THE STATE AS PIMP: Prostitution and the Patriarchal State in Japan in the 1940s

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This article explores the state organization of prostitution in Japan in the 1940s. The Japanese military and the colonial government in Korea created "comfort divisions" (*iantai*) for Japanese soldiers during World War II. Furthermore, one of the first postwar acts of the Japanese state was to resuscitate "comfort divisions" as the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA) for the U.S. occupation forces. In narrating state actions and organizations, I analyze the political-economic and ideological underpinnings that enabled the state to act as pimp.

In this article, I delineate the Japanese state organization of prostitution (defined as paid sexual work) in the 1940s. In analyzing the institutional and ideological underpinnings of prostitution, I trace concrete and complex power relations that transgress polarized gender categories. In so doing, I place the study of sexual work in the realm of political economy.

I begin by briefly articulating theoretical themes. After a short overview of premodern prostitution in Japan, I describe and explicate the creation of sexual "comforters" (*ianfu*) during World War II and the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA) after the war. I then outline later developments.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PROSTITUTION

State policy toward prostitution often exhibits an ostensibly contradictory logic of prohibition and regulation (and hence implicit encouragement) (Corbin 1978, pp. 24-33; Chaleil 1981, pp. 419-436). However, it is unusual for the modern state to organize its own prostitution service. How do we explain it?

Catharine MacKinnon's feminist theory of the state offers an illuminating perspective on patriarchy, the state, and sexuality. In her trenchant formulation: "sexuality is to feminism what work is to marxism: that which is most one's own, yet most taken away" (MacKinnon 1989, p. 3). Power in the patriarchal state, in her view, is predicated on men's control of women's sexuality. Indeed, the Japanese state as pimp appears as a paradigmatic instance of the patriarchal state that controls women's bodies and sexuality.

MacKinnon's argument, however, suffers from privileging sexuality and gender relations. As Elizabeth Spelman (1988, p. 186) points out: "Talking simply about relations between

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men and women masks race and class distinctions among men and among women." To focus excessively on men's power over women elides the complexities of women's oppression. It is not simply that men control women but that a particular group of men control a particular group of women. Power relations, even in the realm of sexuality, are complex, not unitary.

The complexity of power relations is best represented by the complementary yet conflicting relationship between patriarchy and paternalism. Consider that an elementary justification of patriarchy (as well as militarism) is paternalism: the duty of men to protect women. The protection of some women, however, entails the sacrifice of other women. Patriarchy and paternalism are two sides of the same coin: a currency that works in the complex milieu of international power relations, class, nationalism, and ethnicity. In other words, there are crosscutting allegiances that transgress polarized gender categories. These power relations cannot be theorized in abstraction as a simple gender dichotomy but rather must be analyzed in their concrete manifestations.

In constructing ruling ideologies, institutions, and class alliances, however, gender relations and ideologies play important roles. Just as patriarchal relations must be analyzed beyond gender relations, state power must also be analyzed in terms of gender relations. As Cynthia Enloe (1990; 1993) argues, not only does gender have an impact on international politics, but international political economy affects gender relations as well. This is equally true institutionally as well as ideologically for colonial and neocolonial relations.

In addition, the institutional role of the modern state should not be overlooked. In expanding its sphere of influence, the modern state cannot simply rely on coercion. In the project of creating hegemonic ideologies (in the Gramscian sense) and infrastructural capacities, the modern state seeks the collaboration and compliance of its subjects. For example, colonial control requires active consent and collaboration of colonized elites, playing on not only gender but also class, ethnic, and other divisions.

Thus, I stress several factors in analyzing prostitution and the patriarchal state. The impact of patriarchy is a key point of departure. Yet we cannot analyze women and men as simple collectivities but rather as mediated and affected by class, ethnic, and transnational political-economic relations.

PROSTITUTION AS TRADITION

Let me briefly present the historical background. Administered prostitution dates back to the late sixteenth century, if not earlier, in Japan (Nishiyama 1979; Kunimitsu and Sugimura 1980). Prostitutes were confined to government-recognized quarters to practice their trade, such as Yoshiwara in Edo (present-day Tokyo) (Nakano 1967, pp. 29-53). The state in effect allowed gangs (*yakuza*) to organize paid sexual work (Kobayashi 1982, pp. 130-137; Nagano 1982, pp. 174-175). In conjunction with "public" prostitutes (*kôshô*), commercialization and urbanization of Tokugawa society, especially in the late seventeenth century, spurred the development of "private" prostitution (*shishô*) ("illegal" prostitutes were also called *kakushibaijo* or *baita*) (Sone 1990, pp. 122-123; cf. Schulte 1979, pp. 11-67; Barnhart 1986, p. 15).

