Cute, Cool and Criminal: Transgressive Gender Representation in Film by Japanese Schoolgirl Subcultures

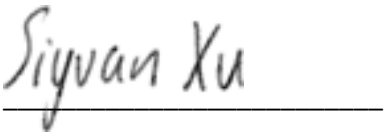
Siyuan Xu

Submitted to the Faculty of Film, Art and Creative Technologies in candidacy for the BA (hons) Degree in Animation

Submitted 28/02/23

Declaration of Originality

This dissertation is submitted by the undersigned to the Institute of Art Design & Technology, Dun Laoghaire in partial fulfilment of the examination for the BA (Honours) (programme name). It is entirely the author's own work except where noted and has not been submitted for an award from this or any other educational institution.



Siyuan Xu

Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I offer my dearest gratitude to my mentors. Firstly, Dr. Sherra Murphy for her guidance in the refinement of my thesis, support in my writing and personal goals, and our memorable conversations through my time in IADT. To Jack O'Shea, for your hard work and devotion in supporting us in our final year, thank you for your patience, care and empathy. To Dr. Michael Connerty, programme co-Chair, and to Vanessa Gildea, Head of Faculty in Film & Media, for your passionate responses to student queries and personal involvement in the issues I have brought to the attention of the Animation board.

Abstract

Subcultures are often associated with criminal and deviant communities; the salience of subcultural studies identifies flaws in the dominant culture's ability to care for the individual; a subculture may be considered a product of the social order's structural flaws. Joanne Turney, editor of 'Fashion Crimes,' a collection of chapters dissecting the codification of particular articles of clothing labelled as 'criminal,' explains 'dress' as culturally loaded: Communicating 'something about the self either as projection or as reflection,'[1] pertaining to clothing as a 'vehicle in which to perform the self (real or perceived).'[2] Dick Hebdige's study of the British-Punk movement is a sharp framework of referral in subcultural analysis due to the violent determination the punk scene sought to detach itself from traditionalist forms, almost revelling in criticism and attention for disapproval. Western subcultural patterns are accepted to be male-lead and orientated with female participants taking supporting roles. So, are all counter-cultural artefacts of dress limited to the semiotics of masculine punk, rock, and/or hip-hop? Yuniya Kawamura is among the sociologists who identifies the gender and Euro-Americentric bias in subcultural studies- Sociology has traditionally been a western focused discipline until recent decades; Kawamura argues a vehement lack of significant study outside the Euro-American sphere which excludes valuable research in understanding the subcultural life cycle.[3] My thesis offers Japan as irrefutable evidence of an alternate and overlooked subcultural pattern and producer of a new global outlaw archetype, inspiring many film genres centred on the unlikely anti-heroine: Schoolgirls. Japan's girl-centred subcultures fundamentally challenge prescribed gendered behaviour/speech and sexual/familial roles, this thesis discusses transgressive gender representation of teenage girls in film and the dissemination of a new global archetype through the motif of the *seifuku* (uniform). The term 'new form of femininity' repeats itself in female subcultural studies where girls and women redefine their own womanhood and seek 'emancipation from the cult of romance, and marriage as their true vocation,'[4] The deviant schoolgirl is source material of shocking transnational film influence as both a cultural agent and product. The purpose of this thesis is to contextualise the mid and late 20th century movements of working class Japanese schoolgirls in reclaiming and redefining shojo-hood with the restraints of the pre-war *Shojo* (young lady) template and ideologies of *ryosai kenbo* (rearing of good wives and wise mothers), and the politically conscious films they inspire. I refer to 'Shojo' with capitalisation as the icon representing

---

[1] Turney, Joanne. "Fashion Crimes: dressing for Deviance."
London: Bloomsbury. 2019. P. 1-11. Print.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Kawamura, Yuniya. "Fashioning Japanese Subcultures"
London: Bloomsbury. 2012. P. 12-17. Print.

[4] Brake, Michael. "The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex and Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?"
London: Routeledge. 1980. P. vii. Print.

traditionalist ideals, and ‘shojo’ as the Japanese teenagers of qualifying age and qualities.

Introduction

Fig. 1.1 *'Wotakoi: Love Is Hard for Otaku', Yoshimasa Hiraike (2018)* ***Gakusei*** *(student) stands beneath a canopy of* ***sakura*** *(cherryblossom) grasping their graduation diplomas; A compounded cliche of Japanese media with layered symbolism to represent the transient nature of youth and beauty.*

The sakura is acutely emblematic of the Japanese nation and cultural identity, laden with historical symbolism and nuanced philosophical metaphor, the cultural significance of the cherry blossom motif far surpasses western *vanitas* in complexity and endurance dating back to the Edo period[5]. Flowers are an ubiquitous symbol in the representation of the ephemeral across cultures unoriginal to Japan, however, the sakura is not simply a flower native to Japan but is revered with tender regard spanning centuries of compounding widespread associations ranging from artistic and poetic to militaristic and political.

A transient wistfulness is pervading in the appreciation of classical Japanese aesthetics, the awareness of impermanence is embodied by the Heian idiom *mono no aware,* or 'the pathos of things'. A compulsory understanding of mono no aware was required of a 'learned man in aristocratic [Heian] society,'[6] where mono no aware was equated to understanding of the world. Motoori Noringa's criticism of Lady Murasaki's great novel remains one of the most well known Japanese literary criticisms identifying the 'Genji Monogatori's central theme as mono no aware and coining the Heian into Japan's modern literary canon, from which then the cherry blossom becomes intertwined with the idiom. Donald Richie encapsulates mono no aware as an 'awareness of evanescence and the resulting lamentation' which involves a 'near-buddhistic insistence upon

[5] Yoda, Tomiko. "Fractured Dialogues: Mono No Aware and Poetic Communication in The Tale of Genji." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol.59, No. 2.
Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute. 1999 P. 523–557. Print.

[6] Kato, Kazumitsu. "Some Notes on Mono no Aware". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 82**,** No.4.
Michigan: American Oriental Society. 1962. P. 558–559. Print.

recognition of the eternal flux of life upon this earth.' as the 'authentic Japanese attitude toward death and disaster.'[7] This Shinto philosophy of graceful and readily acceptance of the inevitable permeates the Japanese mentality: 'This is not as it perhaps should be, but it is as it is.'[8]

The Sakura is the embodiment of mono no aware, an ephemeral beauty lasting only for three weeks of spring. The flowers bud, bloom and wilt en masse with great volatility in a rain of pink petals becoming a symbolic association of not only mortality and acceptance of fate and karma, but the transient vibrance of youth. Cherry blossom motifs are often paired with images of students in uniform making both the uniform and sakura synonymous in representing Japanese youth, and by extension the carefree pre-war Shojo Icon: The absolute embodiment of brief carefree youth and freedom. In stark contrast of western views of freedom in adulthood, Japanese youth are apathetic and believe entering adult society is to enter a restricting, dismal period of heavy burden, thus many subcultural activities in Japan revolve around the rejection of societal participation.

For Japanese men, his school uniform may evoke feelings of nostalgia but for women, the sailor uniform is a precious relic signifying her years of unequivocal socio-political freedom. Researchers such as Kinsella explain the Shojo myth as a freedom unattainable to men; specifically, the sailor uniform signified a daughter free from the workforce and latent potential.[9] Counterintuitive to western thought, for Japanese teenage girls the seifuku is a vital part of her identity and individualism as it becomes a visual signifier of her freedom. Being a young unmarried woman in Japan grants an unequivocal freedom greater than that of a young man by 'virtue of the strength of their oppression and exclusion from most of the labour market and thus from active social roles.'[10] A shojo has the ability to traverse the social plane with freedom unavailable to men as she is exempt from adult roles before marriage. In the 1970s, shojo presumed the new role of a pure consumer, where she remained excluded from the adult workforce and gender roles, she was childlike- "a dependent with no means of production."[11] The shojo's position in the economy remains as a consumer, the schoolgirl's uniform reflects the most unencumbered period of a young woman's life; the seifuku is understood to represent a time of unparalleled freedom in Japan.

---

[7] Feleppa, Robert (2004). "Black Rain: Reflections on Hiroshima and Nuclear War in Japanese Film". *CrossCurrents*. Vol. 54 No.1
North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. P. 106–119. Print.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Kinsella, Sharon. "Cuties in Japan." *Women, media, and consumption in Japan.*
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. P. 220-254. Print.

[10] Kinsella. 1995. P .244.

[11] Younker, Teresa. "Lolita: Dreaming, Despairing, Defying" *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Summer 2011
P. 106-107. Web.

