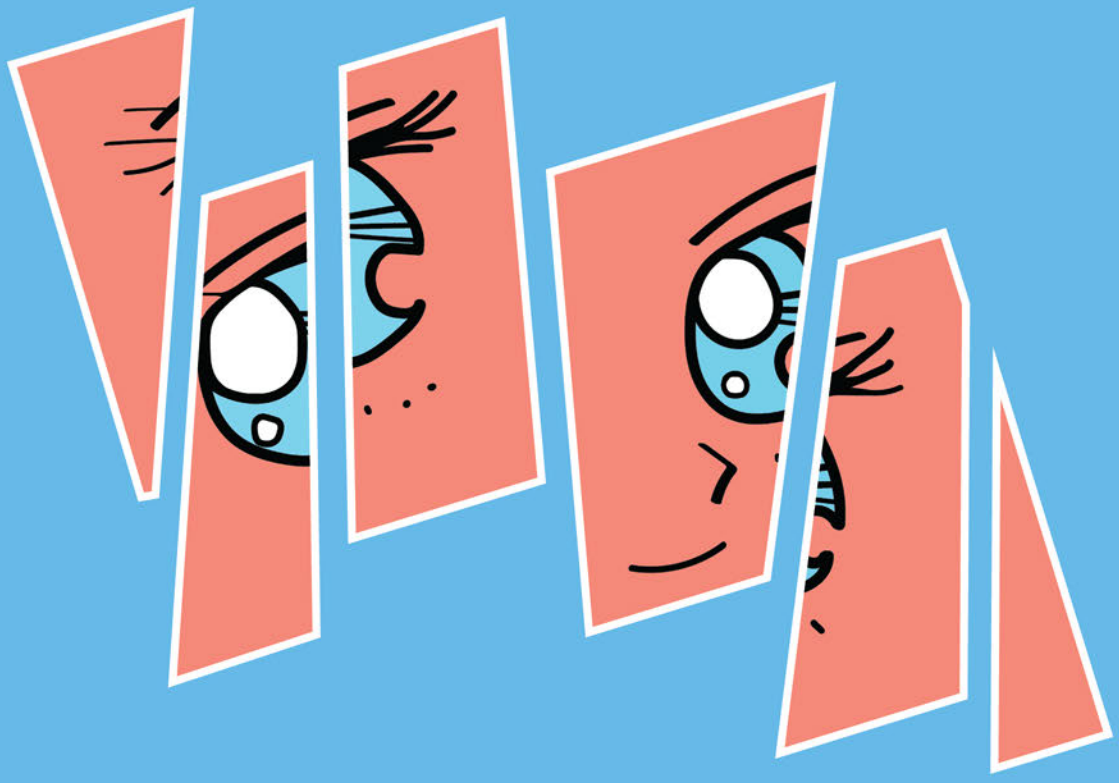
MANGA!:
Visual Pop-Culture in ARTS Education



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InSEA Publications

Qta da Cruz São Salvador
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www.insea.org
Email: insea@insea.org
Year of Publication: 2020

E-ISBN: 978-989-54683-7-9 (electronic version)
ISBN : 978-989-54683-6-2 (printed version)
D.O.I: 10.24981/2020-3

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The *International Society for Education Through Art* (InSEA) is a worldwide community for all those concerned with every aspect, stage and sector of art education. The society aims to share knowledge, experience and research in order to strengthen the position of art education in every country around the world. InSEA promotes international cooperation and understanding between cultures using art education as an agent for change and improvement in society. As an organization that is led by its members, the Society is committed to learning and teaching through art and the advancement of research in art education and providing a global platform of advocacy for members.

Established in 1954, InSEA is a non-governmental organization and official partner of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization UNESCO). InSEA publishes books, Journals, congress proceedings and catalogues mainly in electronic forms, including the *International Journal of Education through Art* [IJETA], an English language journal that promotes relationships between art and education. The *ART Education VISUAL Journal* (IMAG) is also published by InSEA. The Society hosts a biannual World Congress during which members come together to share knowledge and build collaborative research networks. Between world congresses, InSEA members can participate in Regional Congresses held in several sites around the world. For more information please visit, and join us at: www.insea.org

Acknowledgements and Greetings

ARIGATO to ALL:

A big thank you to all the contributors and collaborators who have participated in this book project, and to our friends, colleagues, and especially InSEA Publications who have been supporting us mentally and intellectually. We would also like to thank our dearest families who are always there to help us spiritually with warm hearts and love. Lastly we wish to express our warmest gratitude to individuals and manga artists for their generosity in allowing us to use invaluable artworks in this book, and to all those who gave their unwavering support for our project. It is impossible to express our thanks with words. Without all your help, this book project could not have happened.

We hope this book will be very meaningful and valuable to you - educators, students, scholars and others - who are interested in the theme of visual pop-culture and searching for theory and practice in the diverse disciplines of STEAM education. We hope and believe you will be able to discover something new and useful from these 22 chapters with diverse approaches to the theme of this book. Enjoy (^_^)!

Editors, Masami Toku and Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase

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Foreword

Glen Coutts
President of InSEA

Glen Coutts is Professor of Applied Visual Arts Education and a Docent at the University of Lapland. A practising artist, he writes regularly about issues in art education. He is president of the International Society for Education through Art (2019-22) and Past Principal Editor of the International Journal of Education through art (2010-16). In 2016, he was presented with the United States Society of Education through Art Ziegfeld Award for outstanding international leadership in art education.
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It is a great honour to be asked to write a short foreword to this important book; a particular honour, because my own background and school education in art and design is quite far removed from the world of manga. A distinctly Western and somewhat modernist canon characterised my school education. Art education in school meant a studio-based curriculum; drawing, painting, clay work and occasionally some craft. I loved every minute but until going to art school, I had limited knowledge of the arts of other cultures, lens, time-based or site-specific work. In addition, popular culture or work by contemporary artists and designers was hardly ever covered in the school curriculum. School art education in Scotland during the 1970s, was just that – mainly art (and perhaps craft) education although the subject was, and remains, called 'art and design'. Curricular reform in the1980s led to design being equally weighted with art and the introduction of 'critical activity'. This opened the door to, for example, popular visual culture, design thinking and study of the role of contemporary artists and designers in society; leading to a more broad-based and socially engaged curriculum. Despite a thriving industry of comics and graphic novels, these were not embraced as a teaching resource by many teachers in art, or most other subjects, in secondary schools until the 1990s and I do not recall much interaction between subjects. In the past twenty years however, all of that has changed and student-centred, interdisciplinary learning is now common in Scottish schools.

For almost twenty years, manga has been incorporated into the Japanese national curriculum in art with the aim of developing visual literacy and thinking skills. In this book however, manga is explored from wider perspectives providing the reader with fascinating insights into its development and vast educational potential. The relevance of popular culture and manga to teaching arts in, for example, drawing together visual literacy and language skills is underlined throughout the book. Masami Toku and Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase have brought together expert voices from different disciplines and approaches to manga, raising important questions across a range of themes from social engagement, sexuality and gender and Japanese folktales to *Second Life*. Organised in two sections; *theory and practice* and

pedagogical implementation the reader is presented with the historical and cultural context to manga and insights to ways that manga might be integrated to the curriculum. The authors, all specialists in visual popular culture, deftly explore the huge international impact of manga and point to the enormous potential of visual pop-culture for arts education in general. As educators debate new constructs such as STEAM (science, technology, engineering, art/design and math) or STREAM (science, technology, reading, engineering, art/design and math), these essays make timely reading. This book will inspire and support both teachers and preservice teachers in their efforts to provide the best possible learning experience for their students.

The International Society for Education through Art (InSEA) is an organisation that exists to further the notion of *education through art* in all educational settings formal and informal and at all levels from early education to learning in later life. Since its foundation in the 1950s, InSEA has built a world-wide community dedicated to advocacy, networking and the advancement of research and praxis in art education by providing a forum for its members to share methods and practices in art education or collaborate on international projects that aim to benefit all concerned with art education; in schools, universities or the wider community. InSEA is organised and managed by art educators *for* art educators, it is a collegiate Society dedicated to peace, international cooperation and understanding through culturally sensitive art education.

InSEA Publications

InSEA Publications is an academic publisher, established in 2016, that publishes books, journals and articles about visual art education and education through art (we also publish conference proceedings and catalogues for InSEA congresses and symposia). Our publications seek to promote good practice and cutting-edge research and praxis in the field. Publications are normally electronic and open-access on the InSEA website (www.insea.org). *InSEA Publications* seeks to promote a wide range of research and praxis from a diverse set of educational contexts from community-based art to more formal university and school practice in addition to arts-based educational research.

Foreword

Teresa Torres de Eça
Former President of InSEA

Teresa Torres de Eça , *PhD,* coordinates the CFAN-APECV art teacher training center in Portugal since 2014; as researcher collaborates with the CIAC -Research Center in Arts and Communication /University of Algarve in Portugal since 2017. Was President of the International Society for Education Through Art – InSEA between 2014 and is President of the Portuguese Visual Communication teachers APECV since 2008. Her research interests are focused on participatory research; social engaged arts; transcultural educational projects and art education activism. Currently she is the Principal Editor of InSEA visual journal IMAG ; arts education research journal *Invisibilidades* and visual arts education journal *Imaginar,* < https://sharingsketchbooks.wordpress.com/tt/ >

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My first drawing teacher was a book about how to draw comics, when I was about fourteen years old, I found that book and for many months I practiced the exercises of the book with enthusiasm. Later, I was introduced to the big authors of 'Bande Dessinée' and 'Fumetti' from Belgium, France and Italy. After I graduated in Fine Arts, in the eighties, I created a couple of graphic novels, I didn't go in that direction , as a creator, but always admired and appreciated this genre of literature in the borders. Later, as a teacher and a trainer of teachers I used many times this visual arts media in my teaching practice to explore visual narratives in terms of drawing techniques and critical reading. Being trained in Europe, I had more access to Western history and critical analysis of comics and graphic novels rather than Eastern types such as manga graphic novels and comic strips. I only discovered Manga graphic novels through my students in the nineties. However, Eastern pop cultural products such as the proliferation of manga related animation, toys, TV series, computer games, and film are still the main cultural stream in the lives of many western students and I believe we, as teachers, need to know more about their aesthetics, semiotics; production channels and audiences. Masami Toku and Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase by editing this book are contributing to my and others, need for knowledge and reflection about this topic in education. They provide us with a rich overview of the development and characteristics of manga integrating theories and examples of manga narratives in educational curricula.

This publication brings up many questions worth exploring, their authors present the educational value of manga beyond disciplinary and cultural specificity. Manga has its own unique language and due to its enormous cultural impact all around the world, needs the attention of curriculum developers and educational workers from a vast array of disciplines and especially from art educators. InSEA is committed to the encouragement and advancement of creative education through art and crafts in all countries and the promotion of research and praxis about art education to foster international understanding, and in this context promoting cultural diversity and constructing bridges for knowledge is crucial. Eastern cultures, specially the Japanese visual culture pervaded with manga are not very well known by art educators, Manga characters, as any other literature characters, may be objects of desire; ways to know more about a different culture; means to understand how different we are and how valuable is such a difference as long as we analyse it within its historical and cultural media contexts in the educational framework. By publishing this book InSEA , once again, open up horizons of learning for art educators across the globe. (Viseu. 03/06/2020)

Introduction

Masami Toku & Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase

This book explores the power of visual pop culture, in particular, manga, discussing theories and practices for incorporating its study into diverse educational disciplines. It presents the value of education through manga, showcasing ways in which manga can be a very useful pedagogical tool in educational curricula.

Manga is usually translated as “comics” or “graphic novels.” But the idea of manga is vague and its definition has been a topic of debate. Manga can be roughly divided into two periods: historical and modern manga. In historical manga, the literal meaning of the word manga (漫画) is “humorous picture,” the origin of comics. Some people find its origin in simple caricatures such as the 12th century Chōjugiga (animal scroll) and early 19th century Hokusai sketches (Schodt, 1996, Shimizu, 2001, Natsume, 2003, Saikibara, 2019, et al).

Focusing on manga’s characteristic sequential drawings accompanied by text, some consider kibyōshi picture books at the end of the 18th century to be the roots of modern manga. Japan certainly had a cultural base that was “receptive to manga” (Natsume, 2003, p.1). The modern manga era started with story manga, also called "graphic novels." The influences of other cultures, especially American culture including Disney Animation, was unavoidable right before and after World War II. It is well known that Osamu Tezuka, father of modern manga, was highly influenced by Disney and developed the unique usage of Komawori (frame works) that represent movements on the 2D surface of paper. Since the late 1980s, Japanese (modern) manga has taken the world by storm: first Asia, then European countries, and finally the USA at the beginning of the 21st century.

Manga culture developed in tandem with the advancement of printing technology, the development of the publishing business, and increases in magazine readership and circulation. Over time, the world of manga prospered and expanded into animation, TV series, light novels, films, toys, computer games, etc. Manga keeps evolving, ceaselessly developing and attracting fans.

Today, manga is recognized as an influential global popular phenomenon. Manga publications such as *Dragon Ball* (1984 - 1995), *Naruto* (1999 -2014), and *Sailor Moon* (1992-1997), to name a few, fascinate young children, and, for those who grew up reading these stories, the characters in them hold special positions in their childhood memories.

In any discussion of today’s global youth culture, it is impossible to ignore manga and anime. It has permeated

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the visual and performing art world. There are many art museums dedicated to manga and anime. Recently, the British Museum in London had a large manga exhibition in 2019, featuring about 70 works by 50 manga artists. The Guardian newspaper acknowledged the popularity and cultural influence of manga, stating that "manga has indeed earned its place in the British museum" (Barnett, 2019).

Shojo Manga has been hugely popular in Asian and European countries since the 1990s. The same phenomenon has begun in the United States at the beginning of the 21th century. In June 2005, the monthly shojo manga anthology *NANA* began publication, two years after a monthly shonen (boys') manga anthology, *JUMP*, began publication. Thus, In 2005 the hottest item in US publication was Japanse manga, especially shojo manga (girls' comics). *The New York Times* has said that shojo manga has become one of the hottest markets in the book business. Two publishers, Viz Media and Tokyopop, have been the leaders in the American manga market, which has more than doubled since 2002, helped along by a $5 billion business in related animated films, TV series, and licensed products like dolls and action figures (September 18, 2005).

At the same time, a touring exhibition of *Shojo Manga! Girls' Manga* began and travelled to 9 sites in North America (Canada and USA: 2005-07). It continues to travel the world even now in 2020, supported by the Japan Foundation and the Japanese embassy of individual countries in South America.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that manga has been promoted from the center of Japanese visual culture to the center of children's visual culture worldwide. The characteristics of manga often appear in pictorial worlds created by children, as the semiotic signs in the visual images directly and strongly influence their aesthetics.

Education through manga is an emerging topic. In 1998, the Japanese Ministry of Education and Science adapted the characteristics of manga into its national curriculum in art education to enhance children's visual literacy and visual thinking skills, publishing an art textbook (7th & 8th Grades) including the essence of manga and anime in 2001. In 2015, The Nippon Foundation started a project called Koremo gakushū manga da (This is also Learning Manga); its online database categorizes manga into different genres such as Literature, Art, Society, Occupation, History, Science, Sports, etc., which makes it easy to access for educators and students. The term "Edutainment" (a compound term combining Education and Entertainment) was used to describe the attempt to help young people acquire knowledge through manga while they enjoy reading them. The popularity of manga in education is also evidenced overseas. For example, there are books on how to use manga in K12 classrooms in order to develop students' artistic skills. In the field of Japanese language study, teachers, who have begun to recognize manga to be a great cultural and linguistic resource, have published manga based textbooks to help motivate students to learn.

STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math) is now incorporating Art, creating the new concept STEAM, and with the addition of Reading, STREAM. Art helps spread science information creatively and effectively, and art brings people together to strengthen community. Now is a better time than ever to discuss the implementation of this visual pop culture with its world wide appeal into educational curricula in diverse disciplines.

Educators in different fields rarely interact with each other because of barriers which compartmentalize them based on their disciplines. Manga, which consists of cultural information and visual, linguistic and narrative art, is multidisciplinary in nature, and therefore could be a crossroads at which educators of various disciplines come together. We want to remove the barriers which separate educator from educator, researcher from researcher, with our ultimate goal of finding educational value in manga. Through articles written by experts of various disciplines and backgrounds, we hope that this book will offer good educational and research resources.

The book's content is composed of two parts: 1) theory and practice in ARTS (visual and performing arts) education and 2) manga in cultural, language, and media studies, with particular emphasis on pedagogical aspects. In 22 chapters, 24 authors who are specialists in visual popular culture in their respective disciplines share their knowledge and experiences of how to incorporate the value of manga into their academic subjects.

We hope that this book will contribute to the further advancement of education in visual pop culture and that a wide range of readers, including students who wish to become teachers in the near future, will use it as a springboard to spread our belief in "education through manga across disciplines."

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Part I. Manga in Visual and Performing Arts (edited by Masami Toku):

Chapter 1. The Grammar of Manga: Manga's Inherent Hyōgen 'Stylistics' (by Fusanosuke Natsume, Gakushuin University, Japan)

All visual artworks can be described with the basic components that represent the language of art: line, shape, color, space, and so on. There is also a language of comics including picture, word (with or without bubbles), and frame in general. Manga (Japanese comics) are not an exception; however, this usage of language is quite different from that of other comics. Manga has its own unique language constructed of images, panels, and language. Images serve as the expressive 'content' of the text, panels serve broadly as the containers for this 'content,' and language serves as an independent form of expression outside of either images or panels. In particular, this chapter discusses the uniqueness of manga's language, and how & why the characteristics developed a significant style of comic that has attracted and influenced other comics all over the world after the 1980s. This chapter is partially excerpted and summarized from the original article, "Manga no Bunpo (Grammar of Manga)" published by Asahi Shinbun Shuppan Japan in 1997 in Mook Special edition *Comic-gaku no Mikata* (literally means, *How to Read Comic Study*).

Chapter 2. Manga's Influences: New Direction of Artistic and Aesthetic Developments in Children's Pictorial World (by Masami Toku, California State University, Chico, USA)

Children's artistic development is a classic but also innovative theory in researching universal visual patterns that appear in children's pictorial worlds as signs of children's mental and physical growth as a result of cultural and social influences. The theory has been discussed since the mid-20th century. A current and trend topic of artistic developmental theory is the influence of visual pop-culture on children's minds and society. Especially, the power of manga, which is a visual pop-culture of Japan, has been discussed as one of the most influential communicative tools for their artistic and aesthetic development since the beginning of the 21st century. This chapter is based on an original doctoral thesis from 1998, "A Cross-cultural Study of Children's Artistic Development Between Japan and USA," and also summarizes the literature reviews of the theory from the 1980s to the present. This chapter also discusses the uniqueness of manga's language and how & why the characteristics have been influencing children's visual literacy, along with the case study of a boy's pictorial world (1 to 12 yrs. old). Questions of new directions in artistic development with the influences of visual pop-culture will also be introduced.

Chapter 3. A Look at Manga in Japanese Public Education (by Osamu Sahara, Tokushima University, Japan)

The Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) first publicly announced that image-media would be included in the national curriculum for art education in 1998. Manga was included as a part of image-media, and art textbooks began to include focus on principles of art theories in manga from that time. In more recent years, there has been a shift in most art education textbooks in Japan towards approaching manga through comparison between ancient Japanese drawings and modern manga techniques. Another change has been that manga is now combined with other image media fields such as animation and the amount of attention dedicated to manga itself has reduced in the most widely adopted Japanese art education textbooks. One insight from a textbook editor indicated that manga is treated more lightly now because it consumes a lot of time to teach and often symbolic expression is avoided by local teachers. Therefore, textbooks have been revised to reflect local teachers' perspectives on the subject of manga in the classroom. Concern was also raised that art education is conceptually far from children's actual life experience. In this chapter the author more fully describes how manga is treated in Japanese public education and introduces V-TISK theory to promote manga expression effectively as a bridge between traditional art education expression and contemporary manga expression.

Chapter 4. Lessons Learned from Manga High: A Pedagogical Approach for Educators (by Michael Bitz, Ramapo College, USA)

This chapter introduces a pedagogical approach to developing and publishing manga in classroom settings. Based on the youth-developed comics featured in *Manga High: Literacy, Identity, and Coming of Age in an Urban High School* (Harvard Education Press, 2009), the chapter presents a pedagogical method that can be replicated by educators worldwide with the ultimate goal of educators connecting to students' personal interests and identities. The chapter begins with an examination of the role of manga in the decade since *Manga High* was originally published. Readers are introduced to the students of *Manga High* and learn about the methodology that organically unfolded as a result of their daily manga practice. The chapter provides a review of manga pedagogy from the literature followed by a detailed

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pedagogical method beginning with character and story sketches and culminating in printed publications and community-based exhibits. The key elements of the manga pedagogy introduced in the chapter are encouraging creativity with manga, creating high quality products, and publishing and presenting original manga. The chapter concludes with some broad implications for pedagogy and teaching.

Chapter 5. Becoming and Unbecoming a Mangaka: The Informal and Formal Pedagogy of Fame (by Brent Wilson, Pennsylvania State University, USA)

Japanese visual culture is pervaded with manga. When Japanese children draw stories their characters, whether human, animal or imaginary, are modeled after those in the comics they consume. Japanese teenagers form themselves into groups to produce doujinshi – fanzine-like manga that they sell to eager fans in hundreds of comic markets held throughout Japan each year. It would seem that these comic markets would be the places where scouts from the major manga publishers would identify the next mangaka – the next famous manga artists. But this is not the case (although the former doujinshi group CLAMP is the exception); manga publishers organize contests to identify talented visual narrators, enter them in publishers' schools, assign the most promising among them to editors who mentor and groom them until they are ready to be published. Through interviews with editors and teachers from the major manga publishing houses this chapter examines the mentoring processes. Some mangaka who feel constrained by their publishers and editors leave the manga publishing houses in order to sell their more personal manga in doujinshi comic markets. The chapter also explores the ways in which, in the past, a mangaka such as Keiko Takemiya established her own pedagogical routine that led to recognition and fame – and how she has established a program for aspiring manga artists at the university level.

Chapter 6. Manga as Childhood Visual Culture (by Ryan Shin, University of Arizona, USA and Jihyun Sohn, Seoul National University of Education, South Korea)

In this chapter, we share and discuss our own experience of reading and watching childhood manga, recollecting and reflecting on our personal, social, and cultural aspects of manga. Each author chose and wrote reflective stories about two most influential mangas on our development as a boy and a girl in the 1970s. After reading and watching them again as an adult, we analyze our current experience reading them as adults and art educators to explore the educational potentials of rereading childhood manga. Our personal reflections resonate with or contextualized in the current re-emergence and popularity of childhood manga in Korea's renaissance of retro culture, resulting in the development of various museum or community education programs based upon childhood manga. We analyze manga explore the pedagogical implications of manga as childhood visual culture and suggest that art educators explore retro manga books and films as an essential resource to analyze childhood visual culture and develop educational programs and projects, which can facilitate intergenerational learning, cross-cultural exploration, and manga exploration for cultural identity and social justice.

Chapter 7. Manga Mashup on Second Life: Kawaii Cute Clothes, Creatures and Creeps (by Mary Stokrocki, Arizona State University, USA)

When people of all ages lose interest in art, they seek alternatives for expressing their ideas, such as animation, comics, manga, and virtual world mashups. Searching for manga on Second Life, one of the most popular virtual worlds, reveals 239 results consisting of sims, shops, groups, clubs, hangouts, etc. Surprisingly, many of these art forms include costumes, stuffed animals, robots, books, games, and posters for sale. Through qualitative participant observation, I explore the concept of manga, its appeal on the virtual world, its hidden offensive elements, Disney influence, and the transforming mashup of art forms and pop cultural influences. Included are avatar interviews of an anonymous pig and skunk. Students would love to invent their own manga mashup. The new economy demands that they also critically discuss the offensive and twist the attractions for social good. How else can teachers navigate this tempting transition of deviant interests?

Chapter 8. Youth Animé/Manga Dōjin /Fan Art as a Hybrid Space: Rethinking Creativity and Learning (by Jin-Shiow Chen, National Chiayi University, Taiwan)

A new frontier formed in the world of animé/manga. Not the realm of established publishers and artists, it is the space of dōjin/fan circles where young artists collaborate and grow in self-exploratory development of their own artistic style. "Dōjin," a Japanese term for groups of people who share a common interest, provide that space where fan art thrives. These dōjin/fan groups meet collectively at huge conventions such as Comiket, sharing their self-published fan art (called "dōjinshi") and mingling with cosplayers (fans dressed as animé/manga characters). This author focused on a qualitative study,

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tracking four young dōjin/fan artists, looking at changes in their artworks over time. The process of learning and making dōjinshi and cosplay combined with the mixing of dōjin/fan artists who participate in conventions show an unfolding cultural practice where hybridization of art takes place. These elements help create a hybrid space for artistic development, leading to a rethinking of how we might foster creativity and learning in art education.

Chapter 9. Imaginary Depictions of Sexuality and Gender Construction in Manga- A Case Study of Three Manga Fans (by Hsiao-ping Chen, Grand Valley State University, USA)

This paper focuses on three American manga fans' identity construction, specifically how they construct their gender and sexuality through the eyes of manga characters as drawn from manga images and stories. Lacan's Imaginary-Symbolic-Real registers demonstrate that identity is a struggle for recognition, not only constantly driven by the desire to fulfill a lack (search for unity), but ultimately a méconnaissance- an illusion of seeing oneself seeing oneself. Manga sets *object a's* relation in motion, serving as a fantasy of the mirror, providing the subject for alternative gender ideals, as well as a survival mechanism for the subject to protect itself (example of camouflage), an escaping exit for itself to confront the gaze of the Other (i.e., homosexuality).

Chapter 10. Questioning the Racial Question: Scenes from Manga, Theater Auditions, and Other Unlikely Places (by Natsu Onoda Power, Gerogetown University, USA)

There is a question — often dreaded, and feels a little dated — that a manga scholar in the United States often encounters from a casual reader: "Why do characters in manga look more white than Asian?" While there is no "straight answer" to the question, the author maintains that the question emerges from, and reveals, the gap in the Japanese and Western (specifically American) ideas of race and its pictorial representations. Interrogating the question itself, rather than trying to answer it, is a more productive endeavor. Using the question as a point of departure, and drawing on J.L. Austin's idea of performative utterance (J.L. Austin), the essay explores the ways in which race has been represented, depicted, and discussed in Japanese and American contexts, through case studies that range from manga, to television talk show to plays. A self-reflexive, multi-disciplinary approach to the question may allow us to "see race" differently in the contexts of visual and performing arts in the United States.

Chapter 11. We are now United by the Common Language called "Manga" (by Machiko Satonaka, Osaka University of Arts, Japan)

Prolific, award-winning manga artist Machiko Satonaka recounts here both the history of manga in Japan and her own personal development as a manga artist, which were the two threads converging on her inspiration to break the convention and draw self-reliant heroines that could empower women. Satonaka later reaches beyond Japan to illustrate manga's reception by international audiences, her interaction with sequential art and artists abroad, and the founding of the non-profit organization Manga Summit to harness manga's potential as a global common language to tackle contemporary issues around the world. Manga transcends the simple storytelling medium as a bond that can unite even very different people. Satonaka celebrates the diversity of manga today and the wide topics and appeal to audiences around the world. She attributes the popularity of manga to the artistic freedom of its creators, regardless of their technical skills, and challenges aspiring manga artists to focus on self-expression through this art form.

Part II. Manga in Cultural, Language, and Media Studies (edited by Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase):

Chapter 12. Manga as a Teaching Tool for Enhancing Learning and Understanding of Japanese Classical Literature (by Paola Scrolavezza, University of Bologna, Italy)

This chapter focuses on my experiences teaching Japanese classical literature. The title I have chosen for my course is *Canon Formation, Cultural Identity, and Classical Japanese Literature*, because my primary aim is to provide students with some basic tools to approach Japanese literary texts in order to facilitate the understanding of the most representative authors from the Nara period to the end of the Tokugawa era, and to stimulate the critical analysis of some fundamental notions such as "classic" or "literary canon." There are many re-writings of classical narratives and history in contemporary pop culture; first of all the many manga versions of the masterpiece of Heian period *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji) offers a perfect starting point for discussing those topics and involving students in various interactive activities which can make the classroom more dynamic and creative, a real hermeneutic community. Moreover, the increasing development of web communication networks and technologies play today a fundamental role in spreading and penetrating Japanese visual popular culture into everyday experiences of new Italian generations. That's why using

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popular culture as a teaching tool results in stimulating students' active participation in learning processes and helps enhance the understanding of complex concepts and theories (i.e. both cultural and social issues and critical approaches).

Chapter 13. Toward "Reciprocal Legitimation" between Shakespeare's Works and Manga (by Yukari Yoshihara, University of Tsukuba, Japan)

There are numerous cases of Shakespeare's works adapted into manga/anime, including Tezuka Osamu's *Robio and Robiette*, a tragic love story between two robots, Harumo Sanazaki's *Macbeth* narrated from a female point of view, and *Ophelia*, not yet where Ophelia survives because she is a backstroke champion. This article will attempt to contextualize the complex negotiations, struggles and challenges between Shakespeare and pop culture, between authoritative cultural products and consumer products (such as animation), to argue that it would be more profitable to think of the relationships between highbrow/lowbrow, Western/non-Western, male versus female, heterosexual versus non-heterosexual, not simply in terms of dichotomies or domination/subordination, but in terms of reciprocal enrichment in a never-ending process of mutual metamorphoses. In an attempt to explore possible cases of what Douglas Lanier calls "reciprocal legitimation" between "highbrow, middlebrow, and popular culture," I shall try to record some of the recent cases of Shakespeare remade in glocalized manga and animations. In that process, this essay will try to showcase the ways in which Shakespeare's works and Shakespeare comics/manga/animation can compete in productive ways, with both as globalized/localized cultural capital.

Chapter 14. Looking at the Human World through the Eyes of Yokai in *Natsume's Book of Friends* (by Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase, Vassar College, USA)

Yōkai characters - spirits and monsters from ancient Japanese folktales - appear in books, manga, and anime today. One highly acclaimed yōkai manga is Midorikawa Yuki's *Natsume's Book of Friends*. The yōkai in this manga are scary but adorable, and they all possess emotions like human beings. Each episode picks up one yōkai and relates a sad story resulting from human mistreatment or unrequited love with humans. A human boy, Takashi, listens to their stories with great compassion and releases the yōkai from their emotional sufferings. Midorikawa's yōkai are never portrayed as evil "others," enemies in conflict with humans. They are social victims, sympathetic beings who possess delicate feelings and emotional fragility. The physical deformity of Midorikawa's yōkai does not indicate a "lack" of humanity, but is a symbol of their social and cultural marginality. Japanese yōkai tradition has evolved, and been re-imagined for today's diverse audience.

Chapter 15. Girls in Boys' and Men's Manga (by Mia Elise Lewis, Stanford University, USA)

For educators looking to use manga in the classroom, the prevalence of depictions which objectify and disempower female characters poses a challenge in choosing material for classroom use. The goals of this chapter are twofold: to examine the predominant trend in boys' and men's manga of depicting both fictional and real girls and women in misogynistic and sexually objectifying ways, and to examine the recent rise of popular manga challenging these trends. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first briefly introduces manga's gendered genres and who reads them. The second examines how boys' and men's manga magazines blur the line between eroticized drawings of fictional girls and photographs of real girls, thereby framing both real and fictional girls as objects rather than role models. The final section analyzes a recent boom in popular boys' and men's manga with feminist themes. These manga defy and parody their genres' misogynist trends, and demonstrate the potential for a feminist manga future.

Chapter 16. From Fukushima to Hiroshima: Teaching Social Engagement through Manga (by Tomoko Aoyama, Queensland University, Australia, Kenko Kawasaki, Rikkyo University, Japan and Lucy Fraser, Queensland University, Australia)

This chapter discusses texts that deal with nuclear disasters, namely the 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the March 2011 Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power station meltdown triggered by the earthquake and tsunami. We identify the "post-Fukushima framework"; that is, the ways in which the 3.11 triple disasters affect not only the interpretation of Fukushima-themed texts, but also audience engagement with prior historical events as well as possible futures. We particularly argue for the importance of adopting a "post-Fukushima framework" in the classroom in the face of widespread "forgetting" of 3.11 in Japan, and we model a reading of manga and other texts centred on a sense of post-3.11 "hope." We suggest two approaches to teaching nuclear disaster and post-3.11 "hope," directed at Japanese studies and popular culture courses, using translated materials. The first is the "thematic" approach, which is exemplified here through an examination of food, cooking, and eating themes in manga about nuclear

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disasters. The second approach is one of comparison and contextualization, which we model through cross-generic and cross-media comparisons of a pre-3.11 manga, set during the Second World War, and three hit Japanese films from 2016 related to war and nuclear disaster. We argue that these two approaches are appealing and particularly well suited for developing the critical capacity of university students, who are already equipped with intertextual reading abilities and are often familiar with the practices of the Japanese "media mix."

Chapter 17. Teaching the 3.11 Earthquake and Disaster in Japanese Language Classroom (by Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase, Vassar College, USA)

On March 11, 2011, an earthquake of magnitude 9 struck off the coast of Northern Japan, and the subsequent massive tsunami damaged a large area and deprived many people of their lives. It was the worst natural disaster recorded in modern Japanese history and is now referred to as "3.11." The topic of the Japanese 3.11 *shinsai* (earthquake disaster) is a salient part of Japanese cultural history and its memory must be passed on to the future. It is important for language teachers to make a conscious effort to teach Japanese language learners of this traumatic event and also to make sure that they acquire cultural sensitivity in dealing with this topic. In 2018, I taught an advanced Japanese language course built around the theme of 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami. I introduced students to various reading materials such as newspaper articles, children's tales, literary works, and manga, in order to help them learn about the catastrophe from multiple perspectives. Using Hagio Moto's manga "Nanohana" as an example, this chapter will discuss how the disaster was contextualized in this course. Manga is an integration of visual and linguistic arts, and offers the opportunity for multiple language learning activities through which students can learn to appreciate works written in Japanese language. I will showcase some examples of language activities I implemented.

Chapter 18. *The Japanese the Japanese Don't Know* in the Japanese Language Classroom (by Nathen Clerici, The State University of New York, New Paltz, USA)

Umino Nagiko's series, *The Japanese the Japanese Don't Know* (2009-2013), follows the interactions between a teacher at a Japanese language school and her foreign students. *TJTJDK* is a "comic essay" that veers into the genre of educational manga, and which uses the students' mishaps to educate Japanese readers about the quirky or obscure aspects of their language while providing a pretext for the celebration of Japanese culture. In the language classroom, *TJTJDK* is useful as a supplement to a regular curriculum; it is fun, features short vignettes and essays, and the language level is not too advanced despite being made for a domestic audience. Though given to broad stereotypes and shallow treatment of a topic, *TJTJDK* is good for introducing aspects of Japanese society and culture, such as part-time jobs or otaku, and it can be used as a platform from which to delve into the meaning of Japaneseness – and of self and other – and how language plays a role in identity formation. Additionally, *TJTJDK* was adapted into a 12-episode drama series in 2010, which is helpful for listening activities, but also provides instructors with a chance to talk about media (e.g., manga vs. drama conventions). Since *TJTDK* was not created for a non-Japanese audience, instructors will need to tailor assignments and create supplementary materials in some cases, but incorporating *TJTJDK* into intermediate-level and above courses adds dynamism to the classroom and motivates students.

Chapter 19. A Japanese Manga Literature Textbook for Developing Communicative Competence (by Mitsuaki Shimojo, University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, USA)

This chapter discusses a manga literature textbook *Botchan* (Masuyama 2011), a manga-based textbook based on the novel by Natsume Soseki, and explores merits of the manga-based textbook in the use of the communicative approach to the teaching and learning of Japanese as a foreign language. For this purpose, particular attention will be paid to the textbook as a resource for developing the learner's communicative competence. The textbook represents a broad range of textual variables such as narrative and conversation, formal and informal, sound-symbolic expressions, modern and contemporary, masculine and feminine, and central vs. local speech varieties. With these variables combined with the manga format, the textbook serves as a valuable resource for developing the learner's communicative competence concerning genre-app-ropriate use of coherent and cohesive texts, which is an important component of communicative competence to be developed but often overlooked in the teaching of the language.

Chapter 20. What Can We Do with Emotive Adjectives?: Manga as a Visual Facilitator of Empathetic Expressions (by Sayaka Abe, Middlebury College, USA)

Japanese has numerous so-called emotive adjectives (cf. Murakami, 2017), e.g., *ureshii* 'happy,' as well as other lexical items of emotion, such as verbs and onomatopoeia. Expressions that are readily available in a

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language are considered windows into the culture of its speakers (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999). In everyday speech and writing, however, speakers' (or writers') feelings are not necessarily conveyed overtly, e.g., *ureshii* (desu) 'I'm happy', if they are expressed at all. In fact, we more frequently find nuanced and fragmented expressions (cf. Maynard, 2005), a characteristic that also applies to language used in manga, especially given its abundance of visual information. Using a linguistic approach, the present chapter argues that the medium of manga—precisely because of this implicit nature—could serve as a rich resource of "emotivity" for Japanese pedagogy. Here, emotivity is broadly defined as including feelings (e.g., anger, happiness) and sensations (e.g., pain, tastes). The chapter presents the linguistic and contextual features of selected gourmet manga to demonstrate possible ways in which learners can talk about others' (in this case, characters') internal psychological states. It suggests that visual, linguistic, and contextual cues, or a lack thereof, in manga can invite empathetic discourse that involves the use of emotion words. The usage of these words often necessiates certain linguistic devices required by Japanese grammar for indicating psychological distance between the self (speaker) and others (described characters), such as evidential markers.