After the collapse of the Tokugawa regime, the Meiji state (1868) pursued substantially the same policy toward prostitution (Nolte and Hastings 1991). Partly to emulate the West, the state abolished trade in human labor and hence in prostitutes after the Maria Luz incident of 1872 (Maki 1970, pp. 208-221). Riding on the wave of the popular rights movement, some prefectures abolished prostitution in the early Meiji period (Yoshimi 1982, pp. 223-225). In

addition, the social reformism of the early twentieth century and the concomitant rise of women's movements contributed to the rise of an antiprostitution movement in 1926, which remained an active presence for the next decade (Itô 1982; Sievers 1983).

Nonetheless, the sex industry prospered in newly industrialized Japan in the early twentieth century (Ichikawa 1978). Indeed, modern Japan's first major exports were prostitutes called *karayukisan* (Japanese prostitutes who went abroad); sexual entrepreneurs (*zegen*) recruited young rural women to work abroad—from Siberia to Singapore—as prostitutes (Yoshimi 1984, pp. 3-7). The export of karayukisan often preceded Japanese trade abroad and Japanese prostitutes earned critical foreign exchange in the early period of Japanese industrialization (Yamazaki 1972, pp. 269-270).

Sexual workers also became fixtures of urban life, and writings on them proliferated (Minami 1988; Garon 1993). In the early twentieth century, there were about fifty thousand licensed prostitutes (operating in 550 licensed areas), eighty thousand geisha (traditional entertainers), and fifty thousand registered barmaids (Garon 1993, p. 714). In addition, there were many nonregistered prostitutes.

THE CREATION OF SEX SOLDIERS

The Japanese war effort in China intensified during the 1930s. In this context, the military, in conjunction with the colonial government in Korea (Sôtokufu), organized divisions of "comforters" (*ianfu*) for the sexual gratification of military officers and soldiers within and outside of Japan. The "comfort divisions" (*jûgun iantai*, *iantai* for short, or *teishintai*, in Japanese; *chôngsindae* in Korean) followed Japanese soldiers deployed across much of Asia and the western Pacific.

Why did the military organize its own prostitution service? To be sure, military prostitution has been common in many cultures throughout history. For example, Anne Butler (1985, p. 146) describes the late nineteenth-century U.S. military:

> The military establishment routinely insisted that it did not permit prostitution at frontier garrisons and that it did not encourage prostitution in surrounding towns. On the contrary, it was evident that every level of officer knew fully about the transport, presence, and residence of prostitutes in and around military reservations. Ultimately, the military created a de facto policy in support of prostitution. (cf. Termeau 1986, pp. 226-228)

As Cynthia Enloe (1990) writes of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines and elsewhere, military base prostitution is widespread. But the military rarely explicitly encourages or creates its own prostitution service.

The Japanese military had two reasons for organizing its own sexual workers. First, it sought to curb the incidence of venereal disease (VD) among its soldiers. A 1938 Ministry of Army survey found that 11 out of every 1,000 conscripts had VD (Yoshimi 1984, pp. 173; see also Sugaya 1975, pp. 299-300; cf. Walkowitz 1980, pp. 72-75). The military decisionmakers' concern can be gleaned from the fact that even when rubber had become a scarce but critical military resource, condoms (inscribed "attack no. 1" [*totsugeki ichiban*]) continued to be produced in abundance (Ono 1981, pp. 68-70; Yoshida 1983, pp. 22-23). Second, the military sought to halt Japanese soldiers from attacking women in colonized territories and in war fronts. Indelibly marked on the minds of the Japanese leaders was the negative international coverage of the Nanjing massacre when Japanese soldiers raped and assaulted Chinese

women (Sone 1984, pp. 130-133; see also Honda and Naganuma 1989). The Nanjing massacre cast a long shadow on Japanese leaders' thinking about war and male violence.

These reasons in and of themselves, however, do not illuminate the particular confluence of Japanese military needs and state capacities that created iantai. In brief, the very condition of modernity contributed to the ostensibly premodern practice of female sexual servitude.

