wood-block print section, para.11); the pleasure quarters and *Kabuki* theatres being the most prominent backdrops. The method was very strenuous and required three persons: the artist who painted the desired design; the wood-carver who engraved the design into the woodblock, these were most often female due to their delicate small hands being perfect for the job; and finally the printmaker who was a muscular male as this final step demanded great physical strength, (Shagan, 2013, pg.24). The subject matter depicted in *shunga* is varied: ranging from humorous satires of famous people, characters and events, to educational manuals (Image 7) for newly married couples.

In contrast to the Western world where religion was often regarded sex as taboo and sinful, the East viewed sex as important to both mental and physical health, (Shagan, 2013, pg. 22). As an example, Image 8 depicts a parody of one of the most solemn scenes in Buddhist belief: *Parinirvana*, or the Death of the Buddha. The ‘proper’ version (Image 9) is displayed at Japanese temples on the fifteenth of February in memoriam to that profoundly spiritual event, yet in Image 7 we have the Buddha depicted as a phallus. The female mourners behind Buddha have yonic faces and hold sex toys in their hands rather than ritual tools. The foreground is made up of sorrowful figures having the upper body of a phallus. In a Western context this image would likely be seen as blasphemous, yet “in the popular culture of the Edo Period, such personifications or objectifications of the phallus and the vulva were on the one hand profane and bawdy, but on the other hand they also retained elements of sacred awe,” (Turnbull, 2014, pg.41).



Image 8
Penis *Parinirvana* hanging scroll



Image 9
A Japanese hanging scroll version of the proper *Parinirvana*

Another detail that is quite difficult to ignore is the exaggerated sizes of the genitalia in *shunga*. Shagan (2013) puts forward the theory that the depiction of enlarged male organs was perhaps a way to express masculine power and strength due to the patriarchal culture of pre-modern Japan, (pg.130). However, there are *shunga* that illustrate the female genitalia in enlarged form as well, therefore another suggestion is that *shunga* were mostly made as satires, (McCurry, 2015, para.11). Since the matter of size is a universal problem between males the

disproportionate depiction of them perhaps eased the minds of the viewer; “treating size as unimportant was probably a tactic to make all male viewers happy,” (pg.131).



Image 10
Shunga of men comparing sizes by Utagawa Kunisada (*Ehon koi no kaguya*) c.1827 Woodblock print

Interestingly “male homosexual relations were socially acceptable,” in pre modern Japan “and, unlike in the West, were not considered as punishable by either religious or secular law...nor were homosexual acts regarded as shameful,” (Shagan, 2013, pg.314). It is believed that through China¹⁵ a Buddhist priest and founder of the Shingon Buddhist sect by the name of Kūkai (774-835), brought over homosexuality to Japan in the ninth century, (Shagan, 2013, pg. 314; Leupp, 1995, pg.28) and even though no allusion to homosexuality is made in his writings, *shunga* prints do exist where he is seen in the background giving instructions to male homosexual couples (Image 11; Shagan, 2013, pg.318).

¹⁵ Homosexuality in China dates all the way back to the sixth century BC. Because of this and due to the fact that their higher culture was heavily influenced by China in the sixth century AD, it is not at all surprising that the Japanese should have adopted various elements of the Chinese homosexual tradition. The term *nanshoku* is a derivative of the Chinese term *nanse*, using the same characters in writing it translates to ‘male colours’: 男色, the character for ‘colour’ being a sexual euphemism in both China and Japan, (Leupp, 1995, pg.11-12).



Image 11
Kūkai instructs homosexual couple in the act: *Makura doji nukisashi manben tamaguki* by
Takehara Shunchōsai, c.1781 Woodblock print

Homosexuality in *shunga*, however, never (or rarely) illustrated ‘love’ between two men; rather, it almost always showed an older man engaging in sexual acts with a younger man, most often a prostitute, who gave free use of his body out of respect, duty or for money (Image 12). Furthermore, a common custom among the *samurai* was *wakashūdo* or ‘way of the youth’. This system honoured and allowed youths to serve older and experienced *samurai* in any way that was required. This relationship was most often mutually agreed to and in turn they would receive education and training in the way of the *samurai*. When the youths came of age they would in turn obtain their own attendants and the cycle would continue until around mid-Edo period (1603-1868) when the *samurai* class lost their respected warrior status and had to take up other means of support. The pleasure quarters of both female and male prostitutes were by this time well established and therefore the men had no need for these *wakashū*, (Shagan, 2013, pg.315). Female homosexuality was too a popular genre in *shunga*, but “since the artists were almost always male, they may have been inclined to represent lesbianism as less a sexual tendency and more as a response to a lack of masculine presence”; often these women would be wearing a special dildo (*harigata*¹⁶; Image 13) and another might wear the male mask of a *kabuki* actor,

¹⁶ *Harigata* were carved or molded faux penises, sometimes double-sided to pleasure both parties involved (Shagan, 2013, pg.317).

