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## **"Kissing Is a Symbol of Democracy!" Dating, Democracy and Romance in Occupied Japan 1945-1952**

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Mark McLelland

Introduction

In 1943 American anthropologist Margaret Mead was in Britain on an important wartime mission: her task was to study the interactions between American servicemen and the local residents. In the monograph she published describing the experience Mead uncovered an important cultural difference between the two societies, a source of continual misunderstanding and conflict: English girls didn't know how to date! When it came to dating, a practice that Mead argued American boys and girls began “in the early teens, long before they are emotionally mature enough to be interested in each other for anything really connected with sex,”<sup>1</sup> young English people didn't have a clue. Why was this? Mead concluded that British society was more sex-segregated than the US. In fact, she opined, British boys didn't really enjoy the company of girls and “if they just want to spend a pleasant evening, more often they spend it with other boys.”<sup>2</sup> Apparently, British people couldn't see the point of a date unless it was a prelude to marriage. That young men and women might want to spend time dancing, going to the movies or just hanging out struck many British people as odd and not a little suspicious.

However, Mead argued, for Americans, “dating is quite different from being in love, or looking for a casual love partner,”<sup>3</sup> and resembled a popularity game rather than genuine courtship behavior. She pointed out that when an American took a girl’s arm without so much as a by your leave, he wasn’t being forward, since “a casual hand on the arm does not mean anything; it is not a preface to greater and unacceptable familiarity.”<sup>4</sup> However, to British eyes such a gesture signified a proprietary familiarity and would only have been undertaken in the context of courtship. In her monograph Mead lists a range of such gestures, what Marcel Mauss termed “techniques of the body.”<sup>5</sup> According to Mauss, there are “physio-sociological assemblages of series of actions” that differ markedly between “societies, education, proprieties and fashions, [and] prestiges.”<sup>6</sup> Such ways of looking, gesturing, talking and moving when trying to impress a member of the opposite sex can collectively be described as the “habitus”<sup>7</sup> of dating. Mead notes how these gestures were differently coded and understood in Britain and America and thus became a source of mutual incomprehension.

That two societies with a common language, a shared history and strong cultural links could differ so markedly concerning courtship draws attention to how bizarre American dating practices must have seemed to the Japanese during the 1945-52 US-led Occupation of Japan. Surprisingly, despite the large literature that has focused on the political, economic, social and cultural reforms enacted during the Occupation,<sup>8</sup> little attention has been paid to the impact that the US presence had upon Japanese interpersonal relationships, especially those between men and women. Based on accounts preserved in sexological surveys and in the popular Japanese press of the period,<sup>9</sup> this paper investigates the impact that the US troops and US popular culture more generally had upon Japanese notions of courtship and romance in the immediate postwar years. It attempts to offer what Yamamoto Akira terms a *fūzokushi*,<sup>10</sup> that is, a “history of

(sexual) customs/morals” of the early postwar period, and in so doing outlines some intriguing connections that were made at the time between the democratic reform program and the “liberation of sex.” However, before detailing the rapid changes that took place as a result of Occupation initiatives, it is necessary to outline some of the features of the sex-gender system at work during Japan’s period of imperialist expansion.

### Sexuality and the State in Imperial Japan

Attitudes toward gender relations and sexual customs changed rapidly in the decades following the 1867 Meiji Restoration when a range of state-sanctioned programs instigated in the name of “civilization and enlightenment” sought to organize, rationalize and control all aspects of personal life and bring about “the standardization and disciplinization of body movements and human behavior.”<sup>11</sup> In particular, the new state introduced a range of measures to better regulate the population from early education through to marriage, birth control and child rearing.<sup>12</sup> The Meiji Civil Code of 1898 set up a national “household system” (*ie seidō*), doing away with regional and class-based ways of determining choice of marriage partner, child-rearing arrangements and property succession.<sup>13</sup> In essence, the Civil Code was a tool in the broader project of modernity that sought to apply to the population as a whole a fusion of Confucian-inspired samurai values that stressed the superiority of men over women and Victorian ideas about the importance of monogamy and chastity. It was at this point that new ways of thinking about men<sup>14</sup> and women developed in relation to sexual activity. The Western notion of

“virginity” with its associations of chastity and purity had previously had no clear analogue in Japanese tradition, the closest term being shōjo, meaning simply an unmarried woman, but by the end of the nineteenth century, the term otome (maiden) had emerged to describe the “ideal” young woman – one lacking sexual experience (and in the minds of many, sexual desire). The success of this program was, of course, uneven and there remained discrepancies between the behavior and attitudes of rural and urban, middle-class and working-class women. However, there was a concerted effort via the education system, one that met with some success, to reform the behavior of women as a whole in line with official ideology.<sup>15</sup>

Japan’s tradition of homosociality among the elites remained largely unaffected by Western customs that encouraged the association of the sexes at balls, dinner parties and other social events, it being considered inappropriate for wives and daughters from “good families” to mingle freely in public.<sup>16</sup> Despite a temporary loosening of sexual mores for some “modern boys” (mobo) and “modern girls” (moga) in the 1920s and early 30s,<sup>17</sup> among urban families at least the sexes remained largely segregated<sup>18</sup> and articles in the popular press “bemoaned the lack of opportunity for young men to meet young women, thus leading them to associate with café waitresses and geisha.”<sup>19</sup> Indeed, sexological research into accounts of “first sexual experience” of men who came of age before and after the war<sup>20</sup> suggests that most men in the prewar cohort had first experiences with professional women of the pleasure quarters. This was because “ordinary women” (ippan no josei) and “non-professional women” (shirōto onna) were simply unavailable as sexual partners.<sup>21</sup>

Imperial Japan’s gradual descent into militarism following the 1931 “Manchurian incident” saw an intensified polarity in gender roles resulting in women being cast as mothers whose purpose

was to breed sons for the empire, and men being regarded as fighting machines, part of the “national body.”<sup>22</sup> Sex, to the extent that it was discussed at all in the wartime press, was represented as a means of managing “human resources” (ningen shigen) and not as a source of pleasure or relationship building.<sup>23</sup> Japanese propaganda “portray[ed] Japan as the antithesis of the supposedly sexually deviant and lascivious westerner,” instead stressing “a vision of home front chastity.”<sup>24</sup> Women, who had little political agency at this time, were particularly constrained by a state-endorsed ideology positioning them as “good wives, wise mothers” (ryōsai kenbo). Marriage and child-rearing were actively promoted as women’s patriotic duty by a mixture of government policies, media reports, media censorship and social pressure.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the government introduced eugenic policies, including a ban on abortion, to ensure maximum reproduction, and from 1938, actively encouraged women to “bear children and multiply.”<sup>26</sup>

Isolde Standish has, in relation to the cinema of this period, referred to “the death of romance”<sup>27</sup> since romantic love between a man and a woman was seen as incompatible with the “heroic masculinity” demanded by the war effort.<sup>28</sup> Standish points to a “discourse of sexual repression”<sup>29</sup> in films of the early 40s in which men’s romantic love for women was displaced by a “homosocial brotherhood.” Film heroines, when they appeared at all, were depicted as sublimating their romantic feelings for men into a “love of country.”<sup>30</sup> This was a tendency contrary to that in the US where the “government and the film industry cooperated closely during the war in the production and distribution of millions of photographs of Hollywood’s leading ladies” as “surrogate objects of sexual desire.”<sup>31</sup>

Official gender ideology in Japan was further reinforced at the level of popular culture in women’s magazines: during wartime, the readers of Shufu no tomo (housewife’s friend) “were

faced with the immaculate static mother without husband, who was married, as it were, to the nation.”<sup>32</sup> To this extent, the regulation of sexuality, particularly women’s sexuality, had much in common with eugenic policies undertaken by Japan’s ally, Germany’s National Socialist regime. Annette Timm points out that:

The totalitarian impulse to make even the most private of human activities serve national goals meant that Nazi leaders sought not only to define acceptable sexual behavior but to redefine sexual acts with public—not simply private—significance.<sup>33</sup>

In Japan, too, sex and reproduction were co-opted into a national policy aimed at creating more citizens essential for the building of an expanding empire. Whereas from an Allied perspective WWII is sometimes described as “the best war ever,”<sup>34</sup> eye-witness accounts recalling it as an exciting period of sexual experimentation and transformation,<sup>35</sup> wartime was an unremittingly bleak experience for most Japanese people. Indeed, Japan’s fifteen-year conflict is often described as a kuroi tanima or “dark valley.”<sup>36</sup>

In the US and the UK the absence of men during the war saw increased opportunity for female agency at home, at work and in social life. However, given what Havens refers to as Japanese “static psychocultural views about the place of women in society,”<sup>37</sup> women in Japan were not integrated into a national labor policy to the same extent as women of Allied nations. Instead, “[women’s] contributions were expected to be in reproductive terms, namely as wives and mothers.”<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, women’s organizations were co-opted by the state to guide and monitor the behavior of other women, enforce gender norms and ensure cooperation for the government’s war aims.<sup>39</sup> Instead of resisting this appropriation, many women, having previously been denied any role in public life, actively embraced the opportunity to command a greater role in the public

sphere and eagerly campaigned against “anti-patriotic behavior” such as smoking, drinking, attending dance halls, perming the hair or wearing “gaudy clothes.”<sup>40</sup> This was a very different situation than that described in the US and the UK where “Many young women took advantage of the new opportunities and enjoyed the attentions of a number of men in the more fluid wartime atmosphere.”<sup>41</sup> Whereas in the UK, women experienced the opening up of a “new sexual aspect” during the war,<sup>42</sup> in Japan it would have been unthinkable for “daughters of good families” to behave in this manner, especially at a time of “spiritual mobilization” that explicitly disavowed Western ways of behaving.

