

Mazohizumu no mon: Masochistic and Sadistic Representations of Women in Japanese Exploitation Films and Reidissu komikku.

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Abstract: This article explores the representation of women in imagery through a juxtaposition of Japanese exploitation films (such as Suzuki Seijun's 1964 *Nikutai no Mon*) with modern day 'ladies comics.' Both mediums share similar imagery and stylistic concepts but have a markedly different target audience/consumer base; most (s)exploitation films were/are made with a male audience in mind, while ladies comics are, as the name suggests, manufactured solely for a female audience. In particular, I am interested in the use of masochistic constructs and the ways in which the use of this imagery differ when the target audience is male as opposed to female.

Keywords: Suzuki Seijun / reidissu komikku / exploitation film / masochism

This article will focus on the use of the masochistic representation of women in two seemingly disparate media – Japanese exploitation films, in particular Suzuki Seijun's 1964 adaptation of Tamura Tajiro's *Nikutai no mon* (Gate of the Flesh 1947), and *Reidissu komikku* or *Reidikomi* (Ladies' Comics) such as "*Bachera Patei*" ("Bachelor Party" Watanabe Yayoi 2002), "*Ran no hana*" ("Rebel Flower" Azuma Katsumi 1999). Given the current Australian pornography laws regarding the importation and possession of erotic materials, my analysis of these texts is limited to those that are readily accessible over the internet through preview sites such as "yahoo comics" and "eBook Japan" or excerpts included in articles such as those in Deborah Shamooin's "Office Sluts and Rebel Flowers" (2004) and Gretchen I Jones' "Bad Girls Like to Watch: Writing and Reading Ladies Comics" (2005). I am aware of how this potentially limits my argument and opens the way for possible misconstructions and omissions.

This visual imagery used to portray the masochistic representation of the female form in exploitation films and ladies' comics utilises remarkably similar stylistic concepts and clichés. These stylistic conventions are so similar that early English language criticism dismissed ladies' comics as nothing more than an offshoot of *ero manga* (pornographic/erotic

manga predominately aimed at a male audience). Anne Allison writes in her 1996 book *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics and Censorship in Japan* that the narratives and images in ladies comics are ‘not significantly different’ to those in *ero manga*’ (Allison 1996, 185 n. II). However, it is my belief that there is a vast gulf between the intent with which the two mediums this article will examine are created; not to mention their target audiences and consumer bases. Exploitation films (or in this case (s)exploitation films) are generally aimed at a male audience. Indeed Japanese director Hamano Sachi goes as far as to say that ‘if you look at the studio system [that exists in Japan] it is possible to say that Japanese movies exist for a male audience.’¹ Ladies’ comics, as the name suggests, are written with women in mind. This article will look first at the conventions of (s)exploitation films and the work of Suzuki Seijin before turning to examine the hallmarks of ladies’ comics in the form of an overview of the genre. It is my endeavour to explore how the use of same or similar images of, for example, a woman bound and tortured differs when the target audience is female as opposed to male.

Masochism

Before undertaking this project, it is important to briefly define the term masochism; the aesthetics and constructs it entails and its complete incompatibility with sadism. Furthermore it is necessary to take note of the ways in which the term ‘masochism’ has been adopted by the Japanese language. In his 1886 study on sexual aberration, *Psycopathia Sexualis*, Richard von Krafft-Ebing coined the term ‘masochism,’ naming it for German author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. In the same work, Krafft-Ebing also created the term ‘sadism’ for the work of the Marquis de Sade setting the precedent of associating masochism with sadism in the process.² This convention was followed by Sigmund Freud in his earlier essays as he further defined masochism in terms of what sadism is/was not. It was not until 1967 that masochism was re-defined in terms of the work of Sacher-Masoch by Gilles Deleuze in his essay “Coldness and Cruelty.” Deleuze shows that ‘to correctly define masochism ... as an aesthetic, its formal patterns must be recognised as indicative of a unique underlying psychoanalytic structure’ (Deleuze 1991, 65; Studler 1998, 14). According to his analysis, masochism is ‘above all formal and dramatic; ... its peculiar pleasure-pain complex is determined by a peculiar kind of formalism and its experience of guilt by a specific story’