First, the construction of iantai, like other atrocities of the modern era, depended on the modern bureaucratic state's infrastructural capacity. Here, Michael Mann's (1986) distinction between "despotic" and "infrastructural" power is useful. Whereas sovereigns in the premodern period exercised despotic power (e.g., executing a subject), they lacked infrastructural power (e.g., collecting taxes). The modern Japanese military and state had considerable infrastructural power to execute their goals by the 1940s. A century before, for example, the Japanese state could not possibly have organized iantai, either in Korea or within Japan proper. Recruiting, transporting, and supporting female sex soldiers required an organizational capacity that was a necessary but insufficient condition for the "comfort divisions."

Second, the egalitarian ethos recognized the sexual "rights" of citizen-soldiers. The flip side of the modern state's infrastructural power is its lack of despotic power. In order to advance its aims, the state—even an authoritarian one like the Japanese state of the early 1940s—must elicit the participation of its subjects. The massive military organization required the consent of its conscripts. Moreover, access to sexual gratification could not be restricted to the privileged few; the sexual "rights" of soldiers, which would not have been of concern before the modern period, had to be widely dispersed among citizen-soldiers. The Emperor's "gift" had to be distributed widely (Suzuki 1991, p. 28).

Finally, the modern state, with its infrastructural power and egalitarian ethos, also sought to modernize the nation through disciplinary power. One element in this process was the ideology of compulsory heterosexuality (Rich 1980), which replaced the earlier ethos that allowed homosexual relations among soldiers. This is particularly interesting in the case of Japan with its long tradition of warrior homosexuality (Hiratsuka 1983). The relentless Japanese pursuit of wealth and power, encapsulated in the slogan *fukoku kyôhei* ("rich country, strong military") was simultaneously a westernization project. The mimetic desire cast "traditional" homosexuality as a relic of the feudal past (cf. Weeks 1981). In effect, the modern military, with its professionalism and organizational discipline, superseded the earlier aristocratic (and national) tradition with its sexual tolerance. The soldiers were expected to channel their sexual energy into heterosexual outlets and to emulate the sexual prowess of the West.

The recruitment of ianfu began in the 1930s and intensified in the early 1940s. In the beginning, the military recruited Japanese prostitutes (Hirota 1975; Yamada 1991). However, many of them suffered from VD, which undermined a major reason for iantai. The military demand, moreover, far exceeded the availability of Japanese prostitutes. Hence, Korean women were targeted to become ianfu.

Why didn't the military turn to Japanese women who were not prostitutes? The widely disseminated ideology of paternalism precluded "ordinary" Japanese women from becoming military prostitutes. The war was fought, after all, for the sake of the family and the country. The patriotic ideology was simultaneously patriarchal; men were to protect women and children while glorifying the nation and the Emperor (Senda 1981, pp. 182-185; cf. Braybon and Summerfield 1987, p. 109). Furthermore, in the early 1940s the state assiduously promoted a pronatal policy, which required Japanese women to bear "pure" Japanese offspring (Suzuki

1993, p. 237; Uno 1993, pp. 299-300). Nationalist ideology mandated a practical constraint on the deployment of "ordinary" Japanese women as prostitutes.

In addition, both ideological and institutional factors rendered Korean women ripe for sexual exploitation. Koreans occupied a special, ambivalent role in the Japanese racial ideology. Although they were deemed racially close to Japanese and expected to assimilate (*kôminka*), they were nonetheless deemed inferior. The narcissism of minor differences contributed to the especially severe colonial rule compared, for example, to Taiwan. Indeed, the ideological combination of closeness and insistent inferiority facilitated the transformation of Korean women into prostitutes. The degrading treatment of Korean women was only another step from the dehumanization of Koreans as colonized inferiors. The sexualization of oppressed others is, of course, common across cultures past and present. What allowed Korean women to be "whores" also rendered Korean men suspect as potential sexual predators. The ideology of Korean inferiority mandated the creation of "comfort divisions" for Korean workers in Japan in order to protect "innocent" Japanese women from the potential barbarity of Korean men (Yamane 1991, pp. 89-94). As we will see, the ideology of paternalism—protection for "ordinary" Japanese women—played a major role in the postwar organization of state-sponsored prostitution service.

