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Consumer Involvement in Japanese Pornography Production

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Abstract

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Keywords

Japan, pornography, Bakky Visual Planning, Chujitsudou, online forums, Anti-Pornography and Prostitution Research Group (APP), pornography consumers

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CONSUMER INVOLVEMENT IN JAPANESE PORNOGRAPHY PRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

The authors examined two pornographic film series produced in Japan in the first decade of the twenty-first century, as well as their DVD box cover advertising copy. Additionally, and crucially, these data were examined in light of online forum posts made by the producers and consumers of the two film series before, during and after their production. These posts indicate consumer-producer cooperation and collaboration in all aspects of the series' planning and execution, in addition to consumer involvement in the perpetration of the filmed sex acts and abuses themselves. The discussion of the article emphasizes the accelerating effect of online collaboration between pornographic film producers and consumers regarding the severity of harms then visited upon female victims. It was noted that these victims are most often women in the sex industry. The article further highlights the (consumer) demand-pull effect that online forums have on the production and dissemination of pornography, in contrast to (producer) supply-push effects that have been emphasized in other feminist anti-pornography research.

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Online forums are useful for allowing large numbers of people to communicate with each other quickly and intensively. The Internet, as a global communication tool, enables users to communicate with total strangers, sometimes with complete anonymity, simply by having similar objectives and interests. Because of this anonymity, contributors to online forums are not necessarily held responsible for what they write. This feature of communication undertaken via the Internet has implications for women and their vulnerability to violence organized by groups of men online. Sexual violence organized online targets a range of women (King, 2011), but women in the sex industry are frequent victims (Farley, Franzblau & Kennedy, 2013). This article discusses one way in which women in the sex industry become victims of male sexual violence organized online. It shows online forums administered by pornography production companies being used not only for the advertising of information relating to upcoming films—such as release

dates—but also for disseminating details about production crews, casts, and sets, as well as information about film approvals by the Japan Film Classification and Rating Committee. Furthermore, and most significantly, online forums allow pornography consumers to interact with pornography producers to directly contribute to the planning of new films, their titles, content, and how women in them will be treated. Specifically, the forums are used by participants to describe ways in which they would like to see women abused, and film producers respond to these suggestions. As the online interaction between consumers and producers progresses, plans for the abuse of women escalates, and the creation of pornography becomes a collaborative effort between film producers and pornography consumers. This escalation has serious consequences for women filmed in pornography; these victims usually come from the sex industry.

In the example of Japanese-made torture pornography addressed in this article, online forums administered by pornography production companies allow producers to gain inspiration for filming not just from their own ideas, but also from those of consumers. Online forums are further used by production companies to recruit groups of men to participate in the gang-rape that is a common feature of torture pornography films. They are also a vehicle for the organization of groups of men to perpetrate these rapes on film, as in the case of the Japanese group *Kankin tomo no kai* [Friendship Association of Captivity], which was involved in one of the film series discussed below.

Data for this research article comes from reading and examining online and box-cover advertising copy for two different torture pornographic film series, as well as publicly available forum posts made to online forums in which pornography producers interacted with pornography consumers before, during, and after production of the two film series. The first author undertook the data collection as a member of the Anti-Pornography and Prostitution Research Group (APP), which was founded in 1999 and is based in Tokyo (Tankard Reist & Bray, 2015). She collaborated with the second author to compose the research in English in its current form.

The analyzed films comprise two torture pornography series. The first series is called *Gekikan Yamanba Basutaazu: Ikiru Kachi No Nai Mesudomo Ni Seisai Wo* [*Brutal Rape! Yamanba Busters: Let's Sanction the Worthless Bitches*] directed by Injan Furukawa and produced by a company called Chujitsudou in over the years 2003 and 2004. The second is an earlier series of twelve films released between 2003 and 2004 under the title *Mondou Muyou: Kyousei Shikyuu Hakai* [*Stop the Discussion! Forcible Uterus Destruction*] produced by a company called Bakky Visual Planning. In both sets of films, women are brought to filming venues without full knowledge of what is going to be done to them and are brutalized and raped on film by multiple men over a long period of time, as will be described.