The term shojo can still be ascribed to a young woman outside the labour market and family, a 'vacuous freedom [can be enjoyed] as an outsider in society with no distinct obligations or role to play,'[12] She has ownership and rights to her money and the freedom to socialise with friends in urban centres. Thus, marriage/maturity becomes a looming threat to strip her of these unique privileges[13] and replace them with the traditional burden of a 'good wife and wise mother', an idiom espousing the ideal for womanhood in East Asia dating back to the Edo period.[14] The depiction of a demure and obedient girl in training to become a subservient long-suffering wife and mother is not limited to the western geisha fixation but product of the patriarchal structure of Japanese society. Being shojo is a grey area of Japanese society, not yet an adult but no longer a child. Schoolgirls sometimes use this liminal status to opportunistically manipulate their grey status in society as the *furyo shojo* (delinquent schoolgirl) is not regarded seriously by police; This is a double edged sword. Their crimes ranging from petty to taboo, which will be discussed in later chapters, are either dismissed or unreported. Japanese society identifies teenage rebellion as a phase before adult integration, Nobuaki Higa explains:

> 'In Japan, outlaw society is right out in the open. Yakuza gangsters can even have their own office buildings. Even though you might be anti-social, that doesn't mean you are unacceptable, especially if you are young. The cops know it's just a matter of time before bad girls grow up and walk away from the lifestyle. Being in a gang is something you can graduate from.'[15]

These girls are unprotected as deviants, but not associated as criminals under the careful configuration and tacit assumptions carried by the school uniform. A covert disruption to the status quo is enacted simultaneously by the shojo's postmodern self-awareness and the parent culture's deliberately blind eye to maintain the Shojo myth. The innocent, virginal beauty of the mythical Shojo is unspoken yet implicit, a perverse patriarchal interest in the uniformed schoolgirl. Kinsella suggests resistance to female financial and sociopolitical independence stems from patriarchal objectification of women and male ownership of female sexuality- while the rapid industrialisation of Japan was built on young women as it was in recent history where a father possessed the legal right

---

[12] Kinsella, 1995. P .244.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Sievers, Sharon. 'Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of a Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan.' California: Stanford University Press. 1983. P. 22.
[15] Macias, Patrick. Evers, Izumi. 'Japanese Schoolgirl Inferno' San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC. 2007. P. 19.

to sell his daughter to the textile or brothel industries.[16] Kinsella proposes the 'cult of shojo' and *rorikon* (Lolita complex) and adjacent media as simultaneously products of jealousy, nostalgia and a complex ridicule to female advancement in face of male stagnation during the rapid economic growth and modernisation of Japan.[17]

The aesthetic revolution of uniform fashion is profoundly nuanced and distinctly Japanese. The shojo sensibility to hold onto the uniform is complex, a necessary understanding of women's status in Japanese society highlights the profound struggle of holding onto shojo-hood to maintain self-autonomy in line with Okonogi's coinage of 'moratorium mentality' which pervaded the 80s:

> 'Present day society embraces an increasing number of people who have no sense of belonging to any party or organisation but instead are orientated towards non-affiliation, escape from controlled society, and youth culture. I have called them the moratorium people.'[18]

Simultaneously, Sharon Kinsella describes the seifuku as a 'complex subterfuge in which rule breaking was disguised as conformity, making it especially difficult for teachers and parents to detect and discipline offenders."[19] The Japanese values of uniformity and collectivism created a pocket of parodical conformity, nuanced alteration and stylistic codes are implemented by highschool students as covert position taking. The trove of contemporary films and media revolving around Japanese teenage girls subcultural genres produced since the early 70s offer a window into the motivation and influence of the seifuku cultural phenomenon. In examination of Japanese delinquent-girl genre films a disparity is indicated between seifuku adjacent and nonadjacent self-identifying teenage girl groups; while operating under the guise of conformity, deviants traverse the mainstream with the power to self-identify and identify comrades making room for a new vigilante-genre. The following chapters digest and analyse the alternative gender representations by major post-student riot schoolgirl subcultures in film and contextualise the transgressive values of which to media feedback loops and negative social sanctions. This thesis puts forward the schoolgirl icon as an anti-heroine archetype native to Japanese oppositional film as a product and reaction of the ever-shifting status, values and ideals of women in the Japanese model. This exclusive uniform fashion is now a validated

---

[16] Kinsella, Sharon. "Cult of Girls." Four Thought London: BBC 2014. Radio.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Kinsella. Op. Cit. 1995. P. 250.
[19] Kinsella, Sharon. "Kogyaru and Dressing Up as a 'Schoolgirl Delinquent" Fashion Crimes: Dressing for Deviance.
London: Bloomsbury. 2019. P. 59- 72. Print.

living genre of street style, legitimised by two juxtaposed major subcultural movements: The violently rebellious *Sukeban* (girl boss) and the fashionable *Kogyaru* (highschool gal).

The Sukeban referred to the leader of a girl gang or the entire exclusively female highschool gang. Sukeban outlived their male Bancho counterpart who rejected their membership in the early 60s. At the peak of their activity it was rumoured the Kanto Women Delinquent Alliance boasted approximately 20,000 members- more than a single yakuza organisation at the time.[20] By the 1970s the Sukeban's signature style was fully realised; Identifiable by her brightly dyed hair, rolled sleeves, ankle-length skirt (to conceal weapons such as razor blades and chains), practical cropped blouse, converse sneakers, gang-affiliated symbols, kanji and anarchic slogans. The sukeban's self-enforced uniform possesses a level of irony as the seifuku is a remnant of the militaristic spirit of the Meiji era; subverting the pure prewar Shojo's sailor uniform into an improvised urban battle armour; better suited for movement, intergang violence and petty crime/shoplifting exploits.

[20] Macias, Op. Cit. P.21.

Fig. 1.2 *Sukeban: 20 Amazing Photographs Capture Badass Girl Gangs in Japan from the 1970s and 1980s. © 2020 VINTAGE EVERYDAY.*

It is salient to note the modesty of the Sukeban's attire, particularly the iconic ankle length skirt- A deliberate alteration in protest to sexualisation and reclaiming of female sexuality, as a symbolic reminder in which the Sukeban's non-normative female behaviour is not a performance for male attention but female peer approval in a subspace within both the male dominated society and wider *Yankii* (yankee) subculture.

Sukeban, despite their bad behaviour, reverently wore their school uniform both outside of school and post-graduation, demonstrating both a defiant sense of self-identification/definition as an outsider and the marks the nascent stages of the uniform fashion movement. To combat the Sukeban's brand of delinquent dress, high schools adopted to Western plaid skirts and blazers, ironically giving way to the new and major tribe of deviant teenage girls: Kogyaru.

Fig. 1.3 *Signature Kogyaru style: Loose socks, cropped skirt, dyed hair and kawaii goods. Nesnad/ Wikimedia Commons.*

Kogyaru is compounded by the transliteration of the English word 'girl/gal', a term ascribed to modern Japanese women throughout the 20th century. The 'ko' suffix of the word may derive from *koukou* (highschool)[21] or *kodomo* (child)[22] as a nonliterary label, but definitely describes girls of and surrounding highschool age. E.G. Smith white boot socks, the staple item of schoolgirl fashion in the 90s, were glued to (literally, by specialised Hakugen brand 'Sock Touch' glue) all fashion conscious girls for the entire decade; 'loose socks' came to define Kogyaru despite school disciplinary actions to ban the fad.[23] Eric Smith recounts his visits to Shibuya station in the afternoon:

> 'Schoolgirls would be changing out of school-regulation knee high socks into loose socks to go meet their friends. I think this caused the loose socks to be fetishised by some businessmen.'[24]

When reportage of schoolgirls turning tricks for cash swept the nation in the mid-90s loose socks were no longer synonymous with schoolgirls, but with sex. In this time young women 'often complain that men on the street walk up to them and offer money for sex, assuming that they have no agenda other than prostituting themselves.'[25] Statistical evidence based on studies of 'Perceptions of sexy clothing by college females,' conclude that what defines a 'sexy' item of clothing by the male camp, is uncorroborated by women.[26] A feedback loop is noted as Kogyaru are found to sometimes 'parody this assumption:'[27]

> 'The theme of staged and conspicuous flashiness in [Kogyaru] culture makes a mimicry of the media image of the mackintosh high-school girl prostituting herself for money.'[28]

---

[21] Macias. Op. Cit. P. 49.

[22] Kawamura, Yuniya. "Fashioning Japanese Subcultures"
London: Bloomsbury. 2012. P. 52. Print.

[23] Ashcraft, Brian. Ueda, Shoko. 'Japanese Schoolgirl Confidential: How Teenage Girls Made a Nation Cool.'
Tokyo: Kodansha International. 2010. P. 27-28. Print

[24] Ibid.

[25] Miller, Laura. "Those Naughty Teenage Girls: Japanese Kogals, Slang, and Media Assessments" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* Vol. 14, Issue 2
New York: Wiley-Blackwell. 2004. Print. P.239.

[26] F.Cunningham and D. Weis, 'Perceptions of sexy clothing by college females'
Association of College Professors of Textiles and Clothing Proceedings: Combined Central, Eastern and Western Regional Meetings. 1985. Print.

[27] Miller. Op. Cit. P. 239.

[28] Kinsella, Sharon. 'What's Behind The Fetishism of Japanese School Uniforms?' *Fashion Theory* Vol. 6, Issue 2.
London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2002. Print. P. 215-238

Unlike their Sukeban predecessors in the chronology of Japanese teenage girls cultures, Kogyaru did not assert rebellion by behaving thuggish, but embraced their girlhood by mashing garish amounts of kawaii tokens to their school attire, and creating new Gyaru cultures and exclusive linguistic innovations- But, there is great disparity between the Kogyaru mode in the capitalistic celebration of youth and its contemporary, Lolita's; Kogyaru exploit their liminal status on the adult plane, resulting in a decade of vis-a-vis violence against *Oyaji* (old man/geezer) media by flaunting their sexuality and engaging in a power struggle against fetishistic interest.

Chapter One:

SUKEBAN: A REFLECTION OF GOVERNMENT DISSATISFACTION

The first substantial Japanese subcultural genre films revolved around the sukeban of the 60s, when the term 'Sukeban' drifted through yakuza-genre director and screenwriter Noribumi Suzuki's ears, the term was immortalised into genre through bawdy yet lucrative, Pinky Violence. Her portrayal entranced popular culture as her brutal yet loyal character posed a relief for the ideation of pure pre-war shojo and contemporary bright chirpy idols.

As minor Japanese film studios saw the shrinkage of profits as television rose to prominence in the early 60s a surge of cheaply made yet exceptionally lucrative exploitation films entered the box office. *Pinku eiga* (pink films) were low budget pictures bursting with nudity, violence and soft-core pornography unavailable to television and soon major studios turned to producing personally branded pink films at the face of low cost high profit projects.