The existing apparatus of labor mobilization in colonial Korea was also important. From 1939-1944, close to 800,000 Korean workers were "exported to Japan, primarily as manual workers" (Pak 1965, p. 59). Many Korean women were already working in factories and farms under Japanese control and hence were easy prey for "sexual conscription." Korean women worked in the worst jobs created by the militarized colonial power in its war effort (Kim and Pang 1977, pp. 71-74). It was a small step to transfer young women from factory jobs to sexual work. Furthermore, Japanese sexual entrepreneurs (zegen) had been recruiting Korean women to become prostitutes for Japanese clients; they could be mobilized as well to recruit Korean women for military prostitution (Kim 1974, pp. 126-128).

The colonial ruling apparatus facilitated the process. Korean collaborators, including elite women, and Japanese colonial officials recruited young Korean women to become military prostitutes (Yoshida 1983). "Korean hunting" (*Chôsenjingari*) relied on force and deception (Kim 1974, pp. 177-178; Yamatani 1979, pp. 21-22; Yoshida 1977, pp. 150-197). In total, up to 200,000 Korean women became ianfu (Kim 1974, p. 79; Senda 1981, p. 17).

Colonial power relations and racial hierarchy stratified Japanese and Korean ianfu. Japanese ianfu were often reserved for officers, while the Koreans served the rank and file (Kim 1974, pp. 124-128; Yoshimi 1977, p. 206; Senda 1981, pp. 40-41). Furthermore, Japanese ianfu were paid two to three times as much as their Korean counterparts (Senda 1978, ii, p. 82). The paucity of ianfu led the military to force women in conquered territories to become prostitutes, who were treated worse than Korean ianfu (Senda 1978, i).

Ianfu worked as virtual sex machines. They had repeated intercourse as soldiers stood in line to be "serviced" without interruption. Needless to say, many women's health conditions deteriorated (Kim 1977, pp. 67-128). Forced against their will to become sexual serfs, many were killed once they served their function (Suzuki 1991, p. 54). Some survivors were stranded in war fronts across Asia and the Pacific (Senda 1978, ii, pp. 58-60).

In summary, the Japanese military organized Korean women to serve Japanese soldiers sexually. The colonial power exploited the colonized women's sexuality as part of the Japanese state's pursuit of its military goals. The infrastructural capacity of the state, the sexual

rights of citizen-conscripts, and the modern Western ideology of compulsory heterosexuality were crucial elements that made the "comfort divisions" possible.

THE U.S. OCCUPATION AND THE NEW IANTAI

The Japanese defeat in World War II ushered in a period of U.S. occupation that lasted until 1951, when Japan regained its sovereignty in the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The Supreme Command for Allied Powers (SCAP), which functioned under U.S. control, sought a thoroughgoing reform of Japanese society, including the liberalization of women's position (Lie 1991). As one author argues: "Those who received the biggest benefit from the occupation policy after the war were Japanese women" (Sugasaki 1986, p. 110). However, U.S. occupation did not end either prostitution or the patriarchal state. Indeed, the continuity between the prewar and postwar periods manifested itself most strikingly in the state policy toward prostitution. The Japanese state organized a new "division" of sexual workers.

The end of the war brought considerable confusion. There were widespread rumors concerning the coming U.S. occupation force. Two reminiscences of "ordinary" Japanese women express their fear and panic. Akiyoshi Miyoko wrote: "In two hours [after the Emperor's announcement of Japan's defeat] there were rumors: 'Men will be castrated and taken to America as slaves. Women will be concubines of Blacks'" (Itô 1990, p. 16). Itô Matsuko recalled: "In any minute, American soldiers will come and crush old grandmothers. Young girls will be taken; their legs will be pulled apart" (Iwasaki and Katô 1971, p. 38). Respected newspapers warned women to dress properly and not to "bare their chests" in front of American soldiers, while a Home Ministry memorandum encouraged the police "to prevent women walking alone or going out at night" (Awaya 1986, p. 315). Many Japanese people feared that American soldiers would do unto them what their soldiers had done to Koreans, Chinese, and other conquered people during the war. Japanese soldiers who had committed the atrocities that the rumors described had returned to Japan to spread, verify, or embellish tales of terror (Kata 1972, p. 260; Duus 1979, pp. 17-18).