The article first briefly summarizes the film series' contents. Then, through examining online postings and advertising material relating to the two productions, it argues that Internet forums publicly accessible through the websites of Japanese pornography production companies function not only as vehicles for the advertising of pornographic products, but also as accelerants for the production of violent pornography through the bringing together of men with common interests and aims. This accelerant function of the forums is highlighted through quotes taken directly from online posts showing escalation in the severity and violence of plans for the production of films as a result of conversational

interactions between pornography consumers and producers. In other words, through these interactions, forum participants cooperatively share ideas and refine their suggestions for acts to be filmed against women on the basis of feedback received and engagement with fellow participants (who are both consumers and producers). This accelerant or “escalating” effect of online consumer technologies on the harmfulness of pornography for victims was first noted by Catharine MacKinnon in her 1994 observation that

“[i]nteractive” pornography allows customers to customize on screen the desired stimuli, both visual and auditory, without the acts first being performed on a live woman...The more active relation of the user to the material, combined with freeing production from the limitation of human flesh, could escalate the harms done through consumption (MacKinnon, 1994, p. 1960).

This article describes a further instance of escalated harm arising from a “more active relation of the user to the material” that is facilitated by online technologies used by consumers. While MacKinnon in 1994 was referring to graphically animated interactive online technologies facilitating consumers’ on-demand production of pornography not incorporating live victims (at least not in their first iteration), the example discussed below similarly incorporates a mechanism for “on-demand” technologically facilitated consumer pornography production, but this production does, in fact, incorporate live victims. In this respect, the example aligns with research undertaken on the harms of web-cam live interactive pornography (Anti-slavery Australia, 2017). According to this research, web-cam live-filmed pornography, too, through technologically facilitating a “more active relation of the user to the material,” causes harms of escalating severity for victims who are both women as well as children.

TWO JAPANESE TORTURE PORNOGRAPHY FILM SERIES

Yamanba Busters Film Series

As mentioned, two Japanese torture pornography film series were analyzed in the research, and this section describes their content. Firstly, the *Brutal Rape! Yamanba Busters: Let’s Sanction the Worthless Bitches* (herein, *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape*) series contains three films all featuring so-called “Yamanba”¹ styled women (as designated by the producers). The women are introduced at the start of each film in the series in a dehumanizing way as “Yamanba bitch no. 1 (19 years old),” and so on. The women are all depicted as “amateurs” (and not

¹ Yamanba is a degrading and discriminatory term used to refer to teenage girls who wear a distinct style of makeup that gives the impression of tanned skin, whiteish lips, and pastel colours above the eyes. According to S. Yumiko Hulvey, “Yamauba, spawned from archetypes found in the Japanese and great mother creation myths, is reviled in traditional Japanese folk tales” by demonizing women and “displace matrilineal lines of decent” by the patriarchal Japanese society (See S. Yumiko Hulvey, “Myths and Monsters: the female body as the site for political agendas,” in Debra Walker King (ed), *Body Politics and the Fictional Double*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 2000, p. 87). According to Viswanathan, Yamanba “represents...a fetishizing of men’s fears of castration in her role as a man-eater”. See Meera Viswanathan, ‘In Pursuit of the Yamamba: The question of Female Resistance,’ in Paul Gordon Schalow and Janet A. Walker (eds), *The Women’s Hand: Gender and Theory in Japanese Women’s Writing*, Stanford University Press, California, 1996, pp. 242-256.

professional pornography stars) in that when they are picked up to be driven to the film set, they are shown making mobile phone calls and other actions and body language that are supposed to indicate resistance to being involved. Films number one and three of the series show women being gang raped by around ten men. The films initially show the women undergoing sex acts on a one-on-one basis, but film number one also includes a scene—apparently filmed in a hotel a few days later—in which a woman is raped by a gang of around 10 men. A similar scene is shown in film number three, apparently filmed on the same day but in a different location—at an unused concrete warehouse. A woman is shown as being escorted into the warehouse without realizing that 10 men are in there waiting, and she is then raped. The scenes of gang rape are spliced between scenes of one-on-one sex in the film whenever a woman refuses to comply with behavior demanded of her or shows inadequate enthusiasm for what is being done to her. When this happens, a subtitle appears on the screen *Punishment time!* together with phrases like “selfish!” or “stupid!” Then the film cuts away to gang rape scenes. The third film in the series ends with a woman being suffocated by having her head covered with a vacuum-sealed plastic bag and then being set alight after having had flammable lighter fluid poured on her. The male “actors” stand around and say “burn her because she stinks!”

The *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape* film series was initiated in an online forum as a result of participant discussion about a specific sub-culture of teenage girls in Japan—referred to deprecatingly in Japanese as “Yamanba”—who gather in places like Shibuya in downtown Tokyo. Requests were made by forum users for pornography depicting the rape of these “Yamanba” girls. This prompted the creation of the film series, according to testimony by the series producer printed on the film series DVD covers:

“Yamanba’s social standing must be destroyed!” This was a request made one day in 2003 by one of our viewers who posted to the online forum linked to Chuujiutsudou’s web site. Injan Furukawa and Baba-the-Bubby [i.e., the company’s two pornographers] felt the same way, and day by day became more convinced that a film was needed that spoke to the multitudes of men who had similar thoughts about Yamanba.