(pg.316-317). Most of *shunga* that was created from the late Edo period onwards that depicted homosexuality were wallet-sized and were exchanged between men for jest.



Image 12
A client and a prostitute, titled *Koi no futozao* by Utagawa Utamaro, c.1802



Image 13
Two women use tools for pleasure, titled *Imose-yama* by Utagawa Kuninao, c.1827

Another theme incorporated beastiality, and perhaps one of the most famous prints of *shunga* known today is ‘The Dream of the Fisherman’s Wife’ (Image 15) created by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) in 1814. It depicts an *Ama* diver¹⁷ being pleased by two octopuses. Even though this print is the most popular, there are earlier examples of female-and-octopus *shunga*, and others depicting a wide variety of different animals, (Shagan, 2015, pg.13).



Image 15
The Dream of the Fisherman’s Wife/*Tako to ama*/Octopi & Shell Diver, by Katsushika Hokusai c.1814

As previously mentioned, the pleasure quarters were a widely popular backdrop of most of the *shunga* and *ukiyo-e* produced. Yoshiwara, established in 1618, was a famous red-light district just outside the borders of Edo (Tokyo), and was enjoyed by the upperclassmen and rich merchants of society. In tandem with this popular depiction of the pleasure quarters, the courtesans were able to use said prints as advertising and therefore sustaining their popularity.

¹⁷ *Ama* (meaning ‘sea women’) are skilled divers who use no breathing apparatus when diving deep into the ocean looking for pearls. They also hunt fish, octopus, and oysters. Mie Prefecture is a well know *ama* spot. Retrieved from Hamaguchi (2015) <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/03/17/national/traditional-ama-diving-at-risk-as-numbers-plunge/>

The patriarchal culture of Edo Japan is evident in *shunga* as it often illustrates men enjoying the young and beautiful courtesans of the Yoshiwara quarter (Image 14).



Image 14
Low-ranking courtesans propped up in windows for 'sale'. *Karine no yume* by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, c.1836

It is important to note that *shunga* was never considered shameful or bad, and owning it was part of mainstream culture; “there was no stigma attached to it [and] instead it was produced by most of the leading artists of the day - ones who were highly successful and therefore had much to lose [like Hokusai, for example],” (Shagan, 2013, pg.24).

The Modern Water Trade

“...sex is one of the most beautiful, natural, wholesome things that money can buy.” (Steve Martin, 1980).

The term ‘water trade,’ or *mizu shōbai*, is a euphemism for Japan’s night-time entertainment business. Many believe that this association with water directly traces back to the enjoyment of hot springs and their connection with pleasure, without alluding to sex. The term was coined during the Edo Period (1603-1868) - a time where bathhouses were all the rage and, “in which the pleasures of the flesh were as much an attraction as the hot water,” (De Mente, 2005, pg.179). Allison (1994) writes that, “the *mizu shōbai* [also] connotes fluidity - an occupation one can float into and out of without the rigidity required by other forms of employment, and a service one can enjoy while being freed from duties and responsibilities elsewhere,” (pg.33).

Nowadays, the sex industry (known in Japanese as *fūzoku*) is one of the largest and most profitable in the world, where Japan is one of the top contributors to its illustriousness, boasting an estimate of ¥2.37 trillion¹⁸ annually in revenues on prostitution alone, that is approximately 2.6-trillion Icelandic krona, (McNeill, 2003; Hoffman, 2007). Author and documentary photographer, Joan Sinclair, states in an interview that the sex industry is the second largest industry in Japan next to automobiles and offers absolutely everything short of sex itself (Sinclair, n.d.). This statement is backed up by renowned author and expert on Japanese culture, Donald Richie (1999), who writes in his book, *Tokyo: A view of the city*, that the sex industry has been estimated as a ¥3.7-trillion business, approximately 4.1-trillion Icelandic krona, where a quarter of this amount contains the revenue of love hotels¹⁹. “All societies have commercialised sex, but only a few have so marketed the venue, and none to the extent that Japan has,” (Richie, 1999, pg.99). Furthermore, Richie writes that there are over 38,000 such hotels in Japan and 3,000 in Tokyo alone, (pg.99; Kelly, 2006; Lin, 2008 pg.31). Bearing in mind that Richie’s