Amidst apprehension over the imagined brutalities of American soldiers, the Japanese state sought to preempt American prurience by organizing prostitution for the occupying U.S. troops; thus, they created the Recreation Amusement Association (RAA; Tokushu Ian Shisetsu Kyôkai) (Kanzaki 1974, pp. 128-133; Kobayashi and Murase [1961] 1992). Old habits, obviously, do not die easily. Indeed, it was one of the first actions of the postwar cabinet headed by Prime Minister Higashikuni. On August 18—a mere three days after the defeat—Vice Prime Minister Konoe discussed ways to "protect" Japanese women from American soldiers. Ita Shinya, then the police chief, said:

> [The RAA] was instituted as a necessary thing. Konoe remembered what Japanese soldiers did to Chinese women in the Manchurian Incident, so he felt he should save Japanese women. Hence, he called me to the Prime Minister's residence hoping that I would [organize the RAA]. (Oshima 1976, pp. 125-130)

In *Japan Diary*, Mark Gayn ([1948] 1981, p. 233) reports what the chief of the Metropolitan Police told his subordinates:

> "Gentlemen," he said, "the American Army is coming to Japan. We fear that the Americans will molest our women—our wives and daughters and sisters. We need a shock ab-

> sorber. Moreover, it is desired that the Americans enjoy their stay here, and become our friends. The government, therefore, hereby orders you to form a central association which would cater to the amusement of the Americans."

An August 18, 1945, memorandum from the Home Ministry's security division dictated: "Police chiefs should aggressively lead and quickly establish sexual comforting institutions (*seiteki ian shisetsu*)" (Ichikawa 1978, p. 535). The result was the RAA, which has been called "the world's biggest white-slave traffic combine," with capital of fifty million yen, with thirty-five million yen of which was provided by the Finance Ministry (Duus 1979, pp. 41-52; Gayn 1981, p. 233). The official who approved the capital expenditure in the Finance Ministry was Ikeda Hayato, the future Prime Minister of Japan (Omura 1976, p. 149). Perhaps it is emblematic of the continuity between the prewar and postwar periods in Japanese history that the state's prostitution organization was conceived by its most prominent prewar civilian politician, Konoe, and executed by the architect of the postwar economic "miracle," Ikeda.

Thus, the patriarchal state sought once again to play the paternal role of protecting its women. In their vision, the protection of Japanese womanhood entailed the sacrifice of other women. The remnants of authoritarian state structures facilitated the execution of the patriarchal-paternalist conception. Bereft of colonies, however, elite men of power looked to prostitutes and would-be prostitutes to serve as new sexual "soldiers."

In addition to organizing existing prostitutes, the state recruited new women. Befitting the newfound democratic era, the state also relied on advertising. In *Mainichi Shimbun* of September 3, 1945, the RAA placed the following advertisement: "Special women employees wanted. Clothes, shelter, and high wage provided. Loans provided. Travel expense will be provided for applicants from the countryside" (Ichikawa 1978, p. 537). In Ginza and other parts of Tokyo, the following billboard went up: "To the new Japanese women! As part of state emergency institution for postwar task, we need cooperation of the new Japanese women to participate in the important task of comforting stationed troops" (Ozawa 1984, p. 20). With widespread hunger and unemployment, many women signed up to "comfort" American soldiers (Omura 1976, pp. 147-148).

The commencement ceremony of the RAA on August 26, 1945, occurred in front of the Imperial Palace. The RAA was to be "a blockade [*bôhatei*], to sustain and cultivate the purity of the race for the next hundred years and beyond," as well as to "become invisible pillars underground for the basis of postwar social order." In essence, the RAA was to "contribute [*teishin*] to the protection of the body politic [*kokutai goji*]" (Ichikawa 1978, p. 536).

At its height, the RAA numbered about seventy thousand women. When it officially disbanded in March 1946, there were about 55,000 prostitutes (Ozawa 1984, p. 22). It was mainly for soldiers, while professionally trained geisha were reserved for officers (Isomura 1975, pp. 125-126). In 1953, prostitutes in Yoshiwara, a traditional and prestigious area, cost 400-2,000 yen, while ianfu in Shinagawa ranged from 300-600 yen. At the time, a haircut cost 200 yen while a bowl of noodles cost 50 yen (Ono 1981, pp. 103-104). Kanzaki (1974, p. 138) reported that each ianfu "comforted" from 15-60 soldiers per day.