Before production of the film commenced, consumers and producers also collaborated in creating its title. Early on in 2003, a consumer posted the following suggestion to the production company’s online forum:

Why don’t we give it the title “Brutal rape! Yamanba busters: Let’s sanction the worthless women (bitches)”

The following discussion among forum participants ensued:

Sounds good! But how about using the ♀ sign to replace the word “bitch,” and then chop the sign into two and line it up as “o” and “x”? [N.B., the meaning of these signs in Japanese is “right” and “wrong” respectively.]

I would also like to make a title suggestion! How about: *Revival! Today’s burnable trash: Yamanba girls! The Tokyo revolution 12.13: chujitudo makes a revolution series1* [in English in the original]. How about something like that?

“Yamanba hunter! Dick punishment for stupid bitch suck-ups!” How does that sound?”

I think: “Yamanba revival: Fury, no condoms, and violence” would be good.

In the end, the originally proposed title was used by producers with one amendment: the word “bitches” was substituted for “women.”

The hatred harbored by the pornography consumers for this particular group of teenage girls in Japanese society appears to stem from perceptions of the girls living lives of relative autonomy. The following three quotes, the first one taken from a DVD box cover of one of the *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape* films, and the subsequent two taken from the production company’s online forum before completion of the series in 2003, refer to the targeting of “Yamanba”-styled girls on the basis of their alleged “self-centeredness”, “cockiness” and failure to be “submissive”:

Self-centered Yamanba are increasingly becoming a fossil. After letting them experience some good blows to their face, they are gang raped and raped by men without contraceptives!

Those cocky sluts with a tan in places like Shibuya...I would like you to make them take part in your films.

I totally agree with the blogger who posted at 117. So far you have used Lolita type girls, most of them who are submissive. Rather, I’d like to see types who do not cause even a micron of pain to my conscience, such as the sluts in the streets in places like Shibuya.

Once the film series title was finalized, forum discussion turned to acts that would be perpetrated against the so-called Yamanba women who were to be incorporated in the films. Discussion included proposals to blindfold a woman, cover her head with a rubbish bag, verbally abuse her, and then inflict violence to the point where she was terrorized:

Director Injan! Create a scene where a guy pukes on a girl’s face.

Blindfold her, and then cover her head with a rubbish bag (a Tokyo city council one). Then let a whole bunch of men touch and slap her. Of course, the men should be swearing at her the whole time. Then light some fire crackers near her feet. She’ll be terrified because she won’t know what the noise is.

Mmm...why not just hit her hard with a fist?

Following these online discussions about the film series content, pornographer Injan Furukawa called for volunteer film participants among forum readers:

Filming is going to start soon! The chances of Yamanba fleeing the scene is very high; I’m not kidding guys! So please be aware that filming might be canceled. But, if you still want to participate, speak to the assistant director (AD); he will be waiting in front of the Shinjuku City Council

Building at 14:00 on Saturday 13 December. The AD will be wearing a jacket marked “Punishment Office”—please make yourselves known to him. We will enlist 20 participants on a first-come-first-served basis. We will be unable to blur your faces in the film, so make sure you bring along any disguising items you need, such as sunglasses. We will depart for the location at 14:00 sharp, so make sure you arrive on time! We’ll start with gang rape no condoms, then *bukkake*, and then pissing on her face. At least that much is guaranteed!

Stop the Discussion! Films

The second film series comprised twelve films released between 2003 and 2004 under the title “Mondou Muyou: Kyousei Shikyuu Hakai” [*Stop the Discussion! Forcible Uterus Destruction*] produced by a company called Bakky Visual Planning (herein, *Stop the discussion!*). This series was discussed online for a prolonged period in a forum administered by Bakky Visual Planning before production commenced. Posts suggested various ways in which women might be physically and psychologically “destroyed” in the planned series of films. The following posts from 2002 are representative of the level of detail in which suggestions for the abuse of women in the planned series were made by forum participants:

Use a stun gun. I’d like to see them tossing and turning with pain.

As a variant on the submersion in bathwater theme, I would like to see them submerged in water as well as being forced to gulp down water. Make them drink a large volume of water from a hose until they’re in pain because their bellies are so full, and then cum in their throats to make them puke the hell out of their bellies! Ideally this would include a water torture scene like those in the European witch trials. Rather than drowning in a bath tub, this method would be more brutal and definitely freak them out! What do you think?