(Deleuze 1991, 109). Masochism cannot be defined purely as 'erotogenic and sensuous' that is in terms of pleasure/pain, nor as 'moral and sentimental,' i.e. guilt/punishment (*ibid.*). Rather than being characterised by pleasure in discomfort as is widely believed, masochism is more accurately pleasure in the expectation of discomfort (Reik 1949, 67). In addition to his reading of Sacher-Masoch texts, Deleuze draws on the work of Theodore Reik to further his theories on the masochistic aesthetic. In *Masochism in Modern Man* Reik outlines what he refers to as the three main characteristics of masochism namely: 'the *special significance of phantasy*, the *suspense factor* (that is the necessity of a certain course of excitement), and the *demonstrative feature*' (Reik 1949, 44 – his italics). Deleuze builds on these characteristics, stating that masochism is also contractual and educational (Deleuze 1991, 134). Even though the masochist surrenders certain rights, this contract ensures that their desires and needs will be met by those they choose to administer pain (Deleuze 1991, 109).

The masochistic partnership is made up of the masochist and their 'torturer.'³ This torturer can never be a true sadist as their ultimate purpose is to ensure that the masochist will derive pleasure from their actions, however physically or emotionally painful (Deleuze 1991, 41-16). In most theories on masochism, this torturer is constructed as a female. What does this mean if the imagery these theories will be used to examine is of masochistic females? What does it mean to be a female masochist? Freud theorised that women are 'natural masochists' due to their passivity and their 'phantasies of ... being sexually overpowered, of becoming impregnated' (Reik 1949, 197) however this idea is rejected by both Deleuze and Reik, given that in any masochistic relationship the actual balance of power, as opposed to that which belongs inside the realm of the fantasy, lies not with the 'torturer' but with the masochist. Despite the claims of critics such as Michelle A Massé, masochism in the female is not always the 'end result of a long and varyingly successful cultural training' in which a woman finds her 'virtue in renunciation' and 'teaches other women to do so as well' (1992, 3).

The work of Daniel Lagache can help to clarify Deleuze's theories regarding 'gender difference' and the 'dynamics of the masochistic fantasy' (Studlar 1988, 15) For Lagache, masochism is a 'search for submission' in which the masochist takes the position of the child in 'an alliance modelled directly on a parent child/relationship' (Lagache, 112). If this is the

case, and masochism is seen as parental rather than maternal or paternal, then the gender problem of the torturer/tortured is partly removed.

In Japanese language, both the terms 'masochism' and 'sadism' have been adopted largely intact. Both the Japanese pronunciation, '*mazohizumu*,' '*sadeizumu*,' and usage are remarkably similar to the English language usage of the terms. This is something that is quite astonishing given the discrepancy between the original language usage and the Japanese usage of some adopted words – consider '*manshon*' from the English 'mansion' meaning a (usually very small one roomed) apartment or condominium. '*Mazohizumu*' is often shortened to '*mazoho*,' or 'M,' pronounced '*emmu*,' and can be assigned to someone as a personality type, particularly in the dating scene.⁴

Nikutai no mon

The 1964 film adaptation of *Nikutai no mon* opens, as in Tamura Tajiro's 1947 novel, like a 'trashy novel replete with prostitutes, gangsters, tattoos, fighting girl gangs and the underworld' (Slaymaker 2004, 57). Set in an impoverished post WWII Tokyo ghetto it follows the story of Borneo Maya as she struggles to find a sense of place and belonging. She falls in with a band of prostitutes led by the scarlet clad Omasa no Sen whose only proviso is that if Maya wants to join her gang, she must follow the group's rules: no pimps, protect the group's territory, protect the burnt out house in which they live and, above all else, no sex for free. The arrival of ex-soldier-turned-thief Ibuki Shintarō spells an end to the girls' easy camaraderie, ultimately resulting in Maya's return to outcast status at the end of the film. Planned as an adult release⁵ or '*roman porno*' (Mes and Sharp 2005, 16) the film is easily identified as a studio exploitation film. Admittedly the word 'exploitation' - and the related film genres 'blacksploitation' and 'sexploitation' - often carries negative connotations, 'especially in the wake of feminism and its influence on film criticism' (Thrower 2007, 12). There is something sinister about the term (*ibid.*). It is easy to infer that it is the cast and crew, especially the female members given industry's love of onscreen nudity, who are being exploited. However, the name is actually derived from the practice of exploiting 'a) the financial possibilities of a particular genre, b) current social issues in order to create a topical story line, c) or to capitalise on existing market success of a particular franchise' (*ibid.*) Put

simply, it is the exploitation of the unwitting audience which gives 'exploitation' films their title, not any exploitation of workers in the industry.⁶