The RAA disbanded after the order was issued from the security division of the Home Ministry (Ichikawa 1978, pp. 550-552). As early as January 1946, however, SCAP had issued a memorandum stating that prostitution was against the ideal of democracy: "The maintenance of licensed prostitution in Japan is in contravention of the ideals of democracy and inconsistent with the development of individual freedom throughout the nation" (Ichikawa

1978, p. 548; see also Nishi 1985, pp. 36-40). SCAP sought to combat prostitution by increasingly sterner measures. First, it put up "Off Limits—VD" signs around brothels and bars (Isomura 1975, pp. 182-183). Second, SCAP began prostitute "hunts" in January 1946; it arrested 15,000 prostitutes in August 1946 and 56,000 in 1949. A former Japanese police officer testified:

> It was terrible. Just as the expression "hunting" [*karigomi*] suggests, they [prostitutes] were all treated like animals, as if catching wild cats. Led by the MP's jeep, we went by trucks and pushed everyone into the trucks. However, many MP's, when they took off their uniform, became customers and bought street prostitutes. (Oshima 1976, p. 133; see also Kanzaki 1974, p. 157; Duus 1979, pp. 188-189; Nishi 1985, pp. 114-115)

There is little doubt about the informed passivity, if not outright complicity, of the U.S. military command in the face of the Japanese action. Interestingly, the number of violent incidents against women by American soldiers increased from 40 to 330 per day, which corroborated the Japanese authorities' raison d'être of instituting the RAA in the first place. More critically, RAA prostitutes earned foreign exchange for the Japanese economy, much like their Meiji-period counterparts, karayukisan. Therein lies a compelling reason for the state to overlook its stated opposition to prostitution. The Japanese state was the primary actor in the drama of the reconstituted iantai.

In summary, the Japanese state organized prostitution to serve the occupied U.S. military force immediately after World War II. In so doing, the state, along with the U.S. military presence, stimulated the revival and expansion of the sex industry in postwar Japan. The state's motivation was to protect "innocent" Japanese women and to placate the occupying U.S. force. Although the beneficiaries shifted from Japanese to American soldiers, and the provider of sexual service from Korean to Japanese women, there was a remarkable continuity in the activity of the Japanese state.

AFTER THE RAA

The end of the RAA did not end prostitution. The victorious nation's men continued to buy the defeated and impoverished nation's women. In particular, new street prostitutes, called *panpan*, proliferated (Yamaoka 1973, pp. 335-363; Shisô no Kagaku Kenkyûkai 1978, p. 217; Ono 1981, pp. 78-80). Interestingly, panpan organized self-defense groups as they had no vertical relationships either to the government or to pimps (Yoshimi 1984, p. 198). Those who served Americans were called *yôpan* (those who had only one client were called *only*, while others were called *butterfly*) (Shisô no Kagaku Kenkyûkai 1978, p. 217).

Prostitution was therefore not abolished but simply continued in a new, privatized form. From November 1946, the Japanese state regulated prostitution in licensed quarters, called *akasen* (red-line) areas. In Tokyo, sixteen traditional places of prostitution became "red-line" areas, while new areas were called "blue-line" (*aosen*) areas. The distinction between red and blue areas was essentially the traditional distinction between regulated and unregulated areas (Ida 1986, pp. 60-61). The vast majority of the 55,000 ianfu went straight to work in akasen after the RAA was disbanded (Yamaoka 1973, pp. 364-365). The number of prostitutes increased steadily in the postwar period. The Ministry of Labor estimated that there were half a million prostitutes at the time (Kata 1978, pp. 495-496; Yoshimi 1982, p. 209).

The motivation of Japanese prostitutes was predictable: in a time of poverty and confusion, they simply sought to survive. Gayn ([1948] 1981, p. 213) interviewed one nineteen-year-old prostitute:

> She said . . . she had never been a prostitute until . . . five months ago. She now owed the company Y.10,000 (about $660), mostly for the clothes she bought at the brothel store. We got similar stories from the other girls. Most of them had lost their families in the American fire raids. Some had lost jobs in the war industries. A few described themselves as geisha, or professional entertainers. They were all in debt to the management, and the debt was growing. We asked them if they had heard of the MacArthur directive which banned contractual prostitution. They had not.

The situation was no different after the RAA was discontinued. In a famous nationwide radio interview, a twenty-year-old panpan said: "Even if one finds a decent job after much effort, all others will do is to say that 'she was a panpan'" (Ozawa 1984, p. 19; Yamaoka 1973, pp. 313-321). Predictably, ianfu and panpan were stigmatized as deviant and morally corrupt (Yamaoka 1973, pp. 384-395), when in fact they were poor women with few opportunities (Oshima 1976, p. 134; Kano 1984, pp. 30-32).