¹⁸ ‘¥’ the symbol for the Japanese yen (JPY) currency

¹⁹ Love hotels, or *rabu hoteru*, are short-stay accommodations specialising in allowing people privacy for all kinds of sexual activity. Other names include *reja hoteru* (leisure hotel), *fasshon hoteru* (fashion hotel), *kappuruzu hoteru* (couples’ hotel), and *buchiku hoteru* (boutique hotel). For further reading see Ed Jacob’s *Love Hotels: An inside look at Japan’s sexual playgrounds* (2008).

estimates are from the late-nineties, recently the love hotel industry is amassing an annual revenue of ¥4.5-trillion (Neill, 2009).²⁰ The question is: what makes these love hotels, or *rabuho* in simplified Japanese, so popular? The answer is actually quite easy; in a country where the urban areas are densely populated and the average home is quite compact, there is little room for privacy and the carnal activities it commonly entails. The idea of escaping to a hotel with your partner seems more than ideal; a world where you can completely be yourself and fulfil your wildest fantasies without having to consider your neighbour. “Everyone from young couples in their 20s to salary men with prostitutes, to married couples getting away from their kids rent rooms by the hour or the night in order to escape from the crowds and conformity of modern Japan,” (Jacob, 2008, pg.2). Moreover, the variety is endless - dependent upon each and everyone’s own fetishes and preferences - from darkened S&M²¹ dungeons, rooms lined wall-to-ceiling with mirrors, to Mickey Mouse and Hello Kitty themed bedchambers, (Richie, 1999, pg. 99; Jacob, 2008, pg.1). Jacob (2008) writes that the fantasy element is the most important and that this is the reason patrons come back for more. “The feeling that one is in a place not only free from the ordinary restrictions that society places on sexual behaviour, but [one] is truly in a facility that is a celebration of sex,” (pg.4). Scholar Mark D. West estimates that “Japanese couples make more than half a billion trips to love hotels, and that 1.26 billion acts of sexual intercourse occur in Japan each year²², more than half of which take place in love hotels,” (as cited in Lin, 2008, pg.31). Similar types of establishments date back to the early Edo period where a different form of tea houses (*chaya*) called *deai*²³ *chaya* were popular among the defunct²⁴ samurai class and the merchant class alike. Situated in red-light districts, such as

²⁰ It is difficult, however, to get exact numbers due to the underground nature of this business.

²¹ S&M stands for ‘Sadomasochism’ which is a psychological tendency or sexual practice characterised by both sadism and masochism, retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

²² West (2005) based his research on a global sex survey conducted in 2001 by the condom maker Durex on the frequency of sex in Japan.

²³ *Deai* translates to ‘an encounter’ or ‘meeting’, retrieved from The Wisdom English-Japanese Dictionary (Apple application).

²⁴ The word ‘defunct’ was chosen because this period marked the end of the samurai class as warriors, they became mostly bureaucrats, administrators and courtiers, and their swords (the *katana* and *wakizashi* respectively) became symbols of power rather than weapons for daily use. See pg.136 in *A Brief History of Japanese Civilization* by C. Schirokauer et al. (2013).

Yoshiwara in Edo (Tokyo) and Shimabara in Kyoto, *deai chaya* looked like normal tea houses on the bottom floors, however the upstairs consisted of rooms where patrons could go and engage in all kinds of debauchery. Other popular places for sex were buckwheat noodle shops, or *soba-ya*, which typically did lend out rooms for sleeping - it is of no surprise that instead of sleeping patrons were engaging in sexual activities, whether it would be men with prostitutes or unmarried couples. Following the government's crackdown on prostitution in the Meiji period, similar forms of these covert tea houses took root as the *deai chaya* became obsolete, and these eventually evolved into the *rabuho* of modern Japan, (Jacob, 2008, pg.5-6).

Pleasure quarters of the modern 'floating world'

Home to a numerous variety of establishments, Kabukicho is present-day Tokyo's resident entertainment and red-light district. Allison (1994) adds that different areas in Tokyo have their own niche, for example, "Kanazawa has the Turkish baths; Asakusa, the prostitutes; and Shinjuku, the seedier sex establishments [like Pink Salons (*pinsaro*)]," (pg.33) - which will be discussed in chapter Despite anti-prostitution laws having been officially put in place in 1956,²⁵ their ambiguity offers much leeway for those involved in the trade. Specifically, the Anti-Prostitution Act (*baishunbōshihō*) defines 'prostitution' as being strictly limited to penetrative sex, and therefore many establishments specialise in providing customers with non-coital sexual services such as oral, and even sometimes anal sex (Hongo, 2008). These establishments take numerous different names which include, but are not limited to, aforementioned Pink Salons, *sōpurando* (Soaplands), *imēji kurabu* (Image Clubs), *fasshon herusu* (Fashion Health Clubs), and *kyabakura* (a portmanteau of 'cabaret' and 'club'). According to the National Police Agency (NPA) in Japan, there are approximately 1,200 Soaplands and 17,500 sex-related businesses, including massage parlors and strip clubs, (as cited in Hongo, 2008). There is a variety of differences between each venue, specifically *kyabakura* where men are entertained by beautiful women known as hostesses; this type of venue does not necessarily require the hostesses to engage in a sexual relationship with their clients, however, according to twenty-one year old