Although *Nikutai no mon* was made under the hierarchical studio system then current in Japan at Nikkatsu Studios, the lack of budget and time allowed for the film by the studio adds to the exploitative nature of the piece. Suzuki himself notes that his films were 'B category' (Mes and Sharp 2005, 7). As a result of the studio system's practice of assigning not only scripts to directors, but also entire, often non-negotiable, casts and shooting timeline, Suzuki was forced to exploit not only the audience but also the studio system.

With its heavy reliance on naked female flesh and flogging scenes, *Nikutai no mon* appears at first glance to be a sadistic revel in which helpless Japanese women, whether prostitute or not, are at the mercy of the yakuza, the occupational American forces and the market stall holders who also act as fences for stolen goods. There is, however, a strong fantasy element throughout the film, which, along with a focus on taboos and contract, serves to situate *Nikutai no mon* firmly in the realm of masochism.⁷ Reik states that of the three characteristics of masochism that he defines in *Masochism in Modern Man* (fantasy, suspense and the demonstrative factor), fantasy is the most important: 'Without psychological appreciation of these phantasies masochism is not to be explained. Phantasy is its source, and at the beginning there is nothing but masochistic phantasy. The importance of this factor is proved by the fact that individuals with weakly developed imaginations show no inclination to become masochists' (Reik 1949, 44).

There are two key fantasies that are repeated several times in *Nikutai no mon* which are shared and enjoyed by the girls in Omasa no Sen's gang of prostitutes. The first occurs each time one of their number break the group's cardinal rule: 'no sex for free' (Mes and Sharp 2005, 16). Incredibly, despite the harsh penalty this happens three times during the narrative. Soon after Maya joins Sen's group one of the members is rumoured to be regularly sleeping with a man for free. The band of prostitutes gathers to fantasise about how best to punish this transgression by the now ex-member of their community. Eventually they elect to shear the transgressor's hair off before leaving her naked and bound by fishing nets in the bottom of a boat floating on a nearby river. This group fantasy⁸ takes place twice more in the

film as the 'no sex for free' rule is broken by first the eldest member of the group, Machiko who at 23 is a war widow and something of an anomaly, and finally by Maya herself. Each time this fantasy takes place the three main girls, scarlet clad Sen, yellow wearing Roku and Miyo who dresses in purple, discuss in detail the suitability of each punishment before carrying out their plans in vivid detail.

It is these 'flogging' scenes that are the focus of *Nikutai no mon* as a 'roman porno.' They flirt with the very limits of censorship while playing up to and constructing stereotypical bondage poses. As Douglas Slaymaker points out, it was these scenes that 'garnered [*Nikutai no mon* m]uch popularity in Shinjuku theatres' (2004, 59). Nikkatsu studios later released a second adaptation of the Tamura novel, also named *Nikutai no mon* in 1977 which lacks the 'heavy stylised melodrama' that sets Suzuki's adaptation apart from other films of the period (Mes and Sharp 2005, 16). In Suzuki's version the shocking imagery of the flagellation scenes is mirrored by the graphic slaughter of a bull stolen by the ex-soldier Ibuki. It is hard to miss the social commentary implied by the image of two prostitutes walking hand in hand carrying packets of stolen and bloody meat to sell on the black market. There is also an eerie visual echo in the expressions on the gang's faces as they gather to watch Ibuki slaughter the bull and their faces as they close in on their prey during the punishment scenes.

These punishment scenes, though often described as sadistic, are the result of the breaking of the masochistic contract. Upon casting her lot with Sen and her girls, as mentioned above, Maya is informed of a lengthy list of rules and the retribution due if any of these are violated. These are not exchanges of pleasure and pain, neither the masochist's pleasure in anticipating pain, nor the sadist's in inflicting it. It is only the audience (the film going spectator and, in one scene, Ibuki) detached from the spectacle who are in a position to derive any pleasure from the flogging scenes.⁹ There is, in addition, a parallel with Freud's essay "A Child is Being Beaten" ('a prostitute is being beaten' perhaps?). In this case, however, it is not the father who is beating the son as punishment for desiring the mother, but the mother/leader (Omasa no Sen) who beats the child for falling in love with the adult other. As falling in love is a danger to the girl's profession, this act then can almost be read as being committed *out of love*, making Sen the loving inflictor of pain of Deleuze's masochistic

theory.