I want to see beer forced down their throats. Force them to drink so much it starts spilling out of their mouths, and then get the male performer to force them to keep drinking. Make them drink as a means of torture and then, when they are really wasted, rape them. Also, what about using beer as a diuretic by forcing them to gulp down a large amount. Then, when they become kind of like a pissing machine, rape them while they’re being forced to hold it in.

I want to see a woman have a flowing water hose pushed into her ass hard enough that it acts like a hose enema. Then push her head under water, and when she lifts it out, thrust the hose into her mouth and cause her further pain.

I’d like to see more women being forced to eat weird stuff in crazy amounts. For example, force them to drink twenty raw eggs, 1kg of mayonnaise, soy sauce or some other kind of sauce, or eat dog or cat food until they are full. Because there are some foods that are not safe to be eaten in such large quantities, please then make them drink large amounts of water till they vomit so their intestines are cleared out. This clearing out process will cause them a fair bit of pain, and will ramp-up their pain overall, so I reckon it will make great footage.

Of course, there's no need to give human food to female pigs, is there? Why not feed them dog food mixed with semen or urine?

How come your films don't show many sex toys being used on women? I really want to see those women with strong uteruses being broken through having a vibrator used on them for a long period of time.

If we're talking about "uterus breaking," then can you show a woman having her uterus totally destroyed by a vibrator attached to an electric drill, like the one used in the Baby Entertainment films.

Stick a beer bottle in her ass. If you shake it a bit the beer will gush into her deep. It'll probably act as an enema. Make her drink the beer from her mouth as well and make her suffer with a belly full of beer.

I want to see a woman punched in the guts. Stamp and kick the lower part of her stomach. I want to see a woman's stomach be made to pay.

As discussion online about the proposed series progressed, participants made requests for specifically named female "pornography stars" to be recruited for filming, and proposed ways in which the individual women might be deceived in order to be incorporated in the films for gang raped. On the other hand, forum participants were eager to see "amateur," rather than "professional," women recruited for the series. They relished the thought that "amateur" women would suffer further when the films were publicly released and their privacy was violated:

I was thinking that we could just tell the girl the film will be a regular "costume play" gig and get her to dress in that stuff to be escorted to the set. Then, once she arrives on the actual set for the uterus destruction film, all of us can show ourselves and pounce on her while she's still dressed in a school uniform or lace costume outfit. I reckon including this kind of deception will be a really good feature of the uterus destruction film. Plus the number of men who are going to be involved. She'll be overwhelmed by that.

By the way, it's fine to use professional porn stars, but I myself want to see amateurs being degraded. I'd like to see a guy pretend to chat up a woman in public like is common these days, but then take her off to be raped. I know this might cause problems with the law, though. Also, I like seeing foreign women, blonde bombshells, being raped, I look forward to continuing to see the girls being humiliated through having their personal details publicly released and seeing them raped over and over.

First the guys in the film should approach a girl in police uniforms and kidnap her by saying: "a neighbor heard a scream and rang us, so we've come to rescue you". Then lead her away. She will feel relieved for having been rescued, but in fact she'll be driven to a mountain area and repeatedly raped. She thought she were rescued but not at all...she is led to depths of despair, once again...how will her face look like at that exact moment? I'd love to see the look on their faces...

Amateurs are the best. Set up a false blind date event and slip the girls some drugs. And when they get high, abduct and gang rape them.

Online preparations for the production of the *Stop the discussion!* series involved a recruitment campaign by Bakky Visual Planning to secure men, as consumers, to participate in the films. Posts to the online forum called for an “unlimited” number of men to participate. Subsequent posts addressing volunteers specified filming “do’s and don’ts,” meeting times, and meeting places. The production company reassured volunteers online that, if they wished to be discrete during filming, they could wear sunglasses to avoid being identified. It attempted to recruit men with promises posted to the online forums, such as, “Would you like to see a woman stripped of her spirit and her uterus destroyed? Would you actually like to do this kind of evil to a woman?” Forum-based recruiting material further encouraged consumers to participate in filming with enticements like that in the following post:

Women are abducted who have no prior knowledge they will be filmed and are held captive and isolated so there is no chance of them getting away. Participants are therefore free to “let their male sex drive go wild,” and ejaculate into the woman (without a condom) as much as they like. No-one would miss this chance!

Forum posts by the production company further emphasized to recruits that they would face no legal risk over their participation:

People who take part will not get arrested. Previously, there were some incidents, but it was just questioning (by police). No arrests were made, and nobody got a record. You don’t even have to answer any questions put to you by police: you can choose to remain silent. You might not feel totally relaxed, but please still give it a go!