Chapter 21. Manga in the Mix: *Naruto* and Media Specificity (by Rachael Hutchinson, University of Delaware, USA)

Exploring Japanese media with students, I use manga in my culture classes to show how manga, anime and videogames are deeply interconnected in the context of Japanese visual culture. This essay uses *Naruto* as a case study to show the remarkable consistency of Kishimoto Masashi's visual style across all three media. Kishimoto's work is able to move fluidly across media thanks to the fidelity of all texts to the original vision, in terms of characterization, narrative, worldview and consumer appeal. The essay first describes *Naruto's* popularity and legacy, before considering factors which contributed most to its success, namely its visual consistency, and its positioning of the consumer vis-à-vis the text. I argue that the reader/viewer/player is able to situate themselves within the text, with varying degrees of agency depending on the medium. I examine specific ways in which reader-character identification is established in the manga, and how this carries through into the anime and videogames, particularly the manipulation of emotional affect regarding Naruto's own story. I then consider how videogames stand apart as an interactive medium, with differing degrees of linearity and authorship, as well as player-character identification and disjunction, based on player choice. The essay concludes by examining *Naruto's* simplicity of design, and how 'mass-produced' and 'simple' need not be seen as negative terms, indicating the accessible and relatable nature of the *Naruto* fictional universe.

Chapter 22. Teaching Manga: A Medium Specific Approach to Manga/Comics beyond Area Studies (by Shige (CJ) Suzuki, Baruch College, The City University of New York, USA)

This chapter has two objectives: First, it addresses the potential and limitations of existing English-language manga scholarship in North American academia and problematizes the status of studying manga in such a context. Second, this chapter introduces a method for the formal analysis of comics called "*mise-en-page* analysis" that can be applied in classroom settings to analyze pages of manga/comics from any "country of origin." While it is true that the formal and visual elements in comics are by no means separate from local comics conventions and cultural mediations—i.e., comics often continue and replicate historical and accumulated cultural conventions in specific social, cultural, and industrial contexts—this chapter proposes the *mise-en-page* analysis as a means to avoid particularizing manga/comics into national or regional contexts. Rather than historicizing manga specifically, this chapter attempts to situate manga in a larger category of comics by arguing that manga came into existence as a modern, culturally hybrid medium, thus resisting the lingering influence of earlier and current scholarship's tendency toward nationalization or exoticization of manga. I have written this chapter—especially its latter half—with instructors who teach comics/manga in classroom settings in mind. As a whole, this chapter highlights the medium specificity of manga/comics for storytelling and other types of communication while proposing a method of formal analysis as a way to enhance students' literacy in multimodal media, including comics.

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Part 1.

Manga in Visual and Performing Arts

Edited Masami Toku

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The Grammar of Manga: Manga's Inherent *Hyōgen* 'Stylistics'

Fusanosuke Natsume
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Translated by Judit Kroo, Arizona State University

Natsume is a Japanese columnist, cartoonist, and scholar of manga research. Born in Tokyo in 1950, he is the grandson of Sōseki Natsume who is often considered the greatest novelist in modern Japanese history. He is a pioneer in the research field of manga representation theory. As a result of his contributions, he received the Tezuka Osamu Cultural Prize in 1999. He has also published more than 20 books including "Where is Tezuka Osamu (1992)," "Why is Manga Interesting? (1997)," The Adventures of Osamu Tezuka (1998)," and "What is manga now (2005)." Since 2008, he has been a professor in the Graduate Program in Cultural Studies in Corporeal and Visual Representation at Gakushuin University, Tokyo Japan.
<https://www.gakushuin.ac.jp/univ/g-hum/cult/english/professeurs/natsume.html>
<https://blogs.itmedia.co.jp/natsume/>

In this paper, I will use the term 'manga' rather than 'comic' to refer to mainly post-war manga narratives. In discussing a theory of the 'grammar' of manga, what is first of all assumed is its serial panel based structure and the relationships between image and text. However people became aware of a problem – namely that from the latter half of the 1960s to the 1970s when post-war manga narratives were targeted at younger people and opened up new expressive possibilities criticism although it addressed the themes of the manga did not address manga itself (Ishiko, 1970). However, there were attempts to make the term 'manga' refer to a unique object (Hashimoto, 1979; Aramata, 1994).

Since manga are objects that are composed through line drawings and are divided into panels, it is impossible to critically evaluate them if one doesn't concretely make reference to these aspects. Thus, the themes and the period of the manga should be referred to within such a framework. What follows is a background on this 'inherent grammar' of manga. I myself, use the term expressive theory for the area of research that decodes the grammar of manga.

Manga, divided broadly, contains two aspects: it is a commodity and an expressive object. Within the commodity aspect of it are analyses that deal with market and media structures, with purchasing strata and so on. As such, it becomes necessary to take a broad social view that incorporates other analytical fields, including those of anime and games. That is to say, it means up opening up the analysis to include audiences to whom manga is distributed as a commodity.

On the other hand, as an expressive object, manga exists within a relationship between the style of the manga and how it is written and read.

However, this does not mean that manga as a commodity exists separately from manga as an expressive object. Authors and publishers produce a given manga as a commodity, however, concurrently these authors are also composing the same manga as an expressive object. Readers buy manga as commodities but read them as expressive objects.

If we take commodities to be manga's social face, we can then call expression the personal (or private group) face. If manga's commodity aspect is taken as a horizontal axis, then the expressive aspect is the vertical axis. We can summarize the elements of the structure of manga's expressive style into the
following three points.

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1. images
2. panels
3. language (there are silent manga which have absolutely no language, however mainstream manga are overwhelmingly those with linguistic interventions)

This three-element compound appears both when manga are being drawn and when they are being read.

Symbolic Images

Now let us proceed to a concrete discussion of each of these elements. I would like you to first consider Figure 1, which is one panel of Ozawa Satoru's Submarine 707. The images in this manga are easy to understand and still retain the sensibility of 1950s shōnen 'youth' manga.

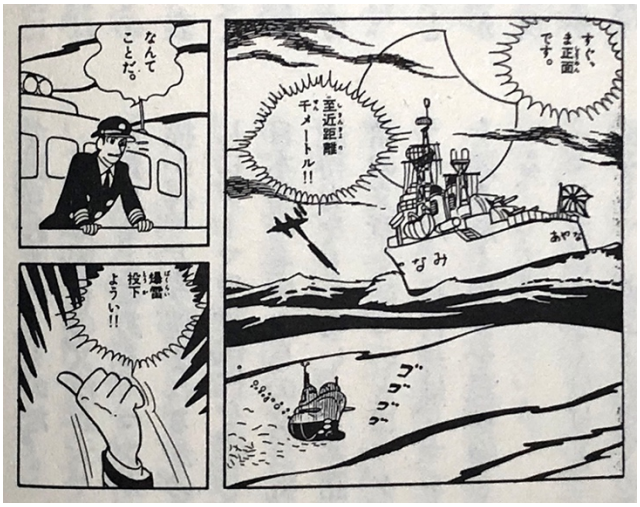

Figure 1. Ozawa Satoru. *Submarine 707. Shōnen Sandee*. Serialized 1963 - ?. Akita Shoten. Vol 1 (1967 Ed.). pg. 161.

I feel that most readers recognized that the right-hand scene is of nighttime. But why? It is because the waning moon is hanging in the sky. However, the sky is white and there are no shadows – not even on the battleship. If one were to actually film a live action [movie] scene of a ship sailing, the sky would be black and most certainly one wouldn't be able to see below the surface of the water. And it is here, in fact, where we find the *sajutsu* 'trick' which manga images possess.

First of all, the fact that it is night is expressed only with a waning moon, and although originally it was dark and one shouldn't be able to see anything, both the battleship and the surface of the sea are drawn as clearly as though it were midday. It is in this way that an easy to understand image comes to be produced. The human figures in the top left panel are also well-lit [bright] as though it were noon. Nevertheless, this is does not particularly mean that this is an 'infrared' manga.

Next, the submarine that is submerged below the sea's surface is drawn in the same image plane as battleship that is on the sea's surface. Of course, if this were actual filming, such a composition would be impossible. What makes this possible is that manga are essentially symbolic images produced through line drawings. While readers are not conscious of this, it seems that they feel that this is a night scene through nothing more than a waning moon and they know that it is below the sea's surface through the clearly composed line segments of solid black.

As for the surface of the sea itself, the billowing gradation of is made symbolic through a composition in which the inner sides of waves, which are woven through with lines, are blacked out and the tips of the waves are white. Such sea surfaces have become, in a sense, conventionalized expressions ever since the publication of Tezuka Osamu's mangas.

Since the round circle in the sky is partially missing, we know that it is not the sun but the moon and we know that the belt shaped objects that are drawn with fine lines are clouds. Similarly, through the abstraction of lines expressing something symbolically and through their integration, we know that the ocean is the ocean. If the black sections are the ocean, then the white surfaces that are below it depict the region below sea's surface. And there, a black *obi* 'belt' like object is drawn. One can easily guess that this shows the flow of the tide under the sea's surface.

In this work, special weapons, the submarines, are drawn exceptionally realistically for their time. Furthermore, compared to the waves above the sea's surface, the tides below the surface of the sea seem more gentle and this unconsciously imparts in readers a kind of reality. However, this reality is only demonstrated via manga's *sajutsu* 'tricks'.

However, this nothing more than a small fraction of the images in manga. What makes the image of the right-hand panel a manga is actually *jikan* 'temporality'. If it is the case that readers can sense 'temporality' in this image, then where do they sense it? Is it the waves and the wake of the boat? It is those things as well, but if it was only that, then they would be the same elements as in paintings. Rather what we have to pay attention to is 'language.'

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The free transgression of *onyu* 'lit. sound metaphor'

There are three varieties of language in Figure 2. There are spoken lines in speech bubbles, onomatopoeic sounds and the name of the boat. It's an obvious thing to say, but humans hear language as sound. Even if it is written letters, people will feel the temporality of sound – indeed, making meaning and reading itself takes time. At any rate, the language that is in the pictures converts into 'time/temporality' in the consciousness of readers. However, the name 'Yamanami' that is written on the warship doesn't contribute to the sense of time because it is read as part of the background, like the letters on a billboard.

First of all, what makes one feel a sense of time in the right-most panel are the onomatopoeics, i.e. *zaa* and *go go go go*. Because onomatopoeics are sounds, when they are read, one feels a constant temporality since they stimulate the sense of hearing. The mimetic words that can be made from such 'sound' metaphors, also richly construct manga's 'temporality.' Mimetics and onomatopoeia together are onomatope 'term encompassing both sound and quality sound symbolic elements,' and are important expressive units for manga.

For example, imagine a scene in manga where one is surprised *gyo'* 'hard, forcibly' or where it becomes *shīn* 'deathly, extremely'. The onomatope that are written there cause the reader to efficiently pick up the psychology and the circumstances of the scene. For narrative manga, such efficient expressive language is truly useful. And more than just being useful, the fact that it is written by hand is also important. The *zaa* in Figure 2 has sharp tips and somewhat ripped edges, like the edges of an *onbiki* 'sound lengthening'. This rip causes a feeling of the sound of water bursting forth as the ship sails by. Additionally, the *go go go go* sound, as metaphoric of the muffled sounds below the sea's surface, is written in a roundish style.

The impression of the images of handwritten characters heightens the effect of onomatopoeia in the manga. Hand-drawn onomatope while they are 'language' are also images. Images and language, which are the basic elements of manga, overlap in this way in certain places. The spaciality of images and the temporality of language are thus being expressed concurrently.

There are times, in manga, when just an exclamation mark, "!" , or a question mark, "?", is written on the plane of the image. Although it is just one part of a sentence, the fact that we treat this accompanying unit of functional speech as a stand-alone element is itself part of the extraordinary technique of manga. It is also perhaps because manga treats language as a detachable image. This freedom is not by virtue of onomatope being inserted into sentences, but rather by activating unique functions as onomatope in manga.
Here, I will, in order to distinguish ordinary onomatope from the onomatope that is found in manga, refer to it as *onyu* [lit. figure of sound, playing off the Japanese word *hiyu* 'figure of speech, metaphor/simile'].

Manga, in this way, freely incorporates subtle feelings and nuances into its expression. Onomatopoeia and other positionally close linguistic expressions symbolize the peculiar transgressive freedoms of manga, and the productive power of ambiguous images which spread out around the language.

Speech Bubbles and *Keiyu* [lit. 'shape metaphor' playing off of *hiyu* 'figure of speech, metaphor/simile']

Now, the written lines in the right most panel of (Figure 2) are such that you are forced to read in them that an urgent situation is approaching. However, what shows this urgency is actually not the meaning of the sentence, but rather the shape of the speech bubbles that surround the sentence. Actually, the meaning of the written lines just conveys that something is approaching the ship from the front, however, there isn't in and of itself a sense of tension. Rather, what depicts the tenseness of the situation is the shape of the speech bubble, jaggedly composed as though it had been torn.

This jaggedness contains many sharp points. The line segments that form these jagged points bring to mind in the reader of sense of heightened mood and urgent pace. We can recognize this easily if we compare them to normal 'balloon'-like speech bubbles. However, the impression which these speech bubbles convey make use of and are composed of the impressions that the shapes themselves, that is to say the circles and sharp edges that are composed through lines, induce. For example, the speech bubble of the top-left panel depicts timidness and weak-willedness via its limp, flabby shape.

Meanwhile the sense of urgent temporality of the right panel, is coaxed out by means of the meaning of the text, and the shape of the lines of the speech bubbles.

Speech bubbles are not linguistic elements. They are images. But, although they are images, they are not the usual kinds of images. They are conventionalized symbols, which have a function of displaying lines of dialogue, which only exists in manga. Speech bubbles are in a manner of speaking images and at the same time they

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are expressive units that embellish and regulate varieties of language.

The naval vessel and the sea are drawn using lines that are not essentially different from each other, however, in manga they are conventionalized symbols of different levels. Normally, the characters in manga can't materially see and touch the speech bubbles (although it's nonsensical to make an issue of this). Speech bubbles are symbolic images that are drawn in such a way as to make visible that which is not visible to the eye.

Drawing the things that are not visible to the eye is a technique in which manga is skillful. For example, the flow of lines of the left bottom panel, which shows the force of the flourished hand (the line segments that were drawn on both sides of the hand) conveys speed and direction by making into them line segments that actually cannot be seen with the eyes. Further, the band of many black objects that are drawn in the upper-half of the panel are conventionalized elements, which in order to convey a feeling of tension and excitement, are drawn such that they, in a manner of speaking, make visible the pressure of the air.

In addition, the sweat that is flying off the faces of the characters in the upper left panel is really an 'impossible sweat'. No matter how hard of a time one is having no one flicks off their sweat like this.

Sweat itself is visible to the eye, but as the cold sweat of a tense moment it is turned into a symbol that indicates bewilderment. In a manner of speaking what is happening is a change that is similar to how onomatopoetics [sound symbolism] are made into mimetics [shape symbolism] and used to express psychology. Manga developed a large quantity of conventionalized symbols of this type and optimized them as psychological and environmental descriptors.

Conventionalized symbols which can be treated independently, i.e. the flow of lines the sweat and so on, are of a different level than for example knowing that a circle is the moon because it is chipped. Speaking metaphorically, the waning moon is like a noun which points to an object that exists there [in the panel], while the flow of the lines and the sweat are like nominal modifiers. I distinguish these modifying symbols from other images and refer to them for the time being as keiyu 'shape metaphors'.

The function of speech bubbles is to show divisions in the complicated lines of speech of characters in the manga. In this way their role resembles that of lines that segment multiple panels. Supposing that speech bubbles didn't exist, then the complex lines of narrative manga would melt into the images and would be difficult to be read.

We can say the same thing about the boxes that enclose commentary and narration. However, commentary and narration are also written into the image without it being enclosed in a box or are written into the blank space between one panel and the next (Figure 2). Further, as in (Figure 3) they are inserted into boxes that are distinct from panels and which may overlap with panels. These are narrations or commentaries, but if we consider them from the perspective of the story that progresses inside the manga, they are a kind of transcendent language that comes from the outside.

Figure 2. Ibid. *Submarine 707*. pg. 160.

Figure 3. Artwork by Hiroaki Yamada and story by Ryo Mizuno. *Rohdosuto Senki - Faris no Seijo* [Record of Rhodos Island War]. *PC Engine*. Serialized 1991-92. Kadokawa. (1994 ED). pg 72.

Commentaries and narrations carry out an important role in the processes through which manga come to tell stories with a high level of complexity. On the other hand,

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panels are enclosures for images that usually segment time and are also apparatus for guiding readers' reading direction and reading time. From the perspective of the ornamentation, the commentary in (Figure 1), precisely because it isn't an actual panel, segments the reading time in the same way as regular manga panels.

In this case, then, can we say that the boxes that enclose commentaries and narration are very similar to panels? No, in truth we need to consider them as an in-between territory between panels and speech bubbles. This is because among the various expressive experiments in post 1970s shōjo 'young girl' manga, these panel-like boxes started to be used as enclosing devices for characters' present-tense inner monologues.

In the upper half of (Figure 4) while the main female character is speaking to a male character her present tense inner monologue is inserted into panel-like boxes. These boxes subtly overlap with the frames of the panels, clearly segmenting the surface of the image. Thus, while the boxes function as a kind of panel, they also carry the speech that is uttered within the story. In the old days, this kind of internal speech was usually expressed via bubble-shaped speech bubbles with trailing ends (Figure 5).

Figure 4. Sabe Anoma. Motoko sensei no ba'i [The case of Teacher Motoko]. *Gals Comic DX*. Serialized 1981. Shufu no Tomosha. (1982 Ed.). pg. 118.

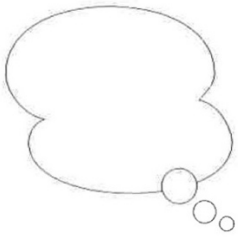

Figure 5. A traditional image of bubbles

Speech bubbles that are actually bubble-shaped and boxes that are shaped like panels are after all different from readers' sense of distance towards narrative progressions within manga. The former (i.e. speech bubbles) are in fact included within the progressing story, the latter (i.e. boxes) stand outside of the story. However, in shōjo manga this sense of distance is used to emphasize the gap between the inner and outer aspects of characters, and thus created possibilities for complex, multilayered psychological descriptions. At present, this kind of technique has become commonplace and can be observed even outside of shōjo manga.

In this way, if we follow the boxes and speech balloons that enclose speech in manga, before long we have entered a territory that is very close to that of panels. Which is to say that speech and panels occupy overlapping territory within manga.

The Action and Effect of Panels *kaihoo* 'emancipation' and *a'shuku* 'constriction'

What are panels? If one considers the example in (Figure 1), the panel is a box that encloses the image and the structures of box arrangements segments the temporality of the story. It's not actually quite such a simple story, but actually [such structures] aren't [themselves] so simple.

The panel in (Figure 1) is structured so that the gaze of the reader moves from the large panel on the right to the two small left-hand panels. This direction is regulated by the directions in which books are read in China and Japan. This is because often times letters are themselves written vertically and the book is opened from the right and is read towards the left.

Western comics are, on the other hand, opened from the left and proceed towards the right.

In the distance on the right we are shown the condition of the sea's surface and the sea itself. After this, in the upper left panel, we visually close in on the ship on the surface of the sea and the people sailing on it, and then

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come to a close up of a character's hand in the bottom left panel. If we stop here, we could compare the division of panels here to scene cuts in films. In fact, many critics try to discuss manga panels as metaphorical of scene cuts in films. However, when described solely in this way, an important expressive element of manga is lost.

Certainly, it appears as though the pictorial image switches from a shot of a distant view to one of the characters and it appears as though the viewer is closing in on these images from above. However, in a film, even if the shot changes, the screen's oblong framing doesn't change. If we are talking about this with respect to manga, it would be like a static panel structure in which there is a continuation of same sized oblong panels. However, this structure only arises in four panel mangas or when there is particular need [for this structure] within the narrative.

The basic surfaces of manga are regulated in the first place, by books' rectangular page surfaces. Because these page planes are divided and used to make panels it is normal for the size and shape of narrative manga panels to shift within a page.

Of course, older manga, prior to Tezuka Osamu, were constructed through simple repetitions of identically sized panels. However, as the narratives became more complex, panels boldly came to manipulate differences in size and length and width as expressive elements. In the panel in (Figure 1), a difference emerges through changes in the size of panels, which are both otherwise square shaped. Because the righthand panel is at the upper extremity of the page, the reader's eyes naturally turn to this wide-open image. Then, the panels become smaller giving the reader the impression that their field of vision is becoming narrower, strengthening the illusion of the line of sight closing in on the characters. The sea is composed on the large right-most panel and because of this, the reader gets the impression that their field of vision is liberated, while in the left two panels they get the sense of it suddenly being constricted. The relative size of the panels have the effect of impressing on the reader a feeling of emancipation and constriction. In films, there are no 'emancipation' and 'constriction' effects that arise from changes in the framing of the image. This is expressive form is unique to manga.

Consider the panel in (Figure 4) one more time. In the upper row there is a series of long, narrow vertical panels of the same shape. Here, the field of vision is compressed into comparatively narrow panels, which are organized such that one is psychologically drawn close to the appearing characters. The repetition of narrow panels of the same size imparts a *rizumu* 'rhythm,' like being enfolded in the exchange taking place in this scene.

Furthermore, creating an accent through the repetition of same-sized panels are boxes that enclose inner dialogue. The boxes are on top of the panels and are composed such that they are located subtly out of alignment [with the panel], giving a sense of gradually deepening character psychology. Additionally, what the reader, who is now in sympathy with the characters sees next is the horizontally spread out middle row panel, a complete change from the narrow panels [in the top row].

The reader moved their gaze in the left horizontal direction in the upper row, but suddenly in the middle row their gaze drops down. The structure of the panel, which freezes this dropping gaze, spatio-structurally expresses the change from vertical to horizontal and the arresting of something coming from above. By way of experiment, erase the images and look just at the structure of the panels - you will understand this clearly (Figure 6).

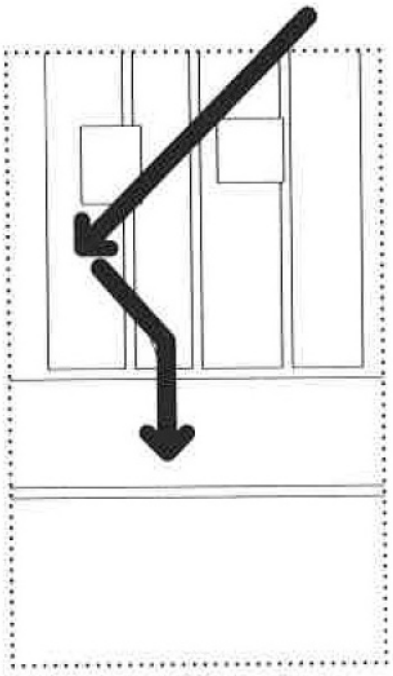

Figure 6. A direction of how to read (from right to left and top to down)

It is the case that the difference from the constriction of the upper level panels to the emancipation of the middle level panel is not just determined by the relative size of the panels but also by their shape. In addition, the emancipation to the width of the middle level makes the reader sympathize with the moment where the female despairingly confesses her love.

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The middle level rectangular panel opens up width-wise, but with respect to the page as a whole, it is vertically-speaking quite narrow. In other words, in the top and bottom panels there is sense of compression, and the reader is made to feel that they are peeking into this panel.

There, 'line' effects, emitted from behind the character, come to life. This panel renders the feeling of spaciousness that arises in the instant when something is released from the depths of one' heart. Furthermore, in the horizontal panel in the bottom row, the panel becomes bigger than it was before, and the image is composed such that it fills up the page to its edges. However, the top and bottom edges of the page are not so much frames for the panel, but really the edges of the page of the book itself.

It is as though the panels and images are spilling out of the page. This kind of drawing style is called *tachi-kiri* 'lit. cutting apart' - here the bottom row is composed using *tachi-kiri* in order to make the feeling of release even stronger. Such expressive forms, which come about through these kinds of panel constructions, are impossible at the moment except through manga. Until this point, we have been able to grasp the differences that arise through panel structures as [so-called] 'emancipation' and 'constriction' effects. Here I would like to fully claim that the function of panels based on their expressiveness is temporal segmentation and emancipation/constriction.

Inter-panel Nuances

Such ungraspable expressive forms primarily come about after the shōjo manga revolution. For example, consider (Figure 7). Does this panel, which is a segmented image of woman waving her hand, show the segmentation of time? No, because what has been segmented is merely a single scene of a woman waving her hand, we cannot say that this is the case.

However, if we then say that this is nothing more than some kind of decorative spatial segmentation, then that too is wrong. It rather creates something like a faint fadeout of hand-waving and saying goodbye and brings forth a subtle sense of temporality.

Figure 7. Sumeragi Natsuki. *Sen-se-ta-ryon. Mystery DX*. 1993. *Richoh angyohki*. Kadokawa Shoten. (1993 ED). pg.123.

We cannot grasp this through classical temporal mechanisms as in (Figure 1), however, it can be understood as the 'nuance of instantaneity.'

At the same time, there is a subtle temporality here that is not like this. What this panel, in which time is being segmented little by little, is trying to express is a kind of temporal segmentation and a kind of indescribable temporality. Such panels structures, which cannot be described as functioning for temporal segmentation, are being employed these days not only in shojo manga but more generally.

Furthermore, what's important to pay attention to in (Figure 7) is the small panel in the top right, which shows the main character's departing companion. This small panel overlaps with the lower panel in which female character is waving her hand. It is a panel which is a compressed longitudinally into a small space and shows the man, who is separating from the female receding into the distance, and then flips and shows in large scale the face of the women who is waving her hand to the man. Here the readers' eyes move first from the viewpoint of the woman to the man, almost peeking in on him, and

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then through the broadly emancipated panel so that they end up being drawn psychologically nearer to the woman.

The small panel that features the man is enveloped within the large panel featuring the female character. Thus, the readers are induced to read the panel from the emotional perspective of the female character.

Panels are traditionally arranged horizontally and vertically and not only represent temporal order but can also overlap with nearby panels and be enveloped within other panels. In addition to temporal segmentation, constriction, and emancipation, other nuances are added to panel functioning through for example superimposition and enclosure. Furthermore, the panel that is at the left edge of the set which gradually decrease in size and depict the female character as segmented, does not contain any image. If we look at it just as it is, it is merely an empty box. However, this frame expresses the lingering temporality of parting, gently rendering a soft fade out cut.

In this story, this page is composed as a scene which starts from a flashback of the lady who met the male character, a traveler, while he was passing through the village. It then shows the present day return of this male character who has come back to the village once again.

While the cut returns the scene back to the *tera* 'Buddhist temple' where the male character is currently staying, the change itself is constructed through panels showing distant views of the temple building and Buddhist statues. What divides the character's reminiscences from the present, are not so much the presence of images of the temple, but rather are the pieces of blank space that are arranged underneath the center of the page.

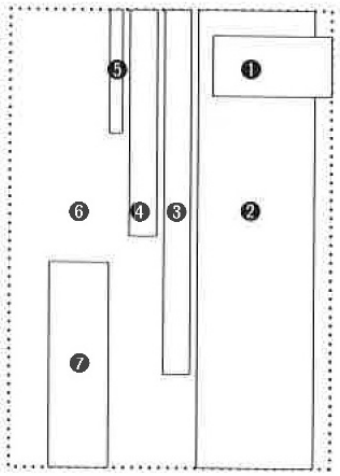

Figure 8. A map of frames/panels (1 to 7) of Figure 7

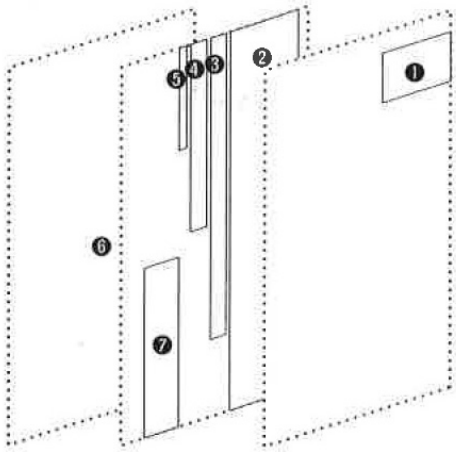

Figure 9. A meta-cognition of frames/panels (1 to 7) in Figure 7 & 8

Utilizing blank space as structuring for panels is a decorative method that was developed mainly by shojo manga and it is within these [developments] that overlapping and enclosed frame structures exist. Considering only the frame of the panel in (Figure 7), note that in the scene cut of the sixth panel all of the frame edges are removed and it becomes blank (Figure 8). This panel structure can be interpreted such that the blank space of the cut is actually a frameless page-sized *tachi-kiri* panel in which the other frames are enclosed. That is to say, we can grasp and easily understand this kind of technique as one in which panels overlap images similar to anime cells (Figure 9).

Additionally, with respect to the blank space of the sixth panel, here the blank space between one panel and another is, on the contrary, expanding - we can think of it as pictorial images being inserted into the blank space.

Japanese manga has come to create a rich expressive language through the free utilization of the space between one panel and another. The space between panels is not merely a gap but can be the location of an 'eloquent vacancy', so much that it's possible to call this a particular characteristic of Japanese manga.

Panels were originally frames for enclosing images and so the space between one panel and another was nothing more than the temporal gap between the previous and following image. However, in contemporary Japanese manga, this space between panels has been expanded and it is presently possible to freely modify the interior and exterior of panels.

The gap between the sequence of panels in which the female character is waving her hand (Figure 8) (the

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second to fifth panels) do not behave merely as temporal segmentation. The blank space in the fifth panel also gives rise to an effect that can be broadly interpreted as a function of the blank space between one frame and the next. We can also see it as making use of the blankness itself.

If we think about this kind of manga expressiveness, then a language through which one can positively evaluate and treat the space between one panel and the next becomes necessary. Thus, I have termed the space between panels *mahaku* 'lit. space that is white'. This is because I believe that in doing so we become able to make the expressiveness that takes advantage of this blank space in Japanese manga clearer.

In the example in (Figure 10) there are no traces of traditional *mahaku*. However, the space where the interior speech of the female character, *a'takai* 'warm' and so on, is inserted is not a panel in its traditional definition. Rather it is more natural to regard it as the expansion of *mahaku*. This not merely a gap, it is a location of nuance, of moments in which the panel is moving forward temporally, in which there is no clear boundary between interior and exterior (between internal aspects and reality).

Figure 10. Erika Sakurazawa. *Aru yo no dekigoto* [One Night Thing]. *ST special*. 1988. *Dairenai senka*. Shueisha (1988 ED). pg 132.

The fearless structure of panels, which is based on the expansion of *mahaku*, loosens up [once] distinct temporal segmentation functions of traditional manga and creates illusory domains in which intra-narrative boundaries are not well-defined.

The expressiveness of manga is a result of being able to tell a story through the evident segmentation of panels, images and language, however, after the 1970s it was the rather the case that these lines of segmentation were progressively being transgressed. We can say that [such manga] have come to acquire new nuances.

The basic elements of manga expression

In the preceding, I have described the basic elements which compose manga expressions, that is to say images, panels and language, and their reciprocal relationship.

For further, more detailed, concrete analysis, I urge the reader to consult other works besides mine.

Here, I will summarize the three elements as follows.

1. images: fundamentally they are composed via lines and contain elements that clearly show subjects such as background characters etc.; and include modified symbols such as speech bubbles as well as hand-written *on'yu* 'lit. sound metaphor', which cross into the territory of language. One can call them manga's expressive 'contents'. They can be understood as comparable to linguistic parts of speech.

2. panels: they are 'forms' or containers into which 'contents', i.e. images and language, are inserted. They possess a syntactic function, controlling temporal segmentation and spatial structure. If we describe them linguistically, they are like grammatical constructions. However, as in Tezuka Osamu's work, they also partially behave like images. In other words, characters can dangle from the *mahaku* 'lit. space between frames', and panels can be made flexible like rods, and they can broken up.

3. language: even within images, they can stand independently of the image and can appear outside of the panel. If we exclude background sign lettering and so on, letters behave as though they are relatively independent from panels and images. *On'yu* frequently transcend images and panels and are even crowded out of the page and internal dialogue can act like glue

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connecting other image containing panels. Furthermore, original manga narratives do not emerge as 'works of manga' directly, but can be considered as the language which supports manga's expressiveness at a meta-level.

In this way, the analysis of manga's particular expressive structure has, objectively speaking, just begun.

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Manga's Infuences: New Direction of Artistic and Aesthetic Developments in Children's Pictorial World

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https://www.csuchico.edu/art/people/faculty/toku-masami.shtml

The educational curricula are different from country to country based on their social differences: however, one should not be judged better than the other since each curriculum is developed in response to specific needs. In spite of the fact that each country may choose a different style of educational curriculum, it is also true that all programs including art education respect artistic and human development. Understanding the theories of artistic development is essential. Otherwise we, art educators, will not be able to create appropriate lesson plans that support children's and adolescent's mental and physical growth. In this paper, the major artistic developmental theories, their char-acteristics and current issues in the theories will be introduced.

There are various trends of thought concerning children's and adolescents' artistic and aesthetic development. Think about your own personal development in art and aesthetics based on the theories of children's development presented below. Do you still create art? Were you an artist as a child? Do you still have artistic ability? Did you ever think that you were not good at art and so stopped creating because you thought you didn't have talent? Who and/or what made you think so? According to theories of artistic development, all human beings, including you, are great artists as children! Everybody! Yes, you! Why did we start creating art and when? Why might we have stopped creating art? Is there a universal tendency in artistic development? Does everybody, everywhere, develop in the same way? Or is there cultural specificity in artistic development? Does the person's cultural environment affect her or his development?

Literature Reviews: Implications of Contemporary Issues for Children's Artistic Development

It is a well-known fact that children's pictorial presentation starts from a toddler's scribble and develops to concrete and complex shapes with refinement of motor activity, experience, and cognitive development. This tendency is universal; however, the patterns of representation in children's drawings are not always universal. Furthermore, the period of occurrence of the specific representation differs from researcher to researcher according to the approach used to find the characteristics of graphic forms.

For example, Piaget and Inhelder (1956, p.77) define the development of children's drawing with a time span related to Piaget's theory of cognitive development. According to Piaget, children's artistic ability also has constant regularity and direction. He divided the

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children's developmental progression of drawing into four stages. The first stage is characterized by topological relations of proximity and separation, of order, enclosure, and continuity. In this stage, children cannot discern the size and shape of objects and cannot differentiate these dimensions in drawing. The first presentation in the drawing is the closed shape, the circle. At this stage, children cannot yet draw or copy a square or a triangle. In the second stage, children of three and four tend to ignore the proper proportion, length, distance, and shape. In this stage, they cannot create space in the pictorial world nor do they try to produce it on the two-dimensional drawing surface, although they recognize depth and space in their cognition. G.H. Luquet (1913, 1927) called this lack of ability "synthetic incapacity, " a term Piaget adopted. The next stage, from ages four to seven or eight years, is characterized by Piaget as "intellectual realism," also a borrowed term. Goodenough (1926) says that children tend to draw what they know rather than what they see. In this stage, children can draw more details in their drawings. However, topological principals still predominate in children's representation of complex objects. They still ignore the object's true shape, size, and proportion. In the case of simple shapes, Piaget observes the emergence of Euclidean and projective relations; for example, in the copying of a square at four years, a triangle at five years, and a diamond at the age of six or seven years. In addition, children in this stage fail to use "occlusion" to indicate that one object stands behind another one that partially obscures its view. Visual realism is the final stage discussed by Piaget, and it emerges during the concrete operational stage from approximately eight to twelve years. Projective and Euclidean relations develop from the earlier topological ones and begin to be organized according to a coordinate point of view. Relations of left and right, of in-front and behind, can now be represented. From now on, the viewpoint of the observer is respected and from age nine years on the child begins to draw objects in correct perspective. Thus, Piaget analyzes the presentation of children's artistic development in their drawing with his theory of cognitive development. Seemingly, there is some universality.

Kellogg is well known for analyzing children's scribble patterns in artistic developmental schema (1969). Based on the Kellogg's research (1969) on the beginning of children's artistic development, a Japanese researcher, Nagasaka (1989) constructed the development of children's drawing in four stages within different periods. Nagasaka divided the four periods into scribble period (ages 1- 2 1/2), symbolic activity period (ages 2-3), early schematic presentational period (ages 3- 4 and 5), and schematic presentational period (ages 4 and 5-7 & 8).