Once the 'no sex for free' rule is broken, Maya finds herself on the other side of the 'Gate of Flesh' of the title of the film. Now that she has experienced sexual pleasure she can never return to the shallow constructed world of the other girls who, although they sell their bodies have never experienced 'fleshly joy' (Tamura 1978, 34) In Slaymaker's reading of the original text, in the world of Tamura's "*Nikutai no mon*," sex exchanged for pleasure or love means a necessity for adult responses which threaten the stability of the small community in which the girls exist.

The second set of fantasies builds on the system of representing the members of Omasa no Sen's gang by colour mentioned above. The four members of the gang, Sen, Roku, Miyo and Maya (in green) are the only characters dressed in blocks of colour, making them stand out against the technicolour jumble of the other prostitutes and yakuza in their garish prints. Suzuki states that he associates certain characteristics with different colours. By dressing each girl in a different colour, he is giving a short hand description of character for those who have the literacy to read his message. Sen's red dress and head band hint at her volatile nature while Maya's green indicate her innocence and naiveté (for Suzuki green is also a symbol of peace: 'if that war had not happened, Maya would have been a quite ordinary woman' - Suzuki 2000). Of the remaining girls: chubby Roku is aptly dressed in cheerful yellow while Miyo's purple hints at her compliance (Mes and Sharp 2005, 16). The first girl to be tortured and cast out is dressed all in white. Her white clothes both associate her with the group through their single colour, while at the same time foreshadowing her imminent demise – think of the associations of white in Japanese traditions: white is the colour of death and rebirth. Suzuki states that: 'Through Noh and Kabuki we see the beauty of a form of expression that unites colour and form. I am a maker of entertainment films, but I tried to reflect in my work Japanese traditions of beauty' (2000).

This series of fantasies, one for each remaining prostitute, departs entirely from the world of the film (*ibid.*). The sequence stands out as even with its pounding, pulse like drum soundtrack, earlier flashback depicting/implying Maya's rape at the hand of American GIs conforms to the constructed reality of the film. Each girl is shown posed against a 'theatrical

backdrop' (Mes and Sharp 2005, 16) that matches her assigned colour: Sen sits amongst a vivid red wasteland; Maya stands as if a 'crucified prophet had draped her in a green veil' (Suzuki 2000). Alone in their own world, each girl expresses the inner desires and feelings that the arrival of Ibuki arouses in her. It is these scenes, more than any other in *Nikutai no mon* regardless of the film's many stylised theatrical elements, that are highly suggestive of a Japanese artistic aesthetic. It is because of these sequences that the film lends itself to being examined alongside manga.

Ladies' Comics

If a (s)exploitation film such as *Nikutai no mon* exploits the desires of its audience, then Ladies' Comics not only exploit their audience, they guide and create it. Ladies' comics as a genre of manga first appeared in the late 1980s, having emerged out of the immensely popular *shōjo manga* that has existed in Japan since the 1950s (Jones 2005, 98). As the original audience of *shōjo manga* grew up so too did the types of publications available to them. In 1980 *Be Love* was published by Kodansha and is recognised as the first 'ladies' comic' (Ogi 2003). At the end of 1980 there were only two recognised ladies' comics in production. By the end of the decade this number had risen to over fifty (*ibid.*). It is significant that the genre emerged in the 1980s when 'working women disrupted sexist myths which presented working women as unattractive and sexually frustrated' and began to enjoy a relatively new economic and sexual freedom (*ibid.*).

From a study of 'One hundred and eighty-four (184) stories in two dozen volumes of *Reidikomi* published in 2000' Kinko Ito surmises that the themes of Ladies' Comics include: 'love, mate selection, marriage, and family that women encounter in their everyday life whether they are single career women or housewives' (Ito 2002, 18). While nudity, violence and sex are included in most stories, there are differing levels the equivalent of G through to NC17+, R18+ or X18+ ratings (*ibid.*). While the genre and phenomenon of ladies' comics is fascinating as a whole (Jones notes that: 'Ladies' comics clearly transgress a range of "boundaries" – surely part of what makes them at once fascinating and abhorrent to so many – Jones 2005, 107) in this article I am concerned only with those that have a masochistic story line, the so called S&M manga.