In Japan, contrary to the restrictions on women’s behavior, there was, however, a tacit approval of male sexual freedom. Like Japan’s ally, Nazi Germany, which “came to treat prostitution as a necessary outlet for productive male citizens,”<sup>43</sup> in Japan, men’s sexuality was understood via a hydraulic model which assumed that any blockage in the natural flow of men’s sexual energies would cause physical and mental debilitation.<sup>44</sup> However, not all sexual activity was endorsed.<sup>45</sup> There were, for instance, media campaigns against the debilitating effects of masturbation whereas “sex with a militarily regulated prostitute appeared to be regarded by Japanese officials as correct behavior.”<sup>46</sup>

The worst example of this sexual double standard was evidenced in what was euphemistically known as the “comfort women” system in which poor Japanese women and women from Japan’s colonies were forcibly recruited to sexually serve the Japanese armed forces both at home and abroad.<sup>47</sup> There was no acknowledgement that women might have autonomous sexual feelings or desires; women’s bodies were objects to be used by men as “sexual release valves” (sei no hakeguchi).<sup>48</sup> Ryang goes so far as to argue that imperial soldiers were demonstrating loyalty to



the Emperor via the comfort women system through their sexual appropriation of colonial bodies. She points to the military classification of comfort women alongside munitions and horses as “goods” – yet another resource beneficently bestowed by the Emperor on his armed forces.<sup>49</sup> Although officers were granted more leisurely access to the more desirable bodies of Japanese prostitutes, common soldiers were expected to wait together in long lines outside the barrack-like quarters housing women recruited from the colonies who serviced over one-hundred men a day. Given the “assembly line”<sup>50</sup> context in which women’s bodies were used, in narratives published decades after the war, many ex-soldiers recalled referring to comfort women as “hygienic public bathrooms”<sup>51</sup> and even as “semen toilets.”<sup>52</sup>

A sense of the difference between Japanese and contemporary Allied understandings of sexuality can be gleaned in the treatment of Dutch gynecologist Theodore Van de Velde’s 1926 book Ideal Marriage,<sup>53</sup> a sex manual that was popular throughout Europe and the US in the inter-war years,<sup>54</sup> which was translated into Japanese in 1930 but banned shortly thereafter. The prohibition of the book might seem a strange decision given that Van de Velde’s text was conservative in its treatment of sexuality. Most notably, he insisted on the marital relationship as the only proper context for sexual expression, making it clear that procreation was the ultimate goal and rationale for sexual activity and accordingly avoiding reference to contraceptive practices. For instance, he describes sex in the “astride” (woman on top) position thus:

The main disadvantage in complete and frequent practice of the astride attitude lies in the complete passivity of the man and the exclusive activity of his partner. This is directly contrary to the natural relationship of the sexes, and must bring unfavorable consequences if it becomes habitual.<sup>55</sup>

Van de Velde's emphases on male activity and female passivity, on the sanctity of marriage and on the procreative function of sexuality would all have been in accord with prewar Japanese understandings of the marital relationship. What excited the attention of the censors was his detailed discussion of the sex organs and techniques for their arousal, his emphasis on the need for foreplay to arouse the female partner and his insistence that sex should result in simultaneous orgasms. In fact, the detailed explication of a range of sexual positions offered by Van de Velde was designed to help couples discover the optimum position to bring about this end. This flew in the face of highly functional Japanese ideas about the role of sex as "human resource management."

It is worth considering one of the main images of women in circulation among soldiers in the Japanese imperial forces. The ianfu, or "comfort women" have already been discussed. However, the character "i" with the meanings comfort, console or cheer was also used as part of a kanji compound in reference to another feminine figure that offered consolation to the soldiers: the imon ningyo, or "comfort doll." Ellen Schattschneider<sup>56</sup> has documented how hundreds of thousands of such dolls were made between 1936 and 1945 by the mothers, wives and sisters of men at the front as well as by schoolgirls. These dolls were included among the imonhin or "comfort goods" sent by civilians in the homeland to men serving in the imperial forces. The dolls served not only to remind men fighting overseas of their female loved ones at home, but were also thought to have talismanic properties. At the war's close, many of these dolls were given to members of the tokkōtai or "special attack forces" who were being sent on suicide missions. The men would wear them on their clothing or hang them from their control panels on their final missions. These talismans clearly had a very different resonance than the erotic pin-

ups collected and displayed by many US servicemen that were used as templates for the nose art painted onto planes and bulkheads.<sup>57</sup>

### The Impact of Postwar Reforms

Just as the Japanese government had instigated paternalistic policies regulating gender roles, particularly where the behavior of women was concerned, the US Occupation authorities too, were keen to involve themselves in gender policy, this time to “liberate” Japanese women from what they considered “feudal” customs, attitudes and practices.<sup>58</sup> Of course, as Pharr points out, the Americans did not put forward a radical feminist agenda, rather “they accepted the idea that woman’s primary role in adult life is to be wife and mother, but believed that married women simultaneously could and should play other roles as well, such as citizen, worker, and participant in civic and social groups.”<sup>59</sup> Accordingly, the Japanese constitution and criminal and family law were extensively rewritten so as to enfranchise women and dismantle the household system that had given family patriarchs considerable influence over women’s lives, including choice of marriage partner. Article 14 of the 1947 Constitution was extremely progressive for the time, outlawing discrimination on the basis of “race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.” Article 24 explicitly addressed the imbalance between the rights of women and men under the previous Civil Code, requiring that marriage “be based on the mutual consent of both sexes” and that it should be “maintained through mutual cooperation with equal rights of husband and wife as basis.”

While the impact of Occupation reforms upon women's social and economic status has been extensively critiqued,<sup>60</sup> less attention has been paid to the psychological and cultural impact of the dismantling of the household system, particularly regarding women's new ability to engage in what the popular press termed "the romantic-love marriage system" and "free love."<sup>61</sup> The popular press of the time constantly drew connections between the broad process of democratic reforms instigated by the Occupation and the liberalization of relations between the sexes. In fact, so radical did women's new freedom of choice in marriage seem that some striking comparisons were made, columnist Junsei Ijichi arguing that the issue of "free love and free marriage" was a conundrum "similar in nature to the problems that puzzled the emancipated slaves of the U.S. on the morrow of their new life."<sup>62</sup>

Journalist Narumigi Ichiro, writing in 1953, also linked the liberalization of sexual customs with democracy.<sup>63</sup> He noted that alongside the "four presents" bestowed by the Occupation authorities: respect for human rights, equality of men and women, freedom of speech and women's political enfranchisement, there also came about "the liberation of sex." In particular, he emphasized the impact that the "pan pan" girls' fraternization with the Occupation troops had upon the public, remarking that their "demonstration of friendly relations outside the train stations with the young men of the Occupation was a sign of unabashed love that swept over us."<sup>64</sup> Prior to the war's end prostitution, though widespread, had been well concealed in designated pleasure districts and street prostitutes were few in number. However during the Occupation, some 45,000 pan pan girls were in hot pursuit of Allied soldiers in the streets, parks and train stations of Japan's major cities – and erotic encounters were flaunted in public to an unprecedented degree, columnists noting that "GIs never hesitate to embrace or cling to their fair companions."<sup>65</sup> Although not erotic to the same degree, Yamamoto points out that in 1946, two

hundred wives of senior officers came to Japan to aid their husbands who were working for the Occupation and it became common to see officers strolling hand-in-hand with their wives and kissing them hello and goodbye – behavior among couples not previously seen in public.<sup>66</sup> According to sexologist Takahashi Tetsu, the new authorities had to instruct the police that kissing was no longer to be considered an offence against public decency.<sup>67</sup>

These erotic displays affected Japanese men, women and children in different ways. Japanese men, many of whom as soldiers would have availed themselves of comfort women while serving overseas, could not but experience shock, dismay and envy at the sight of the former enemy in the eager embrace of their countrywomen.<sup>68</sup> Many Japanese women who, unless they had themselves worked in the brothel districts, had previously had very little exposure to public displays of eroticism also looked on with interest and some envy because of the pan pan girls' access to scarce commodities and luxury items including foreign fashions and cosmetics.<sup>69</sup> Children, too, were intrigued by the sexual shenanigans going on around them. Among these, the most striking was a children's game commonly played on city streets known as "pan pan play," in which boys impersonating foreign soldiers would stroll about with local girls on their arms.<sup>70</sup> Tsurumi Shunsuke points out that it was no longer Japanese tradition but foreign soldiers who "set models for the exchange of gestures between boys and girls."<sup>71</sup>

According to Tsurumi, "for people at large, the most durable influence of the Occupation was on the Japanese life style, especially with respect to relationships between women and men."<sup>72</sup> The transformation in Japanese women's appearance, for instance, was very rapid. Western women's fashions, which had not been extensively worn, spread as quickly as material and purchasing power would allow. At first, existing Japanese clothes were reworked to approximate western

fashions, and western-style sewing shops were set up amidst the ruins to cater to the sudden boom in demand for styles and colors not seen on Japan's streets for a decade.<sup>73</sup> Fashion choice, too, was linked with talk of democracy. Writing in 1952 Junsei Ijichi noted that:

Consciously or unconsciously [Japanese women] have adopted American dress because they believe that is the hallmark of democratic culture. The family system of old Japan has been legally abolished; the relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, now stand on a new basis; and the women have been freed from the conventions of feudal society. New freedom, new dress—such seems to be the motto of Japanese women.<sup>74</sup>