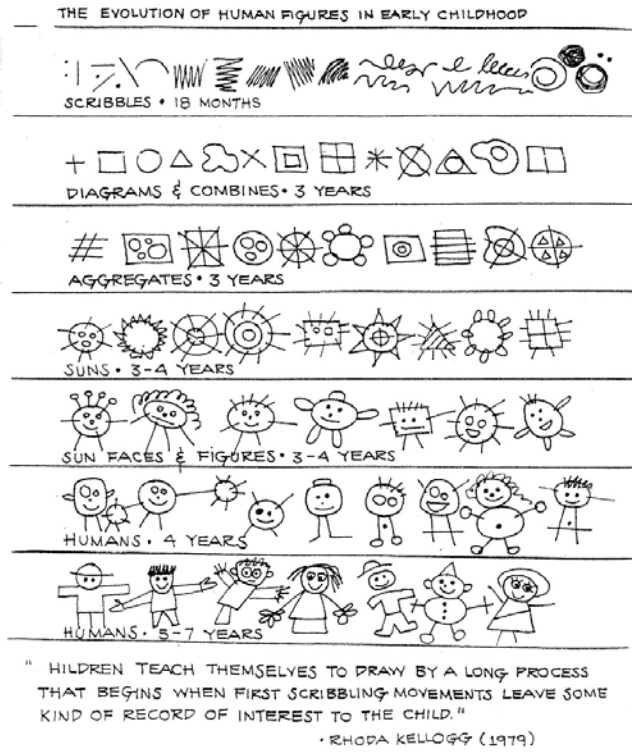

Figure 1: Kellog's Images Pattern of early childhood

According to Nagasaka, children start to scribble with horizontal lines and finally change to a closed-form, the circle, in the scribble stage. In the symbolic period, the delineated form starts to have some kind of meaning where circles mean everything. Through both pres-entational periods, children can draw geometric shapes such as squares, triangles, and diamond shapes with growing control of motor activity, until they can draw a pictorial world of unified meaning. This means that children have an ability to depict the symbolized picture as a method of communication. After these periods, Lowenfeld and Brittain (1970) add three additional stages: an early realistic period (ages 9-12), realistic period (ages 12-14) and adolescent art period (ages 14-17).

The common thread of these developmental theories in children's graphic representation is that there is a progressive direction and children's artistic ability develops with age, although the period of occurrence of the specific representation differs depending on each researcher. Unlike these artistic developmental theories which indicate a progressive direction, there is another conventional theory that children's artistic development temporarily declines in the middle childhood (for example, Arnheim, 1981; Burt, 1921; Read, 1958).

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For example, Read constructed categories of children's drawing into seven periods (1958, p.118-119) on Burt's developmental scheme (1921). The first period is also called the scribble period (ages 2-4). The second is the period of line with circle (age 4). The third period is a symbolic period with geometric symbolic patterns (ages 5-6). The fourth is the period of realism where children tend to draw what they know rather than what they see (ages 7-8). The fifth is the period of visual realism where children start to draw in a visually realistic manner such as aerial and linear perspectives (ages 9-10). The sixth period is a characteristic period that Read constructed, the so-called period of oppression, which is a period where children's artistic abilities regress (ages 11-14). The reason children regress in such a period is the lack of skill in realistic approach. In spite of the fact that children start to draw as realistically as possible, they face difficulty; as a result, they lose their interest in drawing. The last period is adolescent art (artistic restoration) after fourteen years old.

Gardner (1980) explains that this developmental direction in children's graphic representation is in a "U" shape where middle childhood drawings have been regarded as the trough of a "U" shape when children's artistic development is concerned with a longer-term perspective (Duncum, 1986, p.43). He describes that the period of middle childhood dominated by the "pursuit of the realistic and literally true," which is manifest in graphic terms as a desire for "photographic realism" (Gardner, 1980, p.142).

Thus, there are two types of traditional artistic developmental theories: one is a linear progressive direction, and another is a non-linear such as a regressive "U" curved direction. However, there is a universal and constant direction and order, even though the length of time attributed to each period is different with each researcher according to their observation and interpretation of artistic development. But is there truly a universal tendency in the pictorial world without considering the influence of society and culture?

Luquet (1913, 1927) already mentions that artistic development never develops in one direction or in a constant order either qualitatively or quantitatively. Artistic development also has some regression phenomena depending on cultural/social differences and differences in mental and physical growth. Therefore, even adults tend to draw in primitive ways in spite of the fact that they recognize reality. There are some examples in children's basic scribble patterns to support Luquet's idea in the research of Harris (1971). In 1969, Kellogg described twenty basic scribble patterns. Through these scribble patterns, Kellogg describes a universal propensity in scribble patterns with the growth of children's motor skills. However, Harris found that tendencies differ depending on culture and society, and not incidentally, drawing experience. According to Harris, some native people (the South American Andes Indian, Bedouins from the Sinai peninsula, and Kenyan children) tend to skip to drawing figures without the process of diverse scribble patterns. These are not children who have grown up in highly developed societies with technology and science. They seldom use pencil and paper to draw something, rather they use natural materials, such as sand, rock, and sticks. Golomb (1992) speculated that differences of representation in children's drawings (such as their presentation of figures and spatial treatment) may come from the difference of aesthetic to which children are accustomed. Aesthetic is strongly influenced by the society and culture.

Universality and Cultural Specificity in Children's Artistic Development

Let's review artistic development based on the relationship between Universality and Cultural Specificity. Prior to the end of the 19th century, there were some questionable assumptions in the study of children's artistic development, such as universal and non-universal domains of children's artistic abilities. Primary among these is the assumption that young children's drawings evolve and change in predictable and universal ways, regardless of their culture. This means that no matter where children are born, their pattern of artistic development in the early stages of artistic activity is the same. A child in California will develop the same way as a child in Zimbabwe. Characteristic and universal patterns, such as representational graphic patterns, spatial patterns (how to create depth/space on two-dimensional surfaces), and so on, seem to emerge with cognitive development and physical growth at an early age (see, e.g., Arnheim, 1969; Cotner & Toku, 2019; Cox, 1992; Golomb, 1992; Goodman, 1978; Kellogg, 1969; Lowenfeld, 1953; Matthews, 1984).

One of the great and the most influential researchers of human artistic development to represent the universal tendency in children's pictorial worlds is Victor Lowenfeld (1903–1960). In 1947, he published an art educational research book called *Creative and Mental Growth*, which became the single most influential textbook in art education. Many elementary school teacher preparation programs used this book, since it describes characteristics of child art and the universal tendency of its cognitive and artistic development. Through the book, Lowenfeld describes children's art as a reflection of five

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domains: aesthetic, social, physical, intellectual, and emotional growth. He further developed a stage theory of artistic development, which he introduced in 1953. This theory was highly influenced by the cognitive developmental stage theory of Jean Piaget (1896–1980). Lowenfeld conceived of six stages of development:

Six Stages of Development

Stage 1: The scribbling stage (2–4 yrs.): Beginning to visualize in pictures
Stage 2: The pre-schematic stage (4–7 yrs.): Visual schema/images develop
Stage 3: The schematic stage (7–9 yrs.): Concept of space, subject matter, feelings
Stage 4: The dawning realism stage (9–12 yrs.): Gang Age, self-aware, 3D effects
Stage 5: The pseudo-realism stage: (12–14 yrs.): Product oriented, subjective
Stage 6: Adolescent art (14–17 yrs.): The period of decision/crisis

Through these developmental stages, Lowenfeld represents the changes of artistic abilities in a linear progression from stage to stage from ages 2 to 17 years. This development is in response to human mental and physical growth, and is universal, regardless of any cultural and social background (Cotner & Toku, 2019).

Art educators Brent and Marjorie Wilson (1982) expanded upon the work of Viktor Lowenfeld and another Austrian working at the time of Lowenfeld, Franz Cizek. The Wilsons created new schematics; however, these are not the developmental stages, rather the universal and cultural patterns of visual presentations that appear in children's drawings. They held that children should be expected to develop differently and at different rates and that intervention by knowledgeable adults can boost the educational experience of children and provide valuable insights about children to the adults. The Wilsons' work includes seven graphic principles, seven stages in drawing development, and four realities of children's drawing (Cotner & Toku, 2019).

Seven Graphic Principles

1. Simplicity—a simple image such as the tadpole figure can convey a complex idea.
2. Perpendicular—figures stand at a right angle to the "ground" even if the "ground" is at a diagonal, such as a hill.
3. Territorial imperative—no overlapping, objects and figures, each has its own discrete space on the page.
4. Fill-in-the format—parts can be made larger or smaller to fit into the picture plane.
5. Conservation and multiple application—a circle can be a hand, foot, head, or sun; a line can be an arm, leg, or ray of light from the sun.
6, Draw everything—show the entire body through a car window, when only the head, arm, and shoulder would normally show.
7. Plastic—exaggeration of the part or parts of a picture that are most important.

Seven Stages in Drawing Development

1. Irregular scribbles—total abstraction yet it represents a particular thing or person.
2. Regular scribbles—repetition of line and shape forms patterns.
3. Combining simple configurations—a circle with three circles within it becomes a face.
4. Figure drawing—the tadpole figure shows body, face, arms, legs, hair, and ears.
5. Body is achieved—head, body, arms, and legs are each distinct shapes.
6. Development of character—hair, clothing, size visually distinguishes individuals.
7. Limbs fused to body—rather than being "stuck on" limbs are drawn as connected to the body.

Four Realities of Children's Drawing

1.Inventing the familiar—drawing characteristics of what we see every day.
2. Delineating a concept of self—drawing characteristics that define one's self.
3. Experimenting with good and bad—drawing images of individuals and behaviors that are valued and not valued.
4. Drawing the future—drawing self at a future time, drawing a future fantastic world.

Spatial Representations in Childrens' Pictorial Worlds

So how children start to create space and develop drawing techniques of spatial representation owes to their cognitive development, since children first perceive space and then transfer it onto flat surfaces as a spatial representation. The development of spatial presentation in children's drawing is often used to prove the developmental stages of cognition since pictorial representations in children's drawing is known as a mirror of

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their mind (Piaget, 1957). In the study of artistic development, the stages of spatial presentation in children's drawing are often constructed with the concept of cognitive developmental stages to determine children's artistic ability (Toku, 1997). For example, Eisner (1967) created 14 patterns (including the 14th "unclassified" category for patterns that didn't fit the other patterns) for spatial treatment based on his research with American children, showing the progression of how children present the relationship between figures and the ground lines. He described the progression of children's concept of space on a two dimensional surface from no concept (mapping stage of drawing all figures based on what they know rather than what they see) to the appearance of overlapping, which finally shows depth by overlapping; however, 30 years later, comparative research based on Japanese and US children show showed unique results. In spite of the fact that most US children (more than 90%) showed the same tendency of 13 patterns (Figure 2), Japanese children showed unique "unclassified" patterns outside of Eisner's spatial treatment, and the patterns seldom appeared in US children. Toku categorized three "unclassified" patterns: multi-perspective view, photographic view, and exa-ggerated view, and concluded they were due to the influences of Japanese visual pop-culture, namely manga (comics) (Toku, 1998, 2001, 2005 and 2019).

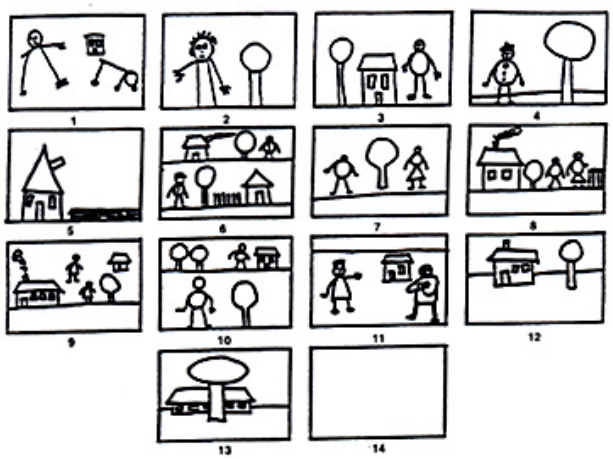

Figure 2: Eisner's 14 categories of Spatial Treatment (1967).

It was time to search for the characteristics of artistic development that each culture has rather than the universality of patterns. Exploring the cultural backgrounds and differences that each culture and society produce is essential in the study of artistic development for visual art research.

In the 1980s, art educators who questioned Lowenfeld's theory of universal stages in artistic development gained popularity. The movement of multi-culturalism was gathering steam, and art educators began to argue the importance of cultural and social impacts on children's artistic tendencies, an influence that they called "cultural specificity." Children's drawings in their early stages not only indicate a universal pattern in artistic development but also show another important characteristic—the influence of culture and society. This means that the universal tendency of artistic development is generally limited to the early years, from toddler to about 5 or 6 years of age, before cultural and educational influences strongly appear. Children have a tendency to be influenced by their cultures and societies, and the influences start to emerge in their drawings as characteristic patterns (see, for example, Alland, 1983; Gardner, 1980; Wilson & Wilson, 1982). The influence of culture and technology emerges strongly in children's drawings, especially in elementary school, leading them to produce new and different characteristics in their drawing patterns, depending upon the cultural and social contexts.

Questions remain about the relationship between universality and cultural specificity in the study of artistic development. One, what kinds of universal patterns do exist in children's drawings regardless of sociocultural contexts? Two, if the developmental pattern in children's drawings is different depending on the particular culture and society, what do the differences reveal and how are they revealed?

A Case Study of Children's Artistic Development

Toku has been researching the cross-cultural study of children's artistic development based on spatial treatment on two dimensional surfaces since 1995. In 1998, as a result of quantitative research of spatial treatment (how to develop the 3D concept onto a 2D surface) based on 3,000 drawings of Japanese and US children (1st - 6th G.), she concluded that the cultural differences between those children are significant. She also found particular patterns in Japanese children's drawings with the theme of "Me and My Friends Playing in School Yard" that seldom appeared in US children's drawings in those days: Bird's eye (multi-perspective) views, Exaggerated views and Photographic views (see Figure 3 & 4 & 5). The reason that these particular patterns appeared only in Japanese children's drawing was assumed to be the influence of Japanese visual pop-culture, especially Manga and possibly Anime as well, not the difference in the educational system (national curriculum) or the quality of the art educational program (required course from 1st to 9th G.).

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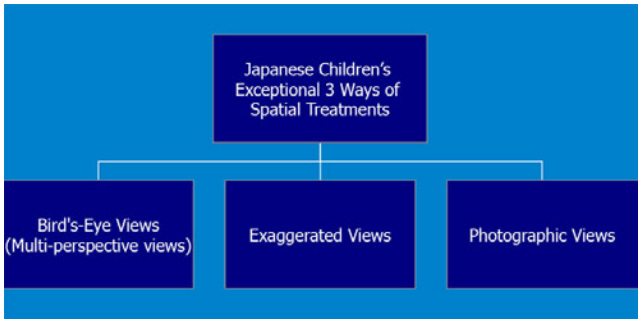

Figure 3: Japanese Children's 3 patterns of spatial Treatment

Figure 4: A sample drawing of "Bird's Eyes/Multi-perspective view" (6th. G.).

Figure 5: Top: A sample drawing of "Photographic view" (6th. G.).

After the findings, Toku started to do qualitative research (observation and interview) based on her son, Theo, from 1 to 12 years old (1999-2011) to see the relationship between Universality and Cultural-specificity in his artistic development. The following is a continuation of the discussion of the characteristics of children's artistic development through a comparison of Universality and Cultural Specificity theories based on reviews of the literature. Let's take a look at a case study of a child's artistic development over 12 years to determine whether the child followed the universal tendency and how cultural specificity appeared in his pictorial world. Theo is a boy who has two cultural backgrounds, Japanese and American. It is interesting and worthwhile to see when and how cultural and social influences appeared and what made him draw.

Theo's Pictorial World: Artistic Development and Universal and Cultural Tendencies

Theo was born in January 1998 in the United States, the son of an American father (Caucasian) and Japanese mother (Asian). How did he start to draw (or might we say "create art")? It happened in January 1999 at the age of 1. One day, I was working on grading something and watching female figure skating on TV. Theo grasped a pencil from the table and started to rhythmically hit the table in time with the music from the TV. His legs were bouncing as well. Accidentally, his hand suddenly slipped on the table. Then he said, "Oh." He had created lines on the table as a result of the slipping pencil. It was his discovery of drawing lines with pencil(s). After that he started to draw dots and lines with pencils on the wall, table, and everywhere. It was a memorable moment for me to discover that he had started to draw by playing with a pencil, not attempting to create anything, but as a playful activity.

When he turned two, Theo progressed to the universal stage of "Scribbling," which Lowenfeld mentions all children reach regardless of cultural and social differences. Everything was represented by Theo's circles: flowers, the sun, mother, father, or dog. Although they just look like circles to adults, to children they mean everything at this stage. Toward the end of his second year, Theo started to draw figurative images, what Lowenfeld calls "Tadpole men." Theo was clearly following the universal tendency. The characteristic of a tadpole man is a long oval-shaped body with no separation between the head and body. Arms and legs are directly drawn from the body. In Theo's tadpole man, we can see that there are two arms horizontally extended left and right. There are also some vertical lines depicted from the arms. He knew that fingers were attached at the ends of arms, although he could not count how many. There are also two legs pointing directly downward from the body. Lines of hairs also point up from the top of the head. These are all typical characteristics of the universal "tadpole man." However, Theo showed unique characteristics in drawing the face of the tadpole man. There are five small circles on the face from top to

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bottom—two dots, two small holes, and one wider oval shape—depicted on the face. We might assume that the top two dots were the eyebrows, the two small holes were the eyes, and the oval shape was the mouth. Theo asked me one day to show him how to draw a nose since it was very difficult for him. I told him to touch his nose. He said he felt "two holes." I said, "Yes they are important holes for breathing." From that point, he started drawing two holes to represent a nose. His lines were clear, strong, and confident, and the nose circles were beautifully drawn in the center of the face (see Figure 6).

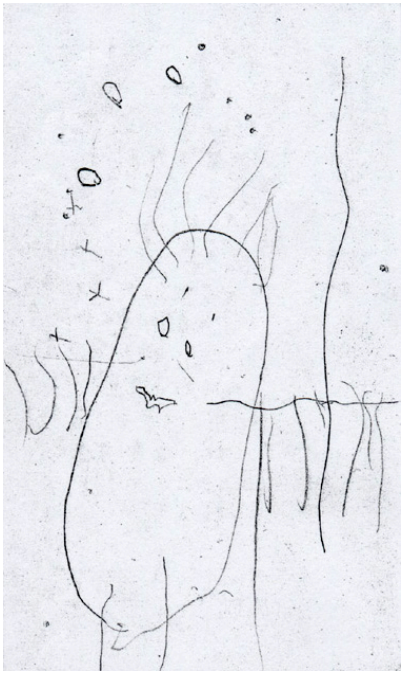

Figure 6 . Theo's drawing of Tadpole Man, (2 yrs, 11 months old. Image courtesy of ANONYMOUS

A half year later, he suddenly stopped drawing noses on faces. The two holes disappeared from his drawings. According to the Lowenfeld theory, it was a sign that he had regressed to the previous stage, since he did not draw the nose that would exist on a realistic drawing of a face. Did he really regress? No, Theo purposely omitted the nose circles since he thought it was not beautiful and not correct. It was against his aesthetic. Toku called his decision an "aesthetic omission." Interestingly, the same characteristics appear in the images of girls in Japanese Shojo Manga (girls' comics). In most cases, the noses on girls' faces tend to be drawn as tiny or are completely omitted. The reason for this is the same as Theo's. It is not easy to draw a beautiful nose. Until he found a solution in drawing a mirror image J ("し") that he saw in his friend's drawing at the age of 4, he omitted the nose (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Theo's drawing of figurative expressions, 3½ years.

Copies vs. Originals: The Appearance of Influences of Visual Pop-Culture in the Pictorial World

What is the big difference between Lowenfeld's period of the 1950s and the beginning of the 21st century? We are surrounded with a flood of visual images everywhere. Children are exposed to many visual media such as TV, the Internet, and games, and are easily influenced by those media. Theo was not an exception. He was first influenced by Japanese pop culture (J pop) icons such as Pikachu at the age of about 4. It was a time when there was a lot of Japanese animation (or "anime") on Saturday morning TV. As did many children, Theo became obsessed with the images of anime, card game and manga characters such as pokemon (pocket monsters) and drew them over and over. He eventually started to create his own scenes. The cute pokemon appeared in a lot of fight scenes, a typical characteristic of boys' drawing. In his drawings, there were many implied lines, which represent movements and/or facial expressions. This practice was influenced by manga (Japanese comics).

Figure 8. Theo and Andy looking at Pokemon cards (7 yrs. old)

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Figure 9. Theo's drawing of Pikachu fighting (6 years old). Image courtesy of ANONYMOUS

At 6 years of age, Theo drew his favorite activities and themes in notebooks. His notebooks were filled with many characters and activities. This may be the result of playing with his peers in preschool and kindergarten. For example, he tried to draw his favorite martial art, Kung-Fu; however, he realized that he did not know how to draw human figures well. He found a solution: he used fighting frogs (his favorite animal at that time) instead of human figures. Children know how to solve problems when they face difficulty in drawing something.

Figure 10. Theo's drawing of frogs Kung-Fu fighting (6 years old). Image courtesy of ANONYMOUS

Dragons were also some of his favorite characters, as they are for many children. I found a very interesting thing in his drawings of dragons. Theo drew three different types of dragons at almost the same time. Why did he draw the three different types? He responded to my question with confidence, "This is my favorite cool dragon" and "This is for you, Mom. You like cute ones, don't you?" "How about this one? Looks great," I asked about the third type. "I made it in class with a stencil that my teacher gave to everybody." He knew that not all people liked the same type of dragons that he liked, so he decided to create different types in response to adult preferences. When I discovered his reasons for these three types of dragons, it reinforced for me as an art teacher that we should show more than one drawing example for children to follow. Otherwise, some children will copy the exact same one that the teacher showed.

Figure 11. Theo's drawing of Dragons (7 years old). ANONYMOUS

Cool vs. Cute in Figure Drawings

When Theo reached 7 years of age (first grade), he started creating his own characters rather than mimicking his favorite characters from TV, comics, or toys. Worm World is one example of a theme that he explored for at least 2 years (from 7 to 9 years of age), and it was very influential on other children in his class. Tiny worms became strong soldiers with weapons and robot vehicles (like "Gundam" or "Transformers"). Of course, they were fighting for someone (maybe family and friends) or something (to rescue the earth from enemies). Another characteristic appeared in his drawings around this time. He chose pencil rather than markers, color pencils, or watercolors. It is a common characteristic of children in general (especially boys), who prefer pencil since it is easy to draw details, and coloring is not perceived as cool.

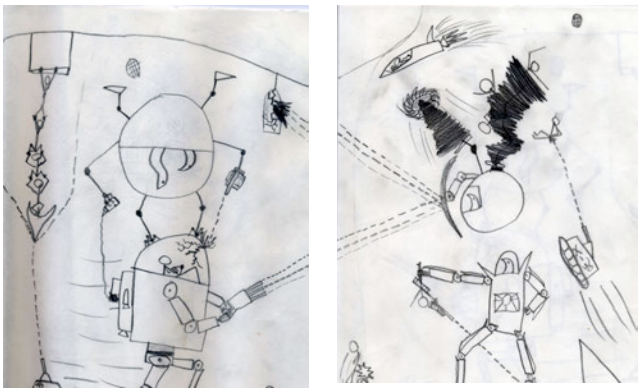

Figure 12. Theo's worm world (7–9 years old).

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After his worm world phase, he became captivated with penguins. From the time he purchased a stuffed penguin at the Monterey Bay Aquarium, the penguin became more than just an animal to him, but more like a brother, since he was an only child. Each time he went somewhere, he collected stuffed penguins and even brought them with him on trips to Japan. At the same time, he started to draw a series of penguins in different situations and costumes that represented their roles and personalities.

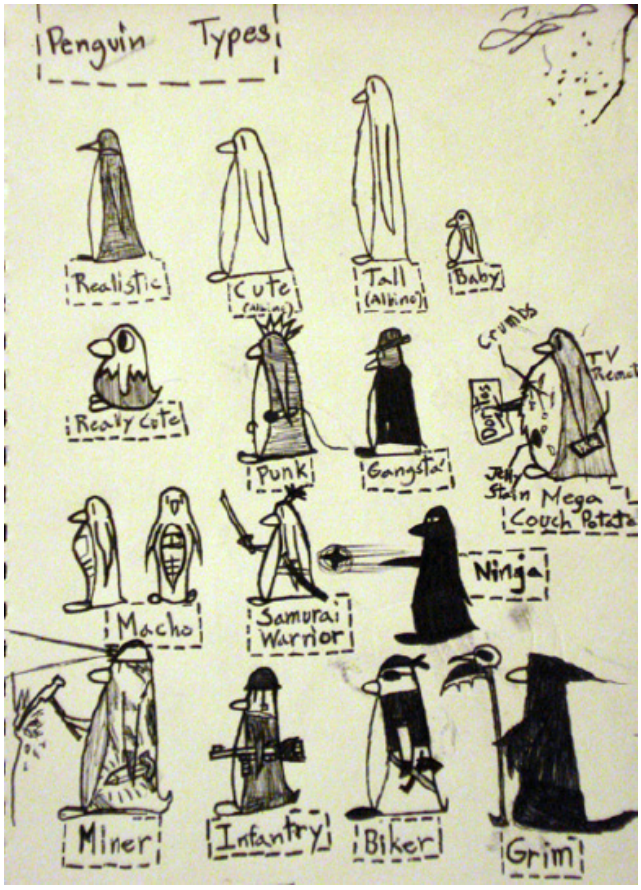

Figure 13. Theo's drawing of penguins, 9 – 11 1/2 yrs. old.

In the penguin's face, he represented the difference between cute and realistic by emphasizing the size of body and eyes (big eyes were cute and small eyes were realistic). Furthermore, he repeated creating diverse types of personalized penguins such as Realistic, Cute, Tall, Baby and Really Cute penguins. He was also creating penguins with diverse personalities such as Punk, Gangstar, Mega Couch Potato, Macho, Samurai Warrior, Ninja, Miner, Infantry, Biker, and Grim (Reaper). The motivation of creating diverse penguin characters appears to come from the influence of boy's manga characters including Pokemon, Dragon Ball, Yugi-oh, and possibly his avatars (personas) from computer games such as *Club Penguin* and *Prinny*.

At the end of his elementary school life, Theo became interested in the details of mechanical objects. He still used only black pencil or sharpie without colors (11½ years of age). At this time (up to 12 years old), he drew two different styles: cute animated figures and mechanical objects in detail. Seemingly, he was interested in realistic machinery, but not realistic figures. Rather he was creating animated figurative objects. After his elementary school days were over and he went to junior high school, he suddenly stopped drawing. It was the age when Read (1958) mentions that children tend to lose their interest in creating art. What happened to him? Other interests in Theo's life took precedent over creating art, regardless of the encouragement of his parents and others to continue making art. Fortunately, he had an opportunity to continue with art in junior high, when he took a class with an excellent art teacher who emphasized ceramics. Thanks to the teacher, he went back to create ceramics as well as drawings.

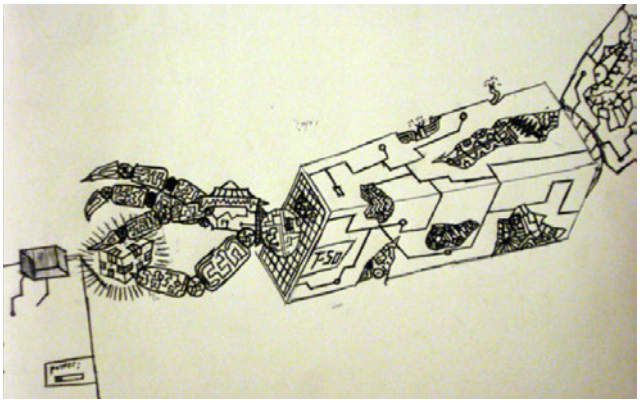

Figure 14. Theo's drawing of machines (11½ years old),

In this 12-year observation of Theo, I wrote and concluded in 2011, "What can we predict about Theo's future artistic ability by observing his artistic development over 12 years? I believe that he is very talented in art, as many other children are. I hope that he will return to creative activity sometime soon, but this may happen only if he finds someone who encourages and inspires him. Psychological support from others is a key to enabling artistic pursuit. I have found that children's artistic development often depends on external support from adults and society more than from their own internal curiosity and motivation for creating artworks." As of 2020, he is 22 years old and just graduated from college. What really happened? Does he create any art? Yes indeed. Of course, he does not create non-stop every

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day the way he did when he was little, but he is still drawing and creating once in a while. I also see that his artistic skill is very helpful to communicate with his friends and very useful to support his study and presentation skills with visual images as communicative tools.

Conclusion and Future Direction

The study of artistic development is basic knowledge for all art educators since without understanding this it is impossible to create appropriate lesson plans to support children's mental and artistic growth. This is a fundamental approach, but there is also ongoing research on how children's environments are always changing from time to time and place to place. Piaget discussed the stage theory of intelligent development in conjunction with artistic development with visual reproductions in children's drawings in the early 1930s. Since then many theories of artistic development have been introduced and discussed. The main goal of this research is to examine the relationship between Universality and Cultural-specificity. In other words, what are the universal tendencies and when and how does cultural specificity appear? Traditionally, we recognized the final stage of artistic development as realistic reproduction. However, we now realize that the final goal of artistic development is not always the realistic manner, rather the final stage might be more complex and multi-directional due to aesthetics and the values of cultural backgrounds.

Prior to the present, most artistic development theories were formed based on children's 2D drawings, since they were the standard way to track developmental changes. 3D art such as clay (or 4D) artworks were not paid much attention. Time changed. With the arrival of the computer and smart phone, it might not be an exaggeration to say that we are now living in a digital 4D world. As a result, the pictorial world of children's drawings has changed quite a lot. They are now surfing from 2D, 3D to 4D digital & virtual worlds very freely. With the arrival of these digital communicative tools, the influences of visual images instantly spread from one to another culture. What will be next? What will influence children's pictorial worlds? Each of you, who will be a teacher in the near future, will experience these new realities through your future teaching experiences. Enjoy the view from your unique window on this new world.

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List of Figures and End Notes

Figure 1: Image courtesy of Dr. Tina Thompson, Graduate Advisor of Masami Toku, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign and quoted in Toku's dissertation,

Figure 2: Image courtesy of Dr. Eliot Eisner and quoted in Toku' dissertation.

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A Look at Manga in Japanese Public Education

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Osamu Sahara is an associate professor at Tokushima University. His research interests involve fields of media art education, particularly comparing the U.S and Japanese current education movements. He teaches media design and art education at his University. He has been interested in connecting a tactile sense and a visual matter for media design purposes. Also with his colleagues, Dr. Sahara has developed a patent for an energy efficient large LED display that can be assembled using hexagon box parts and is producing artworks using that display. Dr. Sahara is also known as the first men who sent an iPhone to the stratosphere above Japan. As a space balloon specialist, now he is thinking about launching himself to the stratosphere.

Introduction: What is manga?

What is manga? Figure 1 shows the decoration of a harp sound box from the Mesopotamian era. It looks much like the four frame manga that we read now.

Figure 1: Inlay decoration of harp sound box (Around B.C 2600)

In a narrow sense, the definition of manga usually means a Japanese style of comics. In a broader sense, manga is more like freestyle drawing expression governed by a few rules. The Japanese word *'manga'* (漫画) is made up of 2 kanji characters. One is *man*（漫）which means aimlessly spread, or self-centered, and the other one is *ga* (画) which can be translated as drawing pictures.

In the 19th century, the Edo-era in Japan, spoken language and written language were significantly different, a situation that continued until the early 20th century. For this reason, school textbooks called *Ourai-mono* included many drawings to connect words and spoken language. So, facilitation of understanding through manga-like pictures has been a common thing in Japanese education for quite a long time.

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Figure 2: Shoubai Ourai E-Jibiki
[Picture dictionary textbook for merchants]((1864)

In modern times, manga is commonly considered a frame (koma, in Japanese) based expression, and it can be used to express any content. In this sense, manga is firmly connected to human history of ingenuity. It is because in manga, creative ideas were sought from various restrictions such as limitation of paper and limit of the number of characters.

Manga was first included as part of image media education in Japanese national standards for art education in 1998. Since then, Japanese art education has continuously included manga as a teaching area. In 2006, Kyoto Seika University established a manga department, so the opportunity for formally studying manga in Japan has expanded from general to higher education. Moreover, according to Kyoto Seika University, many international students come to Japan to study manga. It is still growing, but now, manga is an established area of study in Japan.

What do we need to know about public education in Japan to understand how manga is taught in art education and why it matters?

Comparing the differences between public education in Japan and the United States will help with understanding the Japanese system. In Japan, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) supervises public education. In general, the Minister of Education consults with the supreme advisory body of MEXT, called the Central Education Council (CEC), about new national standards. After rigorous discussion with experts in the CEC, the final report of the CEC is publically announced. Based on that report, MEXT creates new Japanese national standards once in 10 years and publishes the standards under the name of the Minister of Education.

In contrast, U.S national standards are created by subject area representatives. For art education, national standards are created by a federation of art associations. In 2014, the NCCAS (National Coalition for Core Arts Standards) revised the 1991 national standards and published new national standards for the arts.

Japanese national standards are legally binding directives. The content of textbooks and educational curriculums to be used in public schools are directly prescribed by these standards. Meanwhile, U.S national standards tend to be referred to as guideline statements. Each state has its educational standards and also there are multiple guideline standards such as Partnership for 21st Century Skills (P21) standards, Common Core Standards from the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and more.

In Japan, the School Education Law of 1947 set elementary school (grades 1-6) and junior high (grades 7-9) as compulsory education. Also, though it is not compulsory, 98.8 percent of students in Japan went on to high school, and 80.6 percent of high school students continued on to higher education according to 2017 statistics. Around 99 percent of elementary schools, 93 percent of junior high schools, and 70 percent of high schools are publically operated (Figure 3). Therefore, it's fair to say that most Japanese students receive an education that is based on the Japanese national standards.

How has manga been perceived in art education over time in Japan?

In the mid-1980s, the sophistication of computer and network technology took off at a rapid pace. It was around that time that personal computers and computer games began to become part of the average home. This changing environment developed visual culture more than ever before. Looking back a bit later at Japan's CEC discussion in the mid-'90s, we can see that experts were concerned about the possible adverse side effects of indirect experience through games and video which they felt were perhaps too present in children's environment. It is within this developing context that in 1986 the Ministry of Education included Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for the first time as a fundamental skill within the Japanese national standards. Also, the Agency for Cultural Affairs within

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MEXT made a report regarding fundamental policy on the promotion of culture and the arts. The report encouraged cultivating media art creators. Since then, Agency for Cultural Affairs has cooperated with art education by promoting media arts including manga and illustration in public education (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2002).

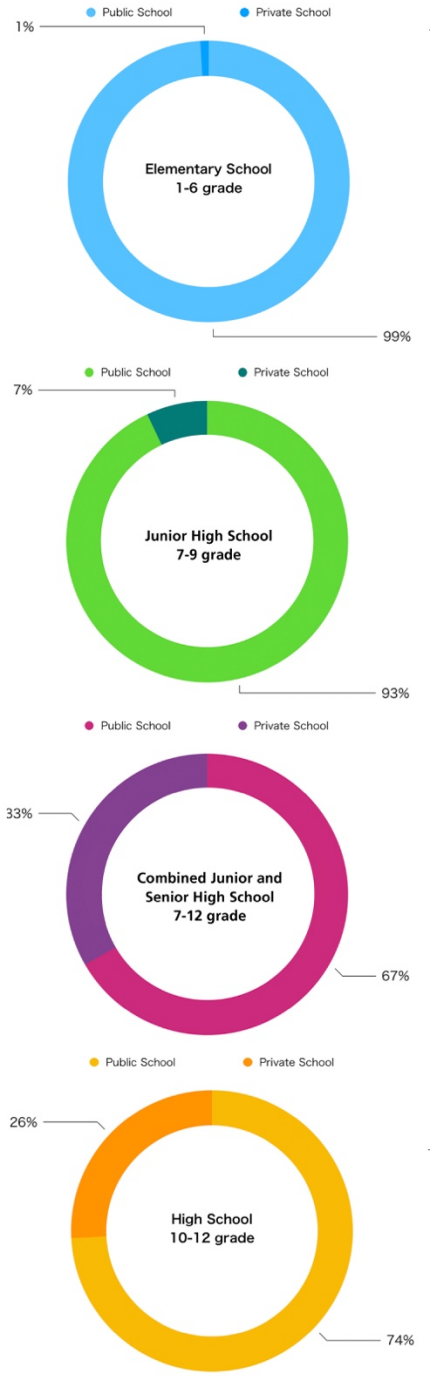

Figure 3: Percentage of private schools in Japan

In the 1998 curriculum announcement, image-media content was incorporated as part of the art education national curriculum at the junior high and high school level for the first time. Image media content included, then and now, photos, video, computer-based content, manga, illustration, and intellectual property rights education. After this announcement of the national curriculum in 1998, a five year preparation period was set, and then this curriculum was fully implemented in 2002.

Manga in art textbooks

Among the textbooks in Japan, manga is used as part of Japanese language literacy to introduce creative storytelling. Also, manga is used as a visual assistant to make easier to understand the content in mathematics and other subject areas as well, especially at the elementary school level. Manga is often treated as a visual tool to raise students understanding of the content. Art education is the only subject area to study about manga expression.

The major art textbook companies in Japan are Mitsumura, Kairyudo, and NihonBunkyo. The 3 companies have editors to create art textbook content and it is likely that all have university professors who consider the content of each unit of art form unit. Since the 1998 Japanese national standards of art was announced, manga has been introduced as one of the art forms. Art textbook editors consider carefully the content which will pass MEXT's examination based on the Japanese national curriculum.