The Sukeban's strict personal code and loyalty to the gang capitalises on the 'noble criminality and social consciousness'[29] as a competitive counterpart to the established yakuza genre. Beyond cult enthusiasm, Alicia Kozma is of the film intellects that identify an undervalued wealth of female transgression and new gender iteration in Toei's Pinky Violence retrospective, the establishing collective of the Sukeban genre and a trove for Japanese female representation to confront the 'traditional role of women in exploitation films as scopophilic fetish objects.'[30]

MISPLACED EXPECTATIONS OF MOTHER AND WIFEHOOD

Suzuki presents an obvious juxtaposition between mainstream enforced gender expectation and the disparaging reality of the exploited and cynical daughters of the working class in *Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom* by placing the wayward Sukeban into an uncannily fascist reform institute dedicated to the traditional ideal of ryosai kenbo.

The urban tribe depicted in Suzuki's collective are self-evidently disobedient, disillusioned, and disenfranchised. The Sukeban is presented as an outsider, she is far removed from the national ideal of submissive, gentle and maternal wives and obedient daughters. The teenage girls depicted speak crassly using Yankii vernacular, engage in casual sex and are predisposed to violence; traditionally masculine attributes inappropriate for highschool girls; an alternative gender expression specifically

[29] Kozma, Alicia. "Pinky Violence: Shock, Awe and the Exploitation of Sexual Liberation." *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema.* Vol. 3, No. 1
London: Routledge. 2012. P. 37–44. Web.
[30] Ibid.

for young women is represented. The audience is forced to concede the irrelevance of heteronormative ideals imposed on plainly unsuited and uninterested young women. The ideals of motherhood and wifehood are presented as unappealing and jarring; The wayward girls stare numbly and blindly under the droning of a fascist regime attempting to force their conformity and tokenize their marginalised status.

Compliance and faith in bureaucracy does not guarantee survival; the only student who devotes herself to following normative rules and rituals to attain a scholarship to reform her life is rewarded by being raped by the politician the programme is sponsored and named after. Laura Miller theorises, 'their rebellion was linked to the fact that they knew they would never become princess office ladies and adorable marriage fodder for white-collar salarymen.'[31] Not only is the Shojo, to OL (office lady), to salaryman's wife pathway unavailable to the Sukeban in a sociopolitical regard, but she does not possess the naivety of the pre-war Shojo to find desire in this path.

DISPLAYS OF POWER: OBJECT AND SUBJECT

Kozma cites 'the female body as home to sexual power, physical power and outlaw gender status'[32] in Suzuki's depiction. The Sukeban establishes new hybrid gender expression within the scope of Toei's Pinky Violence by exerting both traditionally male dominance in the plane of physical power and sexual agency, and an autonomous weaponizing of the eroticised female body as a subversive counterattack against the rules imposed by male dominated society.

There is no lack of self-directed crime and physical violence in the Sukeban subgenre as a counterpart to its contemporaries in wider outlaw genres. The audience is introduced to the deviant lifestyle of the delinquent girl character; the familiar concept of a criminal underworld is established through Yakuza-esque rules and rituals; she exploits normative society through theft, coercion and violence. The Sukeban is an anti-heroine submerged in combat between fighting against other delinquent girls, men and authority figures with no reservation and readily jumping into action or onto a motorbike at any moment. The Sukeban's unapologetic gender performance contradicts normative female behaviour and brazenly asserts her aggressive and dynamic nature centrestage leaving no room for demureness.

---

[31] Miller, Laura (2016). Interviewed by Webb, Beth. "How Vicious Schoolgirl Gangs Sparked a Media Frenzy in Japan" Vice. 2016. Web.
[32] Kozma. Op. Cit. P. 41.

There is nuance to the Sukeban's outlaw status; an additional layer of complexity distinguishes her from the honourable criminality of Yakuza and Bancho genres, a self-awareness of her position as both a woman and a defector of her expected sexual roles elevates her complex character charisma and commentates on wider societal issues. The delinquent girl is disillusioned, an acute awareness of sexual stratification and disregard for expectations of the demure, virginal Shojo are components to Suzuki's Sukeban's wield of her own objectification:

> 'Sexual power is a weapon in the sukeban's arsenal against a male dictatorship and the society that dictatorship created: one that has no use for women who refuse to sublimate their sexuality or regard it as something dangerous.'[33]

Fig. 2.1. *Still from* Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom, *Norfumi Suzuki (1973) Principal Nakata's naive statement is ironic in a complex exploitation of male fantasy.*

The sexual hypocrisy of male authoritative figures is deliberate and direct inversion of sexual power dynamics as the uniformed schoolgirl subjugates the elite male figure in subversive and satirical schemes. Social commentary is made: While the external world operates within patriarchal structure, a certain audacity is possessed by the easily manipulated male figures; whereby a false self-entitlement to the female body as a sexual object directly results in feeble resistance or suspicion, and finally, their own social destruction. Suzuki both exploits and raises an eyebrow at the

[33] Ibid.

underlying fact in which the girls depicted are of highschool age and a seemingly widespread uniform fetishism inherent in Pinky Violence's constructed cinematic universe, beneath the veneer of a proper suit and tie, male antagonists instigate their own downfall by the impetus of their own sexual desire and patriarchal entitlement.

The socio political subtext of autonomously weaponised female sex, is that it is a threat to the patriarchal structure of society; Simone de Beauvoir wrote in 1949, despite men's sexual dependency on women, woman does not hold sexual power over man;[34] in this display of radical sexual ownership the patriarchal mode is collapsed. In the pocket of Pinky Violence, an alternate matriarchal mode is erected within the dominant culture and allows for transgressive gender representation in displays of radical female sexual agency and power, where in conventional gender hierarchies are inverted and 'transfers traditional male authority onto the women'.[35]

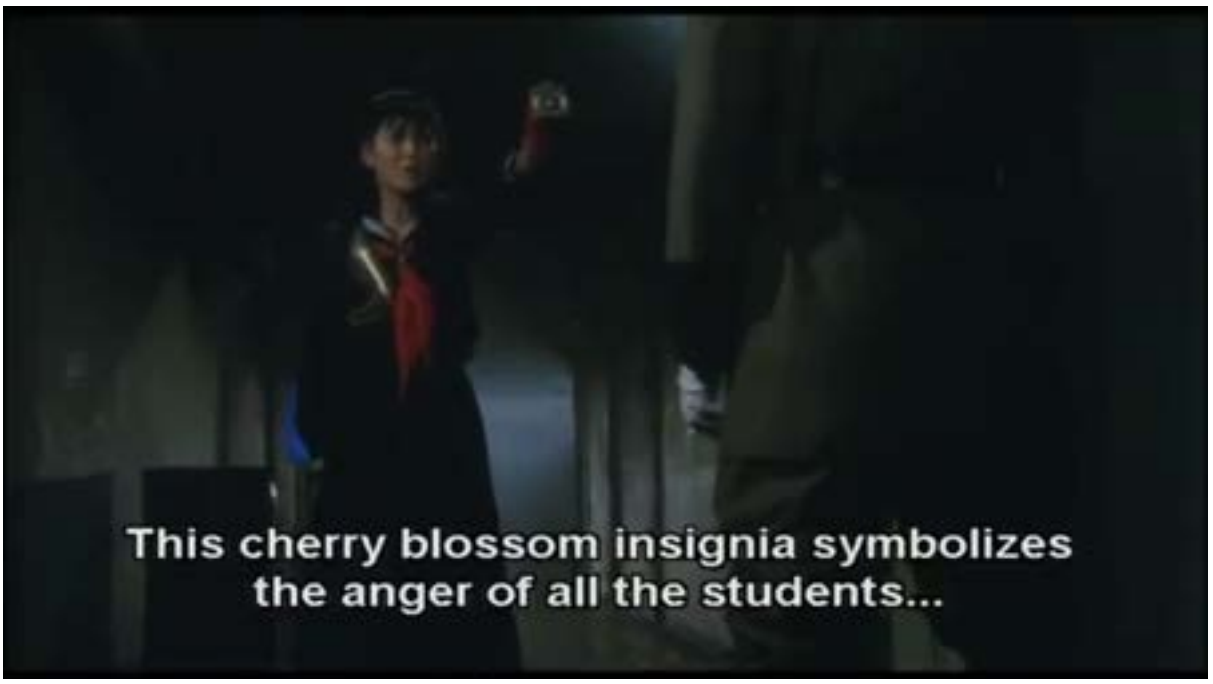
THE REVOLUTION BUDS FROM THE CHERRY BLOSSOM

As exploitation films consist of mature themes and adult actors, the marginal and exploited status of the Sukeban is opportunistically emphasised through women's 'threefold minority status, triggered through their gender, economic and legal status'. The youthful aspect of the Sukeban is subordinate in the empowerment of minority identities in Pinky Violence, bar the tacit fetishtic male reverie of uniformed schoolgirls, which is ultimately exploited and punished. Similar themes and plot points are consistent in the formula of Sukeban genre films: The Sukeban, her gang, radical female solidarity, and the exposition of 'social, governmental and legal hypocrisy'[36] with no shortage of gratuitous and creative violence. Toei's live-action, *Sukeban Deka: The Movie* (1987) and TV franchise follows a decade later, based on source material shojo manga: *Sukeban Deka, 1975-1982*. Despite a new rating and demographic, many resonating themes and plot points are still remnant of Toei's originating Sukeban media. Uncannily similar plot points are drawn between Season 1, Episode 1 of *Sukeban Deka*, the live action Television drama and *Terrifying Girls High School: Lynch Law Classroom*; a corrupt authoritative male figure tokenises disadvantaged working class schoolgirls through a virtue signalling scholarship programme; the suspicious death and exploitation of an earnest disadvantaged student; an antagonist female group operating as mislead henchmen for the corrupt male; and an exaggerated violent montage leading to the exposure of authoritative hypocrisy. Ultimately, the

[34] Beauvoir, Simone de. 'The Second Sex'.
New York: Vintage Books. 2011. P.29-30. Print.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Kozma, Op. Cit. P. 39.

radical attributes of the preceding oppositional film media are revised for the new shojo demographic; the cartoonish influence of manga violence and appropriate ratings are implemented in the franchising of the Sukeban genre. Yet, Hideo Tanaka's *Sukeban Deka: The Movie* maintains the anti-authoritarian spirit and themes of female empowerment key to the genre through primary female identification, peripheral male characters and features of overwhelming strength by the Sukeban anti-heroines to dispel abusive authorities. The conspicuous difference between Tanaka's and Suzuki's celebration of female deviance is indisputably the aspect of maturity, yet, the media dissemination from medium to medium alludes to a shift in mainstream values.