According to such postwar commentators, the main difference between pre- and postwar developments in sexual customs (sei fūzoku) was that eroticism became “democratized” (minshuka).<sup>75</sup> The limited freedom to wear western clothes and engage in “modern” dating practices that the “modern girls” of the 1920s had enjoyed, now became more widespread, and single men were able to seek out these “regular women” (ippan no jousei) and “non-professional women” (shirōto onna) as partners.<sup>76</sup> This was partly due to the ubiquitous displays of the pan pan girls and their customers which helped normalize the sight of young men and women freely consorting in public. The activities enjoyed by the pan pan and their foreign lovers – dancing, day trips, movies and coffee, soon came to be sought after pastimes among young Japanese couples in general.<sup>77</sup> Given the almost complete<sup>78</sup> absence of sex-education and erotic materials during the war years and the state of “spiritual mobilization” that had repressed sensual displays of any kind, the sudden emergence of public eroticism was startling. Ideas such as “free love” and the “romantic-love marriage system” needed to be explained to a public eager for

information and guidance on how to exercise their new freedoms. For instance, the NHK radio show “Twenty Questions,” which was used by the Civil Information and Education Section of GHQ to promote discussion of democratic topics,<sup>79</sup> often featured questions relating to women’s new rights and status alongside discussion of the etiquette of inter-sex relationships. One program, featuring a roundtable on romantic love versus arranged marriages, was apparently so popular that it “led to the setting up of receivers in public parks for those who didn’t own sets.”<sup>80</sup>

Understanding the linkage made between women’s rights, romantic love and democracy in the minds of the American occupiers is important for comprehending the comparatively relaxed attitude that the Occupation authorities took toward sexual expression in the Japanese media. “The Press Code for Japan” put forward on 19 September 1945 provided an extensive list of guidelines regarding prohibited material.<sup>81</sup> There were three general areas under surveillance: any criticism of the Allied authorities, any kind of “propaganda,” and any reference to daily problems (such as food shortages) but absent from the policy was mention of morals or regulations concerning obscenity.<sup>82</sup> In fact, the Occupation authorities made it clear that they were not responsible for policing material of a salacious or “immoral” nature, that being the job of the Japanese police<sup>83</sup> who, under paragraph 175 of the legal code, were vested with powers to prohibit “obscenity” in print and other media.<sup>84</sup> The only context in which any hint of obscenity was not tolerated by the Occupation’s Civil Censorship Department was when reference was made to fraternization between US troops and local women or when reference was made to the supposedly loose morals of “Caucasian” women.<sup>85</sup> The Japanese government, for its part, seemed happy to tolerate and even promote what were called the three S’s of “sports, screen and sex” as a kind of “camouflage” to distract the population from the fact that the country was under occupation.<sup>86</sup>

However, the Civil Censorship Department's decision not to pursue<sup>87</sup> censorship over Japanese "sexual customs" (sei fūzoku) did not mean that the administration was not interested in reform of the most intimate aspects of people's lives. On the contrary, various initiatives encouraged Japanese people to be more open about eroticism than had been permissible under the Imperialist regime. Images of "romance," in particular, were supported through the notion that engendering chivalry on the part of Japanese men would help elevate the position of Japanese women from that of servant to partner. Thus, while authoritarian regimes commonly repress erotic alongside political expression,<sup>88</sup> in the case of postwar Japan, an unusually vibrant and explicit erotic culture developed and was freely represented in the press, on the stage and to a more limited extent in literature and film. In fact, in a curious turn of events, it became much easier to talk about sex in the Japanese media in the late 1940s than it was in the US or elsewhere in the Anglophone world. Indeed, "sexual liberation" (sei kaihō) and "free love" (jiyū no ren'ai) were openly discussed in the Japanese media in the late 1940s in a manner not apparent in the American media until the 1960s.

One result of the largely hands-off approach adopted by the Occupation censorship authorities regarding obscene publications was a "veritable explosion"<sup>89</sup> of talk about sex.<sup>90</sup> Even the graffiti in public toilets was said to have "been liberated."<sup>91</sup> In particular a popular genre known as kasutori<sup>92</sup> (pulp) newspapers and magazines specializing in "sex journalism" (sei jyanarizumu) emerged as a conspicuous forum for the discussion of sex and romance.<sup>93</sup> It is estimated that there were over 700 erotic serials in publication between 1946 and 1948, although few survived their third issue.<sup>94</sup> They were available all over Japan since touts would buy them in bulk in the cities and then sell them on in rural areas for a mark-up.<sup>95</sup> Looking back on this period in 1953, Narumigi states that "anyone could easily buy [obscene books and erotic materials] on the black



market or at public gathering places.”<sup>96</sup> These publications are valuable for gauging attitudes among the general population since they were not, on the whole, authored by intellectuals or professional writers, but relied upon reader submissions for much of their copy and thus give an insight into themes and ideas that struck people of the time as interesting, significant or simply entertaining.<sup>97</sup>

This new and conspicuous culture of eroticism was part of a broader reaction against the “spiritual” values and austere lifestyles urged by the defeated military regime. As Igarashi points out, “for many survivors of the war, their bodies were the only material objects they managed to rescue from the air raids.”<sup>98</sup> During this “burned-out ruins period,” the “philosophy” (shisō) that had underpinned imperialist ideology was discredited not simply because it had led the nation to disaster but also because of the ease with which so-called intellectuals had repeatedly switched sides (tenkō) from opposition to, to support for, and again to criticism of Japan’s imperialist project.<sup>99</sup> Hence, the intellectual idealism and spiritual sacrifice that underlay the notion of the kokutai or “national body” was rejected in favor of a renewed emphasis on the importance of the lived experience of each individual’s nikutai or “fleshly body.”<sup>100</sup> Accordingly, the readers (and writers) of pulp and carnal literature were able to think of themselves “as liberated from the oppressive morality of the past” and to see the genre as playing a role in “founding a new democratic society.”<sup>101</sup>

One playful illustration of the frank physicality of these discussions occurred in the October 1948 edition of Bēze (Kiss), by a writer using the name Professor Loves Women. Entitled “The psychology of the lover,”<sup>102</sup> the article advises readers how to discover the true feelings of one’s object of affection. The author notes that if, in advance of a “rendezvous” with her beloved, a

lady has eaten too many sweet potatoes (a staple food in the early postwar years), thus giving rise to the urge to pass gas, “there is no need to persevere but just let rip with a ‘buuu’ sound.” The woman should then pay careful attention to her partner’s response. If he looks askance, then the relationship should not proceed since it is evident that the man “does not love you from his heart,” Jean Paul Sartre apparently having argued that if a man loves a woman, “he loves even her intestines.” The appropriate response from a man with feelings of romantic love was to inquire tenderly after his date’s health. This juxtaposition of scatology with philosophy was a characteristic of much popular writing at the time which emphasized the primacy of the material body and its needs over etiquette or philosophical abstraction.<sup>103</sup>

### The Emergence of the “New Couple”

The kasutori press was full of advice on romance, courtship and even the techniques of lovemaking directed at the “new” or “modern” couple.<sup>104</sup> Numerous articles discussed the etiquette and technique of kissing and went so far as to explain other practices such as “petting” and “necking” which were described as “well-known in America” but previously little practiced in Japan.<sup>105</sup> Hence, as Yamamoto states, one important contribution of the kasutori press was to help those who previously had only been able to conceive of “sex for pleasure” in the context of the brothel district to comprehend it as an aspect of everyday life.<sup>106</sup> A common topic for discussion was how unmarried dating couples, referred to as abekku (from the French term *avec* or “with”) should comport themselves in public. Although the term abekku had been in

circulation in Japan as early as the 1920s, venues for men and women to engage in recreational dating practices had been few. However, such spaces multiplied soon after the war's end.<sup>107</sup> During 1947 for instance, dance halls appeared offering abekku time at a reduced price, an opportunity for male and female students to “cheek dance” and move seductively to new rhythms.<sup>108</sup> For those preferring more traditional modes of courtship, “marriage introduction magazines” appeared where interested parties could advertise for suitable spouses. Readers interested in making the acquaintance of a lover or sweetheart (koibito) for the purposes of correspondence or marriage could send in their details, and for a fee of 20 Yen could receive multiple introductions.<sup>109</sup> Not surprisingly, given this new atmosphere of sexual freedom, newspapers and magazines were full of advertisements for birth control and prophylactic products<sup>110</sup> although condoms remained in short supply and sold for high mark ups on the black market.<sup>111</sup>

The oddness of seeing men and women walking around the city streets in close embrace was registered in a 1948 article on “dating couples on the street” that categorized different kinds of abekku according to their clothes and accessories.<sup>112</sup> The number of centimeters separating these different couples was recorded, as was the difficulty of maintaining a proper “gait” (ashimoto) while walking alongside or arm in arm with a partner. The attention to detail that such articles gave in their descriptions of the abekku underlines that “promenading” with a loved one around the city was a new and fashionable practice in need of elaboration. Accordingly, it was via these articles that readers and potential abekku were inducted into “techniques of the body” that constituted a new habitus, or way of being with a loved one in public space—emphasizing the fact that alongside new ways of thinking, the Japanese public was also learning new body language from the Americans.<sup>113</sup>

The kasutori press was not only replete with advice on proper conduct while out in public but also advised on the conduct of more intimate acts. In June of 1946 a revised translation of Van de Velde's marital sex guide was reissued under the title Kanzen naru kekkon or "perfect marriage,"<sup>114</sup> and excerpts were run in the popular press resulting in the term sei manzoku or "sexual satisfaction" being widely discussed. In a typical article on "sexual love techniques" published in December 1947, for instance, it was noted that female frigidity was the result of a lack of skill on the part of a woman's male partner, particularly insufficient foreplay. The average length of intercourse, at three minutes,<sup>115</sup> was judged insufficient for female pleasure and it was suggested that men's lack of interest in female pleasure was ungentlemanly and reflected poor etiquette. Male readers were encouraged to study the charts depicting the onset and development of male and female orgasm (lifted from Van de Velde) and to regulate their own climaxes so as to better optimize ideal conditions for the climaxes of their partners.<sup>116</sup> Hence, despite the deficiencies in Van de Velde's construction of men's and women's complementary but "opposite" roles, his text served as a springboard for more wide ranging discussions of sexual activity and, importantly, psychology. In particular, the need for the "sexual satisfaction" of both partners became a key symbol of the new equality between the sexes and the term was used accordingly to differentiate "modern" from "feudal" forms of coupledness.