The first textbooks for junior high school which include manga as part of art expression were published in 2002. As an example, Kairyudo art textbook for junior high school level introduces multiple forms of manga expression in the unit entitled *Manga no Sekai* [The world of Manga]. (Figure 4) In the unit, the textbook shows an18th century woodblock print *Hokusai manga* as part of various manga expressions at the top left of the page. Also the textbook introduces Roy Lichtenstein's pop art painting M-Maybe in the middle left and Seiji Kinami's One-Koma manga is shown to the right side of Lichtenstein's art work. So, the Kairyudo textbook shows historical connections of manga and also expands the field of manga to painting and illustrations. On the other hand, textbook shows Takeshi Konomi's *Tennis no Oujisama* [The Prince of Tennis] as devices of manga expression on the right-hand page, middle top. The textbook introduces Osamu Tezuka as a representative of manga artists. Also, three students example works are introduced. At the bottom of the left-hand page,

Emakimono [a Japanese traditional rolled picture narrative painting book which was mainly created in the 11th to 16th centuries] style manga expression is shown as an example work of a student. This shows strong intention to connect manga expression with Japanese traditional art forms and expressions. Two other student example works are introduced on the top right, student works are expressed in relation to contemporary manga expressions. Therefore, it is easy to see how the textbook guides student to understand history of art expression which relates to contemporary manga expression, and the connection with paintings and illustrations. Also, the

Figure 4: *Manga no Sekai* [The world of Manga] Kairyudo art textbook Bijyutsu 2.3 Jou
(Examined by MEXT in 2005, published in 2009)

textbook teaches about representative manga artists and their expression styles and how students can express themselves creatively based on these appreciations.

In the art textbooks based on the revised national standards in 2008, it seems like manga expression is reduced and simplified. As an example, in Kairyudo's art textbook published in 2016, manga is introduced inside the unit on the Japanese traditional art form Emakimono. (Figure 5) Therefore, manga is no longer introduced as a stand alone art unit. Generally, motion expressions of traditional art pieces are often introduced as a connection to contemporary manga expression and the 2016 Kairyudo art textbook is also introducing manga within this framework. In this art textbook, *Ishiyamadera engiemaki* and *Shingisan engi emaki* are introduced as characteristic motion expression in Emakimono. Here, the motion expression of wielding a halberd and the

motion expression of riding on the cloud are highlighted. Then, student example work is introduced at the center of the page. This example work uses the Emakimono art form with manga style to express the memory of their school trip. Also, contemporary manga expression and manga artist Tezuka Osamu is introduced here too. Further, animation art is introduced as a linkage of manga expression. Overall, the Kairyudo art textbook uses Emakimono art form and introduces Japanese traditional art with a connection to manga and animation based on motion expression.

Since it was first introduced, around 20 years have passed and several points to consider regarding image media education in Japan have emerged. Teaching theories and methods addressing image media for art education are still progressing, and it has been challenging to find the right approach for art education in Japan.

Masami Toku who leads this research area described the possibility of teaching manga in art education as follows:

> "These manga activities make art more meaningful to students and will give them a chance to find their identity by depicting themselves in a narrative story."(Toku, 2001a) Also, Toku says, "children are often exposed to cultural influences through cultural media such as TV, magazines, and photography, rather than their own eyes." and "children never stop imitating from their sources, and this imitation attitude is helpful in inspiring their originality and creativity. Art educators have to admit the fact that culture is one of the ingredients of children's artistic growth." (Toku, 2001b)

In many ways, manga is often advocated as a good learning tool for interdisciplinary learning between other subjects and within art education, on the other hand, it is not extensively taught and even on its own is a less handled subject within junior high school art classes (Asada & Yoshida 2012). So, this indicates that there are some issues around avoiding manga in art classes in Japan.

Kohei Hino, one of the editors of the art education textbook from Nihon Bunkyou Shuppan publishing company, answered this question in an interview. My translation of his answer shows as follows:

> Local teachers often say teaching stories of manga takes way more time than you think. Also, story creation is more likely applicable to Japanese language class therefore teaching stories cannot be a central content area of teaching in art education. Further, local teachers also say that teaching stories often doesn't come out in the way the art teacher has assigned, and it is difficult to teach stories creatively. Generally, manga is included in the painting area in art education, so art teachers have a tendency to avoid focus on the symbolic expression of manga. As background, in children's painting competitions rewarding manga style expression has often been avoided by judges. Therefore, teachers and parents have also been looking down on manga style expression. Furthermore, textbook companies make decisions about the content of art education textbooks through interview surveys with local art teachers. As a result, manga is often treated lightly as content. For example, one textbook indicated that students could share about school trips using manga expression or just appreciate manga works, et cetera. The national standards for art require teaching Japanese traditional art, and it was hard to organize the content, therefore it was a good idea to integrate manga expression and Japanese traditional art content. Thus, various art textbooks have used this format in recent years. It is clear that art education is conceptually far from children's actual living environments. For that reason, it is a challenge for textbook publishers to promote manga as part of art education. Textbooks are created based on the Japanese national curriculum to pass through MEXT examination, but are more likely to be edited based on the demands of actual schoolteachers. Therefore, textbooks adapt in a practical manner to the current state of education in the field. However, it does not necessarily match contemporary needs for children. Hence, manga's educational theory and teaching methods still have room for development.

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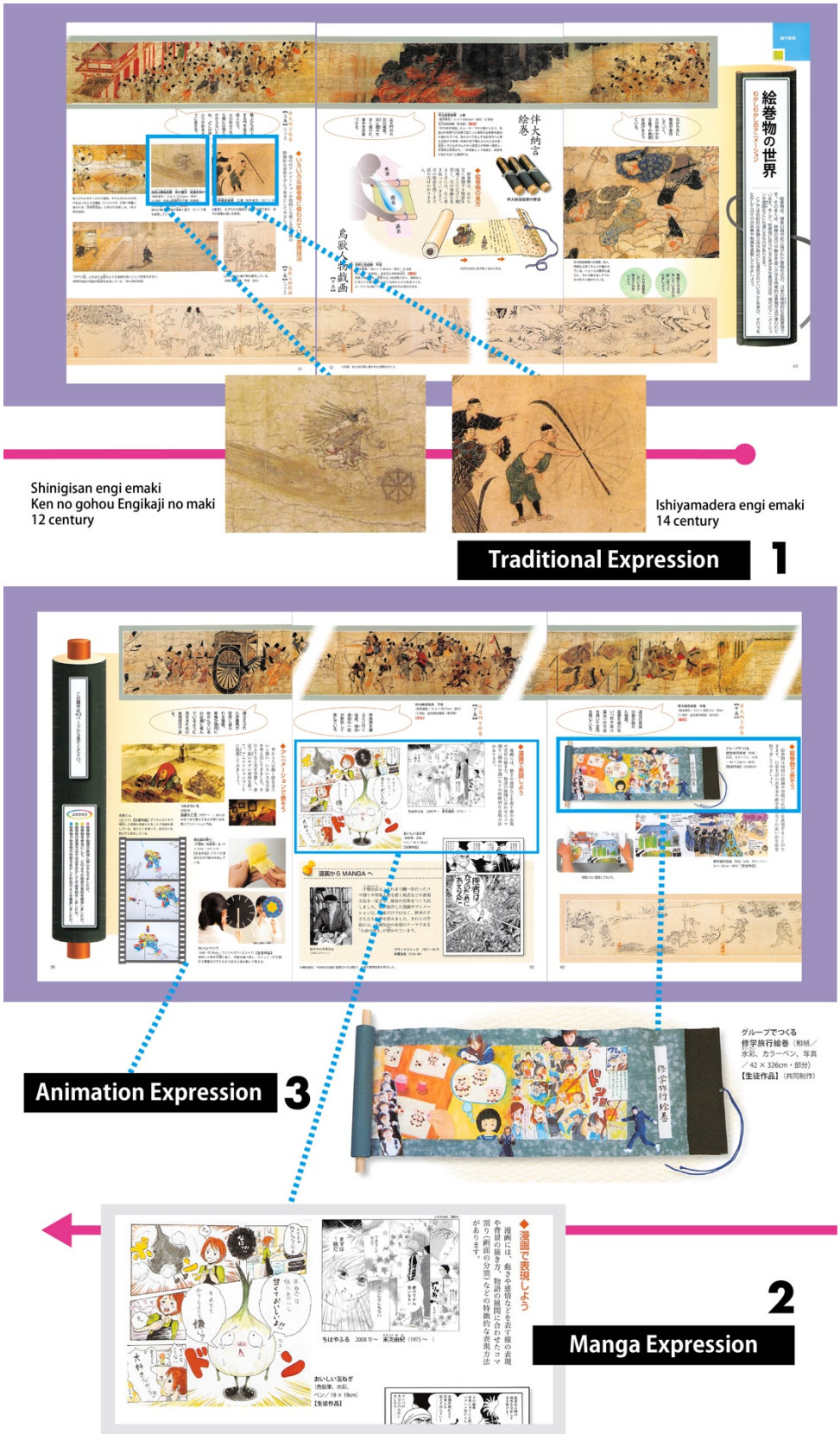

Figure 5: Emakimono no Sekai [The world of Emakimono] Kairyudo art textbook Bijyutsu 2.3
(Examined by MEXT in 2015, published in 2016 published)

Stated concisely, teaching manga storytelling is time-consuming. For the sake of protecting visual art education, it is problematic for too high a percentage of the class time to be inclined toward story development. For that reason manga is often introduced with pre-set animation in art textbooks. Thence, teaching can be concentrated on how to connect manga literacy or expression skills within the goals of image media education.

Some questions remain. One, is manga expression skill naturally acquired by cultural influence? Two, what kind of image media education theory relates to manga education? Three, what educational methods can cultivate skills of manga for the sake of art education?

Is manga expression skill naturally acquired by cultural influence?

Have you ever *heard* a scene when you read it in manga? You might remember having the experience of feeling like you heard the imaginary sounds of the scene in your mind. Especially when you have had this experience, you might have felt like you were deep into the world of manga which you were reading and enjoyed it thoroughly.

It is interesting to see how people read the context of manga by connecting the context to real-life images. You might have imagined the voices of the characters of your favorite manga, and suddenly when it turned into anime, you might have felt the gap between what you imagined and the voices of the actors. This is not an unusual experience, nor limited to manga alone. Most people imagine similarly concrete details of the story when reading novels, for instance. How about videos? When you watch steak grilling on a cooking show, then perhaps you imagine the smell of the meat or the buttery texture. That actually makes you hungry. Our imagination can be triggered by verbal/visual images, and this imagination can cause an actual physical reaction. This is how we interpret indirect experience in our daily life. So, manga can be an intermediary media between verbal symbols and direct experiences. Edgar Dale, an American educator, explained this stage of experience as the cone of experience. (Figure 6)

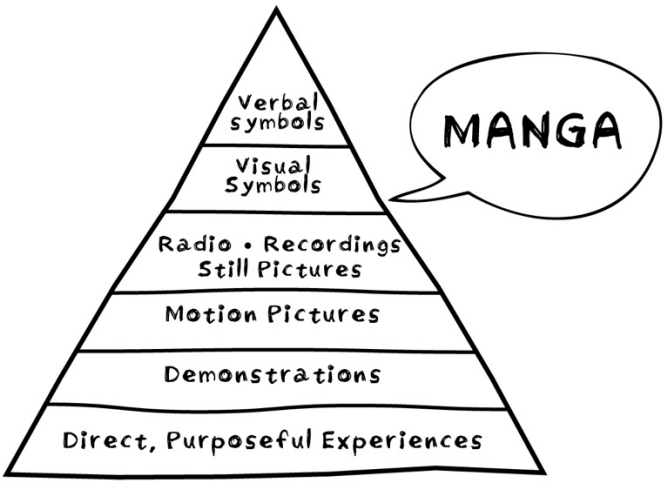

Figure 6: Manga in the cone of experience.

Since the 1990's it has been a critical topic that indirect experience had produced changes in children 's paintings.

The "chicken with four legs" was widely shared by Japanese art educators at that time. The origin was an examination problem of Asahikawa Medical University held in 1980. In the entrance examination, students were instructed to draw a picture of a chicken and a fly in ten minutes. After that, pictures of chickens with four legs and flies with eight legs were handed out to students. After that the exam asked students to respond to something that could be translated like the following prompt:

Why do you think students who draw pictures like these have begun to appear in Japanese society? Please reflect on the problems of contemporary Japanese society, life, education, learning environment and your own experiences in your answer.

News media reported about this examination, then discussions were made from various fields including art education, and many articles and books were published. Art educator Miyawaki criticized this issue in his book, "Chicken with four legs." "Behind the various social illnesses, it is a lack of recognition that we draw subjects as they go with freedom of expression. Art education must hold a perspective where various values are accepted" (Miyawaki, 1998)

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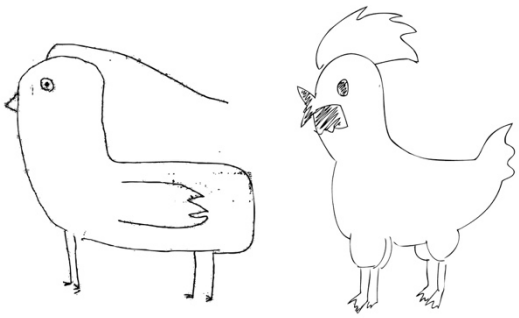

Figure 7: drawing of a chicken with four legs.

In some ways Miyawaki has made a valid point, but on the other hand, he does not describe the reason why children or even adults draw those funny creatures. From the author's experience, most likely these images are not intentionally created. To clarify the reason, the author has asked his university students to draw chickens, and roughly 5% of students draw chickens with four legs. (Figure 7) After all, most of the students who drew four legs said "it is certainly two," also some other said, "I just never have cared about chickens." From this, it can be understood that we draw what we know. In other words, we express well what we care about. There is another phenomenon supporting this point. In 1993, Mizushima, a researcher of art education, described the phenomenon called media fetishism in which children take photos of TV screens persistently. Also, he mentions that hesono-nai-e [child's picture with no focal point] started to be observed during this era. (Mizuhima, 1993) Those phenomena were considered as the shift of children's interest toward media cultures. So we are finding that we tend to express better what we care about more. So, cultural influence must have naturally appeared in children's drawings. Manga can also significantly affect the expression of children, but in art education, it is necessary to raise the interest in manga expressions with precise orientation.

Image media education theory and educational methods can cultivate skills of manga in Japanese art education. What kind of image media education theory relates to manga education to provide precise orientation? One of the methodologies of media education in art education in Japan is focused on how to cope with the flood of media images since the 1990s.

Ken Sakurai from NHK media research center pointed out, "Television has become media which makes the audience consume even the cruelty of war. Social reality has become a situation in which images are overflowing (Sakurai, 2001)." If we agree with Mr. Sakurai's observation, it follows that in art education it is crucial to increase the sensitivity to visual images and seek creative interaction with the visual images.

According to art education researcher Fujie, one of the rationales for teaching image media in art education can be described as a need to focus on the importance of how we can humanize image media. (Fujie, 1993) This means that focusing on the interactive process of connecting visual images and bodily sense is very important to gain a high sense of reality. The interactive process is about such actions as enlarging/reducing images, manipulating time, copying, overdrawing, listening or adding sound, et cetera. Giving students a high sense of reality, the learners will care more about the world. We know, for example, what the space station ISS looks like from TV or the Internet, but most of us do not know the smell of the ISS or the feeling of being in a zero-gravity environment. However, even with a casual television image and even if you have never actually experienced it, if you look back at the video over and over, enlarging parts, slowing the video, and sketching the motion, you will recall space more strongly and accept it with higher reality. Art education may be the only educational subject area to train students to obtain this type of knowledge, which can be described as a visually triggered somatic knowledge (V-TISK). (Sahara, 2017) So, raising V-TISK is one of the purposes for teaching image-media in art-education in Japan.

How does V-TISK relate to manga? Generally speaking, manga consists of visual matter and verbal symbols. So, we use those elements to interpret the image based on our imagination and experiences. So, the definition of the word 'image' contains two aspects. One is the image as part of the real world you see with your eyes, and the other aspect is your imaginative perception of it in your mind. In other words, an image is visually imagined and recalled（remembered）in your head through your lens of interpretation. In other words, our thinking is captured in a bi-directional relationship between outward and inward, so the affinity with images is high. We create our images through interaction between the real world and our creative mindset. In the case of Japan, one of the aims of art education is to cultivate this filtering capability, called 'Kansei,' to raise learners' aesthetic sensitivities. V-TISK is a unique way to raise the perception of reality to obtain aesthetic sense through a creative process. In previous research (Sahara, 2016, 2017), students create animation through observation of living creatures in video images on a tablet device. While they observed video images, students played the video with slow or double speed multiple times, and sometimes the video

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images were magnified to see the detail of the creatures. By this distinctive observation, students raised their sense of reality and started to connect with creative ideas to express their point of view. One of the specific expressions of manga is a unique exaggeration of the characters. Those creative processes give students high stimulation for appreciating or creating a manga-like view of the world.

In figure 8, you can see the result of the art class, held by the author with V-TISK theory in 2011. The class was held at Shiotsu junior high school, located near the seaside in Aichi Prefecture, Japan. Target students were 8th grade with 17 female students. Four times of 50 minutes classes were held as one unit of art class. In this unit, students created a stop-motion animation through the V-TISK interaction with living creature video images on a tablet device.

Example 1 shows, in the beginning, the student had an interest in the dorsal fin and mouth of a killer whale. After the V-TISK interaction with the image, the student started to focus on the movement of the killer whale 's mouth. Then the student started to focus on drawing the detail of the killer whale 's mouth and expressed it.

Example 2 shows, in the beginning, the student had an interest in the crab's scissors. After the V-TISK interaction with the image, the student started to focus on the structure of the crab's scissors. Then student focused on expressing the detail of crab-claws and feet.

Example 3 shows, in the beginning, the student had an interest in the moray eel's spatial orientation. After the V-TISK interaction with the image, the student started to exaggerate the space and express the dignity of the moray eel.

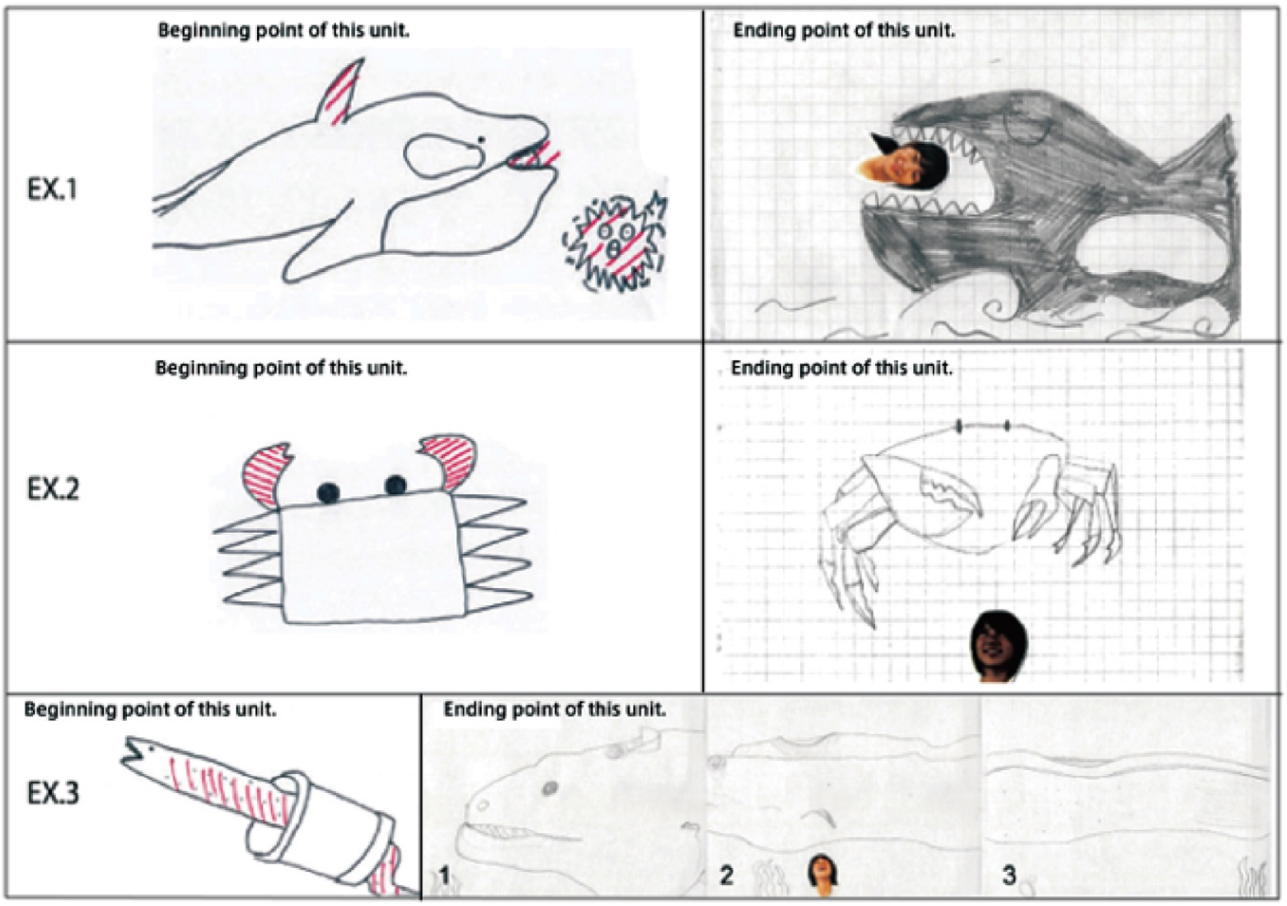

Figure 8: Result of Students' Drawing Development

As the points to be highlighted here, the dynamic, magnificent and exaggerated expression of manga comes from sharp observations. It is true that these dynamic and majestic expressions are not easy to obtain without students interacting with the target content. A V-TISK based approach surely stimulates students' interest and creative imagination for the target objects through video images. Also, survey data shows that student percept the somatic sense from the video images and that strongly enhanced the reality of the video images. Furthermore, those experiences changed their impression of the actual ocean environment. (Sahara, 2017) This result can be expanded into a dynamic and magnificent expression of manga such as you can appreciate in manga comic One Piece. (Figure 9, Oda, 2011) Also, there is a possibility to connect with Japanese traditional art expression such as Utagawa Kuniyoshi's ukiyo-e [picture of the Floating World] (Figure 10).

This is just one example from various approaches. Mainly, this suggested class model is geared toward a bridge between traditional art education expression and contemporary manga expression.

Figure 9: Eiichirou Oda, Expression of the sea creatures in Fishman island from his comic book One Piece No.62,

Figure 10: Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) Sanuki-no-in Kenzoku o Shite Tametomo o Shuku-u Zu
[Retired Emperor Sutoku Sends His Followers to Rescue Tametomo]

As a general idea, manga is an integrated art form. Such as exaggeration and movement expression will be natural to associate with paintings and animation. Therefore it is easy to play a role as a specific genre of aesthetical expression in a class curriculum. On the other hand, manga is used to represent various types of knowledge and a variety of cultural symbols. It is a highly developed media to express imagination and ideas aesthetically. Innovations such as Speech bubble, dimming transitions for past expression, time representation by frame, onomatopoeia, deformed characters, exaggerated expression, concentration lines, story structure, and manga's own culture are all part of the history of manga development. Image media which includes visual culture and pop culture, is a mirror of social phenomena. However, it has utterly faded out of Japanese art textbooks. Critical appreciation of social phenomenon is also one of the roles image media education is meant to play. Knowledge of visual communication theory and representation of human aesthetic culture should be treated as major areas of art education.

Conclusion

What is the value of manga in art education? If we look at the oldest art education magazine in Japan, we can see manga education has been observed in the art classroom in various places even since the 1950s. (Iiyama 1957, Ohno 1967) From the viewpoint of recent developments in art education and research, it is fair to say our understanding of manga is still insufficient. In particular, it will be necessary to deeply study the development of children in the context of the relationship between the media environment and the influence of visual culture.

In the case of Japan, since the 1990's, experts have been concerned about the overwhelming numbers of images and the increase in indirect experience through rapid development of mass media, games, and the Internet. They have been worried about potential negative impacts to child development. Corresponding to this rapid change in media environment and visual culture, based on the CEC's 1998 announcement, MEXT included manga in the national standards for art education as part of image media expression. Manga is one of the art forms that represents visual culture. In the case of the United States, visual culture reflects social matters, and there is a need to raise visual literacy skills to help students understand the world through appreciation, critique and creative processes. In the case of Japan, especially in textbooks, manga is set as one of the art forms for expression and there is a tendency for it to be paired with traditional art to raise familiarity and understanding of manga as part of Japanese culture.

It is true that manga is a creative visualization of thoughts and ideas. Also, those creative ideas have been noted as an expression technique. According to interviews with local teachers and an art textbook editor, it takes so much time to teach manga, therefore, it is hard to connect it to the educational goals of art education such as cultivating aesthetic sense and sentiment. Therefore, teachers and textbook editors may feel there is a need to connect manga with other art forms in their class unit.

The ability to express oneself through manga creation is generally not naturally acquired by cultural influence, so there is a need to theoretically support manga expression skill growth through art education. Also, it is necessary to clarify what skills art education can cultivate through manga education. Therefore, the V-TISC teaching method was introduced in this paper for the sake of supporting manga expression skills. V-TISK theory puts a strong emphasis on positioning manga in a way that will cultivate a sensitive reaction towards visual images and that can be one of the keys to raising the importance of manga in art education.

Manga culture is well known in the world and the potential influence of manga on child development is too large to avoid. It is very necessary to position manga in art education in consideration of child developmental stages and cultural influences.

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Lessons Learned from Manga High: A Pedagogical Approach for Educators

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Dr. Michael Bitz is the founder and director of the Comic Book Project (www.comicbookproject.org), an arts-based literacy initiative that has reached over 250,000 youths worldwide since 2001. Dr. Bitz is the author of two books: Manga High: Literacy, Identity, and Coming of Age in an Urban High School (Harvard Education Press, 2009) and When Commas Meet Kryptonite: Classroom Lessons from the Comic Book Project (Teachers College Press, 2010). As a Professor of Teacher Education at Ramapo College, Dr. Bitz teaches courses in literacy and technology, and he frequently presents around the world on the role of creativity in education.

In the decade since the publication of *Manga High: Literacy, Identity, and Coming of Age in an Urban High School* (Bitz, 2009), manga has continued to grow in its influence on youths around the world. Participants in the Comic Book Project (see Bitz, 2004a, 2004b, 2010) write, design, and publish comic books with more than inspiration from manga. Many of the comics submitted to the program each year are fully developed manga with carefully detailed characters, humorous and outrageous storylines, and references to Japanese culture. Some of the work is good enough to appear professional. These original comics represent the youths' artistic and literary accomplishments, but the works also stand as a testament to the power of manga in the lives of young people worldwide. This was a dominant theme of *Manga High*, which documented the life-changing role of manga for a group of New York City high schoolers. Perhaps the most telling indicator of how influential manga has become is the comics created by youths in Africa (see Bitz & Emejulu, 2015). In 2018, Ethiopian secondary school students received the opportunity to create comics through a grant-funded program. One student's work was particularly indicative of the manga style (Figure 1). When asked about the manga most influential to him, it became clear that the young man had never before heard of manga.

Figure 1: Comic sample by an Ethiopian youth

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He did not know that his own comics had a Japanese influence. He was unaware of manga as an artistic style or literary genre, as he had never experienced manga at home or in school. He did not study manga from the masters like Masashi Kishimoto, creator of *Naruto*, or Naoko Takeuchi, creator of *Sailor Moon*. Rather his style of comics creation had been passed down from friends and siblings. He liked their style, so he mimicked it in his own artistic creations. This anecdote is an example of how manga has become an article of "cultural transfer," broadly defined as "the global mobility of words, concepts, images, persons, animals, commodities, money, weapons, and other things" (Rossini & Toggweiler, 2014, p. 5). In this case, manga had transferred to become an important element of Ethiopian youth culture, whereas once it had been considered a purely Japanese phenomenon. Unlike the Ethiopian youth described above, the students of *Manga High* were immersed in manga as both an artistic style and cultural artifact from Japan. These youths were true scholars of manga. They knew the names of all the major Japanese manga creators and publishers. They anxiously awaited the newest manga releases at a nearby bookstore where they sat on the floor and read manga until closing time, much to the ire of the store manager. The youths also researched facts about Japan, including the best noodle shops in Tokyo and where to hear J-pop in Osaka. They even began to don themselves with Japanese nicknames, which they often used in conversation with each other and as pen names in their original manga.

Figure 2: Manga created by a girl at MLK High School, New York City

Their obsession with manga and Japanese culture was especially interesting given that these predominantly African American and Latino teenagers had never visited Japan nor did they have any Japanese peers in their school or neighborhoods. And yet manga had become a lifeline for them. They met after school nearly every day to read, discuss, and create manga. The work that resulted from this unique band of teens was oftentimes extraordinary (see Figure 2). Moreover, the community they built for themselves around manga helped each other get through some very difficult life situations, including homelessness, abuse, and despair. Another outcome of *Manga High* was the unfolding of a process that organically sprang from the manga club participants and their teacher, Phil DeJean. Their approach to creating manga was neither random nor haphazard; it was a carefully orchestrated pedagogy that the participants honed with each iteration of the manga club. As new students entered into the club, veterans helped newcomers learn the process. This chapter explores the pedagogical approach to creating manga inspired by the experiences and student creations of *Manga High*. The goal is to help educators understand and adapt the model that had developed out of necessity at Martin Luther King Jr. High School (MLKHS) in New York City. Rather than a packaged curriculum or set of lesson plans, this pedagogy was born out of the desire of these youths to create the highest quality manga that they possibly could. While the youths featured in the book are now adults and some with children of their own, the pedagogy lives on and continues to influence educators and learners all over the world.

A Review of Manga Pedagogy

Most of the literature related to the nexus of manga and pedagogy relates to the reading of manga texts for the purpose of literacy building or content knowledge acquisition. Regarding literacy building, Cheung and O'Sullivan (2017) explored how manga texts in the English language arts classroom can improve students' attitudes about reading literature. Their study also identified how the attitudes of teachers can improve with the incorporation of manga into the curriculum. The teachers involved in this study came to know their students in deep and meaningful ways through the reading of manga.

Beyond leveraging student interests for increased student engagement, Schwartz and Rubinstein-Avila (2006) demonstrated how manga requires critical, multimodal reading skills. They analyzed the semiotic features of manga and outlined the multimodal demands of these texts on readers. This work is based on the

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broader body of literature on the relationship between comics and reading skills. When reading a comic, including manga, readers go back and forth between the words and images in a panel. This is what literacy theorists call "transmediation": the translation of content and ideas from one form to another (Siegel, 1995; Suhor, 1984). Sipe (2008, p, 27) explained transmediation in the context of picture books; the same can be said for reading comics: "As readers/viewers, we are always interpreting the words in terms of pictures and the pictures in terms of the words." For several decades now literacy theorists and practitioners have argued that the unique transmediation of reading a comic, as well as other key literacy skills such as sequencing and decoding, can be extraordinarily beneficial for young readers (Anderson & Styles, 1999; Dorrell, 1987; McGrail, Rieger, Doepker, & McGeorge, 2017; Wright, 1979).

Much of the literature concerning manga and pedagogy is related to content knowledge acquisition. Here manga becomes a pathway to learning anything from chemical equations to world history to multiplication tables. Kumasaki et al. (2018) presented arguments for using manga to teach chemical safety. Hayley (2010) did the same for manga and teaching Shakespeare. These approaches to manga pedagogy sit within a long tradition of comics as "edutainment": using popular media to help students learn or memorize content (Jarvin, 2015). In 1941, the Gilberton Company began to produce *Classic Comics*—classic literature, including Shakespeare, in comics format. This series, which eventually changed to *Classics Illustrated* in order to disassociate from the comics medium, began with Alexander Dumas's *Three Musketeers* and lasted until 1971 with a publication titled *Negro Americans: The Early Years*. The growing body of comics and manga developed for the school market today still follows the edutainment path forged by this series.

While there is certainly value in the opportunity for students to read manga in school, an arguably more comprehensive and authentic educational approach would be for students to create their own manga as a pathway to learning and literacy. This would entail all the benefits of reading manga along with the additional pursuits of planning, drafting, editing, revising, and publishing manga. Furthermore, creating manga puts students in the roles of creators rather than mere receivers of information, a cornerstone of progressive and constructivist educational philosophies (Dewey, 1916; Dewey, 1998). Unfortunately, there is very little scholarly research or practitioner reflection in the area of creating manga—hence, the purpose of this chapter. As so many have argued that comics in general, and manga specifically, can have positive impacts on learning, there is a need for a pedagogical method.

A Pedagogy of Manga

The following section highlights the pedagogical method established by *Manga High* with descriptions of the experience at MLKHS as evidence for the viability of this approach. While there is no exact method to any pedagogy, the process put forth below highlights an instructional model for creating manga that can be adopted and adapted in any educational setting.

Building Community around Manga

Pedagogy usually begins and ends in the classroom, but this pedagogy for manga development begins with a broader concept of an instructional method, one that begins with community. The youths in *Manga High* were connected not by their room assignments or academic abilities but by their passion for manga. This common interest in manga immediately connected them; manga became the foundation upon which the community was built. Although the bond began with Japanese comics, it became much deeper and stronger as the youths became crucial support systems for each other. When things went wrong in their lives, allies in the comics club provided guidance and support. It was as much this sense of community as the manga itself that encouraged the youths to attend the comics club as often as they did.

This group of high school manga creators established what has become to be known in the world of instructional technology as a "community of inquiry," where students are "fully engaged in collaboratively constructing meaningful and worthwhile knowledge" (Garrison, 2006, p. 25). Manga was the knowledge base of the community of inquiry. The students taught each other manga history, aesthetics, and new trends all through their discussions around the drafting table. They passed around manga books that they had bought or borrowed, and they shared sketchbooks stuffed with pages of manga designs. Every youth participant had a voice in this inquiry space. No one was shut out of the community as long as they showed respect for each other and the manga that brought them together. The teacher in the room, Mr. DeJean, had very few behavioral problems to address as the participants were far too immersed in manga to engage in bullying or misbehaving.

Embedded into the concept of community is the ability of community members to explore their personal and communal identities. In forming a visual culture learning community (Karpati, Freedman, Castro, Kallio-Tavin, &

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Heijnen, 2017), the youths at MLKHS gave themselves the opportunity to better understand who they were as individuals, members of the community, and manga creators. In their pursuit of manga, these teenagers dispelled all the stereotypes of who they were "supposed" to be as defined by society at large. They had entered what Pratt (1996) termed a "contact zone," where an individual or group meets, grapples, and clashes with accepted societal norms and practices. Manga gave them a chance to be who they wanted to be. The community supported those identities.

Another aspect of community that came to light through *Manga High* was the impact of the comics club on the community outside of the classroom. The youths became known around the school for their devotion to and expertise in manga. This reputation drew even more members into the community, and the comics club sustained itself by welcoming new members each year as others graduated. Had the initiative been teacher-led or contrived by a school administrator, such enthusiasm amongst the student population would be far less likely. The community of manga even extended beyond the school walls. Through public presentations and publications of their manga, the youths were able to connect with a broader manga community in New York City. These events took place at community centers, art galleries, museums, and other places that the youths would never have experienced were it not for manga.

Encouraging Creativity with Manga

It may seem self-evident that a pedagogy for manga would entail creativity, but it is not a given that students get the opportunity to be creative in school. In fact, the comics club in *Manga High* was distinctly an after-school program. There was no connection to the school day curriculum. Most of the club members struggled in school; a few even dropped out. This is ironic and tragic given how well the students were able to read and write when engaged in creating and consuming manga. Hence, the comics club acted as not only an outlet for manga but the sole creative outlet for these students in school. MLKHS was not known for its academic excellence—just the opposite. The school's approach to academic intervention was traditional: extra homework, required tutoring, detention, and lots of yelling at the students. It is no surprise that most of the students in *Manga High* felt alienated by school. Had any of their teachers taken some notice about their interest and skills in manga, the relationship between school and these teenagers could have been completely different.

Creativity in the manga club was fostered through sketchbooks. Each of the students had a sketchbook on hand at all times. They practiced drawing hands, eyes, ears, and all the details that embody the style of manga characters. They sketched their favorite characters from the manga they were reading but also focused on the design of the characters that would eventually appear in their own comics. As the community was strong in its commitment to quality manga, the youths were not afraid to give each other feedback on their sketches. The criticism may have been harsh, but it was always presented in a friendly and collegial way between the club members. They wanted each other to improve their craft of manga design, and as with anything, extensive practice leads to mastery and excellence.

The support that the club members provided for each other was a key element to the success of the community. However, the students hardly ever worked on their manga collaboratively. Each had an individualistic style. Those styles rarely melded into group work. This dynamic of the learning space is important to the pedagogy. It is not so important that the students refrained from working in pairs or groups, but that they chose to work as individuals. The choice is what matters. The students made decisions about how they wanted to work and were given the freedom to explore. They thrived under these conditions as made evident by the quality of work produced in their sketchbooks. Figure 3 is a sketchbook example from one of the club members.