Suzuki's Sukeban were necessarily played by adult actors to indulge sexploitation but also directed and scripted to act beyond the age of highschool girls- Much like the real Sukeban of the 60s who preferred to adopt tougher and older personas, though it is crucial to remember the original delinquent girls were particularly modest in protest of the coinciding sexual revolution. Tanaka on the other hand emphasises the importance of youth action and specific exploitation of adolescents in Japan. The plot of *Sukeban Deka: The Movie* boasts a story audaciously more incredible and brazenly critical of Japanese bureaucracies than any of the Pinky Violence saga: The Sukeban gang must expose and defeat the cyborg terrorist headmaster Hattori of Sankou Gakuen (a prison island) who is conditioning wayward youths into his slaves by way of torture- Sometimes to the point of death. The emancipation of the enslaved adolescents of Sankou Gakuen must be achieved before Hattori ultimately stages a fascist coup d'etat on the Japanese government with the help of a shadowed political fixer. Tanaka's Sukeban are played by teenage girls and act accordingly, sometimes childishly and specifically wield weapons relating to children's toys such as yo-yos and marbles, these Sukeban cherish and embrace youth which becomes their strength in defeating the abusive authority. Subtextually, fighting, childish indulgence and a rejection of the adult plane contradicts proper behaviour expected of future mothers and wives.



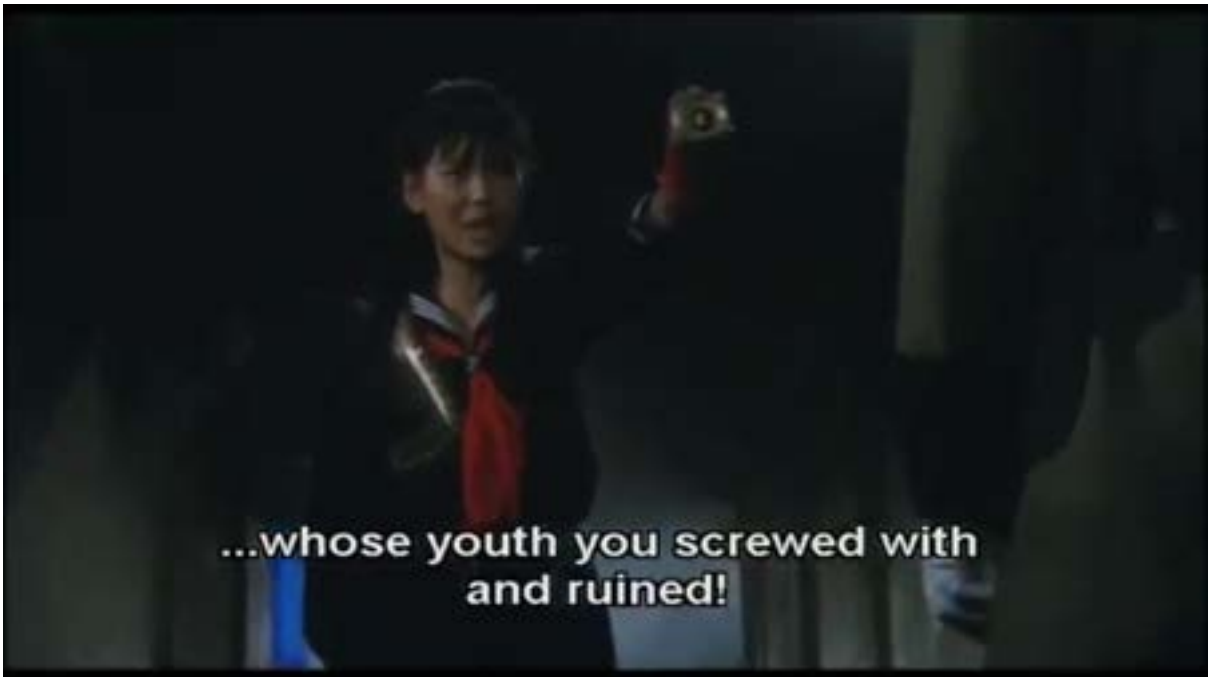


Fig. 2.2 *Still from* Sukeban Deka: The Movie*, Hideo Tanaka (1987) Saki Asamiya is a delinquent turned secret investigator who infiltrates and exposes illegal activities in schools across Japan.*

At the climax, the cherry blossom motif resurfaces as a mnemonic that the guardian of glorious youth, justice and equity must be youth itself and only the outsider shojo can both identify and challenge authoritarian abuse. The use of sakura as a symbol of youth empowerment is somewhat subversive in consideration of classical philosophies of 'mono no aware'. Though sakura holds undisputed associations with youth and Japanese students Tanaka contradicts the the attitude of

graceful and readily acceptance by utilising the sakura's vitality and beauty as an armament for the Sukeban in her pursuit of antiheroine justice.

THE SAILOR UNIFORM AS AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN SYMBOL

Fig. 2.3 Mob*, Eve (2022) The Sailor uniform becomes a symbol for exploitation and emancipation in the recurring motif of schoolgirls with weapons.*

The sailor uniform is an ubiquitous symbol of youth and omnipresent icon of Japanese pop-culture across genres from *kawaii* to *hentaii,* its symbolism is complex dating back to the Meiji era and overt naval motifs which persist today and inspires contrary feelings of nostalgia and perverse worship. Japanese subculture maintains a tradition in subverting institutional or militaristic uniforms but no garb is as iconic nor exemplifies nuanced uniformity as a form of defiance as the Sukeban's two-piece sailor uniform. *Sukeban Deka: The Movie* presents the distinction between uniformity as a means to police the body by strict regimen and an implement of self-definition in the Sukeban's subcultural context.

The Sankou Gakuen uniform features two variations, the generic seifuku for the enslaved students and a style military uniform for the indoctrinated elite students, a bold visualisation surpassing the thin veil of uniformity as an implementation of institutionalisation rather than discipline. Sankou Gakuen is in essence a prison in which the students are subjected to two choices: Become a prisoner or become a warden, the students who do not receive promotion maintain the generic seifuku, the elite don a new military attire.

An underlying comparison is made between the school uniform and the prison uniform where strict parameters of dress are imposed by authority. The uniform is a visual signifier of the body's position within the institution and 'make(s) the subject visible and amenable to surveillance.'[37] For Hattori's student soldiers the military uniform becomes an implement of his indoctrination where the subject is totally denied as an individual with a cap shrouding the eyes; the psyche is altered towards the subject's identity in relation to its role as the body is symbolically belonged to the authority by the uniform.

Fig. 2.4 *Still from* Sukeban Deka: The Movie*. The contradiction of uniforms in the Sukebans' and Hattori's context emphasises the distinction of uniformity as a means of discipline versus solidarity.*

Tanaka presents the fascist uniform as the evolution of the generic seifuku, the Sukeban and her gang become the antithesis of this institutionalised progression. For the Sukeban, her sailor uniform is a symbol of her youth and freedom which she boasts proudly, the Sukeban's uniform is defined by specific visual motifs which do not belong to any institution therefore there is no overarching authority with a set of ideals to implement. The Sukeban uniform is possession of the group's participants, rather than regulations there are signifiers of membership, the subject self-enforces this chosen uniform as a deliberate means of self-identification as an outsider.

---

[37]Friedrich, Japser & Shanks 'The prison of the body': school uniforms between discipline and governmentality', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education.* Vol. 44, No. 1. London: Routledge. 2023. P.19. Print

Hattori's military uniform and the Sukeban's self-imposed uniform become foils, both uniforms are evolved from the same naval tradition but are progressed starkly by the authority and the individual in defiance of the authority. The theme of self-ownership and outward defiance with definite awareness of one's place in a stratified society is one of the Sukeban's charms, she defiantly marks herself as an outsider making her a resonating and charismatic character to all audiences.

The sailor uniform transgresses national boundaries and cements itself in the global imagination of images synonymous with Japan. In context to long standing controversies in racial representation in Hollywood, Tarantino's American *Kill Bill* saga is more a condemnable orientalist parody than homage to Japanese and Chinese cinema in which Tarantino's caricature of East Asian women are represented in such excess he succeeds in reinforcing hypersexual racial stereotypes.

Fig. 2.5 Kill Bill Vol. 1, *Quentin Tarantino (2003) The child O-ren Isshi avenging her parent's murder in the iconic sailor uniform. The complex self-exploitation of Shojo fetish aesthetics reflects the subversive crux of Toei's sexploitation films in the 70s.*

Yet, Tarantino in the same instance upholds the transgressive character of the Sukeban in O-ren Isshi and Gogo Yubari by use of seifuku aesthetics in congruence with the intolerant and violent *Furyo Shojo* (delinquent girl) to punish predatory male characters. *Kill Bill* ultimately solidifies the Sukeban's place in global film culture and immortalises her as the Japanese 'bad girl'.