²⁵ These laws were not enforced and implemented until April of 1958.

university student many actually do (M. Harada, personal communication, June 2015)²⁶. In the novel *Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club*, author, Anne Allison writes that the service given at a hostess club solely depends on each individual club's price and degree of classiness (1994). There are, however, four tenets that each club follows:

The hostess must be, or must act like, a woman; the hostess must treat the customer as a superior and tend to his various desires; the service, while alluding to sex, cannot proceed to genital penetration; and the service is conducted primarily at the level of conversation. (1994, pg. 7-8).²⁷

The classier and more elegant a club is, the less likely the customer is to engage in sexual activity with the hostess. This is because the hostess is supposed to be selling a fantasy - she is seductive, smart, funny and above all else unreachable - the customer is expected to want to have sex with her, yet he never will because then the fantasy would be over; once a prize is won it cannot be won again, consequently the customer would look elsewhere for someone new and exciting. Author and journalist, Boyé Lafayette De Mente (2005) states that hostess clubs, "have been the crowning glory of Japan's nighttime entertainment scene from the early 1950s to the present time," (pg.182). He further goes on to say that:

[Hostess clubs] remain the favourite of middle-aged and older men who can afford the cost, because they combine drinking with the attention of very attractive young women who are either available or work very hard to give that impression. Even though [hostess club] customers may not end up trysting with their favourite hostesses, they go back time and again for the sexual lift they get...For nowhere in the world have the purveyors of male-orientated 'recreation' become more skilled at 'selling sex in a glass' than the operations of Japan's [hostess clubs] and their cadre of hostesses. (pg.186).

Moreover, Allison (1994) writes, "[as] far as genital release is concerned, hostess clubs are sexless," (pg.21). Therefore, if a man is specifically looking for that sort of release he is able to go to such places that explicitly offer it - "there is always the forty-minute set at a *pinsaro*,

²⁶ Interview was conducted via email in June 2015 with M. Harada who works as a *kyabakura* girl in Tachikawa-shi, Tokyo, Japan.

²⁷ The research is partly based on her own personal experience working in a hostess club in Tokyo's Roppongi district for four months in 1981.

where a man can stop on the way home after hours spent in hostess-club talk,” (pg.21). Allison refers to this as the ejaculation industry, or *shasei sangyo*, and specifically alludes to *pinsaro*; 150 of such establishments now operate in Tokyo, (pg.21). Not only in Tokyo, *pinsaro* are to be found all over the major cities, and their workers specialise in oral sex; the pièce de résistance being a service called *hanabira kaiten*, or ‘flower petal rotation’, where the patron is serviced rotation-wise by three different women. As previously stated, these types of establishments go by an assortment of names and contain as many similarities as there are differences (which particularly are based on the sexual services offered). Similar to *pinsaro* are *fasshon herusu* (‘fashion health clubs’) and *imēji kurabu* (‘image clubs’); these too specialise in fellatio²⁸ and assisted masturbation. *Imēji kurabu*, shortened to *imekura*, however also focus on the much sought after fantasy-element. This can be in the form of a classroom where the customer has the opportunity to portray a teacher who gets to satisfy his wish of being sexually involved with a young female student, in this case played by the sex worker, (Kristof, 1997). Or, it can be in the form of a patron on a train car copping a feel of the schoolgirl standing in front of him. Patrons can pay for extra services, for extra cost, and they would include: ripping the underpants off, having a polaroid taken and getting to keep it, and finally, being allowed to take the underpants home, (Wood & Watts, 2001). These ‘sexual harassment-type’ *imekura* are often referred to as *seku-hara kuraku*, or sexual harassment clubs, (Shimanaka, 2009). The subway car theme was added to the bill following the enforcement of laws regarding groping, known as *chikan*, creating a ‘safe’ environment where men can get their fondling-needs fulfilled. A previously popular fantasy-theme was the workplace environment, where the sex workers dressed as an OL²⁹ and the patrons acted out sexual frustrations procured from work. This has however been replaced by the school environment due to the fact that the desired age of the sex worker has gotten considerably lower each year, (Kristof, 1997). This society’s infatuation with school girls has given rise to a huge business dubbed *joshi kōsei*, or JK for short. It stands for ‘female high-school student’ and the basic function is that young girls go for walks (dubbed *JK o-sanpo*) with

²⁸ ‘Fellatio’ is the oral stimulation of a man’s penis, retrieved from The Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

²⁹ OL stands for ‘Office Lady’ and refers to women who work behind a desk, i.e. receptionists.

the customer which usually end up at a love hotel (Adelstein & Kubo, 2015), they also read palms and/or give massages (called *JK rifu*), or they just sit and have coffee with the patrons in a café-like setting, (Osaki, 2014).