In April 1958, prostitution became illegal in Japan, thereby ending centuries of administered prostitution in the country (Ichikawa 1978, pp. 609-626; Takemura 1985). However, the impetus of the immediate postwar years, especially as stimulated by U.S. military presence, had greatly expanded the sex industry. This was particularly striking in Okinawa, which was occupied by the United States until the early 1970s. By 1969, one out of every thirty-four women over the age of fifteen had become a prostitute (Hokama 1984, pp. 39-40). In the main islands of Japan, U.S. occupation encouraged the revival of prewar "private" prostitution. For example, the immediate postwar years witnessed a resurgence of pornographic literature and magazines (Shinohara 1988). Strip shows became popular (Oshima 1976, pp. 259-262; Yamaoka 1973, pp. 265-291). Call girl rings began as a service for U.S. officers, while male prostitution also had its beginning in the occupation period (Kata 1978, pp. 496-497; Yamaoka 1973, pp. 396-415).

Although proscribed after 1958, paid sex work survived and in fact proliferated. As a British sociologist observed in the late 1950s: "Prostitution, driven from the licensed quarters, became an expanding industry of the side-streets" (Dore 1958, p. 162). In its most explicit form, *torukoburo* (Turkish bathhouses) or *toruko* developed into virtual brothels in the course of the 1960s. From 390 establishments in 1963, the number of toruko increased to 814 in 1971 and 1,486 in 1979 (Yoshimi 1984, pp. 229-239). The sex industry was privatized under the grip of Japanese mafia (yakuza) and gangs (*bôryokudan*). Unlike the horizontally organized panpan, male sexual entrepreneurs, often related to illicit networks, recruited young women. In a 1966 police survey, over half of those who worked in toruko had pimps attached to some gang (Kanematsu 1987, pp. 238-258).

With the postwar economic expansion, Japanese men became major consumers of women's bodies. Toruko, renamed Soap Land in the early 1980s, continue to be fixtures in urban areas. Simultaneously, other sexual services proliferated throughout Japan (Kanematsu 1987, pp. 185-236; see also Bornoff 1991). Not content with the domestic service, sex tours to Korea and Taiwan in the 1970s and Thailand and the Philippines in the 1980s became popular (Truong 1990; Lie 1995). By the 1980s, Asian women entered Japan as *Japayukisan* (named

after karayukisan) in a variety of sex-related work (Lie 1994). Japan had, in short, created a sphere of sexual exchange encompassing the greater East and Southeast Asia (Lie forthcoming).

CONCLUSION

The Japanese state organized and promoted sexual work in the 1940s. During World War II, the military was instrumental in recruiting Japanese and Korean women into "comfort divisions" to serve officers and soldiers within and outside of Japan. After Japan's defeat, the state organized Japanese women to serve the occupying American soldiers sexually. In short, the Japanese state functioned as a pimp in the 1940s.

The activities of the Japanese state in the 1940s suggest that it is problematic to separate the discussion of political power from the issue of sexuality. This study also demonstrates that prostitution does not occur simply from men's sexual desires or "deviant" women's willingness to offer sex for money but because of the underlying structural conditions and concrete organizations. The prerequisites of modern, organized prostitution include the regulating or administrative state, urbanization and the commodification of social life, and the concomitant end of feudal sexual relations. More concretely, prostitution usually entails organizations—be it the state or private sexual entrepreneurs—to sustain relations of sexual exchange between prostitutes and their clients. In this sense, the study of prostitution must be placed in the analysis of power relations, that is, in the realm of political and sexual economy.

Patriarchy is not an all-encompassing principle of power in society. Men do not control women but rather a particular group of men control a particular group of women. Just as (predominantly farming and working) women from colonized Korea were mobilized by the Japanese state, some Japanese women were mobilized when Japan was "colonized" by the United States. International and internal power relations were critical to the formation of prostitution organizations.

The Japanese state as pimp is but an extreme manifestation of the modern patriarchal state. The quest for power and wealth justified in terms of protecting "innocent" women legitimates the colonization of not just another country but its own women as well. In so doing, the state creates alliances across nations, classes, and genders; it is not outright coercion but hegemony that makes the rule of the modern state effective. The modern patriarchal state, as well as patriarchal social structure, are ensembles of overlapping power relations, not instances of simple gender hierarchy and domination. The road to understanding the power of patriarchal ideologies and institutions lies in tracing the concrete operations of power relations.

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