Chapter Two:

KOGYARU; ‘THE OLD MAN IS NOTHING BUT A PURSE’

> '-WHEN THOSE WORDS- SPOKEN BY AN EIGHTH GRADE GIRL WHO MADE $4,000 A MONTH 'DATING ' MIDDLE-AGED MEN FOR PROFIT- WERE PRINTED IN A 1996 ISSUE OF SHUKAN GENDAI MAGAZINE, THEY SCANDALISED THE NATION OF JAPAN.'[38]

Fig 3.1 *Still from* Babel, *Alejandro González Iñárritu (2006). The trendy Kogyaru figure is introduced to global cinema, Chieko Wataya is a deaf highschool student struggling with the frustration of her disability and lack of sexual experience. Hollywood's intentional exploitation of the oversexed Kogyaru of the 90s brings the perception of wanton Japanese highschool girls to global imagination.*

The term 'gal' has been ascribed to various incarnations of modernising women in Japan dating back to the first identifiable Japanese subculture, the *Modan Garu/Moga* (modern girl/gal) of the mid 1910s and 1920s. The Moga can be regarded as Japan's equivalent of China's *Modeng Xiaojie,* subcultural movements which were born in conjunction with the emergence of a new social class of working young women. A necessary nuance to retain in the distinction of contemporary modern girl archetypes, such as *Flappers* and *Neue Frauen*, is the basic fact of ethnography. The independent Moga's new city lifestyle and sexual freedom were criticised as symptoms of foreign influence and cultural betrayal, an uncanny resonance in the nationalist press' criticism of the selfish, promiscuous and hedonistic Kogyaru decades later. The term 'gal' resurges with economic growth, iterations of the title categorised various waves of emotionally and financially independent women. In recent history the *bijinesu garu* (business girl), later renamed *OL* (office lady) to avoid sexual connotation, is a

[38] Macias. Op. Cit. P. 49

product of complex ridicule by the male camp to trivialise advancement in women's social status by feminist critique. The OL archetype emerged in the 80s, they were women in 'pink collar' office jobs, at this time much discourse regarding the new position of women emerged in popular media. Lauren Miller explains this categorisation and condemnation as 'ways that attempt to deflect their efforts to attain autonomy and self-definition.'[39]

ENJO-KOSAI; MONEY IS POWER

The self-indulgent consumption culture of young women of the surrounding decades were documented with perverse interest and scrutiny by national media and discourse for the male intellectual camp. One cannot discuss the topic of Gyaru-cultures without foreword of the deeply entangled topic of *enjo kosai* (compensated dating), the alleged endemic of the 90s. The common media connotation of the time alluded to numbers of schoolgirls exchanging sex for designer goods or cash, images of small schoolgirls with wads of large bank notes and designer goods dominated the media in a moral panic illustrating all fashionable schoolgirls as delinquent amateur prostitutes:

> 'Sexual experience and experience with money became intertwined taboos in imagery and reportage [...] Money and brand-name goods came to stand in for prostitution [...] Cash began to take on a sexual aura.'[40]

[39] Miller, Laura. "Those Naughty Teenage Girls: Japanese Kogals, Slang, and Media Assessments" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* Vol. 14, Issue 2
New York: Wiley-Blackwell. 2004. P. 226. Print.

[40] Kinsella, Sharon. "Schoolgirls, Money and Rebellion in Japan."
London: Routledge. 2013. P.88-106. Print

Fig. 3.2 Bounce KoGALS*, Masato Harada. (1997).*

However, researches shows discrepancies between the media's claimed statistics and valid surveys[41] concerning the percentage of schoolgirls participating in enjo kosai and in the majority of all cases, simply involve a transaction concerning sterile company, often consisting of entertaining older men in a 'karaoke box for several hours and are paid for their time.'[42] Sharon Kinsella identifies the 'casual prostitution, female comradeship and lesbianism, violent female rebellion, and uniformed vigilantism' as recurring themes through modern culture with deep historical resonance:[43]

> 'The particular history of forced, voluntary, and indentured prostitution among women of the labouring classes, and the movement for the abolition of prostitution have nourished a pool of imagination in which female liberation and feminism have been seen- at their most fundamental-as a reaction to prostitution and male sexual control and manipulation, as much or more than a reaction to the drudgery of housewifery and child-rearing.'[44]

Kinsella forwards the notion of prostitution as a concurring thematic alongside other acts of female-deviance discussed prior regarding the Sukeban of Pinky Violence (violence, lesbianism,

---

[41] Mamoru, Fukutomi. "An Analytical Study on the Causes of and Attitudes Toward 'Enjo Kōsai' among Female High School Students in Japan".
Tokyo: *Professor, Tokyo Gakugei University* 1997. P. 75–76. Print.

[42] Miller, Op. Cit. P. 239. 2004.

[43] Kinsella. Op. Cit. 1995. P.175.

[44] Ibid.

uniformed vigilantism), as a synchronised reaction of 'subaltern status and revolt'.[45] This proposal advances the subject of prostitution as merely a protest of women's familial role and the heteronormative model but as an exercise of female sexual agency and self-autonomy in response to male exploitation and the patriarchal mode. The exposition of enjo kosai in delinquent girl films is not merely a sensational reflection of contemporary affairs but a 'rehearsed symbolic meaning with a natural enemy.'[46] *Bounce KoGALS (1997)* by Masato Harada, features delinquent schoolgirls disrupting traditional power dynamics not in the Sukeban's style of violent rejection but in cunning features of robbery under the guise of sexual invitation and ludicrously expensive compensated dates. The story follows the formation of an unlikely gang of highschool girls with seemingly nothing in common spurred by mutual understanding and empathy when Lisa is robbed of 300,000 Yen the morning of her flight to New York, Raku and Jonko introduce Lisa into enjo kosai as the quickest and 'easiest' way to make her money back. 'They were not prostitutes,' director Harada says, 'but very clever crooks challenging Japan's male dominated society.'[47] Hideaki Anno, best known for creating and directing the *Neon Genisis Evangelion* franchise, presents the topic of enjo kosai in a different light. *Love and Pop (1998)* is based on novelist and political essayist Ryu Murakami's novel 'Topaz II,' it takes a more detached approach to the topic of schoolgirl exploitation and enjo kosai as a cautionary tale, and explores the topic through the lens of Hiromi, an aimless schoolgirl from a stable middle class family entertaining salarymen for lavish sums of pocket money with her friends. Hiromi's exploits are strictly limited to simply offering her company to paying men until an expensive ring consumes her and her fixation drives her to attempt sex work to procure the object of her desire. Money is the sole impetus for Kogyaru to participate in enjo kosai, Kogyaru find the older men they date repellent. The disdain for the Oyaji post-war salaryman icon is visceral, some girls 'refuse to have their clothing washed with their father's soiled clothes and will not sit on a subway seat recently vacated by a salaryman.'[48] Laura Miller explains though Kogyaru 'are not the only women who disparage the postwar-salaryman icon, they seem much more open and virulent in their expressions of disdain.[49]

[45] Ibid.
[46] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 20. 2006.
[47] Ashcraft, Op. Cit P. 75.
[48] Miller, Op. CIt. 2004. P. 237.
[49] Ibid.

Fig. 3.3 *Still from* Bounce KoGALS. *Jonko, despite regularly extorting and robbing Oyaji, hates Oyaji so much she finds their money disgusting; the money earned through enjo kosai is dirty.*

Enjo kosai becomes a representative of the power struggle between Shojo and Oyaji, Kogyaru self-identifies as the exploiter in a power imbalance, as opposed to the salaryman coercing naive schoolgirls for company or sex. A mutually parasitic relationship is formed between both ends of the enjo kosai table, Kogyaru often express 'disdain, pity or contempt for the men they see themselves as exploiting,'[50] It is explicit that the girls do not enjoy taking part in enjo kosai but require 'adult money' in order to independently service their material needs. It is worth noting the girls depicted in neither *Bounce KoGALS* nor *Love and Pop* are exclusively costumed as the light haired, tanned and loose sock wearing Kogyaru that occupies the media's imagination. Both Masato Harada and Hideaki Anno suggest deeper resonances for young women to participate in enjo kosai beyond subcultural hype. The filmic representation of women as young as highschool age commodifying their youth to sell to older men in highly provocative features is reflective of financial liberation as a core antecedent for female self-determination; wealth stands in as a physical indicator of power and freedom for women:

> 'Voluntary and casual prostitution instigated by women *for their own profit* has long been considered a form of self-serving economic activity associated with female autonomy.'[51]

---

[50] Ibid. P. 239.

[51] Kinsella, Sharon. 'Female Revolt in Male Cultural Imagination in Contemporary Japan.' *The Fourth Chino Kaori Memorial* 'New Visions'
London:SOAS. 2006. P. 19.

Enjo kosai then correlates as a response to the economic dependence of Japanese housewifery on the salaryman, a desperation to achieve financial independence may result in innovation, as opposed to the familiar features of racketeering and strong-arming native to the Yakuza genre, young women are shown as prone to exercising sexual agency to challenge traditional power structures.

CONSUMPTION AS A VICE; EMPTINESS AND ESCAPISM

The stark contrast between western and Japanese subcultures in response to late capitalist values is indicative of their respective parent culture's stance on consumption and material goals. Where many western youth cultures reject capitalist values and excessive material indulgence in overtly aggressive tones such as Punk, Japanese young women lean into consumption as a form of highly contextualised rebellion and mechanism for self-consolation. Kinsella theorises in context to kawaii consumption which boomed in this time frame:

> "Aspects of cute culture [...] appear to respond to this criticism by defensively strengthening a 'girls only' culture and identity. Women debased as infantile and irresponsible began to fetishize and flaunt their shojo personality [...] almost as a means to taunting and ridiculing male condemnation [...] Apparently the cutest and most innocent-looking women were keeping several dates on boil at once in order to service their materialistic needs."[52]

Consumption is not traditionally a Japanese virtue, the Shojo is criticised for selfishness and subject to envy for her sole ability to consume as a 'dependent with mo means of production.'[53] She defiantly leans into her criticism and forms an 'alternative crowd' with her empathetic peers through visual motifs, cultural and linguistic innovation as a form of subversion. The pursuit of material goods is unbecoming of a Japanese lady, a good wife and wise mother must be long-suffering and servile, for a young woman to forefront her own desires is unladylike and equated to hedonism in cultural context. Consumption as a form of indirect rebellion is not unique to Kogyaru but shared with visually explosive contemporary Lolita and Decora shojo-genres, highlighting the underpinning status of women's position in modern, late-capitalist Japanese society. The pattern of male directors

---

[52] Kinsella, Sharon. (1995). "Cuties in Japan." *Women, media, and consumption in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. P. 220-254. Print.