Despite the popularity of the JK cafés it is still a niche trade due to the increasing police crackdown on such establishments in recent years. However, Tokyo has many other establishments for such niche markets as S&M, BDSM³⁰, and other fetishes like *shibari* bondage, latex and rubber fetishism, and flesh suspension. Journalist Su Zume gives an inside look into the underground world of kink in Japan, in her debut photography coffee-table-style book *Pink kinky: Japan's sex underground* (2014). She writes that the club-scene is where “many women go in hopes of living out their [sexual] fantasies, and while the atmosphere is sexually liberated, the men are rarely rude,” (pg.158). This underground scene, however, is rarely open to foreigners so getting a personal inside look would prove difficult without a contact from the inside circles. She states that the most kink friendly swingers clubs in Tokyo Beauty and the Beast, Sleeping Beauty, and Bar 9259. “These are like adult theme parks with play rooms, traditional Japanese bondage rooms, a bar, dancing pole, performance space, and rooms that replicates trains, medical rooms, standard western dungeons as well as lounge spaces,” (pg.158).

Perhaps the most notorious establishments of the sex industry of Japan are the soaplands (*sōpurando*). Formerly known as Turkish baths (*toruko*), soaplands are Japan's bathhouse massage parlors which cater primarily to men looking for sex (although there are ones oriented for females), (Richie, 1999, pg.100). Soaplands get around the prostitution laws by specialising in non-penetrative sex; the sex worker lathers the patron in soap and uses her own body to bathe and rub the client causing arousal and sexual release. Richie (1999) states that a Turkish diplomat was offended by the name *toruko* so a survey in the mid-1980s created by the Tokyo Special Bath-houses Association. It appealed to the public of what name should replace *toruko* and after a resounding ‘yes’ to the suggestion of ‘soapland’ the name was replaced. Richie remarks: “note the simplicity of the construction: a suggestion of cleanliness - soap - and a proposal of pleasure - Disneyland. This construction - so typical of Japanese accommodation when it is called upon -

³⁰ BDSM is an abbreviation for ‘bondage, discipline (or domination), sadism, and masochism’. It is a type of sexual practice that incorporates those things. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

was an instant success,” (pg.101). In Tokyo alone there are over two hundred such establishments (De Mente, 2006, pg.55), and “despite the recession, Japan still has Asia’s largest and most voracious sex market,” (McNeill, 2003).

The Ero Industry

“People in Japan will tolerate all kinds of kink as long as it is done discreetly, swept under the carpet in dingy bars and clubs.” (Su Zume, 2014).

Hentai, in the Western sense, is a catch-all term for the numerous adult genres of *manga*³¹ and *anime*³². McLelland (2006) writes, that in Japan, however, it has been abbreviated from the term *hentai seiyoku* meaning ‘abnormal sexual desires’³³. The term *hentai* was first used in the middle of the Meiji period (1868-1912) to describe psychological disorders and paranormal abilities, such as telepathy. *Seiyoku* was then introduced and popularised through German sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing’s text *Psychopathia Sexualis*, titled ‘The psychology of perverse sexual desires’, or *Hentai seiyoku shinrigaku* in Japanese. This in turn led to the classification of ‘normal’ and ‘perverse’ forms of sexuality in medical texts as well as in literature, (para.7-9). The interest in perverse sexuality continued into the 1920s up until the importance of censorship heightened in the 1930s when Japan was gearing up for war. Postwar Japan saw rise in English usage and in turn the term *hentai* was often romanised in publications, and by the mid 1960s the usage of *etchi*, the pronunciation of ‘H’ in Japanese, had begun to refer to sex in general by the thriving youth culture, (para.14). In Japan, both *etchi* and *ero* (‘erotic’) can be used to refer to media (*manga*, *anime*, films and video games) with sexual content, whereas *hentai* refers only to unusual or perverse sexual situations - where *hentai manga/anime* are merely a subdivision of the much broader category of *ero manga/anime*. On the contrary, in English, *hentai* has come to signify the genre of *ero manga/anime* as a whole. “*Hentai* is, then, in the context of Western *manga* and *anime* fandom, no longer a ‘Japanese’ word but a loanword with its own specific meaning and nuance,” (para.3-5). For the sake of simplicity, *ero* will be used when discussing media with sexual content, and *hentai* will therefore be treated in the Japanese sense of the word.