However, despite the widespread popularity of Perfect Marriage, early postwar sexologists such as Takahashi Tetsu<sup>117</sup> criticized Van de Velde for focusing too much on the "debate over positions." Takahashi was a ubiquitous presence in early postwar sex journalism in both high-brow and popular contexts and went on in 1951 to found the journal Amatoria, an important forum for discussion of sexual issues among intellectuals and other "cultured persons." He was

involved in the rewriting of school textbooks to reflect new perspectives in sexual education, frequently bemoaning the interference of the education department in such matters, pointing out that unlike American sex-education texts which (he seemed to think) were unabashed at representing “pleasure” as a key purpose of the sex act, Japanese authorities still required him to speak only of the role of sex in human reproduction.<sup>118</sup> Takahashi had read widely in psychology, including Freud, and argued that sex was an extremely complex and personal issue and that sexual satisfaction required far more than the discovery of the optimum position.<sup>119</sup> Takahashi considered that Van de Velde’s recommendation that couples try out a range of positions until they found one that enhanced mutual stimulation while also optimizing opportunities for pregnancy, supported a model of marital sexuality in which reproduction was the goal of sexual interaction, a model that now seemed “feudal.” Indeed, progressive figures such as Takahashi claimed that Van de Velde had reduced sex to a matter of “friction.”<sup>120</sup> Takahashi argued that the psychological and emotional compatibility of the partners—factors that had not been paramount in the previous household system—were more important than technique, and that young people needed to be better educated about each other.

Hence, although in the American context, young men and women would gradually have learned the body language and emotional cues appropriate to dating and making out through trial and error from their low teens, in Japan in the early postwar period, young men and women had to have practices such as dating, walking arm in arm, kissing, petting and other techniques of love making explained to them in detail. These new techniques of the body were brought into play in the context of broader techniques of the self, that is, ways of understanding one’s body and desires in relation to wider systems of thought that explained, contextualized and naturalized ways of acting and thinking which were, in fact, highly artificial and contrived. Thus

highlighting how, rather than being a "natural" outcome of attraction between the sexes, heterosexual patterns of interaction are highly artifactual and contingent upon social discourses that produce, validate and sustain them.

### Kissing as a Symbol of Democracy

As discussed above, the rhetorical linkage between “free love” and democratic reform is particularly striking in Japanese accounts of the period and is most apparent in the “kiss debate”<sup>121</sup> which gathered pace after 1947. Kissing, on the lips or on the cheek, whether between lovers, married couples, family members, parents and children or close friends was not commonly practiced in Japan where etiquette required a respectful distance to be observed in personal relations, at least in public. In fact, from the early 1920s kissing in public had been deemed an obscenity and even the proposed exhibition of Rodin’s famous sculpture Le Baiser (The Kiss) had been cancelled due to police objections.<sup>122</sup> Kissing in the context of the “floating world” of brothels and geisha houses, too, seems to have been something of a novelty. In his survey of late nineteenth-century western representations of geisha, Hashimoto notes that kissing was not understood to be part of their repertoire and that this was one erotic art in which western men considered European women to be more adept.<sup>123</sup>

Hence, numerous articles in the kasutori press debated whether this was a practice that had a place in Japanese tradition, many considering it to be unhygienic, unaesthetic and culturally inappropriate. After all, was it not the case that in Japan the national character required that

“expressions of love between husband and wife be hidden at the back of the house, a place absolutely untouched by public scrutiny?”<sup>124</sup> As recently as 1938 film critic Tajima Tarō had written that “anyone would laugh at the idea” that young couples might kiss goodbye on the platform at Tokyo station since “we don’t have that custom in Japan.”<sup>125</sup> That kissing might be a sign of affection between young couples, something that might take place in public, struck many readers as a new idea. Accordingly, given the previous lack of public kissing in Japan, the kasutori press was keen to offer advice on how to kiss: what to do with the tongue, where to look while kissing and, importantly, how long each kiss should last. Much of this advice was proffered to students who would read and discuss these articles in their dorm rooms.<sup>126</sup>

The stakes in the kiss debate were high, Takahashi Tetsu, for instance, believed the kiss to have ramifications far beyond bedroom etiquette – he considered the public display of kissing to be an important aspect of sexual liberation and even a symbol of democracy.<sup>127</sup> In a 1946 article entitled “An argument concerning the ‘revival’ of kissing in Japan’s sexual customs’ history,” Takahashi denied that kissing had played no part in lovemaking customs of the past and went on to argue that the ‘revival’ of kissing marked the end of “gloomy feudal customs” and the beginning of a “real democratic system.”<sup>128</sup>

Kissing was not only newly visible in the parks and on the streets, but at the movies too. Commentators noted that unlike the Japanese who considered the practice to be overtly sexual, “foreigners practice kissing by way of expressing their honest affections.”<sup>129</sup> Indeed, it was pointed out that although “American grannies” had witnessed kissing at the movies at the end of the nineteenth century, the screen kiss was still a new experience in Japan.<sup>130</sup> During the wartime years in particular, “the slightest amorous expression had been condemned as a symbol of

Western decadence”<sup>131</sup> but now Hollywood films from which kissing scenes had been routinely excised<sup>132</sup> could be screened in their uncut glory. New kinds of women, so-called “vamps” and “sirens” appeared on the Japanese screen, offering unprecedented images of sensual, desiring and sexually active women.<sup>133</sup> These images were to do as much as any directive from Occupation headquarters toward reforming Japanese attitudes about women.

It was not only Hollywood movies that made an impact, but in a curious episode in the history of censorship, it was “strongly suggested”<sup>134</sup> by the Occupation authorities that Japanese film makers should take steps to include kissing scenes in their own productions. The first such movie, Hatachi no seishun (A twenty-year-old youth), screened in 1946, met with the approval of the censors since its theme of two young people choosing their own spouses against the will of their parents was considered suitably “antifeudalistic.” Hirano reports that the censorship authorities had actually intervened to request greater eroticism in the script, in particular that the couple should be seen kissing.<sup>135</sup> One result was the perception among those involved in the movie industry “that making [melodramatic love stories] was itself an exercise of democratic freedom.”<sup>136</sup>

So startling was it to see two Japanese kissing on screen that the success of this first “kissing film” (seppun eiga) gave rise to an entire genre.<sup>137</sup> However, the critics’ responses to these first cinematic ventures into public eroticism were not enthusiastic, one noting that “the kissing seems forced, and it looks as though these scenes were included merely for the sake of showing kisses.”<sup>138</sup> Indeed, rumor had it that the two leads in Hatachi no Seishun were less than enthusiastic and that the heroine had placed cellophane on her lips before the crucial moment.<sup>139</sup> Actress Mito Mitsuko concurred with this negative evaluation, saying that although she hadn’t



yet seen a kissing film, she “hated” the idea of appearing in a movie that included kissing “just for the sake of it.”<sup>140</sup> Perhaps in anticipation of these criticisms, one Japanese actress, at least, was reported to be seeking instruction in kissing from an American expert. In March 1946, The Washington Post ran an article entitled “Yank Tutors Jap Actress in Kissing”<sup>141</sup> in which it was reported that the actress Hideko Mimura confided in her acquaintance, the journalist Ernest Hoberecht, that she had never been kissed. The gallant Yank reported that “I saw my obligation to democracy” and offered to tutor the guileless actress. However, despite the intervention of such “foreign experts,” the initial chaste approach to the screen kiss adopted by Japanese actors led some commentators to compare them unfavorably with famous “kiss combinations” (kissu konbi) from America and Europe such as Clark Gable and Jean Harlow who kissed with more evident passion. Accordingly, one columnist felt it necessary to point out with some irritation that “kissing isn’t something done with the mouth but with the tongue...you should insert your tongue into your partner’s mouth and swirl it round.”<sup>142</sup>

Hence, kissing was one further technique of the body popularized via the spread of American popular culture. Writing in 1936, Mauss had identified the cinema as the conduit via which “American walking fashions” had been taken up by Parisian ladies. Rather than being a “natural” consequence of physiology, Mauss argued that all such “techniques of the body” resulted from imitation and he identified the “prestige” of the model as a key factor determining the creation of a new habitus.<sup>143</sup> The “prestige” value of American culture, particularly that of Hollywood movies, clearly influenced Japanese ideas about courtship, as evidenced by contemporary media accounts. For instance, numerous articles in the Japanese press discussed not only the techniques of love making now visible on screen but also the etiquette of taking one’s date to the movies<sup>144</sup> - a discussion rehearsed endlessly during the first postwar decade.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, writing in 1953,

Junsei Ijichi argued that “nothing, it seems to me, is exercising so potent an influence on the minds of young Japan as Hollywood,” going on to outline how “American culture is now affecting native manners and morals,” in particular “love-making.”<sup>146</sup>

Viewers apparently responded in a very visceral manner to the lip action on the screen, by “gulping, sighing and yelling”<sup>147</sup> as they stood packed together in the movie houses.<sup>148</sup> These responses might seem adolescent<sup>149</sup> to contemporary readers, and this was a point not lost on the press at the time, numerous articles arguing that the Japanese people had been “robbed of their adolescence” by the war and by the feudal wartime social system. Indeed the loss of the adolescence of an entire generation was a common discussion point across a range of media.<sup>150</sup>

An essay entitled “On kissing” that appeared in the November 1947 issue of Riibe (freedom), for instance, argued “new life is aflame in the shadows of the burned out buildings...after having endured injury for so long, now is the time to return to our adolescence under the blue sky of freedom.”<sup>151</sup> Film director Kurosawa Akira was one among many who relished the new freedom to express youthful desire in his first postwar movies, pointing out that during wartime the depiction of free love had been deemed both “indecent” and a “British-American weakness.”<sup>152</sup> Hence it is not surprising to find that “liberation from feudal ideas” was one reason given by many commentators for the need for more open displays of affection between the sexes.