[53] Younker, Teresa. "Lolita: Dreaming, Despairing, Defying" *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, Summer 2011 P. 106-107. Web.

emphasising the materialistic and selfish natures of ill-behaving Japanese girls becomes a device divulging insight and awareness to the malcontent of teenage girls.

Fig. 3.4 *Still from* Kamikaze Girls,*Tetsuya Nakashima (2004). 'But actually my soul is rotten.' Ryugasaki Momoko is the apathetic daughter of a dull chimpira (low-ranking Yakuza) and an adulterous hostess, Lolita fashion is the only thing that comforts her lonely and cynical heart. To fund her expensive lifestyle she guiltlessly deceives her father for money.*

Money and materialism are depicted as the essential driving force to propel the plot forward in Kogyaru films. Masato Harada is a Kogyaru empathiser and illustrates the various motivations in the schoolgirl's pursuit of money in the three protagonists of *Bounce KoGALS*: Lisa is a straight-laced student desperate to leave home for New York where she believes to be more equitable; Raku is a wayward street dancer dabbling in odd jobs in order to live independently; Jonko is a disaffected Gyaru and schoolgirl fixer with a scorn for men and the society that failed to protect her as a sexually abused child, for Jonko exploiting or robbing Oyaji is a cathartic act of vengeance. However, Anno's protagonist, Hiromi, a middle class daughter from a comfortable home seems to be merely bored. *Love and Pop* revolves around the singular task of affording an expensive ring from a Tokyo department store, HIromi's desire is neither noble nor profound yet acutely illustrates the feeling of uneasiness reflective of the time. Anno presents the idea of enjo kosai as a postmodern malaise product to late capitalism. Hiromi is among the generation growing up witness to the Japanese asset bubble burst and actualising selfhood in the Lost Decades while her parents' post-economic boom

success and middle class comfort play a taunting peripheral role. In a world of economic recession, declining birth rates and slimming job prospects, Japanese youths are apprehensive to join society and struggle to overcome a bleak outlook[54]- Concurrently these periods of economic impotence coincide with the boom of youth subcultures.[55] Hiromi is a lost adolescent in an age of uncertainty, she is passionless, aimless and struggles with the feelings of being left behind by her comrades who have found ambitions, aspirations and self-fulfilment. Hiromi watches her friends-forever fantasy crumble as her friends take their first steps into maturity marooning her in their once shared carpe diem ethos; Hiromi's urgency to claim the topaz ring is allegorical of her lack and pursuit of passion and purpose amongst the bleakness; and representative of the uncertainty and malcontent amongst youths permeating the time.

Fig. 3.5 *Still from* Love and Pop, *Hideaki Anno (1998) Sensitivity and affection fade readily in the facade of functioning society, Hiromi is acute and ill of the 'autopilot' response undeterred by her inner turmoil.*

The pursuit of material goals as self-consolation is a mutual theme with Harada's 'Bounce KoGALS', despite his feelings of comradeship toward the rebellious young women. The schoolgirls presented earn money independently from their parents or any other adults in unscrupulous ways and do so while reaping outrageous sums surpassing even their parents' capabilities- Still, there is no cure for their chronic moodiness. Jonko, the Kogyaru matriarch, casually recounts the time she spent 2M Yen

[54] Kinsella. Op. Cit. 2013. P. 241-242.
[55] Sato, Kumiko. "From Hello Kitty to Cod Roe Kewpie." *Education About Asia*. Vol. 14, No. 2. 2009. P. 38. Web.

(approx. 15,330 USD) on an antique doll before easily giving it away once the novelty wore away. Jonko confides that only buying brand-name goods 'gets boring' and she seeks 'better' use for her money, designer products and antique dolls are only examples of her attempts in seeking self-fulfilment; Jonko can only envisage contentment in acquiring capital. An underlying parable is consistent in Kogyaru and contemporary genre films; overconsumption as a peripheral or central device is reactionary to late-capitalist values; the futility of finding personal-fulfilment in the unsustainable economic model is tragic at the toll of the young women's wellbeing.

Fig. 3.6 *Still from* Bounce KoGALS*. Jonko, despite the absurd amount of wealth she has accumulated, is unfulfilled and longs for a freedom she cannot articulate.*

Harada illustrates Kogyaru as honourable as 'rebels against the social system in Japan'[56] with their 'own way of [fighting] against society,'[57] and though 'Love and Pop' neither celebrates nor denigrates the actions of the represented schoolgirls, both stances portray a disillusioned young woman struggling to join the race towards money and brand names which dominate contemporary Japanese values. Novelist and political essayist, Ryu Murakami, despite his disapproval of their methods, indicates the critical awareness of teenage girls as neither 'lost' nor 'innocent' but 'see straight through the lie that is Japan today.'[58] The futility of monetary fulfilment- or as a supplementation for affection, becomes a foil for society's deficiencies and failures in taking care of its children:

[56] Ashcraft. Op. Cit. P.75.
[57] Ibid.
[58] 'Joshikosei to bungaku no kiki' *Bungakkai*, New Year Issue, January, 1997. P. 284. Print.

‘-They know that what they are doing is not really about the goods as such. At sixteen or seventeen years old they can’t really say it in words, except to say some saying like, ‘It runs deep’ (oku ga fukai).’[59]

[59] Murakami Ryu & Miyadai Shinji, ‘Enjo Kosai ni hashiru joshikositachi.’ *Sunday Mainichi,* Vol. 75, Issue 3. 1996. P. 54. Print.

Fig. 3.7 *Still from* Bounce KoGALS*. Yakuza boss Oishima, despite being an ex-student-radical, can neither find reason for or appeal to the crass postures and seemingly nonsensical language of Kogyaru.*

Kogyaru are seen to adopt their Sukeban predecessors *koha* (hard-school) postures, mimicking *Yankii* and *Bosozoku* (biker gang) body language and greetings.[60] This behavioural form is unoriginal yet

[60] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P.67-68. 2013.

reflects the teenage girl tribes' disdain for enforced gendered expectations for modesty, obedience, tidiness and general ladylike behaviours. However, the major impact Gyaru-cultures make on the Japanese mainstream lie not only in behaviour, but in their disruption to standard language and new innovations which diffuse into the vernacular.[61] Linguists such as Gretchen McCulloch propose marginalised groups, particularly teenage girls, are the prime agents of language innovation,[62] William Labov, the founder of modern sociolinguistics, is cited for 'The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change,' where he observes women lead 90% of linguistic change.[63] For the purpose of discussing the transgressive gender expression of schoolgirls, focus is placed on the contextual taboos of *Gyaru-go* (girl/gal-language) as opposed to dissecting new grammatical forms, digital language, *kaomoji* (face characters) and slang.

Research exposes women's linguistic patterns as often reflecting their lower social status, and is ascribed to 'powerlessness.'[64] Feminist linguists such as Hideko Abe contextualise the features of softness, politeness, pacifism, non-assertiveness and indirectness attributed to *joseigo* (women's language) in the Japanese lect structure with historical resonance.[65] Appropriate speech standards are found to be enforced at the kindergarten stage, where teachers are prone to correct girls utilising *danseigo* (men's language) more frequently than vice versa.[66] The emergence of Gyaru-go then poses as a deviant development in girl culture, simultaneously erecting an arresting counterpoint to the expectation of embodying the 'well-behaved custodians of honorific and indirect speech'[67] and changing Japanese gender and language norms.[68] The effect of a secret girl's code is ascribed to Gyaru-go, preceding youth slangs such as *burikko* (fake-child) have been suggested as a medium for young people to 'speak freely on their own terms.'[69] However, more than creating language to

---

[61] McCuloch, Gretchen. 'Move over Shakespeare, teen girls are the real language disruptors' *Quartz*. 2015. Web.

[62] Williams, Demetrius. 'Are Women Really the Key Innovators of Language Change?' *Toppan Digital Language* 2017. Web.

[63] Labov, William. 'The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change' *Language Variation and Change*, Vol. 2
Cambridge: University Press. P. 205-254. 1990.

[64] Atkins, Bowman and O'Barr, William M. 'Women's Language' Or Powerless Language' The New Sociolinguistics Reader
London: Bloomsbury Publishing. 2009. P. 159-167. Print.

[65] Abe, Hideko. 'From Stereotype to Context: The Study of Japanese Women's Speech' Feminist Studies Vol. 21, No. 3.
Maryland: Feminist Studies, Inc. 1995. P. 647-671. Web.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Miller, OP. Cit. P. 242. 2004.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 224. 1995.

alienate parents or adults, Gyaru-go is described as 'deliberately excluding men,'[70] Harada and Anno seem to suggest: That's the point. Susun Gal writes:

> "Resistance to a dominant culture order occurs in two ways: first, when devalued linguistic forms and practices... are practised and celebrated despite widespread denigration and stigmatisation. Second, it occurs because these devalued practices often propose or embody alternate modes of the social world."[71]

Gyaru-go is 'based partly on lewd masculine puns and abbreviations,'[72] new-lexical forms and use of forbidden masculine speech,[73] transgressing the prescribed gender limitations constricted to the sexless Shojo. The schoolgirls of 'Bounce KoGALS' and 'Love and Pop' indulge in bawdy humour, violate the constraints of joseigo, utilise original slang and are sexually frank; an impression of authenticity is created by including the viewer in the uncensored tête-à-têtes of highschool girls.

Fig. 3.8 *Still from* Bounce KoGALS. *The phrase* Maguro ni naru *(literally: become a tuna) is a metaphor coined by Kogyaru; if sex is a part of enjo kosai, Kogyaru are dispassionate toward the task; equivalently, 'lay there like a fish'.*[74]

---

[70] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 21. 2006.
[71] Gal, Susan. "Language, Gender, and Power: An Anthropological Review." Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self.
London: Routledge 1995. P. 169-182. Print.
[72] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 21. 2006.
[73] Miller Op. Cit. P.235. 2004.
[74] Ibid. P. 239.