³¹ Manga are the widely popular Japanese comic books typically aimed at adults as well as children, though usually separated by gender. For further reading see Frederik L. Schodt’s *Dreamland Japan: Writings on modern manga*.

³² Anime is the abbreviation of the word ‘animation’ in Japanese-English. In the West, it specifically refers to animation made in Japan. Retrieved from The Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

³³ Made up of the Chinese characters: ‘変 (*hen*)’ meaning ‘strange’, ‘態 (*tai*)’ meaning ‘appearance’ or ‘condition’, ‘性 (*sei*)’ meaning ‘sex’ or ‘gender’, and finally ‘欲 (*yoku*)’ meaning ‘desire’.

Sexually explicit manga

Sequential art has a long production history in Japan, dating back almost 800 years where picture sequences were painted onto scrolls (called *emonogatari*) that would fold out and tell a story of sorts. *Manga* in its modern form perhaps dates back to the 1950s and is read by people of all ages. Every year it is produced in hundreds of millions and is estimated to comprise around forty percent of modern Japan's yearly print output, (Perper & Cornog, 2002, pg.4). In the 1960s, taboo subjects, such as sex and violence, became increasingly popular by readers and artists were more than eager to please the crowd; giving birth to the controversial genre of *ero manga* (Schodt, 1983, pg.120); "What was once unthinkable in Japanese comics is now the norm," (pg. 125). *Manga* are classified by market niche: *shojo* for girls, *shonen* for boys, *seinen* for adolescent men, *seijin* for adults (mostly erotica geared towards men), and *redikomi* or *redisu* (romantic/erotic) *manga* which is drawn by women specifically aimed at adult women readers (Perper & Cornog, 2002, pg.5).



Image 16
An example of a censored *manga*: the genitalia have been blacked out.

Up until the 1990s Article 175 of the Japanese Penal Code enforced the censoring of pubic hairs and genitals, therefore the *ero manga* artists had to become quite crafty in depicting sex scenes without actually showing the genitals touching, quite unlike the *ukiyo-e* and *shunga* artists of yore who loved to exaggerate the genitalia. "To compensate, artists [had to] stress the suggestive: shots of groaning faces, drooling mouths, sweating bodies, and mysterious viscous fluids" accompanied by suggestive texts, were illustrated, (Image 16 above; Schodt, 1983, pg. 133-5). Nowadays, censorship is quite lax and very graphic material is easily accessible to

anyone either through the internet or at the next *manga* vendor³⁴. “No genre of comics better illustrates the role of fantasy in Japanese society than adult [*ero*] *manga*,” (Schodt, 1983, pg. 134).



Image 17
Excerpt from the *hentai manga* A
Dairy Cow's Life.

There are numerous sub-genres that fall under the category of *ero manga*, including but not limited to: *yaoi* also commonly referred to as ‘Boy’s Love (BL)’, it is typically aimed at a female audience and describes the romantic (sometimes sexually explicit) love between two males; *bara* (meaning rose) and depicts male homosexual relationships aimed at a male audience; *yuri* (meaning lily) depicts female homosexual relationships aimed at a male audience; *futanari* which is the Japanese translation for hermaphroditism³⁵ and was a popular genre in the 90s; *hāremumono*, or harem, is the genre where an emphasis is put on polygamous or love-triangle-type relationships. This representation of sexuality

in *manga* is a clear derivative of *shunga* and the long standing tradition of sexual representation in Japanese art. Similar to

shunga, there is often a touch of the fantastic (i.e. anthropomorphism³⁶) or horror (like revenge/ resistance *rēpu*, or ‘rape’) in *ero manga*, sometimes even overtly explicit (Image 17). Most likely as a direct result of Article 175, some artists pioneered the *rorikon*, or ‘Lolital Complex’ genre (inspired by Vladimir Nabokov’s book *Lolita*). Due to the fact that genitals were not allowed to be shown in *manga*, artists often depicted prepubescent girls as opposed to the “mature women that cannot be realistically depicted,” (Schodt, 1983, pg.136). This gave rise to a huge trend

³⁴ Akihabara, a suburb of central Tokyo, is a popular shopping district for *manga*, *anime* and video game fans alike, and is nicknamed Akihabara Electric Town due to the neon flashing lights and signs seen on every building. Most, if not every, shop has multiple storeys catering to all tastes (the top floors usually containing *ero* and other explicit content).