This 'S&M' subgenre is part of the common misconception of the compatibility of sadism and masochism in the form of sadomasochism. This is due in part, as mentioned above, to Freud's early definition of masochism as nothing more than a 'by product of sadism' (Studlar 1988, 11). Let me reiterate that for a masochist, the conventions and practices of the sadist are unintelligible, unacceptable and, above all, un-pleasurable. The belief that the partner/victim of the sadist is a masochist is completely unworkable. Deleuze explains that in sadistic relations 'the victim cannot be masochistic, not merely because the libertine[, a term that de Sade of uses to refer to his sadistic heroes,] would be irked if she [the victim] were to experience pleasure but because the victim of the sadist belongs entirely in the world of sadism and is an integral part of the sadistic situation' (Deleuze 1991, 41).

In the same way that the visual focus of *Nikutai no mon* as a (s)exploitation/*roman porno* is the bodies of the prostitutes,¹⁰ the visual focus of Ladies' comics are the bodies of the female protagonists. In her analysis of the *manga* "*Futari no Nijikai*"¹¹ ("Second Party for Two" Madono Yuki 1999), a 'typical ladies' comics story' (Shamoon 2004, 90), Deborah Shamoon details this focus on the female body of the protagonist. A married woman follows a colleague into a separate room at a work function. Throughout the story there are numerous and extensive close-ups of her face and body, 'specifically her sexual organs,' almost to the point of excluding her male lover (Shamoon 2004, 92). Indeed, according to Shamoon, the images of the male are included only in their relation to the female protagonist's level of pleasure. For example, the eventual penetration scene is drawn in one panel that takes up the entire page highlighting the moment as a key point in the narrative. However, while the female's body is depicted in full, her male lover is indicated only by a few 'speed' lines indicating the 'rapid' movement of his penis (*ibid.*).

Given this emphasis on the female body, it is easy to see why, as mentioned above, some critics find it hard to appreciate the differences between ladies' comics and *ero manga*. The scopophilic nature of the genre, especially the emphasis on the naked female form, seems more in keeping with notions of the male gaze than with *manga* written for the enjoyment of, and consumption by other women. By employing the female form, ladies' comics provide women who are otherwise not 'allowed to be in a subject[ive] position for their sexuality and pleasure, with a space in which they can acknowledge and accept their

sexuality' (Ogi 2003). They present a positive sexuality, showing women who enjoy their sexual affairs in a forum that is more age appropriate for both women writers and readers than parent genre of ladies' comics, *shōjo manga* (*ibid.*). These images suggest women are able to gain a subjective position from which can look at and objectify males. However, Ogi Fushimi points out that as these texts are written for a solely female audience, it is impossible to say definitively that ladies' comics challenge male/female power relationships as they have little to no affect on male readers (*ibid.*).

How does the emphasis on the female body alter in the case of the so called S&M ladies' comics? What does the addition of the leather harnesses *de rigour* and 'toys' add to the mix? In *Bad Girls of Japan*, Gretchen Jones looks at two masochistic ladies' comics written and drawn by the so-called 'Queen of Ladies' comics' Watanabe Yayoi (Jones 2005, 99). The emphasis on the female body in these comics, "Bachelor Party" (2000) and "The End" (2003), is none to dissimilar to that which Shamoon makes note of: the prominence of large breasts, the focus on female genitalia, which Jones notes is often 'disguised' by flowers or patterns, and the near omission of the phallus (Jones 2005, 110). The work of Watanabe is filled with images of violence towards women. Her characters relish 'physical and psychological abuse, humiliation and even rape' (Jones 2005, 100). The storylines in the works that Jones examines also follow similar paths. At the beginning of most ladies' comics the protagonist is hesitant to engage in sexual activities, however she is usually coerced (or forced) and ends up experiencing extreme pleasure by the end of the story, often with the promise to either meet with the lover again or resulting in some kind of marriage or long term partnership.