Miller pinpoints and admires the resilience of teenage girls amongst the prolonged (decade of) their media exposé:

> 'They maintain their own language forms in the face of negative sanctions and openly endorse a denigrated philosophy that celebrates self above any other social concern, rejecting the premium put on female self-sacrifice in mainstream Japanese culture.'[75]

[75]Ibid. P. 231.

Conclusion

‘GIRLS AS THE ZOMBIE VANGUARD OF A COMATOSE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.’[76]

The student leftist movement of the late 60s and early 70’s resulted in no change practical and little in terms of positive legacy, one of the contributing factors of this being the exclusion of female students and dismissal of sexual equality even within the movement itself:

> “The students' attitudes towards women were antiquated and increasingly out-dated [...] women were relegated to ancillary roles, including cooking, serving tea, first-aid, and taking minutes[...] A member [...] recalled that the organization took no action when female activistswere raped [...] another member publicly stated, "Activist girls are all dogfaces. If you're looking for a wife, stick to girls outside the organisation."[77]

Political disinterest is a pervading issue for Japanese youth, even Kogyaru are of no exception among contemporary Japanese subcultures despite overwhelming transgressive cultural-linguistic dissemination- though, through the charisma of delinquent schoolgirl aesthetic we identify disillusioned and malcontented girls who possess an unarticulated frustration in women’s social status and their realistically bleak future. The line between subculture and counterculture in Japan is vague despite overwhelming traction and participation as there is neither political drive nor desire to operate outside of the claimed space the participants occupy:

> “They have absolutely no interest in opposition or revenge [...] their actions breed a violence which has the potential to become a destructive power. Except that the girls themselves are completely unaware of this.”[78]

Yet, articulate writers are not only acutely aware of a potential watershed in Japan’s social order but keen to accelerate the “unconscious movement of adolescent girls.”[79] A new narrative archetype of the schoolgirl figure fighting back against abusive authority figures and institutions streamed quickly from second-grade film genres in the 70s into a veritable landfill of cultural works divided into several

---

[76] Kinsella, Sharon. “Cuties in Japan.” Women, media, and consumption in Japan.” Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. P. 220-254. Print.

[77] Eiji, Oguma. “Japan's 1968: A Collective Reaction to Rapid Economic Growth in an Age of Turmoil.” The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol 13, Issue 12. 2015. P. 18-19. Web.

[78] Kawai, Hayao. “(Enjo Kosai) to yu movement.” Sekai, March. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 1997. P. 143. Print.

[79] Murakami, Haruki. Ibid. P. 147.

subcategories, almost exclusively directed by older men.[80] Therefore, it could be said the highschool girl is a uniformed projection of ex-zengakuren writers and/or attached values. The schoolgirl is cited as a 'Site of Resistance,'[81] the politically powerless furyo shojo source inspiration is represented as avant-garde gender transgressors, brutal condemners of corrupt pockets of bureaucratic systems; victims of societal and governmental neglect, and abused by hierarchical social order. Pinky Violence films are first to capture the post-riot zeitgeist in this manner, channelling anti-authoritarian ideology and challenging normative forms with transgressive female narrative uniquely in the space of sexploitation film and creates an anomalous template for a new unflinching and brutal anti-heroines.

Fig. 3.9 *Still from* Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom*. The inherent ridiculousness of a yo-yo wielding schoolgirl private detective- or exaggerated female-gangsters, impractical and gratuitous sex related plot points are the elements of essential silliness crux to the identity of sukeban media as a distracting foil against the anti-authoritarian ideologies the genre embodies.*

Harada's stance on the political role of young women may struggle to be more overt, there are countless parallels between the peripheral semiotics of anti-establishment student values of the 60s- which Harada himself participated in and the active bandit schoolgirls. The hustler with a heart of gold character acts as the device for Harada's voice, he is a character of compassion and his sympathy for young women indulging in self-exploitation for money is his motivation to protect and selflessly aide Lisa physically by protecting her from harm, and donating financially to support her life in New York; more than merely a means to 'get through to' Lisa but almost as a means to persuade the audience there are male allies in the struggle for women's liberation.

[80] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 16. 2006.
[81] Ibid.

Fig. 3.10 *Still from* Bounce KoGALS. *Harada's desire to propel the revolution is conspicuous and clearly identifies 'the enemy' and encourages the schoolgirl protagonists to overcome the Oyaji's oppression and exploitation.*

The resurfacing use of the term 'Oyaji' is purposely repeated by male writers as a substitute for 'enemy,' adopted from schoolgirls' tendency to denounce and categorise older men, from fathers to customers, all as a faceless and offensive 'Oyaji.'[82]

RADICAL FEMALE SOLIDARITY; THE SHARED EXPERIENCE OF GIRLHOOD

Revisiting the writings of Simone de Beauvoir, a major contributing factor to the longstanding submission of women is the absence of the collective unity associated with proletariats due to social divisions, especially concerning class.[83] The issue of division hinders progress in overcoming oppression which stands to reason the media trope of 'women do not get along' or 'women are constantly in competition with each other' are reflective of that principle; division among women is beneficial to reinforcing and maintaining the patriarchal structure. The theme of an unhesitant sisterhood which takes priority over all else and goes beyond the limits of social factions between young women is prevalent in the delinquent girl genre; the feature of radical female solidarity is inherently oppositional filmmaking. It is evident the camaraderie of the teenage-girl tribes which

[82] *Aera*, April 15, 1996. P93.
[83] Beauvoir, Op. Cit. P. 26-28.

sprung since the politically charged 60s inspired male writers to create transgressive female-centred narratives in an attempt to escalate a collective movement among women.

Jonko of *Bounce KoGALS*, is adjacent to an urban Robin Hood archetype, her unwavering allegiance with fellow girls is not limited to her circle but regularly extends to even strangers purely due to the same denominators present in the Sukeban genre: gender, economic and legal status. This prioritisation is also present in *Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom*. When a rival Sukeban challenges lead character Maki Takagawa to a duel, she acquiesces to delay their inevitable showdown in order for Maki to enact revenge on the corrupt male institution which abuses her peers and murdered her right-hand woman. The shared experience of girlhood in a patriarchal society is the 'marginalisation [which] engenders a common bond,' the schoolgirls represented share a silent understanding of each other's motives due to their mutual status as working class girls in modern Japan. Kozma identifies in Pinky Violence:

> "-regardless of internal subgroup politics, the women are validating their communal subgroup structure, while simultaneously reinforcing their desire to exist outside of the rigid power dynamics that define Japanese society."[84]

TRANSGRESSING CULTURAL AND RACIAL HEGEMONY; DISRUPTING JAPANESE WORLDVIEWS

Kinsella is among researchers who identify the underlying resistance to girls' culture as an issue of conflicting ideologies in 'Japanese-ness,' in which the adoption of non-traditional values or culturally opposing forms of language and behaviour threatened the national identity of Japanese women:

> 'A complex antiphony has evolved between ideological, literary, and aesthetic proscriptions of virginal, obedient , gentle, and maternal ideal Japanese girls, [...] what might be called the 'anti-Japanese' tendency of girls' culture [...] Young women displaying their enthusiasm for either the closeted spheres of girls' culture and communications, or more cosmopolitan styles of female behaviour have, in turn, been singled out and stigmatised as racial and cultural traitors to Japan.'[85]

---

[84] Kozma, Op. Cit. P. 41.

[85] Kinsella, Sharon. "Black Faces, Witches, and Racism against Girls." *Bad Girls of Japan.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. P. 143-158. Print.

Questions of 'Japanese-ness' are not only limited to cultural acceptance and traditional roles or non-normative female behaviour, Jennifer Robertson who's body of works include extensive research on the Japanese eugenics movement and ideologies of blood purity remnant of Meiji era theories, cite the Shojo as 'the biological reproducers of the nation.'[86] Kinsella links Gyaru-cultures to the 'stigmatisation and racial rejection of young women appearing to flirt with foreign cultures'[87] as 'conjoined facets of the tendency to manage female sexual reproduction.'[88] The role of the Shojo icon as the nation's pureblooded future mother is weighted, for genre films focussing on the transgressive values of post-modern schoolgirl representation it is expected racial issues are addressed. Echoing Harada's representation of girls as a collective, he alludes to the possibility of a conjoined Pan-Asian feminist movement. Chinese artefacts are present through the film in design, dress and music (possibly alluding to the Sino-Japanese wars and rape of Chinese women)- in a display of mutual understanding the Chinese hostess kicks and curses at the civil servant who assaults and labels her as a Chinese woman in a derogatory manner after Lisa and Jonko taser him unconscious, before urging the girls to flee with his money. Harada is relentless in resurfacing stigmatisation and historic enslavement of Asian women as 'comfort women' for Japanese soldiers and includes a comfortably retired war-criminal professor who pays schoolgirls to listen to his accounts in pseudo-scientific ranking of women as sex slaves as a military doctor. Pinky Violence film trilogies, *Half-Breed Rica* and *Alleycat Rock: Female Boss* featured Japanese-American bi-racial Sukeban main characters and challenge social issues regarding the rape of Japanese women, the treatment of mixed-race teenagers born after Occupation and essentially taboo discourse regarding 'Japanese legitimacy' of people 'tainted' by 'foreign blood'. This deliberate consolidation of East Asian women resonates as a theme in oppositional cinema to inspire unification as women to overcome male-control on a larger and more fundamental scale.

---

[86] Robertson, Jennifer. 'Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese.' History and Anthropology, 2002 Vol. 13 (3),
London: Routledge. 2002. P. 191–216. Print

[87] Kinsella, Op. Cit. P. 153. 2005.

[88] Ibid.