The recruitment drive resulted in the company establishing a group, called the Friendship Association of Captivity, which comprised a group of men who were called upon to perpetrate the gang-rapes that were common throughout the films of the whole series. In the third film in the *Stop the discussion!* series, for example, an uneasy-looking woman is escorted to an abandoned house, after which more than 10 men excitedly run into the house chanting “destroy female spirit!” and “destroy female cunt!”. These Friendship Association of Captivity members then encircle the woman inside the house so she cannot escape, and repeatedly rape her.

Consumers reassuring producers

As described, producers solicit direct feedback from consumers in online forums administered by Japanese pornography companies. Because they get this feedback almost instantaneously, they are buoyed by it, and it appears to give them confidence in what they are doing. Positive consumer feedback helps production crew members dispel any fears about possibly having gone too far in producing certain scenes and it relieves them of feelings of having acted criminally in producing and editing the films. These fears are dispelled by online postings, and then the crew pursues production of the films with renewed vigor. The director of the film series *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape*, Injan Furukawa, for example, posts about his experience making a film in which a woman is sexually brutalized and then set alight with lighter fluid. She sustained serious injuries to the whole of her body as a result. Immediately after posting these uncertain thoughts about the incident, a number of posts written under the heading “Yamanba” appeared on the

forum, and just two days later Furukawa posted a message that appeared to indicate he had re-gained his confidence: “Now it looks like it wouldn’t have mattered even if we had burnt the bitch! I’m reassured now! Thank you!” His posts, as follows, shows how much reassurance Furukawa apparently received, as the film’s producer, reading posts by consumers to the online forum:

The filming process has finished up without any mishaps. But, as a result of trying hard to satisfy your expectations, I feel we went a bit far too far. To teach a lesson to the Yamanba who arrived an hour late (and eventually got away), we took the slacker to a public toilet and tried to screw her the usual way but, sure enough, she resisted. Then we linked up with Bubby’s group at the studio and punished her good. We knocked her over till she lost consciousness, and until her tears washed away all her caked-on make-up. Then we gang raped her with piles of it coming inside her. She ended up stinking toward the end, so we got a vacuum-sealable plastic bag and choked her. What a great time we had. Still, the stupid bitch tried to fight back. Me and Bubby got pissed off at this, so poured cigarette lighter fluid all over her and set her alight. We ended up burning the Yamanba. Now things look a bit nasty...the burns to her back are so bad she’ll probably be able to sue. Might have gone too far...

One consumer responded:

Woowww! Maybe a bit risky, though...But it shows how passionate you were about making the film. Well done! You can count on me buying it.

This is so amazing! It sure is an indication of the effort you put into filming. I’ll pray you don’t get sued. And, I’ll hope the scene doesn’t get cut out of the film you release on the market. Count on me; I’ll definitely buy it. It’s about time the true nature of Yamanba was shown to the world!

To us, Yamanba are just a kind of imaginary being anyway.

And the producer then wrote:

Thanks for this. I’m afraid the problems are still ongoing. But, what the heck, something will work out! But I’m a bit doubtful about the comment that Yamanba are just imaginary...I wonder whether this makes it ok to burn them! Thanks, you guys have cheered me up!

JAPANESE PORNOGRAPHIC THEMES

Rape as retribution against all women

In the fourth *Stop the discussion!* film, the storyline centers on abusing women who are perceived as challenging male dominance. The women in the film are referred to as having “cocky attitudes,” and the producers indicate to consumers on film that this “drives them crazy.” Degrading phrases such as “high-flying whores” or “stuck-up sluts” are also used. This misogyny and sexual objectification is further seen in advertising copy featured in the *Stop the discussion!* DVD film covers:

After all, they are just sluts with snobby attitudes. They forget everything and go crazy when they see a cock! They'll come crawling to you! Snobby bitches! Let's teach them a lesson.

You will witness their snobby attitude written all over the film and it'll drive you crazy! That's guaranteed! But that high-flying attitude doesn't last even 30 seconds...when they start getting a real taste of our pounding.

The theme of the fourth film in the series is the destruction of a woman's self-esteem through making her realize that she is, in the end, "just a slut." Retribution for any small act of resistance on the part of victims is enacted through gang rape. In one scene, for example, a woman begs a group of men not to ejaculate inside her because she is not using contraceptives, but they make fun of her pleas and instead rape her until she is prostrate with pain.