³⁵ A hermaphrodite is a person or animal having both male and female sex organs or other sexual characteristics, either abnormally or (in the case of some organisms) as the natural condition. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

³⁶ Anthropomorphism refers to the attribution of human characteristics or behaviour to a god, animal, or object. Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionary of English (Apple application).

within the *manga* (and *anime*) realm; delivering titles such as *Lemon People* (1982-88) and *Lolita Anime* (1984-5), (Sarrazin, 2010). Most *manga* does get adapted to *anime*, and that goes for *ero manga* too which is no more explicit than its animated counterpart - therefore an in-depth look into the *ero anime* genre will reap similar results as previously discussed.

Besides, the grade-A *ero manga* contain some of the most quality erotic art in the modern world without losing Japanese aesthetic traditions. Perper & Cornog write favourably of *manga* in Francoeur & Noonan's (2004) *The Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*:

Much *manga* holds the reader's attention not only for the sheer beauty of the drawing, but as comic and dramatic narrative. Modern *manga* continues Japanese erotic traditions in representing sex as a positive and healthful good for both sexes. Strong, powerful women characters, innovative and unconstrained treatment of sexual themes, excellent artwork, and powerful plots make *manga* a force to be reckoned with as the medium gathers more and more readers worldwide. ("Japan", pg.671).

Furthermore:

Despite oscillations among egalitarianism, militarism, and misogynistic religion and ultranationalism, and despite an on-going cat-and-mouse game between exponents and opponents of sexual expression, Japan has retained from its earliest days beliefs in the naturalness of sexuality and in the power of women. It is this background that provides the unspoken underpinnings of modern *manga*. (Perper & Cornog, 2002, pg.12).

This overt representation of eroticism in *manga* has created a culture which does not get easily phased by sexually graphic content and gives supportive evidence to a culture that celebrates all facets of human sexuality.

Conclusion

It is important to realise that despite popular opinions or representations in the foreign media, people need to make their own minds about certain topics; whether the Japanese are serious, submissive or studious boils down to each individual person. It is true that pop-culture has introduced this notion to international society through cinema and literature, but that portrayal must not be taken as absolute truth. Japan is very much shameless when it comes to sexual matters, where Japanese sexual traditions evolved from the ethnic religion, Shinto, and through mythological accounts written in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. These accounts depict sex and sexuality as a positive moral and actually healthy for humans to embrace, not as something shameful and forbidden; the pioneers of this perception being the creators of the Japanese archipelago and its nation, Izanagi and Izanami.

A further study showed us that ancient Japanese art from the Jōmon period onwards, depicted this sexual worship, especially an adoration of the male and female genitalia. Whether used for fertility rituals, one's own pleasure, or for humour, sex and sexual themes depicted in art were a common commodity for people of all classes. The uncensored and risqué themes depicted in *shunga* paved the way for contemporary erotic comics which needless to say are definitely not afraid to push the limits of its sexual subject matter. It is because of this long standing tradition of being unabashed and explicit that the modern day Japanese society is more debauched than meets the eye. Especially when it comes to the *fūzoku* (sex industry) of today. Purveyors have had to become quite artful when it comes to 'selling sex' and the array of establishments available, especially in Tokyo, are a direct answer to the prostitution laws enforced by the Japanese government.

Throughout this thesis Japan's natural attitude towards sex has been examined. To summarize this short trip down the rabbit hole of kink, it is apparent that the quintessential image of Japanese men and women is flawed. Japanese women are very much in touch with their sexuality and can be quite domineering; Japanese men are not all strict businessmen who work themselves to death, some are jovial individuals who refuse to bow down to societal 'norms' by being stay at home dads; and not all couples stop having sex after marriage, they partake in *rabuho* and visit fetish clubs together to create excitement and passion. Erotic *manga* is read by

both women as well as men (and is even accessible to the younger generation, though if it should be accessible is a whole other debate); and people pray to sexual *kami* for increased libido, easy conception, safe birth, and release from sexual diseases. It is clear that even though it is not the first impression, Japan is a culture of sex.

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Appendix A - Interview Questions

The following questions were conducted via email in June 2015 with one M. Harada, a university student at JF Oberlin University in Machida, Tokyo, Japan. They discuss the topic of 'Hostessing,' specifically *Kyabakura*, in which Miss Harada is an experienced worker. I have decided to not include her answers as the ones that are relevant are discussed within the thesis itself.