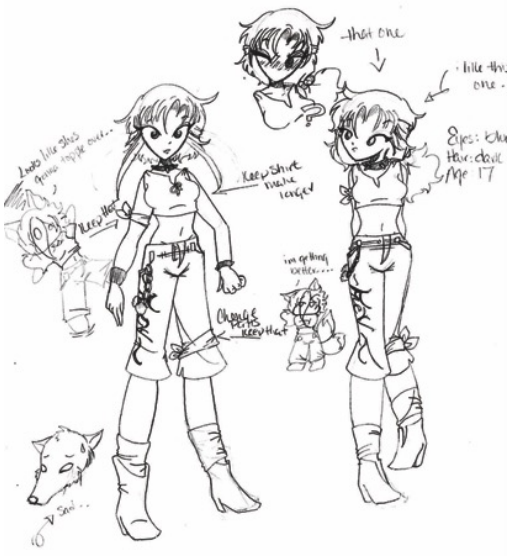

Figure 3: Sketchbook example by a girl at MLK High School, New York City.

Along with manga art, the sketchbooks included snippets of storylines. It was evident that the students were considering narrative ideas for their manga from the very beginning. Their character designs were often accompanied by words describing a setting or situation. These written markers eventually became key points in the manga pages. The students would write notes in their sketchbooks about places or people they needed to research. Occasionally they wrote dialogue in word balloons, but more typically the sketchbook narratives were less structured. As with the sketchbook character designs, the club members gave each other feedback on their writing and story concepts. They became writing mentors for each other in that sense. The range of writing supports that the students gave one another included the basic mechanics of writing—including grammar, punctuation, and spelling—to literacy concepts like point of view, character development, and plot twists.

Creating High Quality Manga Products

Some of the youths in *Manga High* never went beyond creating manga in sketchbooks, which is not to say that their creations were low quality. The sketchbook pages flowed with detailed drawings and story notes combined with panel designs; at exhibits these sketchbooks were featured alongside completed manga pages from the other youths. Creating high quality work was more important than producing a finished product for these particular teens, despite prodding from their peers to meet publication and exhibition deadlines. The commitment that the students had to high quality manga is a lesson to be learned by educators. We all struggle to get students to care about their work and assignments. When student interests, in this case for manga, are woven into the curriculum, the result can lead to heightened enthusiasm for participation and higher quality work. Rather than dabbling in a mere interest, the youths developed extremely high quality work because of their passion for manga. This finding is in line with the literature advocating for popular culture in the classroom (Alvermann, Moon, & Hagood, 1999; Buckingham, 1998).

For other youths it was important to design finished pages of manga that could eventually be presented or published. Only the best manga would get featured in the annual publication, so an element of friendly competition developed between the club members. This phenomenon resulted in high quality work from most of the participants. Competition in the classroom does not always lead to the most positive culture for learning, but because this competition was fostered in a caring community, it had mostly positive effects. The youths themselves voted on which pages would get featured in a publication, another layer of empowerment for these youths who rarely experienced power in school.

The process for creating finished manga began with draft pages on clean paper. The youths sketched their panel layouts and added characters, backgrounds, word balloons—all the elements that would eventually go into complete work. There was much erasing, crossing out, crumpling of paper, and going "back to the drawing board" at this point. Unlike most school writing projects that get a first or second draft at best, these manga pages went through many iterations. At times the youths returned to their sketchbooks to revise a character design or practice drawing to get something just right, especially the design of hands, eyes, and hair.

Once they were satisfied with the page design on these draft pages, the students penciled the final panel outlines on high quality paper. Then they did something unlike the comic book clubs observed anywhere else in the world. Under the direction of Mr. DeJean, the students put their draft pages under a light box and their final pages on top. This enabled the students to use the draft page as a model for the final page. The light box helped the students to decide which lines to retain from the original sketch. This went far beyond tracing. They made decisions about design and detail without getting overwhelmed by a blank sheet of paper. Having the draft page to draw from as a layer helped the students to relax and work efficiently. This use of the light box is one reason for the high quality work produced by these young manga creators.

Once the pages were penciled, the students erased any unnecessary lines and then embarked on the long process of inking their manga with a fine black marker. Some of the youths relished inking and treated it as a kind of meditation. Others despised inking, a laborious task that required dedicated practice and many hours hunched over the pages. Occasionally a friend would volunteer to do some inking if a friend was struggling with the task. However the process unfolded, the manga pages were always inked. The youths in *Manga High* would never think of publishing a manga that was not carefully inked through and through. They wanted their manga to be as professional as possible. The manga that they loved to read was always inked, so their own manga was always inked as well.

The final step in the path to high quality work was using a donated scanner to scan the comics at 300 dpi and then adding text and color with Adobe Photoshop. While not every student added this element of technology to the

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creation process, most did in order to create a near professional product. They learned how to use the Quick Selection and Magic Wand tools to fill areas of a panel with color. They learned how to use the Layers tool to add and place text. Mr. DeJean guided some of this technology use, but the youths mostly learned from each other and through experimentation. The use of technology also forced the students to recognize the importance of time management. With only one computer in the room, the youths had to establish a rotating schedule to use the machine. This meant that the pages had to be scanned and ready for the technological enhancements. If not, the student had to relinquish their spot to someone who was ready.

Having a deadline determined by a manga publication and exhibit resulted in practical decisions about what was considered final. For most of the students the arduous and time-consuming process of creating, revising, and eventually producing high quality manga meant that they often needed to sacrifice the length of their comics. Four pages was an average length of the work featured in *Manga High*. It is important to reiterate the quality of this work, however. The dedication to and caring about the work they were willing to share with the public or friends outside of the club is telling of their commitment to quality over quantity. This is another lesson to be learned by educators. High quality work takes time and effort. The length of a completed assignment may not be the strongest indicator of how much or how well a student learned.

Publishing and Presenting Manga

An important element of manga culture in Japan, and therefore at MLKHS in New York City, is *doujinshi*, or self-published manga. Japan is known for its large conventions devoted to *doujinshi*, where throngs of amateur manga creators swap original work and discuss techniques. Some of Japan's most celebrated manga creators began their careers at *doujinshi* conventions. This aspect of self-publishing was inspirational to the youths in *Manga High*. Publishing gave them the opportunity to have their work seen and celebrated. The after-school program raised money and secured sponsorships every year in order for the members of the comics club to have their work published in print. The adults who supported the youths in this effort—Mr. DeJean and the program director Rebecca Fabiano—worked hard every year to facilitate this publishing opportunity.

The distribution of the publication each year was an important event in the lives of the *Manga High* teens. A whole year of work was represented by these books. For all the club members these books represented the first time that their original manga was featured in print, and the first time their achievements were celebrated. As Calkins (1994, p. 266) explains: "Publication inducts us as insiders into the world of authorship." Having spent most of their lives as outsiders, entering the elite world of authorship was a momentous and motivational experience for these teenagers. Now instead of cramming the bookstore aisle to read someone else's manga, the students who were fortunate enough to get published soon established their own fans around the school. They felt important, which fed their desire to create and publish even better manga the following year.

Along with the annual printed publications, the youths in *Manga High* presented their work at exhibits and showcases around New York City. These events were usually open to the public, an opportunity for the young manga creators to interface with a larger community of manga fans. At many of these events the students participated in panel discussions where they fielded questions from the audience about their characters, stories, and influences. Included in this audience were family members who experienced the depth of this youth-generated manga for the first time. Most of the parents and guardians of the club participants had regarded manga as a pastime at best and a distraction at worst. Here the families were able to witness the importance of manga in the lives of their children, and just how far manga could take the youths if they put in the work necessary to create outstanding manga.

Exhibits of the work enabled those students who did not make the cut for publication to still have an important outcome to work toward. By having their work on display, younger students in particular gained the opportunity to share their works in progress and get excited about improving their skills for the next year. This cycle of publishing and presenting, which repeated for five years, strengthened the manga community upon which the experience was built. As older members graduated, newer members took the helm and became the veterans of the club. With each ensuing year, the overall quality of the work improved to the point where some of the youths were preparing portfolios to pitch to manga publishers. Whereas school writing projects often get posted in the hallway or at home on the refrigerator, these manga creations were experienced all over New York City and around the world through online postings of the work. The impacts of this exposure were life changing. The extraordinary value of publishing and presenting high quality student work should not be underestimated by educators.

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Conclusion: Implications for Pedagogy

This chapter presented a pedagogical framework for manga development represented by the following broad steps and actions: building community, encouraging creativity, creating high quality products, and publishing and presenting completed works. While every learning environment is different and the needs of learners vary greatly, these general elements of a manga pedagogy can be replicated in a variety of settings. Most important to the process is enabling as much empowerment as possible for the youths. It is tempting for educators to follow a specific plan or curriculum in order to structure the learning experience, but in the case of manga it is freedom, exploration, and lots of practice that will yield the most rewarding results.

The story of *Manga High* represents something that every prospective teacher learns in college: when students are engaged in learning, they learn more and are more motivated by the learning experience. Nevertheless, so much of the pedagogical approach espoused by schools is passive, didactic, and rooted in textbooks or workbooks. Standardized test preparation and scripted curricula have relegated creative experiences to the after-school environment, just as in *Manga High*. Had these students been able to create manga as a pathway to history, literature, or even math and science, their attitudes about school and their achievements in school could have been extraordinary, leading to higher grades, better college opportunities, and more chances to succeed in life. Hopefully, the next generation of youth manga creators will get those opportunities because their pencils are ready to draw and their minds are full of manga stories just waiting to be told.

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Becoming and Unbecoming a Mangaka: The Informal and Formal Pedagogy of Fame

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Japanese manga (comics) and its offshoots: anime (animated films and videos), and doujinshi (fanzine-like magazines made mostly by groups of young people and sold in comic markets and online) have become a vast global visual cultural phenomenon. Inspired by these visual narratives, children and youth – not just in Japan, but around the globe – draw human characters in the manga style: heart-shaped faces, enormous highlighted eyes, and ravishing razor-cut hair. Perhaps there is no society with a visual culture quite as complex as contemporary Japan. It provides young people with an amazingly vivid array of options for both the consumption and the creation of visual culture. This chapter examines the artistic, societal, and cultural functions of this particular form of popular visual culture, the ways in which it is produced (and by whom), as well as its formal and informal pedagogies. This is also a partial account of my own journey through the amazing worlds of manga and the way they continue to inform my thoughts about art and pedagogy.

Japanese Children's Story Drawings

I first became aware of the powerful influence of manga on children's drawings in the early 1980s when I asked a colleague to invite children in Osaka to draw stories as part of my collection of children's visual narratives from countries around the world (Wilson & Wilson, 1983, 1984). The style of the Osaka drawings was like nothing I had seen anywhere else. It was obvious that comics unknown to me had influenced the Japanese kids' drawings. "Please send me some Japanese comic books" was my next request. The stack that arrived provided my introduction to manga and soon I was analyzing how manga styles influenced Japanese children's drawings. I also began to compare their drawings to those of children from other cultures (Wilson & Wilson, 1987). This was only the beginning of my inquiry; in 1989 I traversed Japan, from the southern tip of Kyushu to the isolated mountain valleys of Hokkaido, eliciting children's story drawings, and discovered that manga styles pervaded the visual stories I asked children to draw.

In my analysis of this national sample of 1151 six-frame visual narratives Japanese children had drawn a variety of manga type characters: females with huge highlighted eyes, cute animals, cyborgs such as the atomic powered cat Doraemon (Wilson, 1916, 211-212), monsters, and other comic figures. In even the youngest children's stories, protagonists, bystanders, and villains showed the influence of manga. Fifty-four percent of Japanese kindergarten children drew manga-influenced characters (21% fully manga and 33% partially manga). The remaining characters were drawn using configurations

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found in the various visual cultures of childhood in Japan and elsewhere – configurations influenced by universal inborn biases combined with images borrowed from other children's drawings (Wilson & Wilson, 2009, pp.43-63). Sixty-six percent of Japanese children in second grade drew manga-influenced characters (48% fully manga and 18% partially manga). Seventy percent of Japanese children in grade four drew manga-influenced characters (54% fully manga and 16% partially manga). Seventy-five percent of children in grade six drew manga-influenced characters (61% fully manga and 14% partial manga). The largest jump in manga influence was between kindergarten and second grade (from 21% to 48%) but the pattern of influence continued to increase through the elementary school grades (Wilson, 2000, pp. 160-178; Wilson, 2016, pp. 207-223).

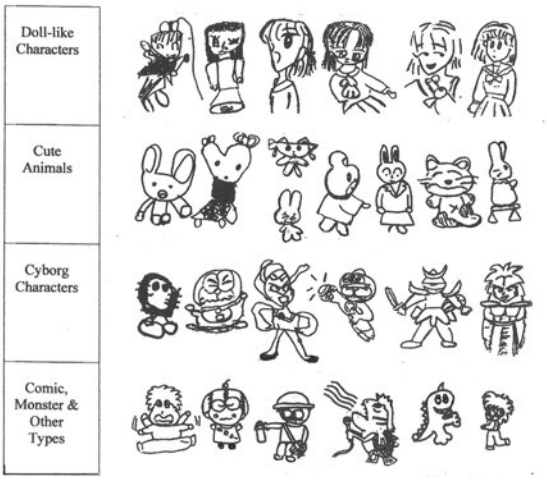

Figure 1: Japanese Children's Manga-influenced Drawings

The Youth Taught Themselves to Draw Manga

One of the most remarkable conclusions to be drawn from these findings pertains to pedagogy. In the 1980s there was no formal pedagogical system in place to tutor Japanese children in how to draw in the manga style; they taught themselves. Why? One supposes, because they derived pleasure or satisfaction from making these stimulating, pleasing, amusing and sometimes disturbing characters in order to show what happened, what happened next, and how things turned out. Surely there is also a basic symbolic practice in how to survive derived from placing the characters in difficult situations and then seeing how they overcome their problems – or not. I should note, however, that my findings were from the drawings I elicited; I was not investigating how many Japanese children and youth drew visual stories outside of school to please or teach themselves – an activity that may promote a special kind of cognitive development (Wilson, 2000, pp. 175-177, Wilson, 205, pp. 43-45). This would require an entirely different kind of investigation – one that happened serendipitously.

From Visual Stories to Doujinshi

While I was analyzing my elicited collections of Japanese Children's visual narratives, my research assistant returned from Japan saying "you need to see these," handing me a stack of teenagers' professional looking doujinshi manga she had purchased in a small comic market. After a quick examination of the amazing self-published works I knew I had to return to Japan to study the manga-inspired magazines produced by groups of teenagers and young adults. I also wanted to know more about the comic markets through which the kids sold their beautifully produced fanzine-like publications. This was a complex undertaking that, with my limited ability to navigate Japanese visual culture, I could not undertake alone. It was at this point that Masami Toku and I formed an insider/outsider research team (see endnote 1).

Dr. Toku had studied how, in their drawings, Japanese children depicted space differently from children in the United States – and attributed the differences to the influence of manga (Toku, 1998, Toku 2001). I told Dr. Toku of my desire to study doujinshi and the comic markets in which they were sold. Together we developed an initial research plan that grew and changed as we proceeded over several years. Working both together and separately, we undertook a series of investigations that would deepen our understanding of formal and informal pedagogical processes relating to manga and doujinshi.

An Emerging Research Agenda

My interest in the powerful influence that manga exerted on the style of Japanese children's story drawings led directly to a plan to study doujinshi and comic markets. This inquiry asked these questions: "Did the kids who drew and published their own doujinshi have a desire to become professional manga artists (mangaka)? What were the relationships between doujinshi comic markets and commercial manga? Did commercial publishers use the comic markets to identify new talent? How did publishers of manga identify and nurture new mangaka? What paths did master mangaka follow to achieve success? What were their unique sets of interests and experiences beginning in childhood, what kinds of pedagogical experiences did they have, and what events, experiences, and interests set them on paths that led them to unprecedented achievement and recognition? And most importantly, what are the pedagogical processes, formal and informal, that underlie the broad manga/doujinshi/anime phenomenon in Japan?

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COMICMARKET

Dr. Toku and I visited COMICMARKET # 58 at Big Site in Tokyo Harbor for the first time in the summer of 2000 (I visited COMICMARKET again in August 2008). During the three-day market we observed approximately 100,000 creators of doujinshi stationed at perhaps as many as 25,000 tables selling perhaps 200,000 self-published manga to nearly a half-million other kids.

Figure 2: Tokyo Comic Market in 2000

COMICMARKET president Yoshihiro Yonezawa (personal communication, August 15, 2000) told of how in 1975 he and a few associates decided that the young makers of doujinshi needed a means to show and distribute their creations. The first comic market in Tokyo had 32 exhibitors and about 600 visitors. The venue for exhibiting encouraged more kids to create; COMICMARKET grew and other markets were organized in Japan and then throughout Asia. Yonezawa and the other organizers of the original market had no idea what they were unleashing. Now the kids who made doujinshi in junior and senior high school and college had a place to show their works – and to keep on creating, if they wished (Wilson & Toku, 2004, 94-96). When I did an informal survey at the 2008 COMICMARKET many of the exhibitors told me that they began making doujinshi in junior high school, most said that they had been selling their works in the market for around ten years, and that they expected that they would still be making and selling their doujinshi in comic markets in five or ten years. In other words, although they began selling their works as teenagers, they expected that they would continue making doujinshi as adults. I have termed comic markets and Internet doujinshi sites as "pedagogical third spaces" where amateurs have gained unprecedented control over the production and distribution of their own visual culture (Wilson, 2019, p. 7).

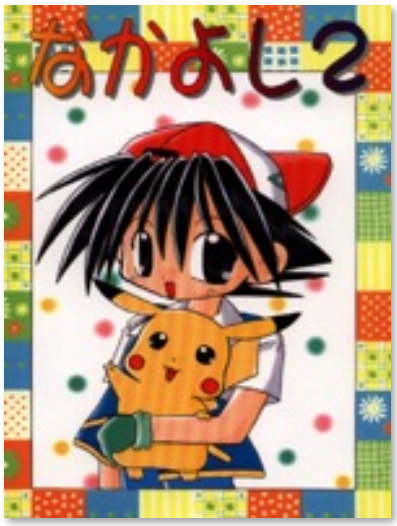

Figure 3: A front cover of a dojinshi with the character of Picacyu, Pocket Monster from Tokyo Comic Market, Summer 2000.

In the comic market one finds doujinshi manga ranging from a small percentage of original creations to many thousands of parodies of popular manga, animation, and video-game characters. In their doujinshi publications Japanese teenagers presented travelogues, visual accounts of scientific experiments, all sorts of sports and game competitions, the adventures of endless varieties of cyborgs, and various forms of soft pornography, especially yaoi – the celebration of what on the surface appeared to be male-gay relationships, but that, interestingly, were drawn by girls as means for symbolically exploring their own projected heterosexual romances (Wilson & Toku, 2004, 96-102).

Figure 4. A cover image of a boy's love manga (BL comic). Image courtesy of Azusa Kurokawa

When I first saw the professional quality of some of the doujinshi in the market, I thought "this must provide a marvelous system for identifying potential professional artists." I wondered how many doujinshi creators had

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aspirations to become professional mangaka? Were the publishers and editors of commercial manga scouting this biggest and most successful comic market and the several hundred smaller markets held throughout Japan each year (Schodt, 1996, 36-43) to identify the next famous manga-ka? When the question was put to the editors of the large manga publishing houses in Tokyo, "no," was the emphatic answer. The publishers had other means for identifying and developing talent. It took another visit to Japan the following year to explore the relationships between doujinshi and commercial manga.

Becoming a Manga-Ka in Japan Today

If commercial publishers of manga are not scouting comic markets for their next crop of mangaka, and if most makers of doujinshi do not have aspirations to become professional mangaka, then how do publishers identify and nurture talent? In 2001 Dr. Toku and I conducted a series of interviews with editors of Japan's leading manga magazines.

Manga Schools

Yoshio Irie is editor in chief of the monthly manga *Nakayoshi* at Kodansha, Japan's largest publisher of manga. He explained that the publisher has established schools associated with its popular magazines (personal communication, June 5, 2002). Each magazine posts advertisements inviting aspiring manga artists to submit their work as a means for gaining entrance to one of the publisher's schools. The school for the *Nakayoshi* manga has approximately 6000 participants who typically enroll at around ages 13 or 14. There is no cost for the school; the members send in their visual stories; their creations are assessed by instructors, commented upon and returned – "much like distance education," Irie explained. The stories are rated: seven points each for plot and sensitivity (described as feeling and intuition), six points each for picture quality (drawing skill), composition/ structure, and the attractiveness of the characters in the story. The most promising students are eligible to have their works entered in the publisher's monthly and semi-annual competitions. The select few silver prizewinners are assigned to editors who nurture them through written assessments of their progress and sometimes through face-to-face meetings. If an editor judges an aspiring artist's development sufficiently successful then one of his or her visual stories is published in the magazine. If the fans like the new creation (the magazines elicit feedback), then the novice may be on the way to fame – or at least a career. Irie estimated that the cost of nurturing a student to his or her first publication is around $20,000. The magazine has Taiwanese and Korean versions and students from these countries apply to the school through these publications. Irie said that kids from Europe also apply, but they are almost never accepted "because the stories and the drawing are not good enough."

Selecting the Next Mangaka

Yoshiko Uruma who directs Kodansha's *Nakayoshi* school illustrated how the school functions by showing examples of the creations that had been awarded prizes in competitions (personal communication, June 6, 2002). As I examined two examples that had scored highly, I was immediately attracted to the one (that appeared to me) most beautifully drawn. But the editors had judged this visually appealing example lower than one I judged less attractive. When I questioned the rating, an editor commented, "It's about potential." Skillful drawing and attractive composition had distracted me from other features. The publisher's judges thought the drawing style was "old fashioned;" they were looking for things such as freshness, imagination, plot, distinctive characters, and also the artist's willingness to accept suggestions from editors – all of which they thought more important than graphic skill. Uruma told me that the creator of the skillfully drawn example had entered competitions several times, that she had responded to some of the judges suggestions but not enough to convince the editors that a productive working relationship could be established. I began to see that the school director, the editors, and the publisher were attempting to identify the potential mangaka with whom they could collaborate. Graphic skill is important but potential for creating fascinating characters and interesting plots – and especially the prospects for innovative collaboration with an editor were even more important. These factors notwithstanding, graphic skill is not unimportant. Uruma explained that when judges identify contestants with exceptional graphic skills they sometimes place them with writers to form a creative team.

Occasionally even a skilled judge of manga potential overlooks what will become the next sensation – at least initially. Yoshiko Uruma cited the example of Naoko Takeuchi, the creator of *Sailor Moon*. Uruma had judged Takeuchi, when a young student in one of Kodansha's schools, to have modest promise and ranked her at a level "lower than medals" – below bronze, silver, or the rare gold. Nevertheless she was assigned to an editor and at age 19, in 1986, she was awarded a semi-annual prize. That same year her first story was published in *Nakayoshi*, Kodansha's monthly *Shojo* magazine. From then on she worked steadily on one-shot stories until her editor,

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Fumio Osano, suggested in 1991 that she place girl fighters in sailor suits, and the fantastically successful *Sailor Moon* was born (Schodt, 1996, pp. 92-95).

CLAMP: A Doujinshi-Manga Connection

Naoko Takeuchi's belated recognition by Kodansha editors, her tutoring by editors, and her subsequent career trajectory provide a paradigm example of the way the publishers' school directors and editors identify and nourish outstanding talented young manga artists. Still I couldn't let go of the possible connection between amateurs' doujinshi production as means for achieving success as professional manga-ka. As it turns out there is one notable instance where a doujinshi group became a phenomenal manga success. It is the collective group of four former doujinshi artists that go by the name CLAMP. Their long-time manager Hideki Yamanouchi provided an account of their development from a twelve-member doujinshi circle in Osaka to four-member group of famous Tokyo mangaka (personal communication, June 5, 2002).

Figure 5: a view of a touring exhibition of *Girls' Power! Shojo Manga!* including Clamp's artwork at Media Arts Gallery in Pratt Institute, Brooklyn (Thu., 6/1/2006)

Clamp Cluster – as the group was first known – began in the mid 1980s in Osaka. Much like doujinshi groups I studied in Taiwan, three high school friends, Mokona, Tsubaki Nekoi, and Satsuki Igarashi joined with eight other friends to produce and self-publish doujinshi parodies of manga such as *Captain Tsubasa* and yaoi (boys' love stories). The twelve circle members were introduced to Nanase Ohkawa, a teenage writer who had purchased one of Mokona's works. In 1987 they began creating non-parody original work with Ohkawa's stories, some members left the group, first down to seven, and as they continued to produce original work, other members left. The four remaining members shortened their group's name to CLAMP and their visual story titled *RG Veda* was seen by an editor of *Wings*, at Shinshokan, a manga publisher and it was printed in the magazine in1989.

Rather than contracting with a single publisher, CLAMP has remained independent, publishing and serializing their stories with different publishers. By 1992 Hideki Yamanouchi had become their manager. He told how he approached an editor at Kodansha's Young magazine to see if there was interest in publishing CLAMP's work. Arrangements were made and Yamanouchi was hired as an editor to guide CLAMP at Kodansha. But Yamanouchi explained that his role is different from that of most editors at Kodansha and at other publishers. He said he is more a business manager than an editor. He went on to tell how the writer Ohkawa leads the group. She presents stories to her graphic artist team members and collectively they determine the style that will be used to capture the character and feeling of the narratives she produces. Each week the three visual artists get pieces of Ohkawa's stories. Yamanouchi said that often the artists design and draw not knowing how the stories will end.

Yamanouchi claimed that CLAMP is a phenomenon unlikely to be replicated in Japan. Unlike other mangaka (who often collaborate with their editors), CLAMP members control their production from beginning to end. In other words, they maintain their independence much like the creators of doujinshi who make and publish whatever they choose – while also relying on the popularity of their products to guide their next creations. Yananouchi described his role as "making things comfortable for the group," and he also explained that like doujinshi groups CLAMP relies on fans' responses to their stories to determine the directions of their next creations. It's a way of working that has proved to be enormously successful. Yananouchi observed that because other mangaka began copying them, their success gave CLAMP the freedom to experiment and chart new directions for their work. For example, they suggested that Yananouchi be made an editor at Kodansha's *Young* magazine so that they could begin producing for the boys' manga market – at the same time they continue to work with other publishers. That's power, control over their creations – and a freedom to innovate that accompanies CLAMP'S independence. It's a freedom that only a few highly successful mangaka maintain – and a freedom enjoyed by all makers of doujinshi if they choose to use it. (They ended up the group work as CLAMP).

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Leaving Manga for the Freedom of Doujinshi

The competing forces that exist between the commercial manga market demand (work closely with your editor to create what sells) and the desire of aspiring mangaka to preserve their freedom to express whatever pleases them personally will most surely continue. Nevertheless a few artists have found a space in which they have managed to alternate between the two. Azusa Kurokawa is a successful doujinshi artist whose work has also been published in the *June*, a manga that caters to the romantic interests of young women.

In an interview (personal communication, June 7, 2002) Ms. Kurokawa remembers that by age five she was drawing characters of classic Ninja figures and soon she was creating manga-like visual stories, and by sixth grade she had decided that she would become a mangaka. Moreover, she determined that she would create manga for boys, not girls, and both write and draw her manga. By tenth grade she was creating doujinshi to sell in markets – she estimated that she has drawn and published at least 40 doujinshi. (It should be noted that although the term doujinshi refers to a circle or group, such as the dozen Osaka teenagers who formed the original Clamp Cluster, doujinshi makers also work alone.) At first Kurokawa printed 500 copies of her works and at her peak she was printing and selling 3,000 copies of yaoi-oriented stories at comic markets.

June is a rare commercial manga that published unsolicited stories sent by aspiring mangaka in addition to searching for promising doujinshi artists they might publish. Its editor Toshihiko Sagawa saw Kurokawa's doujinshi and asked her to create a story for the magazine. She was only 19. She said that, at *June*, Sagawa gave her the freedom to place her stories in various settings such as sports or business, but that they must be about romantic relationships between boys. She also explained that there was an important distinction between the kind of yaoi typically found in doujinshi and the romantic relationships in the *June* stories: "In *June* there has to be a logical reason for the love between two boys – a plot; in doujinshi it's only sex scenes," she explained. "The doujinshi artist maps herself onto the boy character to show her own desire. She doesn't have to draw the reality of a relationship between a man and a woman where there is a predictable outcome – marriage and a baby. In doujinshi there is no such conclusion, just the struggle of love within a relationship." Her criticism of the typical doujinshi yaoi found in the comic markets notwithstanding, Kurokawa published her stories in *June* and at the same time she continued to create, self-publish, and sell her works comic markets. In 2002 she told of her plan to approach a major publisher with a series of proposals to create manga for boys, middle-aged women, and stories of heterosexual romance. In 2019 one may purchase 16 of her works from Amazon, available in digital and printed forms. The Internet has become a comic worldwide market.

Keiko Takemiya: A Full Story of Manga Pedagogy

There is one mangaka whose life and career: her early development, her drive and route to fame, educational and historical interests, her innovative creations and their enormous influence reveal nearly all of the dimensions of manga pedagogy – both informal and formal. That artist is Keiko Takemiya.

Figure 6: Takemiya's artwork: *Kaze to Ki no Uta* (Poem of Wind & Trees). Image courtesy of Keiko Takemiya

In 1976 Ms. Takemiya's sensational *Kaze to Ki no Uta* (A Poem of Wind and Trees) was published in *Shojo Comic* for young girls. It's the story of a fraught romance between of two beautiful young French boarding school boys (Schodt, 1983, pp. 100-105). Takemiya (personal communication, August 14, 2000) described how she struggled for nearly nine years to convince her editor at Syogakukan, one of Japan's big-three manga publishers, to print her story. Once published it became an immediate and popular sensation – much to the publisher's surprise. From 1976 to 1984 it was serialized in 17 volumes. Her depiction of a romantic relationship

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between boys marked the beginning of the yoai phenomenon among adolescent girls.

In responding to questions about her childhood Takemiya she recalled the illustrated books her parents gave her – and the copies of manga furnished by a neighbor. She made a point of saying that her parents did not give her manga. She also remembers her early drawings, on the backs of advertisements because paper was in short supply (this would have been in the mid-nineteen-fifties). Around age five she started to copy the characters of a female mangaka Masako Watanabe. Takemiya said she was attracted by Watanabe's depictions of gorgeous European interiors and by the lives of the characters depicted in her stories. Soon young Takemiya was reading shonen manga (for boys) but writing and drawing her own stories based on girl rather than boy characters. By fifth-grade she was sharing her manga-like creations with a group of girl friends, whom she said made suggestions regarding her plots and characters. She added that her parents did not discourage her story drawing but that they worried that it might take time away from her studies.

Takemiya said that her desire to become a mangaka occurred around eighth-grade after reading Shotaro Ishinomori's *A Primer for Manga Artists* (1965). Interestingly, in his book, Ishinomori covered more than drawing, designing, and plotting manga; he explained how he managed his studio of assistants. Takemiya said that upon reading the book she began to imagine herself having a manga studio with assistants. (Dr. Toku and I saw how her dream had been fulfilled. After a long interview, she took us to her studio. As soon as she stepped through the door, four assistants surrounded her, showing what they had drawn while she was busy at the interview, and peppering her with questions.) It was also in eighth-grade that she entered her first manga competition. I commented, "You must have done well!" "No," she replied, "My work was not accepted and I almost gave up." She applied three years later and was successful.

What she did during those three intervening years is enormously instructive. She devised her own course of study for how to become a mangaka – beginning with an analysis of contemporary manga. In her words, "I began to focus more on narrative and plot." Part of her self-tutoring strategy involved copying an entire manga by a female mangaka Hideko Mizuno. She explained that she had taught herself innovative ways of structuring pages to present the characters and convey the plots she envisioned. In other words the three years was a period of self-devised pedagogy based on a careful and critical study of available models.

Keiko Takemiya published her first story at age 18, but rather than signing a contract with one publisher, Takemiya resolved to keep her independence. She explained that she did not want to be limited to one genre; she wanted to create different kinds of manga for different audiences – shonen manga for boys, science fiction, historical manga, and shojo manga for girls. It was in the largely underdeveloped realm of shojo that she became a revolutionary (when she began her career the typical shojo dealt with ordinary slice of life themes such as finding a boyfriend). In the early 1970s she was successful in publishing stories for boy readers, and in December 1970 in a short story titled "In the Sunroom" for girl readers, she drew two boys kissing. However, it was the depiction of a much fuller range of human love, emotion, and sexuality that Takemiya had in mind.

In 1972 she traveled with friends to France to study French culture and architecture. She explained that for a number of years she had dreamed of creating a story of two young French boarding school boys – and it was more than mere romance. Her story of Gilbert and Serge involves topics such as sexual abuse, incest, and racial discrimination (Berndt, 2015a, pp. 119-124). Although repeatedly shown in bed together, the two young lovers' back-stories and their complicated relationships posed an entire range of social, cultural, and personal issues and ideas that Takeymiya was determined to narrate to an audience of young girls – albeit in her sweet, delicate, and pretty style.

After Takemiya had shown that first boy/boy kiss, she and other members of the Year 24 group (Schodt, 1996, p. 120) experimented with early iterations of boys' love. Her editor at Syogakukan, however, fearing a public outrage, was still hesitant to publish *A Poem of Wind and Trees* – the story on which she had devoted so much research, time and effort. When her editor and the publisher finally relented and published the first episode, she said the response was overwhelmingly positive. Her young female readers recognized that something important was happening about which their parents were unaware. She explained that at the time her story was first published shojo manga was considered so innocuous that it received little attention from the girl readers' parents. Adults simply did not know what was occurring on the pages of their girls' manga where young lovers Gilbert and Serge made their appearance. The girls, on the other hand, were ecstatic, writing letters (much longer than usual, Takemiya explained) to the magazine – which at first she was afraid to read, fearing a negative response.

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A Poem of Wind and Trees opened a floodgate and yaoi became the principle theme of doujinshi as innumerable girls began creating their own stories of boys' love. But as the term yaoi implies something like "no climax, no resolution, no meaning: – a kind of almost mindless romantic and sexual posturing. This may be the case with most of the yaoi found in comic markets and on line (Wilson & Toku, 2004, 96-102), but it is certainly not the case with Takemiya's plots and characters.

In addition to *A Poem of Wind and Trees* she published *Towards Terra* (Schodt, 1983, p. 100) a science fiction series that was transformed into an internationally successful anime series. I think however, that it is Takemiya's *The Scent of Crimson* (1994-1995) that best reveals her historical, intellectual, and literary prowess. The series is set in Manchuria (Manchukuo) during the Japanese occupation of China in the 1930s. She illuminated this generally concealed and even repressed aspect of Japanese imperialism for readers of manga by presenting it from a female point of view rather than the male oriented military and political perspective. In addition to the historical research Takemiya needed to accurately depict the place and period, the series had a deeply personal dimension. It was inspired by the lives of her grandmother and great aunt who lived in Manchukuo (Berndt, 2015b, pp. 80-84).

In each of her major manga series Keiko Takemiya embarked upon an educational mission to reveal dimensions of human relationships in fully realized fictional worlds. But her educational mission did not end with her highly influential manga. At the time of our August 2000 interview, Takemiya had just accepted the position of professor of Manga studies at Kyoto Seika University. She went on to serve as the university's Dean of the Faculty of Manga from 2008 to 2013, and from 2014 to 2018 she was the president of the University (Berndt, 2016b, 107-113). I have wondered if, by joining and then leading the manga program at Kyoto Seika University, she saw a different route than the one she had followed through which young aspirants might become mangaka – one that consisted primarily of self-tutoring and a how-to book.

Pedagogical Conclusions

After studying Japanese children's manga-influenced drawings, doujinshi groups in Taiwan, comic markets in Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and publishers' manga schools, and after interviewing manga editors and mangaka, I have arrived at a few insights about manga-related informal and formal pedagogy – and I have begun to see even more unanswered questions. Here are a few of my tentative conclusions (based on the cases I have presented here and additional research in Taiwan and Hong Kong) – most of which raise further questions about the manga phenomenon and its pedagogies that might be addressed by future manga/doujinshi inquiry.

Manga shapes the way Japanese children draw, the kinds of characters they draw, the way they structure space, and the way they organize sequential visual stories. Their stories help to shape their conceptions of themselves, of their realities, their values, and their futures. I've even wondered if manga makes Japanese children and youth smarter than the rest of us (Wilson, 2005, 43-45).

Young children draw stories based on the characters and plots of the stories they read in comics and see on television, especially in parts of the world where popular visual narratives are plentiful. This self-initiated visual story telling begins to diminish and then usually ends before their teenage years – except in Japan (and in other Asian countries) where teenagers who wish to continue their visual storytelling either work by themselves or form doujinshi groups to refine their visual narrating skills, critique their creations, have their stories printed, and sell them in comic markets (and online). Although most of their works consist of parodies of commercial manga, superficial stories of romance, and things such as pitiful cyborg characters (Wilson, 2016, 216-218), nevertheless, the phenomenon is shaped by young people for their own purposes. Social scientists and educators have yet to study the possible benefits and detriments of the phenomenon.

The comic markets and the Internet encourage young people to continue producing doujinshi into young adulthood. Some doujinshi artists develop a devoted fan base thus turning their efforts into a source of income – an avocation, but for a few their visual storytelling has become a vocation. It will be fascinating to see if some successful doujinshi artists continue producing through-out their lives.