The extent to which sexual liberation, romance, and kissing in particular, became symbolically linked with discourses of freedom, liberation and democracy in the minds of many Japanese people, is striking in these reports. Yet, this should not be surprising given that State interventions into individuals’ private lives, in particular the repression of sexuality, had been cornerstones of the old militarist system.<sup>153</sup> The wave of democratic reforms sweeping over the

political, family and labor systems was seen by many as also sweeping away restrictions on individuals' most intimate and private feelings and desires<sup>154</sup> and helps us understand how prominent sexologists such as Takahashi could have understood kissing to be a "symbol of democracy." Although it seemed odd to some that the American authorities required kissing scenes to be inserted into movies despite the fact that the practice was not part of the "national lifestyle" (kokumin seikatsu) of the Japanese,<sup>155</sup> such was the prestige of American culture and so engaging were the models portrayed on the screen, that there was widespread support in the community for these new techniques of the body. The Occupation authorities, furthermore, "encouraged such scenes purposely to force the Japanese to express publicly actions and feelings that heretofore had been considered strictly private,"<sup>156</sup> thus reinforcing the rhetorical connection between the loosening of bodily strictures and freedom of the mind. As Izbicki points out, the "new lustiness" in early postwar movies "gained respectability as the basis for marriage and hence was linked to the new legal recognition of peoples' right to choose their own partners on the basis of inclination."<sup>157</sup> Support for kissing movies was, then, part of wider Occupation policies encouraging democratic reform, an attempt to reform not simply Japanese institutions but also minds and hearts.

All the above, of course, begs the question as to how the exuberant explosion of discourse about "new" or "modern" dating practices and forms of heterosexual coupledness related to actual lived experience on Japan's streets and in parks, movie houses and bedrooms.<sup>158</sup> To an extent the late 1940s "sex press" is characteristic of what Carol Gluck has termed Japan's "mythohistoric postwar"<sup>159</sup> in which the postwar present is constructed as an inverse "anti-past" wherein a largely rhetorical enthusiasm for the new obscures the continuity of the old.<sup>160</sup> After all, only twenty years later, a newly invigorated Japanese feminism was to launch a searing critique of the

abiding inequalities – structural, emotional and sexual – in male-female relationships, suggesting that the rupture between wartime and postwar sexual ideology was not as stark as postwar reports suggest. Can it, then, be argued that the postwar enthusiasm for “sexual liberation” was really nothing more than the freedom to commodify the bodies of women in general? Or the freedom to bring male-female relationships into an ever expanding US-led economy of desire? The limited scope of research published into generational shifts in Japanese sexual practices makes these difficult questions to answer with certainty, but there do exist research findings and narrative accounts published soon after the war and in later decades that strongly suggest the immediate postwar years were pivotal in bringing about a reconsideration of male-female relationships not simply from an institutional standpoint but also from emotional and sexual perspectives.<sup>161</sup> This confirms Yamamoto Akira’s contention that the Occupation period is crucial for understanding later changes in Japan’s sei fūzoku, or sexual customs.<sup>162</sup>

## Conclusion

One cannot help but regret that Margaret Mead was not posted to Tokyo after the end of her mission helping the British and the Americans to better understand each other. No doubt she would have been intrigued by the face-off between two seemingly intractable systems for organizing male-female relationships. Given the longevity of prewar and wartime social indoctrination, it is surprising how rapidly Japanese popular culture was reoriented toward more open displays of romantic love and public eroticism.

In part, this was because Japan's defeat had been so spectacular that the ideology supporting the wartime social system had collapsed along with the regime that enforced it. However, American popular culture could not have exerted such strong influence were it not so attractive to the population at large. In an important essay on "'America' as desire and violence" in Japan's postwar period, Shunya Yoshimi argues that "'America' appears not so much as a 'prohibiting' presence but as a 'seducing' presence in the everyday consciousness of the times."<sup>163</sup>

Democratic reform was, after all, administered by the US authorities in a top-down and authoritarian manner, but, in the context of popular culture, "democracy" became rhetorically aligned with music, fashion, romance and sexual freedom. A clear connection was made in the Japanese press of the period between the loosening of "feudal" strictures restraining individuals' bodily behavior, particularly between the sexes, and the process of "democratization." For Japan's ex-soldiers and female factory workers for whom the war had brought nothing but humiliation, loss and hardship, mingling together while cheek dancing to the seductive rhythms of a jazz band was an opportunity to become "instant democrats."<sup>164</sup> Dating, now conducted in public and with the consent of both partners, could be construed as a rejection of feudalism and an embrace of progressive, democratic ideals. It is in this context, then, that kissing could be proclaimed a symbol of democracy.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Margaret Mead, The American Troops and the British Community: An Examination of the Relationship between the American Troops and the British (London: Hutchinson, 1944).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>5</sup> See Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," in The Body: A Reader, eds Mariam Fraser and Monica Greco (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 73-77.

<sup>6</sup> Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 75-6.

<sup>7</sup> My understanding of this term is derived from Mauss via Bourdieu who defines it as a conglomeration of acquired "dispositions" that structure a person's perceptions, thoughts and actions. See Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

<sup>8</sup> See for instance, Thomas W. Burkman, ed. The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture (Norfolk, Virginia: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1988); Marlene Mayo, J. Thomas Rimer and H. Eleanor Kerkham, eds War, Occupation, and Creativity: Japan and East Asia 1920-1960 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2001); John Dower, Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000); Kyoko Hirano, Mr. Smith Goes to

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Tokyo: Japanese Cinema under the American Occupation, 1945-1952 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); Michael Molasky, The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory (New York: Routledge, 2001); Robert Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto, eds Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

<sup>9</sup> In particular the microfiche of the Gordon W. Prange collection, one set of which is housed in the University of Michigan library. The Prange collection (originals at the University of Maryland) contains the bulk of popular magazines and newspapers submitted to the Civil Censorship Department between 1946 and 1949. Another source is the collection of original reprints contained in Shimbun shiryō raiburarii, ed. Kasutori shimbun: Shōwa nijūnendai no sesō to shakai (Kasutori newspapers: 1940s' social conditions and society) (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> Yamamoto Akira, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū: shinboru ni miru fūzoku shi (Pulp magazine research: The history of sexual customs seen as a symbol) (Tokyo: Shuppan nyūsusha, 1976), 20.

<sup>11</sup> Takeda Hiroko, The Political Economy of Reproduction in Japan: Between Nation-State and Everyday Life (Oxon: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 41.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 35-47.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the impact of this legislation see, William Johnston, Geisha, Harlot, Stranger, Star: A Woman, Sex, and Morality in Modern Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 30.

<sup>14</sup> One conspicuous casualty of this reform program was the pathologization (if not outright criminalization) of sex between men. See Jim Reichert, In the Company of Men: Representations of Male-Male Sexuality in Meiji Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

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<sup>15</sup> See Robert Smith, "Making Village Women into 'Good Wives and Wise Mothers' in Prewar Japan," Journal of Family History 8, no. 1 (1983): 70-84.

<sup>16</sup> See Sally Hastings, "A Dinner Party Is Not a Revolution: Space, Gender and Hierarchy in Meiji Japan," US-Japan Women's Journal English Supplement no. 18 (2000): 107-32. Hastings notes the "strong resistance" evinced by patriarchal family heads against their daughters attending such public gatherings (123). In Japan female company at social events was usually provided by "professional" women such as geisha, and not by family members.

<sup>17</sup> One of the best discussions of the contexts in which "modern" Tokyo mixed-sex couples interacted is given by Alisa Freedman in her forthcoming book manuscript Culture of the Rails: Stories of Tokyo Trains, Stations, and Passengers, 1900-1940. She points out how in the late 1920s, the major hub of Shinjuku Station emerged as a place where young men and women could "rendevoux." Not surprisingly, train stations and other public gathering places emerged as major sites of surveillance as Japan descended further into militarism in the 1930s and male-female interactions were severely curtailed. On the disciplining of male-female interaction, see David Ambarass, "Juvenile Delinquency and the National Defence State: Policing Young Workers in Wartime Japan, 1937-1945," Journal of Asian Studies 63, no. 1 (2004): 31-60.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of pre-1945 limitations on male-female interaction in Japan see Ronald Dore, City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), 159-62.

<sup>19</sup> From a 1937 article from Shufu no tomo cited by Mariam Silverberg, Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Modern Times (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 158.



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<sup>20</sup> Dai ni ji shin seikatsu kenkyūkai hensanbu hen, eds “Nihonjin no ‘hatsutaiken’ ni kan suru sedai betsu ankeeto chōsa” (Questionnaire research concerning generational differences in Japanese people’s first sexual experiences), Sei seikatsu hōkoku, (August 1982): 28-42, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Hasegawa Ryū and Takagi Takeo, “Senzen sengo ero sesō ōdan” (Cross-section of pre- and postwar erotic conditions), Amatoria, (April 1953): 159-163, 160.

<sup>22</sup> Morris Low, “The Emperor’s Sons Go to War: Competing Masculinities in Modern Japan,” in Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan, eds Kam Louie and Morris Low (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> Yamamoto Akira, “Kasutori zasshi” (Pulp magazines), in Shōwa no sengoshi, ed. Saburō Ienaga (Tokyo: Chōbunsha, 1976), 244.