Brutally raping women as punishment for supposed arrogance is a common theme of Japanese torture pornography, and men enact this "punishment" in disregard of the actual behavior of women forced to take part in the films. This is evident in the *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape* series as well. The fact of women arriving supposedly late to the filming location is emphasized through attempts to film women using their mobile phones, and therefore conveying the message to consumers that the women are not enthusiastic about the work (even in scenes of one-on-one sex). Once the women are depicted as "lazy" in the opening scenes of the film in this way, the phrase "punishment from heaven" appears written on the screen. Then a scene of a woman being taken to a hotel or deserted building and repeatedly tortured and gang-raped appears, along with footage of her being suffocated through having her head covered with a vacuum sealable plastic bag. Other instances include women being set alight and severely burnt. These acts of brutality are carried out as rationalized punishment of the women for not performing their work with enthusiasm. Needless to say, even if a woman came to the set on time or had her mobile phone switched off, she would still be raped on the basis of men's stigmatized ideas about her.

In the fifth *Stop the Discussion!* film, male misogyny towards women with fuller figures is depicted, and rape again is used as a vehicle of punishment for this personal characteristic. A woman in this category is referred to as having a "disgusting" face and as the "fattest woman in the series," and is subjected to severe brutality up to the point of having her face disfigured and being subjected to water torture outdoors. The woman desperately tries to resist and even attempts to bite off a man's penis. But, ultimately, this incident is used in box-cover advertising copy: "Finally...It's out! See for yourself...The bitch bites off a cock!"

It is not just women with a "snobby attitude" or supposedly fatter women who are targeted for punishment through rape, but also "pretty" women. When a "beautiful" woman resists brutality in one instance of filming in the *Stop the discussion!* series, she suffers retribution through sexual violence, as indicated in the following forum posts appearing after one film in the *Stop the discussion!* series was released:

I am impressed! Seeing the pretty girls been raped and made into a mess.

Usually, girls who are cute or act cute are the ones who are the shrewdest, uncontrollable and who have a foul mouth. That's their true nature.

In this *Stop the Discussion!* series, women are characterised in various ways; for example, as a girl who takes part in a pornographic movie for the first time, a girl who works in hostess club, a Lolita-type porn star, a university-age woman, a married woman with children, a girl who wishes to become a Formula One cheerleader, and a girl with a psychological disorder. Regardless of the characterization or status of any particular woman in the films, however, they are uniformly subjected to violent torture and rape. The mere fact the victim is a woman sufficiently justifies cruel treatment. A DVD box cover sentence from one of the *Stop the Discussion!* films captures this reality succinctly: “We don’t care what type of sluts they are, we just need their cunts.”

Why the misogyny of Japanese torture pornography accrues to women in general, rather than any particular type of woman, is revealed in a consumer comment posted to the *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape* online forum. Female insubordination in the context of a society subject to male rule is understood in broad terms to require retributive action. In other words, the existence of women (“feminists”) who are perceived to hold even mildly critical views of men (*e.g.*, as “immoral”) is seen as a threat that requires social change pursued through concrete action. The production of torture pornography is seen to enact this change and enforce a society organized “by men and for men”:

Mr. Injun, we are expecting a classic movie, one that will leave its name in the annals of porn history. The attitude prevalent in society towards women is a tremendous blow to men. Feminists consider men immoral. It’s high time this was changed. A change brought about by men and for men. That’s the kind of change we would like to see.

Reproductive violence

From the outset, the title of the “Stop the discussion! Forcible uterus destruction” series itself expresses misogynistic ideas about women through rhetorically denigrating female reproductive organs and functioning. The series DVD covers all carry the slogan: “A woeful situation! They’ve become a mere mass of flesh and bones without the ability of reproduction”. In a similar vein, the following advertising copy excerpts are taken from DVD box covers for film numbers 1 to 6:

Their personal characters and their cunts are in tatters. That’s the end of these whores. It’s a grievous blow! They have become mere flesh and bones, worthless without the ability of reproduction!

Raping beautiful young sluts with delicate pussies

Our main aim is to destroy cunt.

Gang raping and forcefully making women pregnant by so-called “coming inside” or forcefully ejaculating into a women’s vagina without using contraceptives to prevent pregnancy is yet another grievous form of harm. Torture pornography producers appear to be aware that women will face additional suffering if they are compelled to undergo an abortion as a result of abuses endured during filming. The following box-cover copy excerpts taken from the *Stop the Discussion!* series (presumably quoting dialogue arising in the films themselves) highlight this aspect:

Please don't; I haven't taken the pill. Please. (film 4)

What the fuck! I hope you get pregnant! (film 10)

Make them pregnant! They won't even know who the father is. (film 11)

At the same time, male dominance over women is exercised through depriving them of the ability to reproduce or control their reproductive abilities by forcing pregnancy and abortion upon them. In this respect, in addition to rape as retribution, Japanese torture pornography conveys a message of female domination through deprived control over reproduction and sex acts that are injuring and damaging of female genitals and reproductive organs.