There are only minimal connections between the various doujinshi networks and the publishers of commercial manga. A few professional mangaka continue to produce doujinshi to sell in comic markets with the notable exception of CLAMP's moving from doujinshi to vast commercial publishing success – and to work without collaborating with publishers' editors. Publishers, however, prefer to identify talent through their content and to nurture potential mangaka in their schools by assigning editors to work with the most promising students.

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The publishers' attention to candidates' willingness to collaborate with editors draws attention to the fact that the creation of commercial manga is much more than lone mangaka working away by themselves. The fact that publishers form creative teams of graphic artist/designers, writers, and editors reinforces the collaborative nature of manga production – as does the fact that the most famous mangaka organize studios with teams of artists with a division of labor among the team members. How do highly successful mangaka identify their assistants? How long does the average assistant stay with a mangaka? There are so many aspects of manga production about which there is so much more to learn.

What sets the few culturally and artistically important mangaka apart from the legions of little children who draw stories and the teenage makers of doujinshi who reiterate endlessly their themes, plots, characters types, and other conventions? The life and career of Keiko Takemiya point to one possible difference between creative greatness and the production of ordinary manga. She and other notable mangaka are creative inquirers who perceive, before others, important social issues and culture change that merit exposure. Moreover, they are willing to invest enormous effort to the development of their graphic, design, plotting dimensions of their art, but just as importantly they also conduct extensive research into the history, culture, and human nature of their subjects.

Almost all mangaka and doujinshi makers began their visual narrating by making self-initiated and self-tutored childhood drawing of manga-like characters placed in situations that show what happens and what happens next, nevertheless there is still much we do not know about the informal pedagogical interactions that occur among children as they draw and share their stories with one another. We still know little about the ways that members of doujinshi circles coach, encourage, and evaluate the works of their group's members. Nor have manga publishers' contests and schools been studied in depth – we know very little about how they function pedagogically. And there are other gaps in our knowledge. For example, how influential are how-to-make-manga books, and how many of the assistants working in the studio of highly successful mangaka are able to end this form of apprenticeship and forge successful careers of their own? What we do know is that all these forms of pedagogy function outside formal public educational institutions. Because manga and especially doujinshi are still held in disrepute – seen as inferior or even unimportant art forms – one might not expect to find their pedagogies in formal educational institutions, except for an important new development.

In the Twenty-first Century, manga pedagogy entered higher education with the appointment of Keiko Takemiya as full professor in the small comic department of Kyoto Seika University where she initiated the first course in long-form story (or literary) manga (Berndt, 2015, 108). Her course signaled the recognition in academia that the making of great manga involves much more than merely creating or appropriating some characters and placing them in some familiar setting – as most doujinshi artists do. If Takemiya's work is our guide, it requires historical, cultural, societal, and psychological inquiry into all the interacting facets of the human condition and then placing these elements into a narrative sequence of page layouts. This is what master mangaka have done all along. This is what places mangaka like Takemiya as some of our most important contemporary artists. And it is what keeps most of the makers of doujinshi as mere followers – albeit bit players in important visual cultural phenomena such a yaoi. It remains to be seen whether or not the ingredients of greatness can be incorporated into the art curricula of higher education – or whether the route to greatness and cultural importance will remain a matter of self-tutoring, passion, various forms of apprenticeship, and publishers' schools.

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Note 1

In 2000 and 2001 Dr. Masami Toku and I conducted a series of interviews with individuals within the manga, animation, and dojinshi worlds. They included mangaka and animation artists such as Hayao Miyazaki, Keiko Takemiya, Matchiko Satonaka and Takao Saito. To gain insights regarding manga criticism we interviewed critics Fusanosuke Natsume and Yoshihiro Yonezawa founder of the Tokyo Comic Market. In the area of pedagogy we interviewed manga writer Kazuo Koike who established a school for writers and manga artists. Editors of important manga publications provided insights into the commercial aspects of the business and the identification and nurturing of manga talent. They included Yoshida Irie, an editor at Kodansa, Kazuhiko Torishima, the editor of the boys' weekly magazine *Shonen Jump*, Masahiro Nouchi the editor of boys' weekly *Shonen Magazine*, Shinichiro Tsuzuki who was the editor of the boys' weekly magazine *Shonen*, and Toshihiko Sagawa the editor of *Jsune*. To answer questions regarding whether the production of amateur dojinshi provided a route to becoming a professional manga-ka we interviewed Hideki Yamanouchi who is the editor of the popular group of manga-ka known as CLAMP. The interviews from which I quote in this chapter were arranged by Dr. Toku and many of the quotations were translated by Dr. Toku during the course of the interviews. My conclusions about formal and informal manga pedagogy are based on all these interviews – not just those referenced in this chapter.

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Manga as Childhood Visual Culture

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Introduction

For many adults, they may forget the manga they read during childhood as they transition into adulthood. The authors themselves also forgot manga and its many characters because they do not play any immediate role in our lives since we graduated from college. When we see on TV and in galleries the manga images and characters from our childhood, these childhood visuals and collectibles remind us of the stories, nostalgic emotions, friends, and places flashing back from almost forty years ago. Interestingly, we note that in Korea there has been a strong recent renaissance of the retro culture of the 1970s and 1980s, which is widespread in online sites and communities, such as blogs, videos, and goods and vintage sharing websites. Further, we observe that museums and galleries have been established to celebrate retro culture (Anderson, Shimizu & Iwasaki, 2017), developing special exhibitions and programs to celebrate the Korean lifestyle of that time. Manga, animations, toys, dolls, and stationary objects are often available or sold in stores, online sites, and even museum gift shops. Cultural nostalgia has been a trend, available as a product, and it has been one of the most important strategies of advertisements (Guffey, 2006).

In this chapter, we explore manga as a cultural text, focusing on the retro culture of the 1970s and 1980s in Korea. In particular, we turn to childhood manga related narratives, drawn from both reflecting on our experiences and exposure to the manga of our childhood and rewatching the childhood manga of that era. In doing so, we select several of the most popular and memorable manga from our childhood, tracing their reemergence in today's popular and media culture, as well as in museum settings developed as special exhibitions and education programs. After that we explore the pedagogical adaptation and possibility of introducing childhood manga and its nostalgic visual culture in the classroom. Methodologically, we believe that our work provides a good example of narrative inquiry or scholarly personal narrative (SPN). Utilizing SPN as a "constructivist research methodology that integrates personal experience as a data source" (Ng & Carney, 2017) that can be analyzed to explore an educational or social issue and phenomenon, our study focuses on our manga exposures and stories in Korea. Nash (2004) as the pioneer of SPN points the strength of this method as the integration of "intellectual content and honest personal voice" (p. 30). In our study, we conduct an examination of the same theme or content from two different times of our life. Mainly we compare and contrast dialogues and narratives drawn from this approach.

Manga Memories and Stories

What we describe in this section includes both each of our experiences of two manga as children and our rewatching experience of the same manga. First, we delineate our exploration of personal, social, and cultural aspects of manga experience as children. After that, we portray what we learned and realized as adults and educators. They will serve as foundation for later analysis and implications for art education practice.

Ryan: *Galaxy Express 999* and *Robot Taekwon V*

The manga or its characters I draw, watch, and read were an essential part of my formative life. I had and enjoyed fantasy, imaginations, friendship, and plays through manga stories. I was eager to find ways to access manga because it was one of my favorite popular entertainment media available and accessible to me as a child. As a poor farm boy, I could not purchase or own manga books but did read some manga at school libraries. Most manga in the library then were educational, not the manga books published by famous manga artists and writers that most children read for fun. Therefore, I had to rely on borrowing manga from friends who were rich and could purchase manga books or subscribe to monthly children magazines that included various manga series. Some of the popular children's magazines were *New Child, Child Chungang, Treasure Island,* or *Child Friend*. These children's magazines were published once a month. My friends shared them in school or gave them away as they finished it. Many Korean adults of my age will remember these manga fondly.

However, television was the most reliable and accessible resource for me to watch manga animations. Sitting in front of televisions in the early evening to watch manga was a vivid memory of my childhood. Almost every evening around 5:30 PM when the official program started, I turned on the television to try to watch manga and children's programs. Typically one or two manga aired on each channel, and there were two channels in the 1970s. This contrasts with today's cable network with cartoon program, available 24 hours a day. No VHS or internet streaming meant that I could not miss the time, and I had to manually search for a television guide in the newspaper. Most weekend mornings, manga animations drew me to television on Saturday or Sunday morning.

I choose two manga among two dozens of the popular manga from my childhood. One is Galaxy Express 999 (Matsumoto, 1977-79 manga; 1978-1982 television series), a Japanese manga that I did not even realize was Japanese because I could not distinguish the ethnicity of

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Chinese or Japanese characters as a child. Since it was dubbed in Korean, I believed it was Korean manga. I did not even care about the nationality of manga or animation. However, as an adult and researcher, I now understand the national and ethnic identity of the manga. The other manga is Robot Taekwon V (Kim, 1976), one of the most popular cartoon animations I watched. The RTV series were also published as manga books. RTV is the name of the robot controlled by the main character, Hoon Kim, who can control the robot's body with his brain and telepathic power. That is, he can execute any action as his brain controls the robot's body. When he performs Taekwondo, the robot performs the same action. Almost all of my friends in elementary school drew RTV. I, as well, often drew RTV on paper or dirt in the playground. The RTV movie release by Director Kim Chung Gi was big news, and I was excited about the robot taekwondo fighter. My friends and I were excited about the opening of the movie in Seoul, even though it was impossible for me to travel to Seoul to watch it. My family could not afford that luxury. I was able to move to Seoul when I went to college. As a child, I loved robot and scientific animation, as I believed that a robot could protect the earth and Korea against evil groups or even against extraterritorial enemies. Justice and protection were important in my mind and imagination. My cartoon heroes pursued justice. I often spent many hours on my own, making stories about myself as the protagonist, fighting against enemies who wanted to disrupt the peaceful world.

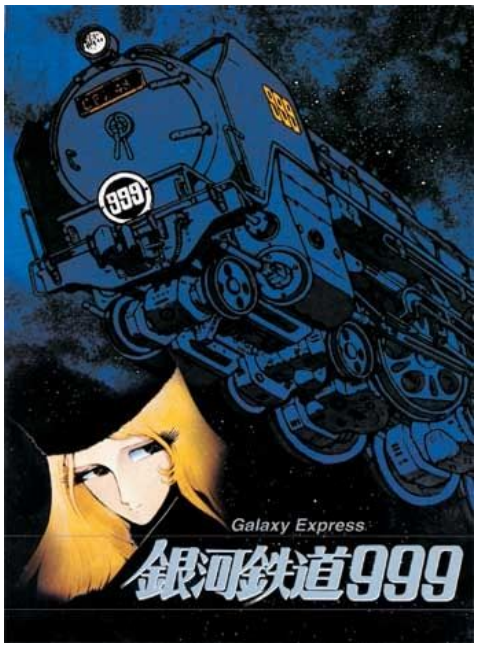

Figure 1. Screenshot of *Galaxy Express 999*.

Figure 2. Screen shot of *Robot Taekwon V* (1976) Remastered 30th Anniversary Edition.

The two manga evoke a strong nostalgia of my childhood. GE 999 especially summons some of the excitements and enjoyment as a child, which still lingers in my memories, even though I did not understand its main theme at the time. The theme was a philosophical and humanistic theme about human life. Online bloggers comment that this manga deals with a complex and moral issue of life and body. Interestingly, when I rewatched some of the episodes as an adult, I was able to understand clearly the main theme of GE 999. Most of the episodes started when the GE 999 train landed on a planet where a new adventure or event started. Each episode was complete when Chul and Metel, two main characters, solved a dilemma or were rescued from villains. Chul was a little boy, and Metel was a beautiful blonde woman who took care of Chul until she took him to the planet La Metal, where Chul could transform his body into a mechanical form to attain eternal life. Eventually, Chul realized the vanity of the mechanical body, discovering the value of the human body through GE 999 trip, and he finally rejected the opportunity to change his body as a machine.

Watching many episodes, I was fascinated by the beauty of Metel with her soothing voice and her strong mindset to protect Chul during the journey to La Metal. She was the first female cartoon character I liked, and I was confused why Metel was taking care of Chul, who was not handsome but a conventionally unattractive child. I was jealous of Chul who received all of beautiful Metel's attention. She was my first exposure to the idealized beauty of Western women, from which I started to develop the stereotype of a Western woman as a child. I learned that white women had yellow hair and were tall and beautiful. Since then, most of the American movies I watched reinforced this biased stereotype.

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Jihyun: Candy Candy and Bul'ui Goum (The Sword of Fire)

Looking back at the past, in the 1970s and 1980s, Korea experienced the popular culture that was heavily influenced by the United States and Japan. At that time, most of the Korean comics and animations I saw on TV were Japanese comics. My favorite genre in my childhood was "Soonjung," which was manga originated from Japanese Shōjo Manga. Shōjo manga has several features, such as manga genre for girls' and women's desire and dreams. The heroines in Shojõ manga are depicted as cute and innocent girls who have strong wills to make changes in their lives toward happiness and love (Toku, 2007). I loved reading the manga *Candy Candy,* with a heroine with big emerald green eyes and blond hair.

Figure 3. A book cover of *Candy Candy*

Candy Candy was a romance novel by Kyoko Mizuki in 1975, and it was later produced in different versions including manga and anime series. It was a girls' Shōjo comic TV animation in Japan, which was re-broadcasted in Korea in 1977 as *Candy* and in 1983 as *Wardrobe Candy* through Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), one of the major Korean broadcasting companies. The romance between a girl who overcomes difficulties and the wonderful men surrounding her is a story that can be frequently found in comics, dramas, and animations of Korea, which are still popular. Most of the Soonjung mangas follow this plot. Candy was my favorite heroine. She was an abandoned orphan and had retained the memory of a boy whom she remembered as her "prince of the hill." The prince in Candy's memory helped her go through obstacles in her life. Later she was forced to move and had difficult times in the Legan family but overcame that and even met several handsome male characters, including Anthony and Terry. My favorite characteristic of Candy was that she was always positive, lovely, brave, and dedicated to her life regardless of the miserable circumstances she faced. The images of popular culture characters had a great impact on me as the visual culture of my childhood. I wished I could be Candy who received the wholehearted attention of male characters in the manga. I became a big fan of Candy stories and used to engage in playful drawings and making stories based on the manga.

Bul' Ui Goum (BUG, The Sword of Fire) is one of the Soonjung Mangas, comics for the girls. BUG was written and drawn by Hyei-lin Kim, one of the most popular Soonjung Manga writers. The main characters of BUG are 'Karahan', the patriarch of the Amur Alliance, and 'Ara', who loved Karahan but came from his enemy tribe, Carmica. BUG is a story of overcoming challenges and struggles of the two characters in the war era between the two tribes: the Bronze Tribe, Amur, and the Iron Tribe, Carmica. The two tribes and war symbolize the roots of the present Korean people. Karahan penetrated the Karmaki region to catch the secret of iron sword. While Karahan was not able to do this, he ran away and lost his memory by accident. Ara and her father rescued him, and soon after, Karahan fell in love with Ara. Unfortunately when he tried to rescue Ara from a ruthless Carmica aristocrat, he got hurt and regained his memory, which resulted into loss of memories with Ara. Although Karahan forgot about Ara, she still loved and helped him by learning the secret of iron sword and shared it with him. The story had a happy ending. In the end, she married Karahan, who later regained his memory by rescuing her from his enemy. It is a story of love in the disagreements of tribal confrontation, class differences, and amnesia. The story of Ara, a woman, and her father taught that Amur people should be brave and act properly.

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Figure 4. Screenshot of *Bul' Ui Goum* (BUG, The Sword of Fire).

I was fascinated by the structure and visual convention in Soonjung manga. The common feature of this genre was the conceptual frames of thought and psychological states of characters in scenic units. The internal and external emotions of the characters are expressed in the text, incorporated in images or balloons in manga. The emotional state of Candy or Ara is expressed in visual narrative and communicates the dramatic moment of a story. I could sympathize with the emotional state of the heroines. Male main characters are visually stylized at eight or nine times the height of the head in Soonjung manga. We commonly call a handsome male as "hero of Soonjung manga." Terry and Karahan in the two manga are very tall with long hair. While I did not notice in the past, I now understand their appearance replicates the Westernized ideal beauty of human body with Japanese influence of Shōjo manga. It is very appealing that Ara and Karahan are beautiful and can perform martial arts to fight enemies. "Adolescents' obsessions with extremes of human achievement and preoccupation with heroes and heroic achievement" (Manifold, 2013, p. 14) are common with this kind of epic story.

Rewatching Manga

In this section, we describe our experience of rewatching manga of our childhood. By rewatching magna, we reflect on what and how we watched as children, such as stories, memories, and their social and cultural influences on our childhood. Through rewatching activity, we are able to see manga from our adult perspectives, employing self-intergenerational comparison. This endeavor also encourages us to pay attention to cultural nostalgia and why Koreans often share these manga on the Internet as YouTube videos or blogs and developed manga character museums or special exhibitions (Anderson, Shimizu, & Iwasaki, 2017; Barker, 2017; Russell, 2008), as well as produced vintage or collectible items sold in stores. Through the lens of art educators, we analyze what we learned from rewatching them, along with the review of comments and replies on YouTube and blogs that share childhood manga and its memories.

Ryan: Galaxy Express 999 and Robot Taekwon V

The memories of watching them were still vivid for me, but I could not recall the central message of GE 999. Through rewatching it and reading some blogs, I learned that the animation contains a critical theme of a vain human desire to possess a cyborg body for immortal/eternal life. Many bloggers points out the theme as philosophical and humanistic, praising the artistic value of GE 999. The emotional responses of bloggers or YouTube visitors to RTV were strong and rich when they share their memories and memorabilia of watching it. I was also able to rewatch these manga online because of the availability of their episodes from the contribution of bloggers and YouTube users.

One thing obvious to me when rewatching GE 999 were the many scenes of Japanese characters. As I did not learn Chinese, Japanese, or English characters back then, I did not pay attention to the foreign letters on the screen, and they were peripheral in my enjoying manga. As long as it was dubbed as Korean, I thought it was Korean manga. I also did not pay attention to the nationality of mangas. The face of Chul was of a typical East Asian boy about my age. Metel was a blond woman, but manga characters are Westernized, so I got used to seeing Westernized faces. However, when I rewatched several episodes, I noticed many Japanese characters and signs. This reminded me that I learned from school and other television programs about Korean's cultural and national pride, with a strong negative emotional development of early 20th-century colonization of Korea.

The storyline of Robot Taekwon V also reminds me of the excitement of controlling a robot through traditional Koran martial art, Taekwondo. I was immersed in the story and imagination of RTV. The central character of RTV is Hoon Kim who defeated U.S. and Japanese martial artists at the World Taekwondo Competition. During the competition, Hoon was presented as a good and strong boy, and others were portrayed as evil and jealous opponents who attacked Hoon. Now, I feel that the director created a biased, nationalistic animation, instilling pride in Koreans as Hoon won the championship. Later, in the story, Hoon was also featured to save the world through evil Dr. Karper who wanted to rule the world through his own robots controlled by the players defeated by Hoon in the Competition. They are

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kidnapped and brainwashed to kill Hoon and RTV (Kim, 2013).

The popularity of RTV resulted in many toys of RTV, as well as T-shirts, shoes, and children's goods. Backpacks, pencil cases, rubbers, and plastic sheets for writing include RTV decoration, which were accessible and available in stores. However, most of the products were designed for boys, as the 1970s and 1980s show the strict traditional gender roles in Korea. Accordingly, most girls were expected to choose products of female characters.

One of the most popular collectibles then was *ttakji*, a circle shaped card featuring manga character or action. It was sold as a bundle of 24 or 36. Manga remind me of paper ttakji game. Whenever new manga was released, stationery stores near schools were stocked with manga character products. Ttakji was cheap and affordable; typically one could purchase one set of ttakji collection, about two dozens of ttakji, which cost 1 cent then. Even poor children could afford to play. The number of Ttakji represented the pride of a child who earned them by winning a ttakji game. Some had several hundred, and others may have had a dozen or so. My friends carried them in our backpacks or pockets to play during school breaks. I myself also played numerous times, in groups of two to four. Children invented several ways to play ttakji game. Winning a ttakji game meant that you got the ttakji at stake. For example, to win a game, your pick should have more Korean characters or stars on it than others; the winner can be decided the presence of special objects in order. A different rule could be applied for each time. Ttakji game developed from manga represents children's' play culture in the 1970s or 1980s.

Jihyun: Candy Candy and Bul'ui Goum(The Sword of Fire)

The two magna are ideal examples of Soonjung manga, and I was attracted to this genre as a typical young Korean girl. Soonjung manga was first produced around 1950s, telling a story of a young girl. The manga depicted the mind of the characters and family relationships (Han, 2001). Later, in the 1960s, Soonjung manga was influenced by Shōjo manga of Japan (Park, 2000), and it displays several features as follows (Han, 2016). First is an increase in the unreality of the story. The themes of early versions of Soonjung mana were about family and struggles of the harsh reality of life. Later versions of Soonjung manga depicted themes of romantic fantasy. Second, there was an emergence of stylized graphic features with colorful paintings and decorations that could not be found before. The legs of girls in manga were lengthened, their hair colors changed, their eyes became shiny, their eyelashes lengthened considerably, and the protagonist-mannequin style emerged. Third, female writers appeared in the field of manga. If the creators of previous family of comics were men, female artists started creating Korean Soonjung manga. Readers of Soonjung manga in Korea are girls grew up reading Shōjo manga. The popularity of Shōjo manga made female readers Soonjung manga writers.

Shōjo Manga became the foundation of the birth of Soonjong manga. The broadcast of *Candy Candy* held a symbolic meaning, which boosted the interest of publishers and distributors in Japanese comics. Although graphic and narrative were not the work of Koreans, they attracted many readers. Hye-rin Kim and Mi-na Hwang are representative female writers, and they adopted the Japanese Shōjo Manga and created the new types of Korean Soonjung manga. Shōjo manga in the 1970s in Japan may be regarded as the golden era of its development. The catalyst of Shojõ manga development was "the 24 nen gumi (the "Magnificent 24s": female mangaka who were born around 1949, which was Shõwa 24 according to the Japanese calendar) including Takemiya Keiko, Yamgishi Ryoko, and Õshima Yumiko" (Toku, 2007, p. 26). The cartoonists created high-quality work, and Shōjo manga bloomed. They received especially good reviews from critics and audience in their ability to express their minds and monologues through the use of dialogue outside the speech bubble, thus revealing the inner psychology of the girls (Hideshi & Gou, 2004). Their creative storytelling, graphic skills, and diverse theme of manga made great contributions to the development on developing Korean's Soonjung manga.

Soonjung manga was popular with the comic magazines I used to read, including *Life of Girls, Girls' Generation*. The work, BUG, by Hye-lin Kim was a story of historical plot and romance. During this period, the historical romance became a popular genre. Although the bigger epic was based on a specific history, it tended to set the characters according to the convention of the Soonjung manga by defining the masculinity/femininity essentially. The way of embracing the tragic nature of history has not been completely removed from the impression of the Soonjung manga. There were a lot of Soonjung manga books that were not profound episodes, but they faithfully followed the frame of Soonjung manga in releasing the psychological states of characters and exaggerated decorative style of visuals.

Candy Candy represents the female identity and femininity, which helped me imagine the "ideal girl." The typical code of Shōjo manga comprises of a romance of a cute heroine with wonderful males, but Candy, as an orphan, shows an independent life with success in

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standing alone after working as a nurse and breaking up with lovers. The conflict and romance stood out to me, as it constructed a female identity as the personality of independence. It was also the age of Japanese feminist generations such as Ueno Chizuko appeared in the 1970s. The "the 24 nen gumi" cartoonist depicted the psychology of the girl who is aware of her femininity. The significant part of the story of *Candy Candy* is her own life journey.

Shōjo manga is an especially rich subject to draw girls' expression of gender transgression. For example, The *Rose of Versailles*- possibly the most iconic Shōjo manga was a revolutionary heroine story about a female protagonist dressed as a male aristocrat (Wakeling, 2011). Soonjung manga writers are also credited with the qualitative growth of cartoons for girls with the influence of Shōjo manga. The self-consciousness of these writers could not separate the anxiety of being a woman in their work. Hye-rin Kim's masterpiece dealt with the inside of broken individuals in the changing history and chaos of the revolutionary period. The BUG addressed the strength of femininity of women, especially the power and patience of Korean women, even though they were bound to strict gender roles and expectations in Korea. Hye-rin Kim fiercely explored the pain and hurt left by the history. A woman who loves a man who was born in a wealthy family and devoted himself to the revolution appears to be a strong woman who learns how to make a sword from fire swords. A strong woman who gains strength by making a sword was a female character who created the accumulated political sensibility of the 1980s in Korea. Although cross-gender roles were already established in Shōjo manga, the boundary between masculinity/femininity is still clear in Hye-rin Kim's work. However, a tough woman who gains strength while enduring suffering is a monumental character that created the sensibility of the accumulated age of the 1980s. Strong women, with professional knowledge like Ara, making swords stood out as an impressive female character to me. Ara is considered as a problem solver to take risks for society as a female role model to me. She is a woman who performed non-traditional subjectivity. The heroine is beautiful and possesses the maternal abilities to care for the sensitive men. There is a difference between the gender-bound role in Hye-rin Kim's work and cross-gender roles in shōjo manga such as The *Rose of Versailles.* The toughness of Ara is femininity in contrast to masculinity.

Manga as the Visual Culture of Childhood

Manga is an important part of childhood visual culture (Hatayama, 2009). Whenever we came across manga characters, it recalls our valuable memories. Interestingly, we may forget them until we rediscover them through manga rewatching. We assume that this applies to many other Korean adults who spent childhood in the 1970s or 1980s. For them, the memories, plays, artifacts, and imaginations through manga and animations were forgotten for many years, as we suppressed them due to a busy job schedule, raising kids, and other pressures from personal, social, and political concerns and issues. However, the authors note that many forms of our childhood visual culture, including manga, children's play, games, foods, and collectibles are reappearing in Korea. We also find numerous blogs reintroducing this trend, as well as posting their nostalgic memories and desires through YouTube videos and replies. We see the popularity of the online presence of manga and anime. Specialized museums and festivals were designed to attract visitors as reminders of their childhood and for a nostalgic experience. Below, we discuss several significant points drawn from our rewatching experiences and online discourses surrounding manga and childhood visual culture.

First, even though childhood visual culture is valuable and memorable, it was mostly forgotten for many years. Due to busy lifestyles and fast-facing changes in contemporary Korean life and workplaces, as well as new technological developments, many Koreans have suppressed our childhood culture. However, the retro culture of 7080, that is, the revival of music, artifacts, and cultural experiences and tours of 1970s and 1980s, gained significant attention from Korean popular media and culture (Oh, 2011). The popularity and apparent enjoyment of a past culture offer something nostalgic to the present (Anderson, Shimizu, & Iwasaki, 2017). One of the most popular examples found in Korea is the trend of creating cultural products showing the daily life and visual and material culture of 7080.

The retro popularity of manga as nostalgic visual culture emerged and is appreciated by many as a yearning for the childhood and lifestyle of 7080. Even though Koreans enjoyed Westernized and industrialized development in lifestyle and popular culture and consumption, including technology and social networking, modern buildings, and traffic systems, they love the lifestyle and culture of 7080. Chungchun (translated as youth) Musuem in Gapyong created exhibitions to show the stores, classroom, playgrounds, and food stands where they can play games, have dances of that time, and buy objects of 7080.

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In contrast to the popular culture of Westernized contemporary Korea, visitors want to experience their childhood culture. This longing for nostalgic feelings is evident among Koreans who shared their comments and replies on blogs and YouTube. Nostalgic feelings are triggered by manga characters, artifacts, clothes, toys, and posters, as well as popular songs and plays (Russell, 2008).

Manhwabang is one of the examples Koreans have recreated to celebrate 7080 manga and visual culture. In Korea, children and even adults enjoyed visiting Manhwabang (manga rent or reading store), where you can read as much manga as you like with a nominal entrance fee of several dollars. In 7080 Manhwabang, customers used to order some fast foods while they read. Patronizing Manhwabang is much cheaper than purchasing manga books. They can also rent a series of manga books from the store, like VHS or DVD in video stores. We still remember Manhwang in most of the neighborhoods in Seoul. One of the authors often visited Manhwabang as a teenager. Manhwabang store was a popular store to attract children and young readers who could sit and read manga books for hours. The stores were open until midnight or even later. This Manhwabag culture disappeared in the early 2000s due to the emergence of new leisure cultures, such as PC bang (computer game playing store) or norae bang (karaoke).

Recently several museums opened to show 7080 Manhwabang. Visitors read popular manhwa of their childhood. New museums featuring popular manga characters have been established. In 2015, V Center was open to the public, where visitors explore diverse aspects of RTV manga and animation, its adventure stories, and scientific lessons related to RTV. Another example is the Dooly Museum, a gallery developed to celebrate the manga character, Little Dinosaur Dooly. Museum visitors enjoy Manhwabang room where they can see 7080 manga characters and books. In Dobong-gu, Seoul, its community and service center was converted to Manhwabang, so people could enjoy manga books while taking care of their social and community needs and activities. Dobong-gu also created a theme park and street displaying Dooly characters as statues, murals, and signpost, and public art (Kim, 2013). Several years ago, Manhwabang has been resurrected as Manhwa café where people read the manga but also have a beverage, and this kind of new café is promising. Visitors can read our childhood manga, such as Candy Candy, BUG, RTV, and GE999. Manga has greatly contributed to events, business, and activities contributed to the development of the retro culture of 7080.

Second, we realize that the manga we rewatched represent invisible and hidden efforts of Korean manga producer's attempts to bolster Korean identity and pride. Although we did not realize this when we were a child, childhood fantasy and excitement overshadowed the nationality of foreign manga and animation. The translation of Japanese original song of GE 999 by Isao Sasaki is quite different from the Korean version song by Gukhwan Kim, who made it brighter, happier, and more adventurous in comparison with the Japanese original's ballad and melancholic tone. Korean producers decided to change it to target children, and this change indicates the Korean producer's willingness to consider children as the audience. For example, a Japanese song in one of the episodes was changed to early 20th Korean children's song. The inclusion of Korean mythology and history in BUG also stands for the efforts of writers to address Korean's identity and culture.

RTV also represented and celebrated Korean's traditional value of taekwondo, and its story emphasizes the superior power of Korean scientists' accomplishment that is combined with the high quality of Korean martial art. There have been many scenes of RTV that saved the world from evil forces and intruders from extraterritorial or other planets. We note Korean manga intended to show Korean's identity and pride through RTV and Taekwondo. The Korean government placed significant efforts and values on developing Korean national and cultural identity in the 1970s, developing cultural development and policy to heighten Koreaness (Kim, 2015; Yim, 2002). Manga and television series address this social context and governmental support. Choi and Choi (2009) explain the revision of content, song, character, and structure of imported Japanese manga to Korea. Japanese manga should have gone through restructuring or redrawing for children's national and cultural identity. This was possible then, when copyright was not strictly enforced (Choi & Choi, 2009). As children, we did not notice this, as we learn from school textbooks and then contemporary media to take pride in our ethnic heritage and unity.

Third, manga in the 1970s or 1980s is not immune of gender bias and stereotypes from the contemporary viewpoint, as still seen in many Korean manga or animations (Kim, 2018). As children, we read and watched manga without noticing gender bias and inequality. We were not exposed to gender equality as children in media and schools during the 1970s and 1980s. What we experienced as children at home, schools, and community informed our gender roles and identities about gender equity (Cho, Surendra & Cho, 2013). The character Hoon of RTV played a typical Korean traditional male role

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as the other character Yeong-hee Yoon was designed to play the supporting role as a woman even though she was also a RTV pilot and Taekwondo practitioner. RTV portrayed a male dominance in the development of the role of Robot Taekwon V and in the science world, featuring women only as a secondary role in the story. More importantly, RTV taught the behavior, attitude, and expectation of girls in society. As Hatayama (2009) pointed out that manga characters served as a typical role model in formative years, Hoon was a role model for one of the authors. Stereotypical male voice and gestures, as well as his attire and hairstyle were presented for children to follow, as future male and female member of the society.

In many manga, the protagonist or hero is male, with the exception of romance or Soonjung (shojo) manga that presents girlhood and love story. Ekachai and Drout (1996) discussed the gender role that is divided clearly in manga and animation, which show women staying home and taking care of children, playing a traditional or stereotypical role in many manga stories. Chul often heard from other male characters that a boy should not cry but be strong and brave, and he hid sad emotions and feelings. Growing up as Korean children in 7080 culture, we did not ask questions or challenge what we read or watched in manga. However, interestingly, girls who read Soonjung manga could develop stronger female identity in comparison with RTV and GE999, as described below.

Fourth, Soonjung manga indicates the cultural construction of girlhood in Korea and the absorption of foreign cultural influences and embracing it as unique "Korean genre." In its hybridity and historical progression, Soonjung manga originated with family stories in Korea and new interaction with Shōjo manga in Japanese. Soonjung manga readers interact with the other cultures including U.S. and Japan and give feedback to the Korean writers. Girls enjoyed reading Soonjung manga with subjects of love and independent power with influences by the woman who stands for justice and is committed to her destiny. Girls were intensively drawn to Soonjng manga and engaged in playful artmaking of their own versions of manga. They created their own storybook and participated in communities by their common affinity for characters and writers. As Wilson (2000) indicates cultural graphic influences on the style of young people, Soonjung manga is popular media for girls around in the 1970s and 1980s. They played together to draw characters of Soonjung manga, and the use of the graphic skill in the manga provides an opportunity to study the visual conventions of popular culture in shaping conceptions of girls' identities.

Implications for Art Education

While reading and watching manga forty years apart, we learned that manga reading and watching offer an excellent opportunity as teaching material and resources in art education. We read many comments from blogs that parents enjoyed taking children to manga museums and events. We believe that manga is one of the most important materials to develop intergenerational and cultural programs in schools, community centers, or museums. Art educators can design creative programs and activities such as manga drawings, retro games and plays, cosplay, and pop up galleries based upon manga of the past.

In this paper, we presented our careful reading of manga as adults. We believe that manga in the 1970s and 1980s show traditional and cultural perspectives of Koreans. Considering this, we suggest that when art teachers choose manga for intercultural research or investigation, they invite their students to choose manga from other cultural or ethnic groups to research cultural differences and nuances. They can discuss their findings as groups. Their research might reveal cultural stereotypes and bias toward other groups through manga and animation analysis, resulting in a class discussion of the concerns or problems of manga's misrepresentation of other cultures.

Students can also be invited to research manga's gender and ethnic representation, including their representation, customs, and facial or physical features. Students can analyze stereotypical depictions and bias from manga. Manga can provide rich material of visual analysis of people. Even though there has been numerous research on drawing characteristics of children (Wilson, 1999), we need to explore with more focus on gender or ethnic stereotype research. Through manga character analysis, students can also identify the Westernization of cartoons and concepts of beauty.

Many students are interested in creating or drawing manga characters. Being stimulated by manga characters and stories, students can create their manga superhero or superheroine to address bias and misconceptions embedded in the manga. When they create manga characters and stories, they can also compare their work with historical manga in their own culture, so they understand the visual and social influence of their drawing examining the influence of the popular culture manga and animation. Manga exchange between different groups of culture will help develop an understanding of manga as a global culture, but nothing that cultural differences and values layered in the manga. Reading and discussing the same manga or animation would create a robust cross-cultural lesson to explore ethnic, social, and cultural issues and challenges.

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Conclusion

One of the most unique aspects of this study is rewatching manga as adults and researchers to compare and contrast what we remembered and learned with new perspectives as adults. We also learned from this process that we were influenced or socialized by manga and childhood visual culture. Interestingly, the accessibility of manga and diversity of materials related to manga reading and watching experiences are filled on the web as blogs, videos, and other forms. We also identified various forms of the past visual culture in contemporary visual and popular culture. With the extensive and high level of attention to manga and related, we put the substantial value of manga and childhood visual culture in art education as excellent resources and teaching materials. Through manga analysis, we discussed the retro renaissance of 7080 in Korea, seeing manga as one of the most essential nostalgic visual cultures of childhood. We also emphasize Korean's national culture that was enforced and established even via children's manga and their scenarios. The analysis of children's manga from an adult's perspective also helped us realize how manga had influenced our worldview and understanding of gender as children. Therefore, we believe that art educators accept and reconsider retro manga books and films as an essential resource to analyze childhood visual culture and develop educational programs and projects, such as intergenerational learning, cross-cultural exploration, and manga drawing for identity and social justice.

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Manga Mashup on Second Life: Kawaii Cute Clothes, Creatures and Creeps

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People of all ages begin to lose interest in art because they "realize their limits, peer competition, their art is socially undervalued, they are sensitive to criticism, and their interests disregarded" (Toku, 2001, p. 11). They seek alternative attractions and means of expression, such as comics. Many find manga/anime as appealing. **Manga** is a humorous popular cultural picture, a kind of caricature that dates back to Japanese animal scrolls, especially Hokusai's *Floating World* (Toku, 2001). After World War II, American soldiers left many of their Disney comic books in Japan and people of all ages started reading and making their own copies, called manga, and later anime films and virtual world. When avatars first visit the manga or anime sites on Second Life, they encounter (かわいい "adorable") characters, part of the culture of cuteness in Japan (See Figure 1). "It can refer to items, humans and nonhumans that are charming, vulnerable, shy and childlike" (Wikipedia, 2018, p. 1). Such culture is a blend of old and new behaviors, interests, and content that transforms with new contexts, in this case the digital virtual world. Through qualitative participant observation, I search for manga influences and its changing forms.