<sup>24</sup> Barak Kushner, The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 63.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Havens, “Women and War in Japan, 1937-45,” The American Historical Review 80, no. 4 (1975): 913-934.

<sup>26</sup> Sabine Fruhstuck, Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 167; Jennifer Robertson, “Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese,” History and Anthropology 13, no. 3 (2002): 191–216, 199; Takeda, Political Reproduction, 41.

<sup>27</sup> Isolde Standish, Myth and Masculinity in the Japanese Cinema: Towards a Political Reading of the “Tragic Hero” (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 51.

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<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the repression of eroticism in Japanese film during the war years, see Matsuura Sōzō, Senchū, senryōka no masukomi (Mass communications during the war and Occupation) (Tokyo: Ōtsukisha, 1984): 160-61.

<sup>29</sup> Standish, Myth and Masculinity, 51.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>31</sup> Robert Westbrook, “‘I Want a Girl Just Like the Girl that Married Harry James’: American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II,” American Quarterly 42, no. 4 (1990): 587-614, 595.

<sup>32</sup> Silverberg, Erotic, Grotesque Nonsense, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Annette Timm, “Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich,” Journal of the History of Sexuality 11, nos 1/2 (2002): 223- 255, 223.

<sup>34</sup> Michael Adams, The Best War Ever: America and World War II (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

<sup>35</sup> John Costello, Virtue under Fire: How WWII Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985); Kate Haste, Rules of Desire: Sex in Britain: World War 1 to the Present (London: Chatto & Windus, 1992).

<sup>36</sup> See Thomas Havens, Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and WWII (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985).

<sup>37</sup> Havens, “Women and War in Japan,” 916.

<sup>38</sup> Takeda, Political Economy of Reproduction, 77.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 93.

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- <sup>40</sup> Sheldon Garon, Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 144; Takeda, Political Economy of Reproduction, 91-96.
- <sup>41</sup> Haste, Rules of Desire, 122.
- <sup>42</sup> Costello, Virtue under Fire, 236.
- <sup>43</sup> Timm, “Sex with a Purpose,” 224.
- <sup>44</sup> Suzuki Masahiro, “Sensō ni okeru dansei sekushuariti” (Men’s sexuality during war), in Nihon no otoko wa doko kara kite doko e iku? eds Asai Haruo, Itō Satoru and Murase Yukihiro, (Tokyo: Jūgatsusha, 2001), 98–119.
- <sup>45</sup> Unlike in the Allied war effort, homosexuality between servicemen seems not to have caused consternation to the Japanese authorities who largely ignored it. I have come across multiple narratives published soon after the war suggesting homosexual interactions were not uncommon and in certain circumstances could be practiced openly in the military. This, of course, has been a long tradition in Japan. See Mark McLelland, Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 42-54. For first-hand accounts that I have had translated see Queer Voices from Japan, eds Mark McLelland, Katsuhiko Suganuma and James Welker (Lanham: Lexington, 2007), 41-50, 51- 58, 59-68. For the longstanding connections between homosexuality and the military see Gregory Pflugfelder, Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). In Japanese see Ujie Mikito, Bushidō to erosu (Martial arts and eros) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1995).
- <sup>46</sup> Kushner, The Thought War, 64.

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<sup>47</sup> See George Hicks, “The ‘Comfort Women’” in The Japanese Wartime Empire 1931-1945, Peter Duus ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 305-323; Park You-Me, “Comforting the Nation: ‘Comfort Women,’ the Politics of Apology and the Workings of Gender,” Interventions 2, no. 2 (2000): 199-211.

<sup>48</sup> Suzuki, “Sensō ni okeru dansei sekushuariti,” 99-103.

<sup>49</sup> Sonia Ryang, Love in Modern Japan: Its Estrangement from Self, Sex and Society (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 54.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>51</sup> Shin Young-sook and Cho Hye-ran, “On the Characteristics and Special Nature of the Korean ‘Military Comfort Women’ under Japanese Rule,” Korea Journal (Spring 1996): 50–78, 53. For accounts in Japanese see Nishino Rumiko, Jūgun ianfu: motoheishitachi no shōgen (Military comfort women: testimonials from former soldiers) (Tokyo: Akashishoten, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> Suzuki “Sensō ni okeru dansei sekushuariti,” 103.

<sup>53</sup> The edition referenced in this paper is Theodore Van de Velde, Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique (New York: Covici Friede, 1930).

<sup>54</sup> See Michael Melody and Linda Peterson, Teaching America about Sex: Marriage Guides and Sex Manuals from the Late Victorians to Dr. Ruth (New York: NYU Press, 1999).

<sup>55</sup> Van de Velde, Ideal Marriage, 224.

<sup>56</sup> Ellen Schattschneider, “The Bloodstained Doll: Violence and the Gift in Wartime Japan,” Journal of Japanese Studies 31, no. 2 (2005): 329-356.

<sup>57</sup> These highly erotic figures were also considered to have talismanic properties, see Westbrook, “‘I Want a Girl Just Like the Girl that Married Harry James.’”

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<sup>58</sup> These reforms were, of course, limited by the restrictive thinking about women's abilities and status at the time. Mire Koikari, "Rethinking Gender and Power in the US Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952," Gender & History 11, no. 2 (1999): 313-335, stresses that the new roles for women encouraged by the Occupation were still very conventional, and tied in with images of "white, middle-class progressive motherhood." Igarashi, too, stresses the detrimental effects of the sexualization of postwar culture, noting that women were "immediately caught up in market forces that offered them to male desire at a price," Igarashi Yoshikuni, Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 58. These criticisms notwithstanding, there were increased opportunities in the postwar years for women to negotiate new roles, particularly in the context of their intimate relationships.

<sup>59</sup> Susan Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights," in Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation, eds Robert Ward and Yoshikazu Sakamoto (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 221-252, 241.

<sup>60</sup> See Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights;" Koikari, "Rethinking Gender and Power;" and also Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," American Quarterly 57, no. 3 (2005), 885-910.

<sup>61</sup> Two important exceptions are the chapter on "Husbands and Wives" in Dore, City Life in Japan, and Christine Marran, Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), chapter 4 considers a range of "deviant" female figures celebrated in the popular press for their perceived stance against "feudalism."

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<sup>62</sup> Junesay Idditie [Junsei Ijichi], When Two Cultures Meet: Sketches of Postwar Japan, 1945-1955 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1955), 138.

<sup>63</sup> Narumigi Ichirō, “Sekkusū kaihō no ayumi: tenbō 1945-1953” (Steps toward sexual liberation: a perspective 1945-1953), Amatoria (June 1953): 40-51.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>65</sup> This observation, made in an article in the May 1946 edition of popular magazine Van, was deleted by the censors on account that it may “cause resentment of occupation forces” (Censorship documents pertaining to May 1946 edition of Van, Prange collection).

<sup>66</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 56.

<sup>67</sup> Takahashi Tetsu, Kinsei kindai 150 nen sei fūzoku zushi (Illustrated history of the past 150 years of sexual customs) (Tokyo: Kubō shoten, 1969), 273.

<sup>68</sup> Because of the Occupation policy of censoring reports of “fraternization,” there are few articles discussing Japanese men’s responses to scenes of lovemaking between Japanese women and foreign men published during the Occupation itself. That such articles were written (and censored) is clear from documents preserved in the Prange collection, an example being an article entitled (in the censor’s English translation) “Psychology of Degenerate Girls,” Aka to kuro, September 1946 edition, the author of which reports complaints he has heard about girls “seen chatting lovingly with foreigners on the benches in the parks.” He puts some of these complaints down to “the inferiority complex directed to foreigners.” For a discussion of the sexual psychology of the early postwar years as evidenced in literature of the period see Yoshio Iwamoto, “Ōe Kenzaburō’s Warera no Jidai: Sex, Power and the Other in Occupied Japan,” World Literature Today 76, no. 1 (2002): 43-51.

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<sup>69</sup> Holly Sanders, Prostitution in Postwar Japan: Debt and Labor, Doctoral Dissertation (Princeton University, 2005), 83-87.

<sup>70</sup> Fukuoka Takeo, Sei no atarashii ninshiki to ronri: Sei seikatsu tokuhon (New sex consciousness and theory: a sexual lifestyle reader) (Tokyo: Nihon shuppan haikyū kabu shiki kaisha, 1949), 211-215.

<sup>71</sup> Tsurumi Shunsuke, A Cultural History of Postwar Japan: 1945-1980 (London: KPI, 1987), 11.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Akurosu henshū shitsu, ed. Sutoriito fasshon: Wakamono sutairu 50 nen shi (Street Fashion: A 50-year history of young people's style) (Tokyo: PARCO, 1995), 16.

<sup>74</sup> Idditie, When Two Cultures Meet, 136.

<sup>75</sup> See for example, Hasegawa and Takagi, "Senzen sengo ero sesō ōdan," 160. A similar point is made in the "Nihonjin no 'hatsutaiken' ni kan suru" report based on their questionnaire findings.

<sup>76</sup> Refer to the report "Nihonjin no 'hatsutaiken' ni kan suru" for first-person recollections of this period. "Non-professional" in this context refers to women who were not sex workers.

<sup>77</sup> Sanders, Prostitution in Postwar Japan, 89.

<sup>78</sup> Some late 20s and early 30s "erotic grotesque" publications remained available on the second-hand market. For a discussion of this genre see, in Japanese Korekushon modan toshi bunka dai 15kan: Ero guro nansensu (Modern city culture collection vol. 15: Erotic, grotesque nonsense), Shimamura Teru ed. (Tokyo: Yumanishobō, 2005); and in English, Silverberg, Erotic, Grotesque Nonsense.