Jones' primary concern is that of a feminist critic when dealing with masochism: 'One feminist critic has written that "Masochism presents a theoretical challenge to feminist politics because of its apparent relish of subservience in place of an abhorrence of oppression"' (Jones 2005, 98). Jones accepts this challenge and presents a case based on Deleuze's theories of masochism.¹² In this realm, if the female is the masochist then it is her desire and her fantasy that her 'torturer' re-creates *purely for the pleasure of the masochist*. If the female takes on the role of the 'torturer' then she fulfils the role of the 'loving inflictor of punishment' simultaneously both 'love object and controlling agent' (Deleuze 1991, 15;

Studlar 1988, 14). It is Jones' contention that the representation of the female body as shown in ladies' comics challenges commonly held ideas regarding 'women, pornography and desire' (Jones 2005, 107-108). The masochistic element in ladies comics provides a 'powerful means for the female character to access her own sexual desire' (Fujimoto 1992).

The focus on the female body as commonly presented in ladies' comics serves to make the bridge between reading and fantasy somewhat shorter for the reader. This representation of the female form, unlike that examined in exploitation films above, is presented to the female reader not because she desires the female protagonist, but because she desires to become the female protagonist. Ladies' comics serve as a facilitator for the reader's fantasies, whether they are of a masochistic nature or not.

Conclusion

In this article the representation of women in Japanese (s)exploitation films and ladies' comics has been explored in terms of their use of masochistic imagery. The representation of the female form in both exploitation films and in ladies' comics responds to a demand (spoken or otherwise) from the audience. Both medium serve as a means of escapism and a gateway to fantasy. However, while the representation of the female form in (s)exploitation films corresponds with commonly held theories of the scopophilic gaze, those in ladies' comics serve to subvert the expected and accepted 'status quo' (Jones 2005, 108).

Notes

Hamano, Sachi. Informal question time, Ninth International Women in Asia Conference 29th September to 1st October 2008. Hamano Sachi is a female director who has worked both independently and in the Japanese studio system predominantly in making '*pink eiga*' or erotic movies and more recently dramatic movies.

² Krafft-Ebing defines masochism as: "the opposite of sadism ... the wish to suffer pain and be subjected for force." Quoted Studlar, Gaylyn. 1988. *In the Realm of Pleasure: Von Sternberg, Dietrich, and the Masochistic Aesthetic*. New York: Columbia (10)

³ Although I use this term with caution, there are few other alternatives – neither 'consort' nor 'partner' conveys the full range of meaning, nor do BDSM (Bondage and Discipline, Dominance and submission, Sadism and Masochism) terms such as 'Dominant' or 'Dom' apply outside of the BDSM community.

⁴ This usage of the term 'M' is garnered from my own conversations whilst in Japan between 2003 and 2010. A common complaint made by my female friends was 'I can't go out with *him*, he's too much of an 'M,' I want an 'S.'"

⁵ At the time of *Nikutai no Mon*'s release the Japanese film board classified films as either general or adult release depending on their content. Suzuki Seijin; Takeo Kimura. (2005). *Gate of Flesh*

(Interviews) [DVD]. The Criterion Collection. Retrieved on 06/09/2008.

⁶ Which may or may not exist/have existed in the film industry. Though fascinating, this issue is not the focus of this article.

⁷ This focus is also present in the Tamura novel: 'When Omasa no sen and the self-named Asada sen are unclothed, their breasts do not yet swell with mature fullness. They are nineteen but their skin lacks the glow one expects, their muscles lack a healthy plumpness. The paleness of their bodies seems a trifle sickly.' Tamura, Tajiro, "Nikutai no mon," in *Tamura Tajiro, Kane Tatsuo, Ohara Tomie shu*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1978 (33) quoted in Slaymaker Douglas N. 2004. *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon (57).

⁸ By which I mean a fantasy that each member of the group has, not a fantasy that the group as a whole shares.

⁹ A more complete analysis of this scopophilic element of the beating sequences is too long to include here. I acknowledge the work of Laura Mulvey: the premise that dominant narrative cinema's visual pleasures rest on male psychic mechanisms – fetishism, voyeurism, and scopophilia – which inscribe pleasurable (and power-laden) patterns of looking between spectator and screen.

¹⁰ Even the title characters *nikutai*, *niku*, meat/muscle and *tai*, body, hint at the 'carnal and physical' and form the 'ground for individual identity.' Slaymaker Douglas N. 2004. *The Body in Postwar Japanese Fiction*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon (8).

¹¹ A *nijikai*, or second party, is the second venue of an evening of drinking.

¹² Although Jones does not define her position as such in this article, in her other work on masochism, especially that on Kōno Taeko, she returns repeatedly to Deleuze's work.

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