Figure 1. AMH (AnnaMayaHouse): Kawaii culture.

Participant Observation Method

I have been researching and teaching on virtual worlds for over ten years using qualitative methods (Stokrocki, 2014a). In this exploration, I use simple participant observation stages of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. With my students, I've studied Native

American (Stokrocki, 2012), Taiwanese (Stokrocki & Chen, 2014b), and Korean sites (Stokrocki with Jung, 2017) here to name a few. Data collection consists of collecting forms, describing objects, photographing contexts and interviewing avatars through chat. For content analysis, searching the word "manga" on Second Life, revealed numbers of related groups and places with traffic count. Looking for frequent examples and characteristics and condensing the data constantly revealed hidden factors. Interpretation involved member check (Creswell, 1998), in which I shared data interpretations with avatar participants and other researchers for further perspectives about issues (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Finally, comparative analysis with other studies supported or negated findings as my search proceeded on the virtual world. This resulted in multiple interpretations that point to virtual worlds, such as Second Life, as rich learning complexes or sites for future explorations.

Virtual Worlds and Mashups

Virtual worlds are digital global places entirely built by avatar participants (Stokrocki, 2014c). They operate like games, but more so when used in moderation, according to Barack (July 6, 2018). They are a mashup or remix of digital influences, image, video, & games (Song, 2009). "Mashups involve the reuse, or remixing, of works of art, content, and/or data for purposes that usually were not intended or even imagined by the original creators" (Lamb, 2007, p. 16). Second Life is one of the most popular computer-simulated environments where players interact in real time as well (Stokrocki, 2014c).

FINDINGS

Explorations on Second Life revealed charming shopping centers, role play and game centers, popular products, clubs or hangouts, and art galleries. Upon first entering Second Life, some of these sim sites, e.g. Anime Universe, seem adorably tame (Figure 2). Visitors get a list of Anime Universe SIM rules, including no bad language, nudity, & bullying. They also receive warnings, such as "Go to Arena for attacks or power ups/transformations" (like Friezd's Deathball Xtreme Products). These sites are constantly changing, therefore some of the SLURL links here may not work.

Figure 2 . Anime Universe A.U.C.S. ROLEPLAY SIM and Shopping Area, White Moon (6/21/18).

Roleplay

Entrances are enticing for roleplay (6/11/18), like this great aerial shot of floor with manga icons in a circle at Twilight Town that features, "final fantasy, zelda, link, tron, clock, town, train station, gaming, retro, pixel, hangout, manga, magic mall, dbz, dragon, dragonball, pokemon, freebie, termina, hyrule, naruto, bleach, nintendo, hentai, and robots." Posters revealed that serious roleplay gaming occurred outside of Second Life (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Entrance to Twilight Town

For shopping in a grand way, visit Hatsune City, Home of Mikazuki, a five-story store owned by Natsumi Mikazuki that features at Acadia - Cosplay, Tokyo, Manga, Moe, Vocaloid, Japan, Kawaii, SAO, akiba, video game, anime, hangout, chibi, kemono, utilizator, avatar, otaku, and hatsune miku (6/11/18) (Figure 4).

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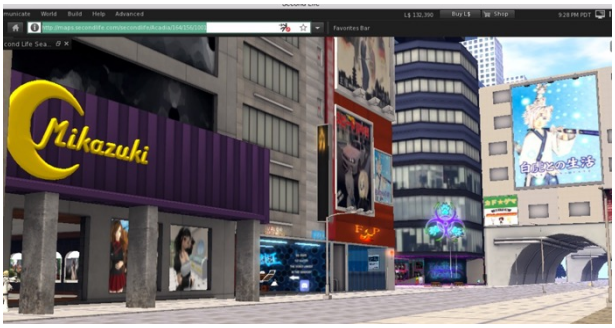

Figure 4. Mikazuki Store, Club, Mall, Hangout, and Roleplay Shops and Residences [for 2Linden dollors per Liter]; Relax and Have Fun! Cosplay, Manga, Moe, Vocaloid, Kawaii, SAO, akiba (film) & video games.

At AMH - Annie May Haven - Anime Mall [Traffic: 16813], visitors can buy many anime & manga video games, such as "Utilizator, Gantz, kemono, m3, Ragnarok Online, Anime, Cosplay, Pokemon, Audax, Anime Head, Vocaloid, Weapons, Black Rock Shooter, Greedy Greedy, Slopoly, Uno, Clue, Tokyo, Girl, Shop Rental, Sci Fi, Hangout." I found some avatars playing board games such as *Warcheeso* and *Simopolis* (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Avatars playing *Simopolis*

Popular Products

The most popular manga character that I discovered on my wanderings was Sailor Moon [EternalSailor-Jupiter Korobase's 'InfoGiver 3.1a]. I received this note from the sim (6/1/18):

> Hello Sailor Moon and Anime Fans!!!! We are a corner that every sailor moon lover and **manga** lover would dream of!!! We are starting by selling Sailor Moon stuff as our First Mission, and we are growing up selling other shoujos costumes and Japanese anime general. Sign in for free and you will get a notice for every new stuff that comes in the store! I hope you like my products, i made them with pure LOVE and care because i LOVE sailormoon and manga myself ^_^. Have happy purchases, Minna!!! I [Stokrocki] purchased the hair pack for my avatar (Figure 6).

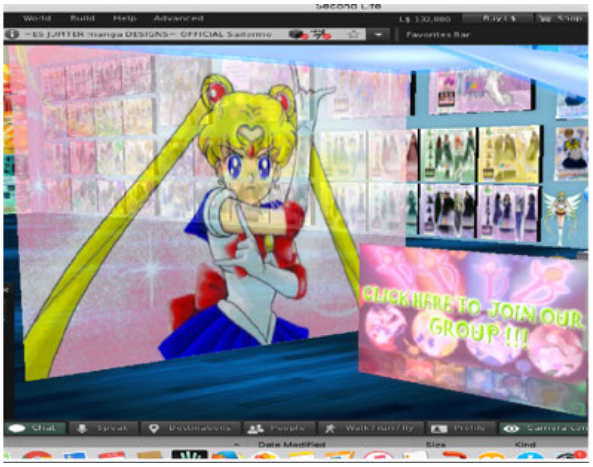

Figure 6. Sailor Moon Hair Pack by EternalSaylorJupiterKorobase.

Now that Disney has rites over some anime films and other Manga Creators have joined forces, players also can purchase an array of famous Mesh Avatar costumes and creatures (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Besides Mickey Mouse and Princess Super Mario, players can also find Pokemon Charizard and Mewtwo goods & costumes at the Grand Palace Avatar Mesh Anime Manga & Disney Store.

There are plenty of Gundam Robots and miscellaneous items for sale at Taikoshi Store [Traffic: 57] that offers a series of custom-made avatars and outfits to fit the animes: "Mobile Suit Gundam, Bleach, YuGiOh. 1912 Tags: Wing SEED Zeon Federation Avs, robot mechs, mecha anime, manga games, cosplay" (Figure 8).

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Figure 8. Taikoshi Store - Gundam Gunpla & Misc. Items.

Second Life offers a lot of commerce: buying/ selling/making. University students can learn how to start their own business, as one of my students had her own Dye Shack at Junkyard Blues that was linked to real life business.

Clubs

Several attractions are dance clubs or hangouts on Second Life. One popular club was -]Pixel Stations[- THE METEOR, a gorgeous and mysterious lit Night Club (Traffic: 469; mature audience) featuring: "kingdom, hearts,final,fantasy,zelda,link,tron,clock,town,train,station,game,gaming,retro,pixel,manga,anime,magic,mall,dbz, dragon,ball,z,dragonball,pokemon,freebie,lucky,chair,twilight,town,nightclub,naruto,bleach,nintendo,hentai,club, party,dance,dancing,dj." Of course, avatars can always just hang out at such sites as Cafe Fantasy, Manga Island (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Have a cup of coffee with Totoro.

Groups

Appealing also are the groups to join that feature anime screenings et al, such as the Anime Club (TG), founded by gallia Jinx, with a General Maturity Level. This group is for people who know about Japanese anime and meet to discuss the most popular Japanese Anime shows and Manga books. Join first, get link. See www.theanimenetwork.com & www.funimation.com & www.manga.com.

Another popular group is Anime/Manga Girls, with a moderate maturity level that invites, "Join for free if you love to look like this and want to be an anime/manga girl" (See Figure 10).

Figure 10. Come visit the Anime/Manga Girls Club that meets at The Black Lotus --Anime head and cute avatar shop.

A more serious group, The Japanese Academy, founded by Deepblue Sorbet, advertises instruction in Japanese language to read all Japanese manga. Several other groups tantalize visitors to join their collective.

ART GALLERY

I finally found Kaze-Ya Manga Art Gallery, literally under the wharf in the water. This atypical place showcased posters of Manga superheroes. The poster in the middle is called "*Ultra Man*" (See Figure 11). I met avatar littlepig2017, Japanese student recommended by her teacher Sandrine Han, who also pointed out, "The collection is amazing! I grew up with the superhero when I was young (preschooler). Many young boys love Ultra man when they were kids. By the way, the Ultraman family has many brothers."

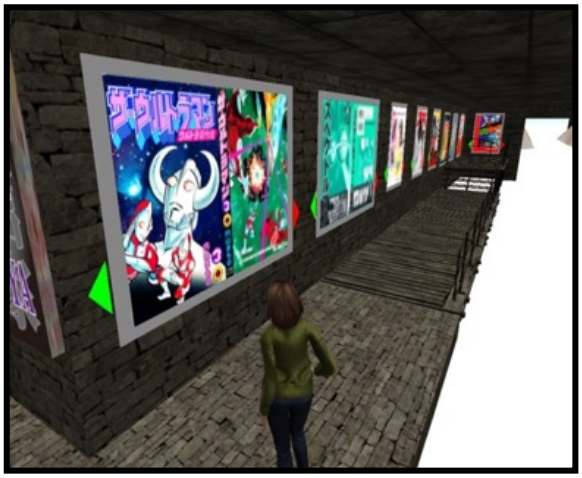

Figure 11. *Ultraman* poster [1st one] at Nipponbashi Bar & Gallery. Images no longer available.

CRITIQUE

Problematic is the misuse and stereotyping of Japanese cultural details, like cute Asian eyes. Han (2018) discovered that avatar participants lack understanding of Asian symbols and position Asian women in sexualized poses and questions the power imbalance of males. She distains the cultural appropriation of images and mistranslation of symbolic meanings. Second Life becomes cute cultural tourism to attract economy (Salazar, 2012). Similar to Duncum (2002), she advocates decoding virtual imagery.

Hidden under the cute façade unfortunately is an offensive culture, *chibi,* that undermines the obvious and adds to its appeal. For example, MANGA Fantasy Resort Japan features tiny avatars, tropical palm tree, free items. Attractions in the Central Sea area are the Pyramid dungeon, Fantasy Sky-island, and Resort for Japanese residents (Figure 12).

Figure 12. See the cute Japan Orusaban Maid ready to sell tiny avatars.

Avatar littlepig2017 also gave her opinion about these creations (8/4/18):

> I think Japanese Manga/ animations are not only created for young children but also for teenagers unto adults. I am always not sure why they can show that much of sexual appearance in the manga/ animation on TV in Japan. Children who are in Japan just watch these Sean without hesitation. I mean they point at these images and laugh at them because they feel something not appropriate, but parents do not limit watching these scenes like north American parents do (sorry I am not sure about other Asian cultures).

At the ** Kids and Teen Beach Resort, ** I also interviewed one of the little avatars, Skunkie below [1] (Figure 13).

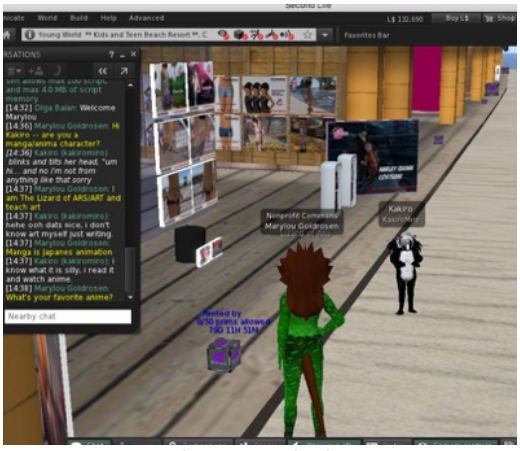

Figure 13. Interview of tiny avatar, Skunkie (6/20/18).

Note:

[1] Skunkie avatar changed and no longer is available to contact. Second life visitors often change. I have five avatars, depending on the group and time of year.

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[14:36] Marylou Goldrosen: Hi Kakiro -- are you a manga/anima character?

[14:36] Kakiro (kakiromiro) blinks and tilts her head, "um hi... and no i'm not from anything like that sorry. Her profile reads, "I'm just a litle snuggle Fluff, loves to play games and watch cartoons. If you wana talk to me feel free just don't be creepy."

[14:37] Marylou Goldrosen: I am The Lizard of ARS/ART and teach art

[14:37] Kakiro (kakiromiro): hehe ooh dats nice, i don't know art myself just writing. [14:37] Marylou Goldrosen: Manga is Japanese animation

[14:37] Kakiro (kakiromiro): i know what it is silly, i read it and watch anime.

[14:38] Marylou Goldrosen: What's your favorite anime?

[14:38] Kakiro (kakiromiro): Ranma 1/2 and slayers

[14:38] Marylou Goldrosen: Oh boy-- I don't know that one.

[14:39] Kakiro (kakiromiro): i also love dragon half, and dragon quest

[14:39] Marylou Goldrosen: I saw *Kubo and 2 Strings* anime last year

[14:39] Kakiro (kakiromiro): *Rune Explorers* is a good one

[14:39] Kakiro (kakiromiro): you know newer stuff then?

[14:39] Marylou Goldrosen: Is this a good place to bring my students?

[14:40] Kakiro (kakiromiro): I love being here, is a nice place; I'd think so long as they don't do anything naughty

[14:40]Marylou Goldrosen: I am constantly learning too from my students

[14:40] Kakiro (kakiromiro): learning is always good,

[14:40] Kakiro (kakiromiro): only time one should ever stop learning is when they die hehe [14:41] Marylou Goldrosen: Surprised this place is for kids? Or young at heart?

[14:41] Kakiro (kakiromiro): This place is nice, good music and can make lots of friends [14:41] Marylou Goldrosen: I thought kids couldn't come on SL

[14:42] Kakiro (kakiromiro): *shrugs* you talking RL stuff shouldn't do that, i'm just a skunkie.

Finally, Shin Akiba City (Traffic: 866) is a dark futuristic city, set in a Japanese/Asian themed environment. Home of the Kawaii Anime shop as well as a Cafe, Hotspring, Club, Cinema, Dance Strip Pool Swim, Hangout Manga Otaku Furry Rain Tokyo, and The Kawaii Kitten [adult 18+]. Such a place, I would make sure students avoid. Hidden in this cute and safe environment is an element of hesitancy. As I wandered around the island and observed the cute avatars hanging around, I started to read their chat. I was surprised by some of their offensive language (June 20, 7:30-10:30pm; good music beat]. Such sites are problematic and should be avoided.

CONCLUSIONS

Virtual worlds mainly deal in commerce and students can showcase their artworks/posters and start their own business here. Cultures are transforming fast and global culture via the Internet is changing education and ways of communication or multiliteracies (Stokrocki, 2014c). This pop culture is a transforming manga mashup of changing art forms and cultural influences. USA standards demand teaching self-expression to include different views from diverse cultures and that includes digital culture.

Most of these examples consisting of original manga and anime fan art (e.g., Sailor Moon) are remix manga art forms [television, movie, and books]. "By the art of remix, we mean the aesthetics, appreciation, form, and composition dimensions of remix practices," like Photoshop that can be endless (Knobel & Lankshear, 2008, p. 26). The United States Society for Education through Art (2015) even featured an entire remix issue of various art forms. Such practices lead to innovation and deviation.

Because such image reuse is so easy and inexpensive with digital media, Lethem (2007) argues that recombining sound, visuals and text are plagiarisms that date back to Shakespeare et al. Derrida (2005) suggested that "a new economy is being put in place," that we are bringing "into coexistence, in a mobile way, a multiplicity of models, and of modes of archiving and accumulation" (p. 17). Entire communities have been built around this new idea of sharing without ever losing (p. 91). The mash-up challenges the economy of creative works as property.

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No doubt, female portrayal can be highly sexualized, yet many of these sites are surprisingly owned by female creators. Some deviation can be difficult. Participants must be 18 years old. I tell my university students to reset the maturity level [uncheck adult] upon entering Second Life to eliminate problems. I ask them to present their manga mashup PowerPoint or Prezi discoveries with a critical eye. The "Young of Heart" attracted to deviant sites need to reflect on the pros and cons and even invent their own creature.

How can teachers navigate this tempting transition of deviant interests?

Teachers can come to these places, screen capture creations, and offer ideas to motivate younger students' imagination and critique. They can display students' versions on blogs or other safe simulation places, such as OpenSimulator. I continue to explore some manga images here with teens safely as we build our virtual world and learn together. The "young at heart" manga lovers can be more than age related, but they need to discover how manga can be a tool for social action or betterment as well (Song, 2009).

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Figure notes:

Figure 1. AMH (AnnaMayaHouse): Kawaii culture. Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Peaceful%20Haven/90/165/2000

Figure 2 . Anime Universe A.U.C.S. ROLEPLAY SIM and Shopping Area, White Moon (6/21/18). Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/White%20Moon/18/127/2247

Figure 3. Entrance to Twilight Town, retrieved from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Mysterious/13/15/3911

Figure 4. Mikazuki Store, Club, Mall, Hangout, and Roleplay Shops and Residences for 2L per Li Relax and Have Fun! Cosplay, Manga, Moe, Vocaloid, Kawaii, SAO, akiba (film) & video games. Retrieved from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Anime%20isle/140/72/1001.

Figure 5. Avatars playing *Simopolis;* Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Peaceful%20Haven/96/122/2000

Figure 6. Sailor Moon Hair Pack by EternalSaylorJupiterKorobase. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Royal/30/207/3001.

Figure 7. Besides Mickey Mouse and Princess Super Mario, players can also find Pokemon Charizard and Mewtwo goods & costumes at the Grand Palace Avatar Mesh Anime Manga & Disney Store. Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Three%20Moons%20Village/163/20/3503.

Figure 8. Taikoshi Store - Gundam Gunpla & Misc. Items, Retrieved March 31, 2020 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Tawa/124/104/89

Figure 9. Have a cup of coffee with Totoro. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/MANGA%20ISLAND/142/127/36

Figure 10. Come visit the Anime/Manga Girls Club that meets at The Black Lotus --Anime head and cute avatar shop. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Velox/23/11710.

Figure 11 here. *Ultraman* poster [1st one] at Nipponbashi Bar & Gallery. Images no longer available. Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Nipponbashi/93/205/21

Figure 12. See the cute Japan Orusaban Maid ready to sell tiny avatars. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/MANGA%20ISLAND/127/181/22

Figure 13. Interview of tiny avatar, Skunkie (6/20/18). Retrieved June 21, 2018 from http://maps.secondlife.com/secondlife/Cap%20Estel/34/175/21

Youth Animé/Manga Dōjin /Fan Art as a Hybrid Space: Rethinking Creativity and Learning

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Introduction

Animé/manga [1] dōjin/fan [2] culture evolved from Japanese animé/manga to spread worldwide. Comic Market (also known as Comiket or Comike), being the birthplace of animé/manga dōjin /fan conventions (also called dōjinshi sale events), has become a model for fandom around the world. Comic World in Taiwan (CWT), Comic World Hong Kong (CWHK) and Comic World in Seoul, Korea (CWK) are all similar, smaller versions of the Japanese Comiket. CWHK has about 400 dōjin/fan artist groups, CWK about 500 groups, and CWT about 1300 groups on average. Other conventions such as Fancy Frontier (FF) and Pettit Fancy in Taiwan, Macau Comic Festival (MCF), YACA in Guangzhou, ComiCup in Shanghai, and ComiDay in Chungdu, China are based on Comiket. Comiket began in 1975, growing into the largest fan convention in the world. Since 2007, the number of fans/attendees has remained consistently around half a million with approximately 35,000 dōjin groups every year at Comiket (Wilson and Toku, 2004; Wikipedia, 2019). To most animé/manga dōjin/fans, Comiket is a sanctuary. When I went to the fair for the first time, as I moved slowly forward with the crowd, I felt myself as one of the pious pilgrims.

Animé/manga dōjin/fan conventions around East Asia are hyperactive and expansive. The conventions started to appear in Guangzhou and Shanghai in 2008, about 10 years after Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan, but, in 2018, the number of dōjin/fan artist groups for Shanghai's ComiCup reached 1440. The ComiCup is now the biggest one in China, eclipsing its counterparts.

The animé/manga dōjin/fan conventions are mainly for the dōjin/fan artists to display their artworks, including doujinshi (amateur original manga and parody-fan books), cosplay, and ACG (abbreviated for "anime, comics, and games") related products, and all fans are invited to join the sociocultural practices. The flow of animé/manga dōjin/fan conventions visualizes not only the flux of dōjin/fan artists' creativity, but also the growth of the fandom/fan-culture. This fan-culture is visual-narrative-based, energetically productive, and populated mostly by youths. Wilson and Toku (2004:94) claim it is "a visual culture shaped by youth".

Dōjinshi and cosplay as two representative forms of dōjin/fan art originating from Japanese animé/manga shouldn't be seen as something confined in a piece of work, but rather as an open space/site like the "contact zones" between cultures (Jenkins, 2006:154), or "a cultural rhizome" (Wilson & Toku, 2004: 99) easily adapted to

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changing contexts. Dōjin/fan art, therefore, is a hybrid space/site multilayered with various individual and collective factors and turned into "a complex entity of cultural synthesis, a mixture of the traditional and the new, the global and the local, the elitist and the popular" (Chen, 2014:116). In other words, the convention itself is a kind of dōjin/fan art, a collective one that showcases dōjin/fan art, goods, and a community of sociocultural practices.

This chapter focuses on exploring the dynamic mediation of animé/manga dōjin/fan arts with attention to creative practices in two ways: first, according to my participation observations, this chapter gives an overall look at the visual-sociocultural phenomena of the dōjin/fan conventions as collective art practices. Second, this chapter zooms in on four Taiwanese dōjin/fan artists as a focus group to track how they learned to draw manga, make manga books, and develop personal strategies for creative practices. The purpose is to unfold the networking patterns of dojin/fan artists learning, making and sociocultural-aesthetic practicing and to know the meanings that dōjin/fan artists individually and collectively make out of the artistic-creative practices.

Two Major Forms of Dōjin/Fan Art and Conventions as Collective Fan Art Dōjinshi

Dōjinshi is "a Japanese term used to refer to coterie- or self-published fanzines distributed within specific groups or communities" (Chen, 2007:22), and can be applied to media like self-published novels, stories, and science fiction stories. In animé/manga fan culture, dōjinshi is classified into two types: amateur original manga and parody fan books. Amateur original manga means that the characters and plots are created by the author(s), while the parody manga, also called fan book, is derived from existing manga series. The parody manga allows dōjinshi artists to make creative changes, adjustments, modifications, and extensions to the source materials, or to combine, integrate, and blend different subjects, themes, or even art styles from different sources. There are several ways of deriving or appropriating elements from selected manga:

1. Adding more stories within an episode or extending stories from the end of an episode
2. Revising or adjusting certain parts of the story
3. Taking certain characters from a manga and re-basing them in a new story
4. Combining characters from different manga or media texts to form a new manga
5. Reconstructing the original manga with a critical viewpoint to create a new work
6. Taking a character from RO (online games) or musical acts to form a story
7. Developing a manga work from a novel (Chen, 2016)

Dōjinshi artists like to mix styles from different source materials such as Sci-fi and Fantasy films, rock band singers, or costume drama. Combining manga figures with Chinese classical clothes such as those from ancient Chinese figure paintings or Chinese Kungfu movies has been popular around China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. They also blend manga characters with different stories or plots.

Cosplay

Cosplay is a Japanese fan term for Costume Play, where fans dress up to play their favorite characters from animé/manga series or other sources like Sci-Fi and fantasy films, video games, etc. "Cosplay emerged in the late 1980s, and its popularity has been escalating so rapidly that anime conventions cannot be held without it" (Chen, 2007:23). In some conventions, cosplay is restricted to costuming Japanese ACG characters, but mostly they are free to adopt characters from other resources. Many source materials fascinating cosplayers are rich with local culture; for instance, cosplayers in Taiwan are fond of characters from the Pili Budaixi (the hand puppet show) that makes the Taiwan conventions special, as well as characters in ancient Chinese clothing and Sichuan minorities' outfits featured at ComiDay. With its own aesthetic values, cosplay in Taiwan involves ten criteria for evaluating the performance (Chen, 2007).

Dōjin/fan Convention as Collective Fan Art

Animé/manga dōjin/fan conventions as the landmarks of fandom tend "to function as an essential machinery to strengthen the social impulses among animé/manga fans and intensify the distinct features of their sociocultural identities" (Chen, 2007:21). One of the distinct features in conventions is "the circulation of images and signs for its production and expansion" (Chen, 2007:21) that refer not only to the circulation by dōjin/fan artists, but also to that during the conventions. Even though they are temporary 2 or 3 day events, dōjin/fan conventions, however, are the most substantialized sites for accommodating thousands of dōjin/fan artists, general ACG fans, and ACG business sectors together to activate sociocultural activities. Beside fan arts, most organizers of conventions arrange interactive activities such as mangaka (manga artist) or

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voice actor autograph sessions, cosplay or singing competitions, audience voting, etc. The dōjin/fan convention is not only a theme park or a cultural festival for fun, but also an art museum for exhibition, information sharing, and learning. All participants including the organizers, dōjin/fan artists, general ACG fans, and ACG business persons are contributors and learners.

Although most dojin/fan conventions are modeled on the Comiket, they are all shaped by their own styles and features to make the convention more attractive, fun, and sustainable. The effort often works with educational or cultural purposes. For instance, the Macau Comic Festival makes it clear in the pamphlet that they aim to develop a unique, Macau-style dōjin/fan convention. To reach this goal, the MCF tends to encourage original comics or dōjinshi more than parody ones. The CWHK is possibly the only convention to provide an international dōjin art exhibition that contains three sections: (1) World Dōjin Artworks, (2) Award Winning Works of the Dōjin Manga-drawings Contest, (3) Award Winning Works of One-page Manga Contest. These two contests are open to everyone interested in manga drawing no matter where he/she is from. The dōjin art exhibition is good for members to appreciate various artworks from different countries and to learn from each other.

Instead of holding a dōjin art exhibition, the ComiDay (CD) organizers use a CD-Pamphlet as a magazine to present various topics or special themes related to ACG fan culture. The CD17-Pamphlet (2016) is a special issue with two chapters highlighting dōjin circles; one is about the development of dōjin culture in China and the other about Taiwan. Impressively, the ComiDay 17 and the M.Y. Comic14 (in Beijing) arranged a small section of the dōjin/fan arts-and-products area for students' comic clubs from local colleges. Many organizers who grow up participating in dōjin/fan circles and/or student comic clubs, in turn, become the organization staff or committee to serve these communities and know that it is important to collaborate with students' ACG clubs.

Dōjin/fan artists are the major cultural creators, producers, and practitioners. We can easily prove this by counting the number of dōjin/fan artists at conventions; for instance, the dōjin/fan artist groups attending Comiket number about 35,000, having 100,000 young creators at a rough estimate; CWT has about 1,300 groups, having around 4,000 artists, and even a smaller convention like CWHK has about 400 groups and approximately 1,200 artists. We can also observe how and what the dōjin/fan artists display on their tables. Due to the space limitation (most groups rent one table), artists lay out all of their items to attract shoppers. Large posters or banners with pretty characters and millions of visual images are eye-catching, fascinating, and saturating. They help stimulate the convention into a virtual world. These dōjinshi artists learn to be creative in setting up a mini show as well. They also cosplay to attract people's attention. Usually, the cosplay area is separated from the exhibitions, but it is fine for dōjinshi attendants to dress up like cosplayers and for cosplayers to shop around exhibitions areas.

Cosplay is a kind of role playing that is different from manga drawing and has its own skills and aesthetic values, although many dōjin/fan artists do both. Cosplay is perceived as the best way for artists to show their passions for their favorite characters and is "the soul of an animé/manga convention" (Chen, 2007:15). Indeed, cosplay performance is always the spotlight of the convention, as "if these simulated animé/manga characters have actually come to life" (Chen, 2007:15). Cosplay is a strong activity to transform the site/sight into a 'real' virtual world.

In conventions, "there is no clear-cut line between artists and consumers. All fans are potential artists who can make great contributions to the cultural wealth" (Chen, 2007:21). Those general fans who don't have dōjinshi for sale or cosplay performance this time may have some next time. Even general participants have enthusiastic interactions with outstanding cosplayers, who invite them to pose and perform for photos, and this can fuel dramatic moments. The participants' consumption helps circulate the art system and strengthen cultural practices. The growing body of dōjin/fan artists and increase in fans' consumption has attracted more business sectors. In the ComiDay17, I found professional makeup artists who were promoting their business.

Dōjin/Fan Artists' Learning and Hybrid Practices

The numbers of dōjin/fan artists at conventions in different districts together imply their creativity and learning experiences. It is a long passage going from a naïve learner to an experienced dōjin/fan artist. The time, effort, and commitment one devotes, and the strategies one applies to learning affect artistic development. The learner has to manage his/her own mind and will (Chen, 2007; Manifold, 2012), while cultivating the language capacities of manga drawing and storytelling situated in various stages of socio-cultural influences, including within the 'frame of narrative context', the 'fandom community of practice', and the 'fanartist community of practice" (Manifold, 2012:48). Every dōjin/fan artist's development is a unique personal meaning-making process as well as a collective socio-cultural hybrid entity.

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To track how young dōjin/fan artists proceed in their development, this discussion is based on a qualitative study using the interviews and portfolios of four young dōjin/fan artists [3] including their dōjinshi, fan books, sketches, and drafts. These four artists were my former students from two different time-periods: two, SH and Jakusou, were interviewed in 2010 and the other two, Mari and Whisper, in 2019. I tried to acquire the data in a chronological sequence in order to see each artist's learning process and to track the routes each one chose to go.

Individual Path, Aesthetic Preference and Style Formation

From Figures 1 to 4, we can see that each interviewee has her own style of drawing even though the style at early stages isn't easily identified. The style of SH's drawing tends to be feminine, floral, and elegant like those of shōjo manga while Jakusou's drawing is more rational, calm, but gloomy, reminding us of a style that is evolved mainly from shōnen manga but colored with dark shōjo manga style. The style of Mari's drawing is also based on shōjo manga, but it is not as feminine or pretty as SH's. It is, somehow, hard to classify Whisper's style as it seems a mixture of shōjo manga, shōnen manga, and illustration styles. However, the style of manga that first captured each artists' eyes often remains influential throughout their path as it is related to their aesthetic preference.

SH started to read manga when she was in kindergarten. Along with reading, she often doodled mindlessly. When SH was six or seven, the *Sailor Moon* animé/manga series were extremely popular in Taiwan. SH was so attracted to those pretty guardians that she began to copy these characters' images and kept practicing. She said, "Even today, I may draw those pretty characters in free time for fun. These pretty characters are models of bishōjo (pretty girl), the prototype of bishōjo drawing. It is basic for shōjo manga drawing. I have to keep practicing once in a while so that my drawing skills will be still ok" (SH, personal communication, May 28, 2010). Although SH tended to focus on bishōnen characters after junior high school, the influence of *Sailor Moon* is discernable in her drawing. However, with the shift from bishōjo to bishōnen, SH had to learn and practice new schema and integrated elements or styles from other manga or narrative resources.

Figure 1: SH's drawings (1995-2009) were collected in 2010 and tabulated in chronological order to present her progress. ©SH Yang.

Jakusou started to draw manga when she was around grade 3 or 4. She wasn't attracted as much to *Sailor Moon* like SH, but was more into the *Jump* series such as the *Yu Yu Hakusho* series, the *Gintama* series, the *Captain Tsubasa* series, and so on. The reason Jakusou was more interested in shōnen manga was threefold: First, the story or the theme is more brilliant, diversified, and informative; Second, the characters tend to be energetic and dramatic in action poses and movements; Third, the genre emphasizes the kinds of friendship or team relationships that are more lifelike and often encouraging. Jakusou devoted time and effort to study shōnen characters, particularly through action figures and fighting scenes, but she was too critical to be satisfied with the results. About junior high school, Jakusou was attracted to *D. Gray-man*, *Code Geass Lelouch of the Rebellion*, *Fullmetal Alchemist*, and some other dark shōjo manga, and read this gloomy style of manga throughout her adolescence. Maybe that is the reason her art is gloomier. During her senior year in high school, her drawings appeared to have a melancholic aura and a sense of dark aesthetic.

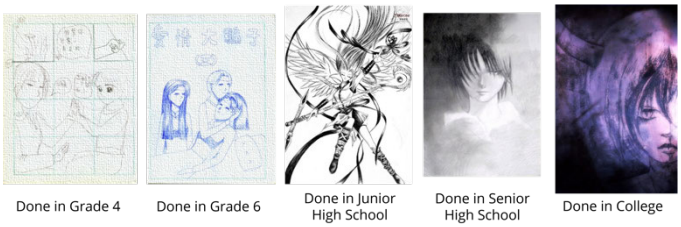

Figure 2: Jakusou's drawings (1999-2009) were collected in 2010 and tabulated in chronological order to present her progress. ©Jakusou Hwang.

Since early childhood, Mari loved reading picture books, storybooks, fairy tales, and then novels. She did read manga and watched cartoons, but not passionately. It wasn't until she saw her older sister's manga drawings that she became highly motivated. However, instead of learning directly from manga books, she copied her older sister's works. She made speedy progress within a year as if she had learned for several years. She was talented, but I think the key factor was that her sister had set the

drawing guides for her. Mari said, "My works done in elementary and junior high school were very similar to my sister's. However, in senior high school, I began to develop original characters and my own style especially after joining Anime/Manga Club" (Mari, personal comm — unication, June 6, 2019). Mari credited the improvement of her drawing to the private art studio she attended for extra training because the drawing lessons were solid, demanding, and beneficial to her skill development. Mari's drawing done after senior high school looked integrative with sketchy lines and postures, forming a style that is freer, more relaxing, and flowing in comparison to that of her sister's.

Figure 3: Mari's drawings (2006-2018) were collected in 2019 and tabulated in chronological order to present her progress. ©Mari Mo.

Whisper grew up with manga because her parents were manga readers and collected a big quantity of manga. Reading manga was a part of her life. Maybe because of her father's preference, Whisper enjoyed reading shōnen manga more than shōjo manga. She couldn't remember when, why, or how she became serious about learning to draw manga, but she said *One Piece* and *Hunter X Hunter* were two of her favorites. "My drawing of faces from the side was based basically on *Hunter X Hunter*. As for figure drawing, I possibly imitated Naruto because the author, Kishimoto Masashi, had a strong fine art background" (Whisper, personal communication, June 3, 2019). Whisper explained she had a broad interest in manga, illustrations, and visual arts. It is hard to classify her drawing within a particular style or genre. However, she liked images with delicate fine lines and this artistic preference influenced her after junior high school. Whisper wasn't very engaged by shōjo manga, but she did like some authors of BL (boys' love) manga such as Nakamura Asumiko, and two newly promoted internet celebrities in China, Oldxian and Tanjiu. Other than these, Whisper found *Adventure Time* and *JoJo's Bizarre Adventure* fascinating as well. Although Whisper didn't get much into BL manga, she was influenced by its colors and lines. After college, her works became softer and more elegant.

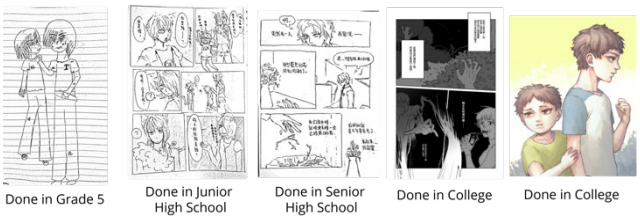

Figure 4: Whisper's drawings (2007-2019) were collected in 2019 and tabulated in chronological order to present her progress. ©Whisper Zheng.