1. How long have you been hostessing?
2. Why did you decide to do it?
3. Is it an easy business to get into?
4. Is there any training for when you first start?
5. What are the good points of being a hostess?
6. Is there a specific look you have to have to be a hostess?
7. Do you play a character when you are working? (Do many hostesses do that?)
8. Does your family know you are a hostess?
9. What do your friends think about it?
10. How do you think hostessing is viewed by Japanese people?
11. Do you enjoy working as a hostess?
12. Do you know a lot of people in this business?
13. Are there specific things you have to do on a typical work night?
14. Describe the typical client.
15. Have you ever been on a paid date (*dohan*)?
16. Has a customer ever crossed the line?
17. Have you ever been offered payment for sex? (If so, does it happen a lot?)
18. Do you get a lot of gifts from clients?
19. Have you ever had a client that is a member of the *Yakuza*, or known someone who has experienced that? (or any suspicious clients?)
20. Do you feel comfortable in this line of work?
21. What is the relationship between the other hostesses?
22. Is there a competition? Are you all friends?
23. What is the relationship between the hostesses and the manager and/or *mamasan*?
24. Do many hostesses have problems with drugs and alcohol?

Appendix B - Image Sources

The following is a reference list of images used within the thesis.

Image 1: Paired phallic and yonic stones at Yasaka Shrine in Hita, Ōita Prefecture. Retrieved from <http://www.kizantei.com/blog/sb.cgi?day=20071224>

Image 2: *Dōsojin*, or protectors of the wayside and borders. Retrieved from <https://www.tsunagujapan.com/dosojin-festival-one-of-japans-3-biggest-fire-festivals/>

Image 3: The rock formation Gozen Iwa in Tochigi Prefecture. Retrieved from <http://fanblogs.jp/countrylife/archive/16/0>

Image 4: The Momobora no Taki in Odate. Retrieved from <http://www.akita-gt.org/walk/160/todokeikoku.html>

Image 5: Assortment of *sekibō*. Retrieved from <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/フアイル:Sekibou.jpg>

Image 6: The Venus of Jomon. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dogū_of_Jōmon_Venus.JPG

Image 7: *Shunga* sex manual called ‘Treasures Hidden in our Pockets: An Easy-to-Understand Sex Guide for Obedient Wives’ (*Kaichū hihō: jiiro haya shinan*) by Keisai Eisen, mid 1830s-early 1840s. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kaichu_hiho,_jiiro_haya_shinan,_mid_1830s-early_1840s.jpg

Image 8: Penis *Parinirvana* hanging scroll, ink, colours and gold on silk. From The British Museum. Retrieved from http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3373264&partId=1

Image 9: *Parinirvana* or Death of the Buddha hanging scroll, colours on silk, from Kongōbu-ji, Mt. Kōya, Wakayama, Japan. Retrieved from <http://www.crizmac.com/artandsoul/index.php/2011/02/14/buddhist-nirvana-day/>

Image 10: *Shunga* woodblock print of men comparing sizes by Utagawa Kunisada. Retrieved from Ofer Shagan’s *Japanese Erotic Art: The hidden world of Shunga*, pg.139.

Image 11: *Shunga* woodblock print of Kūkai instructing homosexual couple. Titled *Makura doji nukisashi manben tamaguki* by Takehara Shunchōsai, c.1781. Retrieved from Ofer Shagan's *Japanese Erotic Art: The hidden world of Shunga*, pg.318.

Image 12: *Koi no futozao* woodblock print by Utagawa Utamaro, c.1802. Retrieved from Ofer Shagan's *Japanese Erotic Art: The hidden world of Shunga*, pg.319.

Image 13: *Imose-yama* woodblock print by Utagawa Kuninao, c.1827. Retrieved from Ofer Shagan's *Japanese Erotic Art: The hidden world of Shunga*, pg.329.

Image 14: The Dream of the Fisherman's Wife/Shell diver & Octopi/*Tako to ama* woodblock print by Katsushika Hokusai, c.1814. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Dream_of_the_Fisherman%27s_Wife#/media/File:Tako_to_ama_retouched.jpg

Image 15: *Karine no yume* woodblock print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, c.1836. Retrieved from Ofer Shagan's *Japanese Erotic Art: The hidden world of Shunga*, pg.82-83.

Image 16: An example of censorship in *manga*. In *Scandal I*, vol.8, August 1995: the genitalia have been blacked out. Retrieved from Anne Allison's *Permitted and prohibited desires: Mothers, comics, and censorship in Japan*, pg.156.

Image 17: An excerpt from the *hentai manga* *A Dairy Cow's Life* by Shindo L depicting anthropomorphism. Retrieved via Google search, full *manga* can be viewed here: <http://the-freak-of-ice.tumblr.com/post/124092253852/a-dairy-cows-life-hentai-manga>