Psychological trauma

Online forum posts about torture pornographic films tend to reflect an awareness among consumers and producers that sexual assault causes female victims not only physical but also psychological harm. One consumer expresses this belief in clear terms:

The *Stop the Discussion!* series is the most hard-core rape film I have ever seen. But I would like to ask you to torture the bitches psychologically as well as physically because physical scars can heal in a few days, but psychological scars will not. As far as viewers are concerned, this would result in a more realistic video.

Another post to the same forum similarly after the release of the *Stop the Discussion!* series proposes further abusing a woman incorporated into the film as well as her female relatives and friends, including her mother and sisters, to inflict even greater psychological harm upon her:

Rather than everyone having a go at just one slut, if you can get the loved ones to take part as well, such as sisters, mother or friends, and rape them all more realistically, then that would destroy them physically as well as psychologically. Break them into pieces and destroy their characters by verbally abusing and negating the life they have had thus far and the relatives they have had.

Another post to the same forum suggests that inflicting psychological pain on top of physical pain will humiliate women to the point of driving them to suicide:

Inflicting physical torture is fine, but please include psychological pain as well. Physical scars can heal, but psychological ones will remain for life. Haha, treatment that humiliates the sluts making them want to commit suicide is the best.

Producers appear to be similarly aware that rape as a form of female abuse greatly impacts the psyche of women. As pornographers, this knowledge apparently makes them exert more effort in this regard, as can be seen from the following online posts and DVD advertising copy drafted by producers:

Hey you! Would you like to witness the wrecking of the cunt and cunt spirit? Would you like to actually take part and experience that action for yourself?

The girl is Sakura who's very popular among Lolita fans. But, in this film, her cunt and cunt spirit is destroyed and we made sure she won't act again.

The slut is broken to pieces by the inflicting of physical and psychological abuse.

This time it's all about destroying the cunt spirit.

Deadly forms of pornographic violence

Japanese torture pornography employs various methods to abuse women, including punching; kicking; penetration of the genitals, mouth and anus; gagging; forced ingestion of water, alcohol, and urine; water torture; suffocation using vacuum sealable plastic bags; and burning. The following posts by producers of the two series to their own online forums (forums administered by both Bakky Visual Planning as well as Chujitsudou) reveal details of these methods of psychological and physical abuse:

...knocked the stuffing out of the slut, beating her up until her make-up was washed away with tears, then gang raping her and having the men come inside her by the truck load. Now because the whore stunk we covered her head with a vacuum sealable plastic bag and sealed it off and choked the bitch! We enjoyed doing this...but still the stupid bitch tried to resist. That's it! She asked for it! Bubby and me went crazy! So we poured cigarette lighter fuel all over her and set her on fire!

We had her in captivity for three days, then we got a bit worried that we would end up killing her if we continued for much longer. So we forced her to drink alcohol, subjected her to some obscenity, water torture, played with some lotion, and finally anal for the first time and then interracial fucking!

Bit the nipple, sucking and biting hard! Few seconds more and it would have come apart. Forcefully sucked the nipple and made her go numb by running an ice cube all over her body.

It made us laugh when we saw her deformed and swollen face. We beat the hell out of her face, everyone was inflicting one blow after another. Blows rained down upon the bitch.

Additionally, a consumer who took part in filming posted the following:

Boy! What a Sunday it was! As always the director made a lot of hue and cry, but again was in a happy mood after beating up a slut until her face became swollen. But I really wanted to see her damned face smashed to pieces.

The following posts by the producer of the *Yamanba Busting by Brutal Rape* series in particular indicate the deadly nature of the violence inflicted in Japanese

torture pornography. The abuse perpetrated in this series appears to have been so severe that female victims often lost consciousness. In relation to a case in which a victim was burnt, the producer expressed concern in his posts that he would be sued. In his commendation of the film series to consumers participating in the company's online forum, the producer posted the following comments soon after early films in the series were released:

Look how the slut passes out, unable to bear the pain.

We pushed her to the verge of drowning and then the bitch screamed, "Mommy, help!"

Finally, in the end, her spine got twisted. Nonetheless we still went on abusing without a second thought.

It will take at least three weeks for her injuries to heal.

The bitch resisted so fiercely she must have felt death. It seemed like the resistance would go on for some time...but when one of the guys began to be a brute she was helpless.

She passed out completely, and we infused her with alcohol and saw her wandering towards death.

In the case of the *Stop the Discussion!* series, there were three films produced before the release of the one labeled "Film 1" in the series. However, because producers and others involved in the making of the three films were subsequently arrested, none of them were released by the time of the company's advertised release date. In an online forum post explaining this failure to release the advertised films, the producer wrote that "the level of harm caused to the women was so severe the film cannot be released." This means these earlier films must have contained more cruel and degrading scenes than even the films later released in the series. The following forum conversation between the series producer and a consumer sheds light on this history:

There are many recordings left half done and incomplete, because we were taken into custody.