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<sup>79</sup> On the role of radio in promoting democratic reform, see Nihon fūzoku jiten: Amerikan karuchaa vol. 1 (Dictionary of Japanese customs: American culture, vol. 1), Ishikawa Hiroshi ed. (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1981), 70-74; and GHQ Nihon senryōshi vol. 18 rajio hōsō (GHQ/Japan Occupation history, vol. 18, radio broadcasting), Kōgo Eiki ed. (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentaa, 1996).

<sup>80</sup> William Manchester, American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880-1964, (Boston: Hutchinson, 1978), 511.

<sup>81</sup> See Eto Jun, “One Aspect of the Allied Occupation of Japan: The Censorship Operation and Post-War Japanese Literature,” Occasional Paper, East Asia Program (The Wilson Center, Washington DC, 1980).

<sup>82</sup> Nishi gives a summary of fifteen categories of articles commonly suppressed by the CCD, none pertaining to morals. Nishi Toshio, Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan 1945-1952 (Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), 101.

<sup>83</sup> For instance, the CCD records for the magazine Momoiro raifu (Pink life), dated 22 August 1949, contain the oft-recorded note that “the publishers have been advised that censorship approval does not mean exemption of publication [sic] from Japanese laws involving penalties for publication of obscene material.” Memo contained in Momo iro raifu microfiche in Gordon W. Prange collection.

<sup>84</sup> See Jay Rubin, “The Impact of the Occupation on Literature or Lady Chatterley and Lt. Col. Verness,” in Thomas W. Burkman ed. The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture (Norfolk, Virginia: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1988), 167-74.



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<sup>85</sup> For example, the April 1949 edition of Momo iro raifu (Pink life) was “postcensored,” that is, the publisher was issued a warning that material already gone to print violated the press code. In this instance the violation was identified as “The photogravure on the reverse side of the front cover [that] deals with two naked Caucasian women,” which constituted “Criticism of Allied Powers” in the opinion of the censor, signed S. Nagoshi. Censorship document on Momo iro raifu microfiche in the Gordon W. Prange collection.

<sup>86</sup> Kōno Kensuke, “Hihyō to jitsuzon: sengohihyō ni okeru sekushuariti” (Criticism and existence: Postwar criticism and sexuality), Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 40, no. 8 (1995): 44-51, 46.

<sup>87</sup> I use this term cautiously to indicate that, based on records preserved in the Gordon W. Prange collection, CCD staff were aware of the erotic nature of many of the publications that crossed their desks. However, there were no categories relating to “pornography” or the like on the pre-printed forms used for magazine classification. Terms such as “obscene” and “erotic” had to be entered by hand along with a summary of offending content. Surviving comments indicate that “warnings were issued” but, as the censors admit in subsequent reports, many of these publications went to press anyway. The pursuit of these cases seems not to have been a priority for the censors who were much more concerned with political transgression. As Yamamoto, “Kasutori zasshi,” 246-47, points out, the first postwar prosecution on the grounds of obscenity was launched not by the CCD but by the Japanese police, based on paragraph 175 of the legal code. See also Hasegawa Takuya, Waisetsu shuppan no rekishi (History of obscene publications) (Tokyo: Sanichi shobō, 1978), 34, who argues that Japanese police prosecutions of “obscene”

material reflected the political sensitivities of the previous regime and targeted stories that were “disrespectful” of authority figures, particularly ex-military leaders and former politicians.

<sup>88</sup> In contemporary China, for instance, pornographers may face the death penalty. For an overview of different censorship regimes, see Richard Procida and Rita Simon, Global Perspectives on Social Issues: Pornography (Lanham MD: Lexington, 2007).

<sup>89</sup> Rubin, “The Impact of the Occupation on Literature ,” 169.

<sup>90</sup> See Fukushima Jūrō, Sengo zasshi no shūhen (The environment of postwar magazines) (Tokyo: Tsukuma shobō, 1987): 239-64, for a discussion of the effect the lifting of wartime censorship had upon sexual expression in the popular press.

<sup>91</sup> No author, “Zadankai: jogakkusei no seitai o tsuku” (Roundtable: A discussion of the situation of female students), Ningen Tankyū (March 1952): 66-77, 76.

<sup>92</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 42-3, suggests three possible reasons for the designation kasutori. Firstly, kasutori shōchū was a poor quality alcohol made from a mixture of fermented rice and potatoes that, like the bad journalism of the kasutori press, was best avoided. Secondly, a kasutori drinker was only able to survive three cups before entering into a dangerous state, similarly kasutori magazines were unlikely to survive past their third issue. Finally, it was suggested that kasutori was a term applied to the poor quality paper used to print the magazines.

<sup>93</sup> The circulation and reach of the kasutori press is difficult to ascertain. Hasegawa reports a peak circulation of 250,000 for Fūfu seikatsu (Married-couple lifestyle) (1949-55), among the most popular and long-lived of the sex magazines, Hasegawa Takuya, Waisetsu shuppan no rekishi (History of obscene publications) (Tokyo: San ichi shobō, 1978), 96. Occupation Censorship Department records note more conservative circulation estimates: Abekku was noted

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as 35,000 and Ryōki as 20,000 but Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 50, mentions that these magazines would pass through many hands as they were recycled on the black market.

<sup>94</sup> Kōshi Shimokawa, “Gairo no ero shasshin uri wa doko ni kieta?” (Where did the erotic photo street merchants go?) Sei media 50 nen (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 2005), 32.

<sup>95</sup> Goichi Matsuzawa, ‘Kasutori zasshi to “Garo” no Nagai-san’ (The kasutori press and “Garo’s” Mr Nagai), Sei media 50 nen (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 1995): 23-31, 30. Significantly, not all titles were published in Tokyo but other regional centers including Osaka, Nagoya and even Gifu were also involved in the kasutori-publishing business. To a large extent, place of publication depended upon the availability of local paper supplies which were still hard to come by in the immediate postwar years, see Matsuzawa, “Kasutori zasshi to ‘Garo’ no Nagai-san,” 28.

<sup>96</sup> Narumigi, “Sekkusū kaihō no ayumi,” 41.

<sup>97</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 22-23.

<sup>98</sup> Igarashi, Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 47.

<sup>99</sup> In Japanese, yakeato jidai. For a discussion of the literature of this period, see Roman Rosenbaum, “The Generation of the Burnt-Out Ruins,” Japanese Studies 27, no. 3 (2007): 281-93.

<sup>100</sup> Victor Koschman, Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also Kōno, “Hihyō to jitsuzon,” 47.

<sup>101</sup> Marran, Poison Woman, 140-41.

<sup>102</sup> Onnazuki Hakase, “Ren’ ai gakkō shitsu: ai suru mono no shinri ni tsuite” (Romantic-love schoolroom: on the psychology of the lover), Bēze (October 1948), 16.

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<sup>103</sup> Another playful example of a report encouraging the acknowledgement of bodily odors is Ōya Masatake, “Fūfu seiai tokuhon: hana kara mita seiseikatsu” (Married couple sexual-love reader: sex life from the perspective of the nose), Shin fūfu (August 1949): 25-28.

<sup>104</sup> Examples are legion. See for instance, Fukuoka Takeo, Sei no atarashii ninshiki; or Ōnishi Kōichi, “Ren’aigaku kōza: raburetā no kakikata ni tsuite” (Romantic-love studies seminar: on how to write a love letter), Bēze (December 1948), 31; Just some of the hundreds of magazines containing such articles, all in print between 1946 and 1949, include: Shin fūfu (modern couple), Riibe (freedom), Bēze (kiss), Momo iro raifu (pink life), Abekku (with), Ai (love), Danjō (man and woman), and Hanashi (chat).

<sup>105</sup> The article by Ōta Tenrei and Kabiya Kazuhiko, “Petting wa ryūkō suru” (Petting is popular), Fūzoku kagaku (March 1954): 79–83, although published outside the period under discussion, looks back at the rise in the popularity of petting as a recreational practice among dating couples in the postwar period.

<sup>106</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 51.

<sup>107</sup> See Suzuki Toshihiko, “Abekku no seitoki kyōraku annai: Abekku de tanoshimu basho wa dokoka?” (Sexual pleasure guide for couples: Where are the fun places for couples?), Kibatsu zasshi (November 1949): 25-27.

<sup>108</sup> For a description of the penetration of American music into postwar Japan, see Ishikawa Hiroshi, Nihon fūzoku jiten, 41-44.

<sup>109</sup> This service was offered by the magazine Raburii, among others. See the December 1947 edition, 34.

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<sup>110</sup> See for instance an advert for “birth control jelly” (a kind of pessary) in the July 1949 edition of Ōru Ryōki, unpaginated back page. A box of five tubes cost 100 Yen.

<sup>111</sup> Ono Jiyōtoku, Angura Shōwashi (Underground Showa history) (Tokyo: Shūe shobō, 1981), 70.

<sup>112</sup> Furuda Kenkichi, “Gaitō abekku sanpuru” (Street couple sample), Raburii (May 1948): 29-30.

<sup>113</sup> In this paper I only have space to discuss the impact of American culture on heterosexual patterns of interaction. However, US Occupation personnel also impacted upon Japan’s homosexual subculture. See Mark McLelland, Queer Japan from the Pacific War, 77-78, and Mark McLelland et al. eds Queer Voices from Japan, 87.

<sup>114</sup> Several versions were in circulation but the most popular (on account of its readability) was Ban de Berude, Kanzen naru kekkon (Tokyo: Fumotosha, 1948) which became a best seller. See Fukushima, Sengo zasshi no shūhen, 246-7.

<sup>115</sup> Research conducted by Shinozaki Nobuo on 100 married couples described in his Nihonjin no sei seikatsu (Japanese sex lives) (Tokyo: Bungei shuppan, 1953), 59-60, would seem to support this. He reports average length of intercourse to be 1-3 minutes (31.1%), 3-5 minutes (35.9%), 5-10 minutes (18.4%), 10-20 minutes (12.6%), 20-30 minutes (1%), 30-40 minutes (1%).