Fig. 3.11 *Still from* Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom*. Teenage rebellion surpass superficial behavioural issues but challenges nationalist ideologies.*

Derisive and desecrating images (including the burning) of the Japanese flag are centrefold in *Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom* to visualise the intolerance for the hypocrisy of the Japanese establishment, the use of anti-Japanese iconography in the delinquent girl genre resonates with what Kinsella labels as 'the anti-Japanese' tendency of girls' culture.' Kogyaru genre films exhibit the tendency to expose the falsity of 'good Japanese society' in displaying the of sexual harassment and assault of young women in dizzying handheld recorded scenes and the open expression of contempt modern teenage girls for Oyaji and incompetent role models or parent figures. It is chilling when Raku comforts Lisa and offers her resolve to participate in enjo kosai for money: 'It's easy, just hate your parents.' The absence of parental roles in aforementioned contemporary films imply the ineffectual and neglectful rearing of the individual, especially resonating with disenfranchised shojo by the parent culture. Tokyo is painted as a lucid nightmare by the experimental cinematography of *Love and Pop*, Hiromi despite her stubborn attempts, cannot overcome male control and is almost tasered and raped by one of her customers. *Bounce KoGALS* confides in the audience the true experience of girlhood in Japan:

> 'I don't know a girl that hasn't been groped on the train. That's what this country is like [...] Trolling us for money [...] Adults these days don't have any sense. They're like children so real children have power [...] Money is everything in this world. I won't kiss you for 10,000 yen, but for a million yen, I might. If a man had any sense, it would stop there. But there are guys who'll say 'sure!' It's a pretty scary place, this world of ours.'

List of Works Cited

Abe, Hideko. 'From Stereotype to Context: The Study of Japanese Women's Speech' *Feminist Studies* Vol. 21, No. 3.
Maryland: Feminist Studies, Inc. 1995. P. 647-671. Web.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/4168311?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents

Aera, April 15, 1996. P93.

Anno, Hideaki. *Love and Pop*. Toei. 1998.

Ashcraft, Brian & Ueda, Shoko. 'Japanese Schoolgirl Confidential: How Teenage Girls Made a Nation Cool.'
Tokyo: Kodansha International. 2010. P. 27-28. Print.

Atkins, Bowman and O'Barr, William M. 'Women's Language' Or Powerless Language' The New Sociolinguistics Reader
London: Bloomsbury Publishing. 2009. P. 159-167. Print.

Brake, Michael. "The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex and Drugs and Rock 'n' Roll?"
London: Routeledge. 1980. P. vii. Print.

Beauvoir, Simone de. 'The Second Sex'.
New York: Vintage Books. 2011. P.29-30. Print.

Cunningham & Weis, 'Perceptions of sexy clothing by college females'
Association of College Professors of Textiles and Clothing Proceedings: Combined Central, Eastern and Western Regional Meetings. 1985. Print.

Eiji, Oguma. "Japan's 1968: A Collective Reaction to Rapid Economic Growth in an Age of Turmoil." *The Asia Pacific Journal.*
Vol 13, Issue 12. 2015. P. 18-19. Web.
https://apjjf.org/2015/13/11/Oguma-Eiji/4300.html

Eve, *Mob*. Youtube. 2022.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8McISUEXb9g

Feleppa, Robert (2004). "Black Rain: Reflections on Hiroshima and Nuclear War in Japanese Film". *CrossCurrents*. Vol. 54 No.1
North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. P. 106–119. Print.

Friedrich, Japser & Shanks 'The prison of the body': school uniforms between discipline and governmentality'*, Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education.* Vol. 44, No. 1.
London: Routledge. 2023. P.19. Print

Gal, Susan. "Language, Gender, and Power: An Anthropological Review." Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self.
1995. P. 169-182. Print.

Harada, Masato. *Bounce KoGAL.* Shochiku. 1997.

Hiroshi Aoyagi, "Pop Idols and Gender Contestation", *Japan at the Millennium: Joining Past and Future*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003. p. 148. Print.

Iñárritu, Alejandro González. *Babel.* Summit Entertainment. 2006.

Inuhiko, Yomota. "*Kawaii"* ron."
Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo. 2006 P.86. Print.

'Joshikosei to bungaku no kiki' *Bungakkai*, New Year Issue, January, 1997. P. 284. Print.

Kato, Kazumitsu. "Some Notes on Mono no Aware". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 82**,** No.4.
Michigan: American Oriental Society. 1962. P. 558–559. Print.

Kawai, Hayao. "(Enjo Kosai) to yu movement." *Sekai*, March.
Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten. 1997. P. 143. Print.

Kawamura, Yuniya. “Fashioning Japanese Subcultures”
London: Bloomsbury. 2012. P. 12-52. Print.

Kinsella, Sharon. “Black Faces, Witches, and Racism against Girls.” *Bad Girls of Japan.*
New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. P. 143-158. Print.

Kinsella, Sharon. “Cuties in Japan.” *Women, media, and consumption in Japan.*
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. P. 220-254. Print.

Kinsella, Sharon. “Cult of Girls.” *Four Thought* London: BBC 2014. Radio.
https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03w18fn

Kinsella, Sharon. ‘Female Revolt in Male Cultural Imagination in Contemporary Japan.’ *The Fourth Chino Kaori Memorial* ‘New Visions’
London:SOAS. 2006. P. 15-40.

Kinsella, Sharon. “Kogyaru and Dressing Up as a ‘Schoolgirl Delinquent” Fashion Crimes: Dressing for Deviance.
London: Bloomsbury. 2019. P. 59- 72. Print.

Kinsella, Sharon. “Schoolgirls, Money and Rebellion in Japan.”
London: Routledge. 2013. P.88-106. Print

Kinsella, Sharon. ‘What’s Behind The Fetishism of Japanese School Uniforms?’ Fashion Theory Vol. 6, Issue 2.
London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2002. Print. P. 215-238

Kozma, Alicia. “Pinky Violence: Shock, Awe and the Exploitation of Sexual Liberation.” *Journal of Japanese and Korean Cinema.* Vol. 3, No. 1
London: Routledge. 2012. P. 37–44. Web.
https://doi.org/10.1386/jjkc.3.1.37_1

Labov, William. ‘The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change’ *Language Variation and Change*, Vol. 2

Cambridge: University Press. P. 205-254. 1990. Print.

Macias, Patrick. Evers, Izumi. ‘Japanese Schoolgirl Inferno’
San Francisco: Chronicle Books LLC. 2007. P. 19.Print.

Mamoru, Fukutomi. "An Analytical Study on the Causes of and Attitudes Toward 'Enjo Kōsai' among Female High School Students in Japan".
Tokyo: *Professor, Tokyo Gakugei University* 1997. P. 75–76. Print.

McCuloch, Gretchen. ‘Move over Shakespeare, teen girls are the real language disruptors‘ *Quartz*. 2015. Web.
https://qz.com/474671/move-over-shakespeare-teen-girls-are-the-real-language-disruptors

Miller, L. (2016). Interviewed by Webb, Beth. “How Vicious Schoolgirl Gangs Sparked a Media Frenzy in Japan”
Vice. 2016. Web.
www.vice.com/en/article/mgmzxv/how-vicious-schoolgirl-gangs-sparked-media-frenzy-japan-sukeban

Miller, Laura. “Those Naughty Teenage Girls: Japanese Kogals, Slang, and Media Assessments” *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* Vol. 14, Issue 2
New York: Wiley-Blackwell. 2004. Print. P.239.

Murakami Ryu & Miyadai Shinji, ‘Enjo Kosai ni hashiru joshikositachi.’ *Sunday Mainichi,* Vol. 75, Issue 3. 1996. P. 54. Print.

Nakashima, Tetsuya. *Kamikaze Girls*. Amuse Pictures. 2004.

Robertson, Jennifer. ‘Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese.’ History and Anthropology, 2002 Vol. 13 (3),
London: Routledge. 2002. P. 191–216. Print

Sato, Kumiko. “From Hello Kitty to Cod Roe Kewpie.” *Education About Asia*.
Vol. 14, No. 2. 2009. P. 38. Web.
www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/from-hello-kitty-to-cod-roe-kewpie-a-post

war-cultural-history-of-cuteness-in-japan/

Shiokawa, Kanako. “Cute But Deadly: Women and Violence in Japanese Comics.” *Themes and Issues in Asian Cartooning: Cute, Cheap, Made and Sexy.*
Kentucky: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999. P. 95. Print.

Sievers, Sharon. ‘Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of a Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan.’
California: Stanford University Press. 1983. P. 22.

Suzuki, Norifumi. *Terrifying Girls' High School: Lynch Law Classroom*. Toei. 1973.

Tanaka, Hideo. *Sukeban Deka: The Movie*. Toei. 1987

Tarantino, Quentin. *Kill Bill Vol. 1.* A Band Apart. 2003.

Turney, Joanne. “Fashion Crimes: dressing for Deviance.”
London: Bloomsbury. 2019. P. 1-11. Print.

Hiraike, Yoshima. *Wotakoi: Love Is Hard for Otaku*e (2018) A-1 Pictures, Inc.

Williams, Demetrius. ‘Are Women Really the Key Innovators of Language Change?’ *Toppan Digital Language* 2017. Web.
https://toppandigital.com/us/blog-usa/women-really-key-innovators-language-change/

Yamane, Kazuma.*Hentai Shojo Moji no Kenkyu* (Teenage Girls Handwriting Research). Tokyo: Sekai-Bunkasha. 1986. Print.

Yoda, Tomiko. “Fractured Dialogues: Mono No Aware and Poetic Communication in The Tale of Genji.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol.59, No. 2.
Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute. 1999 P. 523–557. Print.

Younker, Teresa. “Lolita: Dreaming, Despairing, Defying” *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* Summer 2011 P. 106-107. Web.
https://scholar.harvard.edu/younker/publications/japanese-lolita-drea
ming-despairing-defying