We are taking precautions so that we won't be caught. But despite being cautious the fact is we have been taken into custody two times in the past.

Even when we were making this one, the actress was hospitalised for more than six months and it became a big incident. It's a serious business.

A customer responded:

What do you mean by the "actress was hospitalized for over six months"? I don't remember seeing one with that much severe abuse. At least among the ones you released so far.

To this, the producer responded:

At this stage we can't release it. Because it contains very cruel torture styles. But we will, someday.

Pray! We pulled some strings but we've still been sued.

By the way, we are really not in a position to tell you about what happened to the women at the end of filming. We've faced several problems.

By the way, we are unable to divulge information about what happened to Angel after the completion of the shoot.

Conclusion: Escalating violence

Through analyzing postings to the online forums of torture pornography production companies, as well as advertising materials for two of their pornography film series, this article has shown film producers and consumers collaborating to organize the gang rape and brutal abuse of women, notably against women in the sex industry. The misogyny and sadism of Japanese torture pornography appears to escalate both through collaboration between producers and consumers, as well as by coordination among expanded networks of perpetrators who make contact through online forums. We speculate that the production and popularization of violent pornographic films through online forums leads pornography consumers to join in the perpetration of gang rape and the abuse of women.

There was little evidence in the online and advertising data examined in the research that women were willing participants in filming. On the contrary, much of these data indicated deception, physical force and intimidation deployed by producers to secure their involvement. In fact, forced female participation in the films was precisely requested by pornography consumers in their posts to online forums. They requested producers to deceive women and forcefully hold them captive in order that they be severely abused and gang raped for the pornographic filming:

Pick up an amateur girl off the street and take her to the filming location and straight away destroy her cunt! What do you think about that?

By the way, we don't mind if you use professional porn stars, but I personally would like to see amateur girls being raped. But I don't mean the ones we see often, like the scenes where you get real porn stars and make them act as if they are armatures and pick them up off the street and then rape them. That's not what I mean.

Posts by producers of the two torture pornography film series suggest that the forcible incorporation of women in the films was their aim, and was even envisaged as a selling point of the films:

If you're not satisfied that this movie is based on true events, then we will refund the money you paid for the DVD.

It is correct to say that we acknowledged we were recruiting them for pornographic films. But they were unaware beforehand of the plot and the extent of violence they would be subjected to. So the expressions you see on their faces in the film are for real. Ejaculating inside them without their consent, they get scared like hell. You will know from the way they scream.

Existing feminist anti-pornography research describes techniques deployed by online pornography sellers to escalate the consumption habits of users and therefore expand profits earned from downloads and other sales. Jennifer Johnson (2011) described technological devices developed by online pornography distribution companies that functioned to entrap and habituate users to expanded forms of pornography consumption on the Internet. Certainly, this supply-push aspect of pornography's distribution is a defining feature of the product's online commercial trade and now makes pornography socially ubiquitous in a way that other commercial activities of the sex industry are not. At the same time, however, pornography comprises advertising and stimulus for the conduct of these other sex industry activities (*e.g.*, prostitution, stripping, web-camera prostitution), and so expands the prevalence of those activities in parallel to expanding its own dissemination among male consumers. Allison Luzwick (2017) highlighted pornography's role in stimulating acts of prostitution with trafficking victims, for example, when she wrote that men who "heavily use such pornography might gradually become habituated to it and seek to recreate those sexual acts themselves with trafficked persons to gain further satisfaction" (p. 138). Similarly emphasizing this link between pornography and other forms of commercial sexual exploitation, Melissa Farley describes a brothel in the US state of Nevada in which women are routinely filmed while being prostituted for the purpose of selling as pornography to earn greater profits for the brothel's owner (in Tankard Reist and Bray, 2015, p. 152).

The discussion of this article has offered further insight into pornography as inextricably linked to other forms of sexual exploitation, and as comprising incitement to their perpetration. In particular, the research showed pornography industry Internet forums facilitating participation by consumers in filmed acts of sexual abuse of women, as well as encouraging the convening of coordinated groups of men who cooperate to perpetrate gang rapes of women on film. The role of consumers in actively encouraging the filming of specific acts of abuse and torture of women through their online interaction with pornography producers further suggests not only supply-push but also demand-pull forces at play in the production of pornography. Although Johnson and others rightly highlight the role of supply-push forces in the *dissemination* of pornography worldwide, this article has alternatively highlighted the role of consumer demand in its *production*.

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