<sup>116</sup> Tatsumi Gōta, “Sei ai no gikō: Hisuterii wa oto no sekinin de aru” (Sexual love techniques: Frigidity is a husband’s responsibility), Raburii (December 1947): 35-37.

<sup>117</sup> Takahashi Tetsu was a prolific author who opposed on numerous fronts both wartime and postwar state attempts to normalize sex. He not only called for the “liberation” of sexuality from its procreative function for heterosexuals but also rejected the designation of sexual minority practices and identities as hentai seiyoku or “perverse sexual desires.” Biographical details

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concerning Takahashi can be found in his autobiographical essay “Aru ahō no jinsei” (An idiot’s life) which appeared in a Takahashi Tetsu special edition of the journal Erochika (Erotica), (Tokyo: Misawa shobō, June 1972): 5-20.

<sup>118</sup> The evidence presented here goes against Sonia Ryang’s contention that “it was the postwar US Occupation that set the tracks for desexualizing married women and made Japanese marriage sexless,” Love in Modern Japan, 70. Ryang bases this claim on the influence she believes American sex-education literature had upon the Japanese education ministry’s sponsorship of “purity education” in the late 1950s which defined women’s postmarital roles as reproducer and homemaker. However, this claim makes no sense in the early postwar period when American influence (i) made possible the outpouring of erotic discussion in the popular press, much of it aimed at discrediting “feudal” ideas about women’s roles and (ii) encouraged the take-up of “democratic” romantic practices based on Hollywood models.

<sup>119</sup> Hence his emphasis on the need for a “sexual atmosphere.” See Takahashi Tetsu, Arusu amatoria: Seikō taii 62 gata no bunseki, seiai funiki 86 hō no bunseki (Ars amatoria: An analysis of the 62 positions of sexual intercourse and the 86 laws for creating a sexual atmosphere) (Tokyo: Amatoria sha, 1953).

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 21-22.

<sup>121</sup> I borrow the term from Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 48.

<sup>122</sup> Donald Richie, “The Japanese Kiss,” in Donald Richie, A Lateral View: Essays on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 1992), 222.

<sup>123</sup> Yorimitsu Hashimoto, “Japanese Tea Party: Representations of Victorian Paradise and Playground in The Geisha,” in Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict, ed.

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John Walton (Clevedon UK: Channelview Publications): 104-24. Liza Dalby, too, suggests that kissing was considered “outrageously exotic,” even for courtesans, Geisha (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 55.

<sup>124</sup> Kiwa Kōtaro, “Rabū shiin mangan” (Random chat about love scenes), Eiga yomimono 2 no. 5 (1948): 18-20, 19.

<sup>125</sup> Tajima Tarō, Senetsushitsu noyami ni tsubuyaku (Murmurs from the shadows of the censor’s office) (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, [1938] 2006), 332.

<sup>126</sup> These observations are recollections of Yamamoto, who was a student at the time, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 48.

<sup>127</sup> For a discussion of Takahashi’s views on kissing see Yamamoto Akira and Ozawa Shoichi, “Kisu o suru koto wa minshushugi no shinboru datta” (Kissing was a symbol of democracy), in Kasutori fukkoku han, ed. Nippon shuppansha (Tokyo: Nippon shuppansha, 1975): 82-87, 83; Yamamoto Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 48.

<sup>128</sup> Takahashi Tetsu, “Nihon fūzokushi ni okeru seppun ‘fukkō’ ron” (An argument concerning the ‘revival’ of kissing in Japan’s sexual customs’ history), Aka to kuro (October 1946): 18-24.

<sup>129</sup> Comment made in the context of an editorial discussing the behavior of GIs and their Japanese companions in the May 1946 edition of Van but deleted by the censors since it contravened the ban on fraternization.

<sup>130</sup> Hayashi Fuyuko, “Kissu arabesuku” (Kiss Arabesque), Amatoria (November 1952): 62-64; Hirano notes that the first screen kiss to be widely viewed in the US was The May Irwin—John C. Rice Kiss, a “roaring hit” on Broadway in 1896, Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo, 159.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

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<sup>132</sup> See for instance the report in The Chicago Defender on 3 September 1921, 6, “Japan Bans Movie Kissing: 120,000 Feet of American Films Edited Out by Censor.”

<sup>133</sup> Hayashi, “Kissu arabesuku.”

<sup>134</sup> Hirano, Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo, 162.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>136</sup> Joanne Izbicki, Scorched Cityscapes and Silver Screens: Negotiating Defeat and Democracy through Cinema in Occupied Japan, PhD. dissertation, Cornell University, 1997, 137.

<sup>137</sup> “Seppun eiga” is a Japanese category but in a 1947 article on American movie genres, it was explained as an American category – signifying the pivotal role the screen kiss played for Japanese audiences at the time. See Futaba Jūsaburō, “Amerika no eiga no jyanru” (American movie genres), Shinemagurafikku (May 1947), 7. Critical discussion of the genre in Japanese includes multiple articles in the magazines Eiga yomimono and Eiga fan published in 1947 and 1948.

<sup>138</sup> Cited in Hirano, Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo, 157.

<sup>139</sup> Hirano, Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo, 156.

<sup>140</sup> “Seppun eiga wa dai kirai” (I hate kissing films), interview with Mito Mitsuko, Eiga yomimono 1, no. 1 (1947), 88.

<sup>141</sup> Ernest Hoberecht, “Yank Tutors Jap Actress in Kissing,” Washington Post, 30 March 1946.

<sup>142</sup> Cited in Yamamoto, “Kasutori zasshi,” 248-9.

<sup>143</sup> Mauss, “Techniques of the Body,” 74-5.

<sup>144</sup> See for example Tanaka Taizō, “Ren’ai no hyōgen gikō: Rabu shiin no hanashi” (Technique for expressing romantic love: Talking about love scenes), Eiga fan no. 1 (1946): 22-25.



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<sup>145</sup> See for example, no author, “Tokushū: Eiga ni arawareta fūfu no aijō to tekkuniku” (Special feature: conjugal couples’ love techniques as expressed in the movies), Fūfu seikatsu (June 1954): 86-102.

<sup>146</sup> Idditie, When Two Cultures Meet, 143.

<sup>147</sup> Cited in Hirano, Mr Smith Goes to Tokyo, 157. Hayashi Fuyuko noted that as late as 1952 kisses that went on “too long” could still provoke laughter, “Kissu arabesuku,” 64.

<sup>148</sup> For more on audience responses see Matsuura, Senchū, senryōka no masukomi, 164.

<sup>149</sup> Yamamoto uses the term “infantile,” “Kasutori zasshi,” 248.

<sup>150</sup> See for instance, Nanbu Kyoichiro, “Sutaa no seishun, kekkon to seiyoku” (Adolescence, Marriage, and Sexual Desires of Movies Stars), Abbeku (July 1948): 36-38. Two magazines in particular, Seishun romansu (Adolescent romance) and Seishun seikatsu (Adolescent lifestyle), specialized in this genre.

<sup>151</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 64, 62.

<sup>152</sup> Cited by Izicki in Scorched Cityscapes and Silver Screens, 137-38.

<sup>153</sup> Yamamoto, “Kasutori zasshi,” 242-3.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>155</sup> Kiwa, “Rabū shiin mangan.”

<sup>156</sup> Hirano, Mr Smith Goes to Tokyo, 161.

<sup>157</sup> Scorched Cityscapes and Silver Screens, 136.

<sup>158</sup> The print data examined in this paper are similar to the mid-50s media controversy over the roles of the Japanese housewife analysed by Bardsley who comments that these debates “do not draw from surveys or demographic reports but are wholly based on personal experience,

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anecdote, random observation and conjecture,” they thus say more about the rhetorical environment than they do about embodied experience. Jan Bardsley, “Discourse on Women in Postwar Japan: The Housewife Debate of 1955,” *US-Japan Women’s Journal English Supplement* no. 16 (1999): 3-47, 4.

<sup>159</sup> Carol Gluck, “The ‘End’ of the Postwar: Japan at the Turn of the Millennium,” Public Culture 10, no. 1 (1997): 1-23, 4.

<sup>160</sup> Jan Bardsley also points to “a vested interest in believing in the newness of the postwar era,” arguing that the “new” roles for women discussed in the mid-1950s in the magazine *Fujin kōron* (Women’s review) had clear prewar analogues obscured by postwar cultural amnesia. Jan Bardsley, “What Women Want: *Fujin Kōron* Tells All in 1956,” *US-Japan Women’s Journal English Supplement* no. 19 (2000): 7-48, 11.

<sup>161</sup> The generational shifts identified by Dai ni ji shin seikatsu kenkyūkai hensanbu hen, for instance, largely support the arguments made in Ōta and Kabiya, “Petting wa ryūkō suru,” Hasegawa and Takagi “Senzen sengo ero sesō ōdan,” and Fukuoka, Sei no atarashii ninshiki. The numerous works by Yamamoto Akira (who was a middle-school student at the close of the war and who draws on incidents from his own autobiography in his many writings) also suggest that the juxtaposition of democracy and “sexual liberation” was not simply rhetorical but a lived reality for many.

<sup>162</sup> Yamamoto, Kasutori zasshi kenkyū, 20.

<sup>163</sup> Shunya Yoshimi, “‘America’ as Desire and Violence: Americanization in Postwar Japan and Asia during the Cold War,” Inter-Asia Cultural Studies 4, no. 3 (2003: 433-450), 438.

<sup>164</sup> Takahashi Tetsu, Kinsei kindai 150 nen sei fūzoku, 273.