Copying as an Important Method Only When It Is Accompanied with Creative Approaches

Although these four interviewees had different reasons and experiences leading to interests in anime/manga, they were all strongly self-motivated while learning to draw manga. Since schools didn't often provide lessons about anime/manga drawing, these interviewees had to learn to draw by themselves. As was mentioned by all four interviewees, learning by copying manga was an efficient way for them to start their journey. They also stated that practice through repetitively copying their favorite manga enabled them to gain the basic skills of figure drawing, composition, and narrative structure as well as to understand conventions of different genres, styles, and art forms. However, how much or how creatively they applied these methods to their learning is a key to their results. SH explained she used copying as a major method to exercise her drawing skills; for instance, she would copy the same character in different views or angles, still or in motion, and with facial highlights or with an exaggerative emotion. SH said:

> I might draw the eyes, the faces, hands or the gestures for different emotions, thousands of times. This reminded me of homework—daily writing exercises of Chinese characters in grades 1, 2 and 3. The difference is that I was self-motivated to copy and learn manga drawing. I copied and drew from one manga to another and again to another for many years, and even today I still do that to refresh my own drawing skills and creative energy. (SH, personal communication, May 28, 2010)

Methods of copying can be approached differently. Mari was a good, prolific drawer, but she sounded like a follower of her older sister who was very passionate about manga. It is her sister's manga drawings that evoked Mari's desire to be a manga drawer. Mari said her sister was a self-demanding, hard worker. She still remembered watching her sister copying almost an entire manga book

with tracing paper and repeating some parts if necessary to get the drawing right. Mari said her sister, thus, could make precise reproductions of those favored characters. To Mari, a 12-year-old girl, her sister was a mangaka and a role model to look up to. Mari started to draw manga by copying her sister's work. It was about her senior year in high school that she began to develop her own style.

Copying is also good for learning storylining and storyboarding.

Because of personal interest, Jakusou was fond of storytelling. When she was in grade 6, she had tried to make a manga book about a love story, even though there were only eight pages. Jakusou believed that storylining was an important factor to the success of a manga so she paid attention to the style or the layout features of the storylining and storyboarding when she was reading a manga. Jakusou stated:

> I didn't know that I had acquired many skills of storyboarding until I got a lot of compliments for my first manga doujinshi. Some friends said that my work looked like it was influenced a little by Hoshino Katsura, not only the tones of imagery and colors, but also the storyboard layouts. I then noticed that while copying to draw and learn the characters, I was unconsciously imitating the way the author laid out the storylines, the images, and the frames. (Jakusou, personal communication, June 11, 2010)

Like Jakusou, Whisper was complimented by the instructor of the class, "Introduction to Animation Storyboarding", that her work was the most logical and smoothest among the class. She said that the principles or techniques introduced in the class were too confusing and difficult to manage so she tried to work out the assignment in the same way she created her manga books. Whisper came to realize that she had learned many techniques for storyboarding from reading and making manga without knowing the terms. From both Jakusou and Whisper's sharing, I found that the artists were less aware of the imitative or copying behaviors taking place in learning storylining, storyboarding, and creative strategies. To put it another way, when they copied characters from certain manga, they were also analyzing how the images fit into the visual narrative and semantic contexts.

Explorative Learning and Other Reference Materials

As illustrated above, each subject's manga-art developmental progression was unique, significant, and fascinating. It was apparent that learning on an individualized path was directed greatly by the learner's interest or preferences and choices of source materials for copying. The subjects were not confined to anime/ manga, or ACG; on the contrary, the more progress they made, the more reference materials they tended to have. Again, every subject had her own dimensions for searching and choosing certain materials, and they knew what they were short of and what they should look for. Following are some findings about the subjects' management of reference materials.

1. In addition to repetitively copying adored manga or images, they would learn, more or less, from how-to-draw-manga books that teach the mechanics and techniques of drawing characters, scenes, and storylining. They also mentioned that what they learned from drawing and painting classes in college was useful.
2. To get new artistic skills or personal styles for imagery representations, they searched art materials for inspiration. SH mentioned that she studied Mucha's Zodiac quite a bit and tried to integrate the decorative flowery images in the background, the hair and dress styles, the graceful poses, etc. Other than western arts, SH also explored some Chinese traditional figure paintings for reference, experimenting with styles of anime/ manga characters in ancient Chinese costumes, popular in East Asian dōjin/fan circles.
3. As Aoki (2018) recommended for manga learners, "be a sponge and take in all kinds of narrative content, not just manga". These four subjects were active in reaching out to other kinds of narrative contents. SH liked online games, illustrations, and fiction movies. Jakusou and Mari both were fond of reading novels, but in different genres. Whisper tended to favor illustrations, animations, and poetry in which she could follow the narratives freely to the virtual worlds.
4. While developing a manga book, they usually needed some informative materials in support of the stories. For instance, when SH tried to create a manga book with a Sci-

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Fi story, or a Uchronia[4] type, she had to acquire some knowledge in meteorology and environmental ecology to make the fictional stories believable for the readers.

5. They were accustomed to collecting pictures and visual images. Mari had collected thousands of pictures that were sorted out in a well-organized system and saved in her laptop for her convenience.

Socially Activated Learning and Creativity

Scholars have pointed out that the likelihood of a person becoming a fan artist is strongly tied to the fan culture to which that artist belongs (Chen, 2007; Manifold, 2012). Or, more precisely speaking, a fan artist grows from communities of practice (Manifold, 2016). Dōjin/fan artists learn alone and with others at animé/manga conventions or from the larger animé/manga fandom, "a nurturing place for one to seek technical help or social needs" (Chen, 2007: 21) and to achieve his/her "sense of self-efficacy as art-maker" (Manifold, 2012:45). This tendency of learning as a sociocultural phenomenon that echoes Wenger's idea of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1999) is evidenced in this study in that the interviewees are found constantly engaged in shared practices and updating themselves along with the internet-network progress. Dōjinshi making is often carried out within a group of friends who share similar interests.

Learning to draw manga involves dialogue, sharing, and exchanging or playing with friends of the same interest. SH mentioned that she was lucky to have classmates interested in manga so that they could share works and experiences with each other. Sometimes they would draw on a certain topic to share together for fun. Mari remembered her first experience moderating a topic, Summertime, in junior high school was successful because she had 13 classmates who contributed their drawings. Coordinating the drawing project was delightful, like a game, and she learned a lot from being the moderator, exchanging ideas and opinions and appreciating other people's works.

Young fan artists nowadays develop an intimate connection with internet communities. Whisper mention—ed that she constantly got on the social network Plurk to join some activities in Plurk-Project, a kind of creative-and-interactive forum for users to join, play, and share with each other. Usually, it is the Plurk office that takes the initiative to post an idea, topic, or story synopsis for users to pitch in creative responses through expressive styles or forms. As an animé/manga fan artist, Whisper was used to responding to the assignments of Plurk-Project with manga styles of drawing. Usually she would do the assignment alone, but sometimes she would team up with others to accomplish more challenging tasks. Whisper said she would never have created a work in a topic/theme such as 'Throw a pack of garbage onto a garbage truck drving at 250 km/hr', if she didn't participate in the community of creative practice. Mari's two main characters that appeared repetitively in her manga books originated from her involvement in the Plurk-Project. These two characters inspired her to create more stories and manga works.

DISCUSSION

The above analysis has described the hybrid networks of animé/manga dōjin/fan art even though they are "virtually impossible to diagram" (Wilson & Toku, 2004: 99). After combing through some threads, I perceived some fascinating images of the individual meaning-making journey from the four interviewees and the collective/cultural meaning-making flow from dōjin/fan conventions. These young artists forged their own paths forward to see beautiful scenery and the world, and discovered more about themselves. Even though the path was person—alized and, often, self-directed, it was embedded in collective/cultural practices and also enriched from various narrative and semantic resources. What we can learn from these two aspects is discussed as follows.

Making Meaningful Textual-Relational Linkages

Animé/manga dōjin/fan artists apply methods of copying, imitation, adoption, adaption and translation to both individual and collective art practice. They are good at mixing texts or styles to form new types and possibilities. People may see them as copycats or appropriators, yet the above analysis has shown that these dōjin/fan artists are mindful and skillful in making meaningful linkages between different texts or source materials whenever they read, draw, or appropriate to create. Like the artists of this study, they are knowledgeable about the stylistic features of their favorite genres, mangaka or manga series. For instance, when SH tried to create a manga of Sci-Fi type, she knew it was important to base the fiction on the earth, on the environments we are familiar with, to make the story rational and approachable. The practice of making relational linkages takes place at conventions as well. Dōjinshi artists try their best to make their mini-exhibits stand out among their many competitors, while cosplayers know how to attract the spotlight in the crowd. Even the convention organizers pay attention to the meaningful relations within the convention.

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Making Meaningful Personal-(Preferences and Experiences)-Relational Linkages

The path to become a dōjin/fan artist is long, usually taking ten to fifteen years, but even an experienced one will not stop learning because there is always a need to get better. From the descriptions of the studied artists' developments, I see that these artists not only learn the skills, techniques, or knowledge of manga drawing, but also learn critical thinking and reasoning, constructive inquiry, and self-reflection skills that are beneficial to their personal development. They have clear perceptions from an early age of why they like certain styles of manga series or characters.. These aesthetic preferences remain influential in their later art making and artworks. Based on their personal preferences and experiences, they make relational linkages to the worlds they are engaged in.

Making Meaningful Social-Relational Linkages

It is possible that because art classes in school don't provide manga drawing lessons, the young fan-learners have to learn by copying manga series or seek technical help from more experienced siblings or schoolmates. When these learners are older, they join comic clubs in schools or dōjin groups on websites, and attend conventions for social needs. Along the way to becoming experienced dōjin/fan artists, they know how to make connections to those they can learn from. They can also become the moderator to organize activities for interested and capable friends to play together and share experiences with each other. Nowadays, because of the internet, dōjin/fan artists are reaching out more easily to a world that provides more choices and opportunities for social networking and practice. With the support of the network, creative practice can be accelerated through various teamwork or brainstorm activities that are playful like games. It's clear that before reaching maturity, the dōjin/fan learner needs good social networks for multiple functions and all kinds of support. How to make meaningful linkages and retain good relationships within social groups is also important for personal development.

Creativity Catalyzing and Accelerating Meaningful-Relational Linkages

It may seem natural that people will make relations or linkages between things, but how to manipulate them meaningfully, artfully and aesthetically requires creative minds and deeds. Fortunately, this creative capability can be trained and enforced through repeated practice along with the process of learning and drawing manga. However, as is shown in this study, creative approaches applied to making textual, personal, and social linkages differ, as the results depend on personal tendency or effort. For instance, Jakusou didn't share much about her experiences participating in dōjin/fan circles or conventions. Her creative capability related to social-linkage was not activated and this seemed to influence her motivation to produce artworks. Besides, creativity may appear in minor aspects or in very delicate ways of adjusting figure images or narratives adopted from source manga, and that is why it is often neglected by mainstream art education. Creativity happens when the image is decontextualized from the source materials and re-contextualized in a new plot, but such creative effort is often overlooked. We, as art educators, have to pay attention to these minute but precious components.

Implications for Art Education

How beautiful and true is the quote, "To see a world in a grain of sand, and a heaven in a wild flower" by William Blake. It is just as fascinating to see a life journey in a piece of dōjin/fan art, and a culture in a convention. There are so many stories, individual and collective, about art learning, creative moments, aesthetic values, life experiences and world visions in animé/manga fandom, but, unfortunately, art education hasn't paid enough attention and has learned little from them.

Although this study explored only a few aspects of the dōjin/fan conventions and chose four young artists from Taiwan as the focus group, the findings about the path to becoming a mature dōjin/fan artist and how each finds meaningful-relational linkages to accelerate their learning are insightful to art education and teaching practice. This doesn't mean that our art curriculum should provide animé/manga lessons for students to learn how to draw manga, but that it should instead recognize that students should be trusted as capable learners. As long as they are in their zone of interest, they will know where to go and what to do because we are born learners. Instead of giving them what we think they should learn, we may just let them go and find what they want to learn.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her gratitude toward Dr. Marjorie Cohee Manifold for her insightful suggestions. The author is also grateful to the Ministry of Science and Technology, Taiwan, for the grant support for this research study.

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[1] The compound of animé and manga is used to highlight the close relationship between animation and manga and meanwhile to represent the entire body of ACG.

[2] Dōjin (Kanji 同人) literally means the same person, being used to refer to a group of people or friends who share an interest, hobbies or achievement such as manga dōjin circles. The compound of dōjin and fan in this article refers to those anime/manga fans who are able to create fan art.

[3] The four interviewees' names are their pen names for manga works, but they have many for use in different situations. To make it more formal, I include their family names at the copyright indication. Their interview responses quoted in this article are translated into English by the author.

[4] Uchronia is a new fictional genre of alternative history, popular among dōjin/fan artists who merge fictional stories into a historical context to create a fantasy world that is rational and real.

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Imaginary Depictions of Sexuality and Gender Construction in Manga - A Case Study of Three *Manga* Fans

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Lacan's Three Registers and *objet a*

Lacan's three registers—the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real—can be understood as the principal dimensions of identification linked to identity processes. For Lacan (1977b, 1978), the Imaginary (narcissistic ideal-ego) constitutes the subject as lack, or incompleteness, a Lacanian méconnaissance (misrecognition via fantasy, the subject taking the other as the object for self-love as an illusion of seeing oneself seeing oneself in mirror stage) (Fink, 2003 ; Lacan, 1977c). The Symbolic, or the lack as governed by the big Other or ego-ideals limits whom one can be, determining which identity is desirable or positive within the confines of language and social norms (Fink, 1995, 2003).

The Real, or the lost objet a refers to Lacan's term *objet petit a,* meaning *the object causing our desire* (Lacan, 1978). The *objet a* is not about what is desired (i.e., the object), but represents a desire based on a lack that causes a desire for unity that can never be achieved or satisfied (of the wholeness we once experienced in the Real before we entered the Symbolic realm) (Evans, 1996), driven by unconscious desire for wholeness, marks the identity that resists symbolization (Homer, 2005) (i.e., symptoms of anxiety, contradiction, self-denial, jokes).

The following case analysis of 3 American manga fans (including excerpts, drawings, and interviews from a research conducted in 2006) focuses on interpretations of gendered/sexual identity within the Imaginary-Symbolic-Real, demonstrating how participants see themselves passing through a mirror reflection (i.e., self-recognition caught up in the lure of Imaginary identification), and how they fantasize the way the Other (via *manga*) sees them as a fantasy Real through the images they attempt to project. In submission to Symbolic law, their gender/sexual identity is contested via their resistance to social norms (particularly traditional American values). The Imaginary fantasy is a precarious balance of the pleasure participants deploy against their traumatic encounters with the Real, as well as a way to elevate the prohibition of the Symbolic to reach the full satisfaction of desire, by which participants learn to cope with the loss, defeat, and failure that are a part of being and living between pain and pleasure at the same time (Zîzêk, 1992, 1997, 2006).

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Exploration of Alternative Identities (Identification of Others Based on an Ideal Image of Self)

Participants' involvement with specific *manga* characters is an area that is especially susceptible to Lacanian Imaginary identification and mirror dynamics. They identify with certain *manga* characters of the like-others sort, the ones whom they like. They recognize themselves as in a mirror image (i.e., "s/he is like me"):

> ...it's like being Sailor Moon. You feel like I am gonna take out another world. I can fight monsters. I am Sailor Moon. (Amy)

> He [Son Goku] is a very good fighter, and I really like him...He is so positive, and nothing is bad about him. He is just one of the characters who doesn't have many flaws. He is just so good, and such a pure character, that you want to like him a lot because there are so many good things about him. You just want to identify with him and like him. (Jess)

> Yuki has a dominant personality. He's the tall, beautiful, mysterious and romantic novelist in the story ... In a way, I am very much like Shuichi (very much a cry baby), but I want to be like Yuki (he acts more grown up). Yuki is always kind of like this ideal guy—the guy I actually prefer (Clark)

The images participants see in the *manga* world initially appear to be their projection of a unified sense of self. This fully constitutive sense of other as self is derived from the Imaginary fullness of the mirror (based on narcissism, wherein the narcissist falls in love with his own image through the mirror) in which they are made more likeable or at least more identifiable, having a coherent, integrated identity through identification with their own image (Lacan, 1978). On the other hand, participants also identify with *manga* characters in light of the surplus value of seeing themselves in images as they want to be seen (e.g., females often want to be seen as male personas, fighting, killing, having magical powers, while male participants tend to identify with a dominant personality).

Lacan articulates how the subject "perceives the unity of this specific image from the outside, and in an anticipated manner" (Lacan & Miller, 1988, p. 166), as distorted through a mirror: "I, in my activity depicted in the fantasmatic narrative, appear in a likable way" (Zîzêk, Wright, & Wright, 1999, p. 92) and how the subject identifies with his own illusion in the reflected gaze, fulfilling "fantasies of imaginary fullness, promising the subject that he doesn't lack, and being fully in control of his ego" (jagodzinski, 2002, p. 46). What is actually identified in the mirror is the subject's own image in his illusion of self as integrated self in (fantasy), which is actually a misrecognition, being seen from a distance, always from the place of the (m)other. In her reading of Lacan, Grosz (1990) explains, "Relations between self and other thus govern the imaginary order. This is the domain in which the self is dominated by images of the other and seeks its identity in a reflected relation with alterity. Imaginary relations are thus two-person relations, where the self sees itself reflected in the other" (Grosz, 1990, p. 46). But the question is, for whom are these images depicted? Where is the self, and who is the other?

What is known as the self is the subject assuming its own reflection of body image as a unified image (mirrored from an other), fantasized as real (without a fractured self), a vision which implies a lack (Lacan, 1977b). The mirrored other reminds the subject of what s/he doesn't have. "The mirror stage is a drama whose internal thrust is precipitated from insufficiency to anticipation-and which manufactures for the subject, caught up in the lure of spatial identification, the succession of phantasies that extends from a fragmented body-image to a form of its totality" (Lacan, 1977b, p. 4).

Figure 1. Photo of Amy's cosplaying of samurai, demonstrates the moment of illusionary self as controlling and autonomous, and the self and other merging into one. In Amy's fantasy, she is unified with the other (*manga* characters), as if without lack.

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The Imaginary identification (via objet a) becomes prominent in the development of the unified selfhood since the image (e.g., from the *manga* symbolic structure) provides for the subject's greater sense of unity and security. For example, Par-ticipant's cosplaying enacts both a Lacanian notion of misrecognition, and an illusion of self based on an image of the other. In the fantasy, the self is unified with the other (*manga* characters), as if without lack. In other words, the image (other) reassures the subject through the perception of the specular image (also recognized as himself) as his own, having a completed and unified image of the self (thus without lack). The projection of the ideal self onto the (likeable) other fulfills the self-love for the (m)other that one unconsciously seeks (based on narcissism), participating in fantasy as real (i.e., "I am Sailormoon, I can fight monsters"). This dynamic is evident in Amy and Jess's cosplaying their favorite *manga* characters, which are characterized by a masculine structure (see Figure 1). The mirror (a distorted reflection) assures the subject as to how s/he looks at her/himself, and the outside image (other) confirms how s/he will be looked at, focusing on "what I want" or "how I see myself in images" less than on what the Other wants of me. .

A Questioning of Gender Roles and Sexuality

One's identity, in particular as regards gender roles and sexual differences, arises out of the Symbolic as defined by language (upon the acceptance of the Symbolic, one has to become something other than self—castration). The Symbolic is always the source of oppression of one's identity regardless of whether one acknowledges this is so. One learns to become a man/woman (girl/boy) by forcefully playing out the differences (through language). Language defines the subject, and thus continues to further the desire of the subject (lack). When asked about the differences between gender and sex roles, Jess and Amy responded,

> There are a lot of gender roles in society that are defined by society's idea of, "This is female, and this is male." [...] This is how I grew up. I don't think this is that bad, but there are still things that make this idea so limiting. Like, "You are a girl. Why do you do that?" Like, I am also into computer science. I notice that not many girls are in computer science. I just don't understand. Why aren't there more girls here? Are they not interested? Which doesn't make any sense, since it's...a good career.

> My mom hates me building my Gundom model because "you are too much of girl to be doing that." I am like, "if I am too much of girl doing that why do I like doing that?" I like building things because it's part of my masculine side to be. At the same time, I want to be very masculine and very strong too, I mean physically. Girls can be like that too.

The Symbolic remains a source of oppression, in particular regarding how one's gender identity should be viewed in Symbolic terms (i.e., girlie, masculine, feminine, male, female). The Symbolic regulates who we are and how we should behave (what it means to be a girl/boy).

While the Symbolic remains a source of repression, the Imaginary remains the locus of the imagination and the freedom to avoid the prohibition of the Other. As Amy explores gender roles in her *manga* drawing, she acknowledges that men don't have to be macho; they can be "nice and kind" to each other. She creates male aesthetics wherein the structure of the genders is eminently ambiguous. She intentionally feminizes masculinity, against the traditional image of men (heterosexual norm) in American stereotypical image of men as masculine bodies:

> Two guys who are normally like "football and beers," and instead they are being all nice and kind and they touch chins and kiss and all, being nice to each other...It's like, that's so sweet. I don't know, it's kind of nice to watch the changes. I don't know how to describe it.

When asked about why drawing guys that can be taken both ways, Jess stated,

> I like to draw the character that can be both ways. [Both ways?] I mean androgynous – no gender. A lot of times, it happens in anime. I prefer to draw males. They tend to work either way. For example, Louis is a guy, but he can be mistaken for a girl. The gender doesn't matter in my drawing. You can't really tell.

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Figure 2. Amy's own manga drawings.

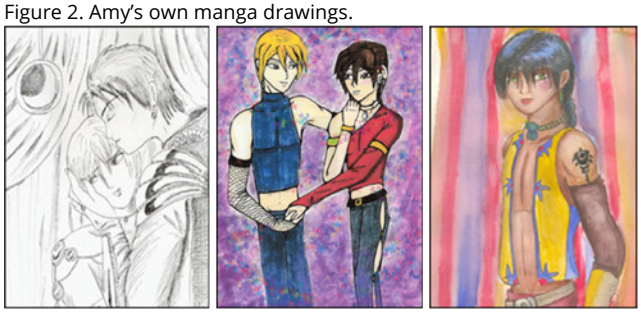

Figure 2. Amy's androgynous creation of *manga* characters, shown drawings of pretty guys inspired by manga drawings appear to androgyny, guys mistaken as girls, commonly decorated with such characteristics as a magical, florid background, wearing accessories and jewelry, feathers, and hats, having small chins, elegant long hair, defined muscles, and a well-built chest.

The term *androgyny* implies a gender without sexual differences (in relation to castration). Amy and Jess feel oppressed (castrated by laws, and language), and thus seek other means of acceptance by participating in *manga's* fantasy. Their desire furthers their Symbolic reality, and they desire to see themselves as defined by an imaginary other (a new gendered identity embodying both male and female qualities). They seek to reject the differences of the Symbolic dichotomy (between man and woman, masculinity and femininity); thus, they reject being defined through the traditional notions of either-or themes as drawn between man and woman (femininity or masculinity) via the landscape of the Imaginary as defensive mechanism to cope with the Symbolic castration (via the acceptance of the Law either man or woman). Thus, via *manga's* Imaginary world (they no longer need to follow the law), an alternative construction (imaginary) of gender relation is attempted without sexual difference, in which one's gender identity can no longer be defined as male and female. Such fantasy construction is a kind of empowerment for motivation changes, and even represents a liberating desire to resolve the question of sexual difference. An androgynous other which looks like a woman is also a form of the Imaginary intersubjective relation, in an attempt to avoid Symbolic castration (as woman), as Jess expressed:

> Actually, *yaoi* is not made for homosexual men. It's for women, actually [...]. Japanese women feel trapped in this gender role of being [the devoted] wife...She has no sexual freedom, and [when] she reads *yaoi manga*, she can project herself with this relationship that is totally different from what she has in her real life...It gives a kind of empowerment by reading it.

While this view of the gendered swapping of the empowerment, Amy expressed a sense of agency in the young female's imagination of exploring and expressing new feminization of masculine ideals as a state of being free of difference, separation, or sex identification. Afterward, in a Lacanian sense, *manga* (*yaoi*—boy-boy love) remains in the realm of the Imaginary, embodying a primary bonding relationship with the (m)other as a sign for safety:

> A lot of boys in *manga* have long hair. Because they are pretty boys ....girls are attracted to guys who are more feminine because they can relate to them. That way they feel safe. It has to do with the way people see gender. Because girls are usually raised around girls, they can relate to girls better than guys. If they see a feminine guy, they can relate to him better than a really bulky, manly man. A delicate jaw, small eyebrow area, maybe the small lips. Girls find that kind of thing attractive, even though [the males] are mistaken as girls a lot.

> ...not many kinds of people are like that, except maybe for the gay guys. That's why there's a ton of females after them, even though they don't want to have sex with him. It's the idea of psychological thinking that gay guys or girlie guys seem to be safer.

The Imaginary *(manga)* construct (via creation of self image and narcissistic love) allows for compensation for this condition of dissatisfaction (being trapped in the socially designated sexual position - man/woman). The participants create "pretty boys" to fulfill this lack by constructing an image of the other (boys with feminine qualities) based on their own self-image. This imaginary return, in Lacanian terms, constitutes an act of self-defense in seeking wholeness without lack, in returning to the (m)other, in which one makes a momentary complete return in the search for a secure identity.

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Desire for a Secure Identity

In a Lacanian sense, female participants (Amy and Jess) relate their desire to an attempt to resist or change traditional images of gender relations, and in a way they create a fantasy character as a means of coping with the Symbolic threat (e.g., bulky men), and this fantasy can be used to embody gender and sexuality without conforming to what the society might want them to be (e.g., weak, feminine, sexual). The Imaginary identification is dominant in their forms of *ego* and the forms of objects they embrace. Their (gender) identity tends to be made up of others like them or qualities they desire. Ultimately, their identity, in particular their gender, is composed of bits of images assembled by them so as to inscribe themselves into an image that is pleasing (in fantasy), and these constitute meaning in the return to the satisfying image of a complete and whole being (to liberate them from Symbolic constraints).

Lacan (1977a) sees such Imaginary particular gender identification as an effect of the Symbolic—a defense system for dealing with the Symbolic threat the Other (men) represent, as female participants see them (bulky men)—relatively unsafe, or at least inconsiderate on the unconscious level. The feminine guys (also see *Figures1-2*) are caring and safe. Ultimately, what the participants seek is a secure (integrated) identity, derived from a temporary fantasy in which they are free, without being castrated by the Symbolic father (man). They resist seeing themselves as being defined through a man, even though a man can't see himself being defined by the masculine structure as Clark argued:

> Superman is the big, muscular guy who defends the weak and is in love with the woman. That's very stereotypical. You know, the man is supposed to be brave and a winner, and be this kind of super-awesome, powerful guy. I am not powerful at all, in my opinion.

Superman embodies the qualities (macho, heterosexual) men are *supposed* to have. He represents the masculine structure of what a man should be according to traditional American mainstream norms: men are *sup-posed* to be brave, powerful winners, and tough – not just in fantasy (Imaginary), but in reality (Symbolic), as well. Being gay, however, Clark doesn't see himself this way. Clark has almost nothing in common with the macho, heterosexual Superman character, which is another reason he finds the character lacking. He distances himself from conventional masculinity by creating an alternative gender identity of who he wants to be--in an Imaginary sense as a mirrored ideal self-image (both feminine and masculine qualities, carrying a sword, with blue hair and skirt-like pants), and a gaze that turns away from the viewer.

Figure 3. Clark's self-portrait, shown the combination of masculine (sexy ripped six pack abs and muscles) and feminine (exquisitely beautiful blue long hair) characteristics into an androgynous creation of self.

Clark's self-portrait function as a visual signifier representing the presence in the Imaginary sense (of a mirrored ideal fantasy image). In a Symbolic sense, the signifiers - young/tough, boy/man, innocent/experienced, independent/dominant, feminine/masculine - dominate his identification of who he wants to be.

The Imaginary is always structured within the Symbolic (Lacan & Miller, 1988). The look (image) is not only derived from the gaze of the (m)other (implying unification between self and (m)other), but is also framed by the Symbolic Father (the big Other governed by language and laws), who determines which identity (s/he looks at) is desirable and positive (the image confirms s/he will be looked at). This interplay is evident in Clark's struggle to bridge the gap between ideal self and ego ideal (i.e., boy/man, girl/woman, femininity/masculinity).

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Imaginary Real - Metaphor (Parody) as a Visual Signifier to Avoid the Emotional Trauma Caused by the Real

On the other hand, the *manga* Clark develops also functions as an alternative world in which he can experiment with various roles, act out personal fantasies, or relive stressful events. As it turns out, Clark's *manga* seems to serve the primary purpose of allowing him to re-experience (rehearse in the Imaginary sense) the conflict in his life. As he put it, he "likes power struggles" as a theme. An example of Clark's *manga* is described below (see Figure 4).

> This story [Clark refers to a particular story] is kind of an Apocalypse kind of story. While I was reading *X/1999*, I was inspired by it because I like the idea of having a kind of story about the Apocalypse. It's a biblical term...My favorite book of the Bible is Revelation. It's telling the end of the world. It's telling a series of the events taking place at the end of the world.

Clark continued, explaining:

> The original plan I was going to do is that this guy is supposed to be the king of his group of people. But what happens is that...he is the one who decides when to end the world. He needs to decide in his head, and everything is going to end the world. He has the ability. A bunch of people are trying to influence him, telling him he should end the world now, or he should save the world and the people in it. Everyone tries to get this guy to decide what's gonna happen, and this is the last scene. He is standing there on the cliff, and there's a person standing behind him, asking him, "Are you sure you want to do this? You understand, if you're doing this, you're ending the entire world?" He is trying to think about it, being alone by himself. ...He is...the one person who is [not] trying to influence everyone. It's everyone else trying to influence one person—kind of feeling the pressure from society to bend to other people's will...I really like the power struggles in the story.

Figure 4. Clark's creation of *manga* drawing from his manga story, The King on Ocean Cliff.

Clark portrays the king in his fantasy, standing on the cliff while looking down at the ocean, contemplating whether to save the world or end it. The black dots emerging from the dark green wings symbolize the presence of doubts and problems, and the wings represent freedom.

The unconscious (Real) is never literally revealed but appears in the contingency of the Symbolic, and makes itself known through relation to the Imaginary, including all forms of signifier (images, desire, etc.) (Lacan, 1960; Lacan, Ragland-Sullivan, & Bracher, 1990). One way the Real makes contact with us is not only through the Imaginary embodiment—seeking a sense of wholeness that tells us we are whole without lack, but also through the Symbolic paradox, often found in the misuse of language (i.e., contradiction, paradox, strong denials, nonsense, parody, or humor) to fill the gap left by the Real. Since the Real is forever a lost object (objet a), when we meet it again it is always as a void (lack) felt through a traumatic version of the self (Foster, 1996; Walker, 2009). One of the reactions to the Real is represented by the strong emotional reactions associated with traumatic events. Clark expresses the desire to be accepted by others. Being gay was not an acceptable alternative to the heterosexual norm, but rather something to hide. In a related statement, CLark commented:

> When I was younger, my entire life, growing up, I wanted to say something, but you just can't say anything because if you say that, people would look at you weird. I was what is thought of as being outside the norm.... I am not part of the normal defining way of life...I am gay, and I like guys—not girls—and people don't really understand that a lot.

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Clark's story (of the King on the Ocean Cliff) can be interpreted as a constitutive example of Lacan's Imaginary Real, wherein the Real is incarnated in visual form as a Symbolic escape, arising from the Symbolic prohibition, particularly with regard to Clark's Symbolic castration (gay identity) and his shocking story of gay violence and oppressive religious values. This internal conflict arising from being a gay man is revealed in Clark's self-portrait being clouded by visual metaphors (object of anxiety embodied in the meaningless black and white dots).

Since Clark has experienced, and still experiences, "power struggles" related to his sexual orientation, his articulation (King on the cliff as a metaphor for conflict) appears to embody multiple meanings that are condensed within a metaphor of struggle, which draws on his past. While it is not his intention to change the church or others around him, neither the church nor those around him accept him the way he is. He remains in the Imaginary. To avoid the impact of the trauma of the Real, Clark slips into an Imaginary landscape in which he conceals his fear with that of the oppressor (the Other), the intruder who works against him, the Real, working at the unconscious level.

The Real, alluded to in the mysterious airbrushed white dots scattered in the air and the black dots which undercut the meaning structure of Symbolic reality, is frozen in the Imaginary without necessitating speaking the horror caused by the Symbolic rejection (In the imaginary he is King after all - he has ultimate power and has no need to face the threat of reality). In fact, Clark's identity is clouded by his own visual metaphor of participating in the fantasy; he is the King captivated by nothing but power. Certain visual forms of the self portrait are potentially emancipating—wings, being King (power), black dots (fears) and white dots (uncertainty)—and the King comes to resist symbolizing his central lack, marking his fear for the first time in visual form as a social symbolic traumatic lack, continuing to shape his subjectivity with the web of desire, resisting being put into words (e.g., to be accepted as a gay? Is this right, or what are other options?). In addition, the wings are meant to signify the freedom of desire (wings are interpreted as being a symbol of mobility or freedom), reflecting both Clark's Imaginary and Symbolic self-identity, representing his wish to be freed, his quest to be recognized in his gay identity, and his desire to be accepted into the Symbolic Law. All these wishes are safe to discuss in the Imaginary via fantasy. His secret will be preserved without his having to make a decision in reality (the failure to be accepted as a gay man becomes a central repression of his identity).

The Trauma of the Real Real, Its Unspeakable Horror, and the Fear of Death.

Clark's traumatic experiences (of gay-bashing) and his sexual identity are accompanied by the fear and rejection caused by the Other's recognition of what it means to be gay (via Church and society), and his desire to fit in as a gay man can thus be interpreted as a constitutive example of Lacan's real Real (trauma relation). While Clark doesn't explicitly discuss his story of the King on the Ocean Cliff in the context of his fears associated with being gay, or connect those fears with that story, the fact that this connection remains unarticulated may represent an instance of the unconscious emerging through conscious speech. That is, Clark uses the King as a signifier and referent in an attempt to refute the real conflict, imagining that he is a King, plunging his power into a conflict situation (concerning whether to end the world) that represents his secret fears (the anxiety of not being accepted) while working against the impending impact of the Real. The Real trauma (gay-bashing and the rejection of the Church) is momentarily set aside while being symbolically seized upon in the dream landscape. This fear (of being killed) continues to emerge; even before he is born, the primal traumatic reemergence of a central event against homosexuality repeats itself in history.

> You know, I am gay, and the church does not accept it. The basic tenet of the Catholic religion is that homosexuality is wrong and gay people are going to hell. It's very cut and dry… In your mind, you can think whatever you want, but if you ever act on the impulse and do anything with another man, you are going to hell, right there…There is a part in the Bible – Leviticus – it specifically says that if a man lies with a man, as a man would lie with a woman, then he shall be stoned – killed. It's the same with the woman…[So] the problem is that, if you are gay, I am sorry, you have to be killed…

For Clark, his gay identity is contested (being gay is not an acceptable alternative to the heterosexual norm), violates the Law (of religion and cultural norms) and is not accepted (he must be killed), a situation which creates traumatic fears (even a death threat), all of which characterizes a Lacanian real Real, a horror of the oppressor that haunts his being as Clark recalled his experience of being a gay man in 2006:

> Actually, last night, one of my friends got gay-

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> bashed…They [the perpetrators] came in the car, and they just beat them [Clark's friend and his date] up. They jumped in their car, and they [Clark's friend and his date] ran through a red light because they were trying to get rid of these guys. And policemen gave them a ticket. They wouldn't hear the story they were trying to tell them. It's just the fact that society works very devoutly against those who are outside the norm, and they…don't have the ability to reach those…in power. They can't. There's no way around it.

As is shown above, Clark's account of his sexuality is replete with themes of fears and rejection, including the horror of violence. One's atypical sexual orientation (Clark's psychic trauma associated with being gay) not only occasions rejection and condemnation throughout one's life but also functions for many (gay) people as a Lacanian Real (traumatic lack) that shapes the identity of the social symbolic relation (Chiesa, 2007). Further, sexual orientation serves as the Lacanian *objet a*, or fantasy object, that continually circles and simultaneously masks the real trauma of gay identity. In a Lacanian sense, Clark's gay-bashing experience is a Lacanian real Real, dragging his being into a traumatic path that he cannot escape. It repeatedly emerges through history against the attempt to construct his (gay) identity. It is this sense of horror associated with the Real (the memory of the traumatic event of being gay-bashed), and the anxiety of not being accepted by the Law, that make the Real an irreducible hole and unnamable in the Symbolic form, a situation derived from an excess of trauma, loss, and fear (Zîzêk et al., 1999).

Since there's no way of escaping the trauma of the Real, one way we ward off the Real is through the use of visual forms (Foster, 1996). Clark's use of metaphor (his self portrait of the King on the Ocean Cliff) can be thought of as a strategy for avoiding confronting the real trauma (of being put into symbolization). Instead, he creates a visual metaphor of repression, such that the Real no longer produces the trauma except as marked by the visual of illusion or mirage, through the vehicle of taking the images outside, and naming oneself a name so as to experience wholeness and unity (Zîzêk et al., 1999) as a real objet a that can support fantasies (Chiesa, 2007) (i.e., in the Imaginary landscape he is the King, dwelling in a Symbolic form of power without fear).

Summary

Manga appears to shape and contribute to its young people's gender/sexual identities. Their identification with *manga* is more complex than a simple domination of the Symbolic. *Manga's* Imaginary construction help explore participants' alternative selves (desirable qualities or represented ideal selves or partners) as supported by fantasies. Based on what they see as similarities, manga participants are not looking for representations of their lives, but are participating in a fantasy of relation in constructing their identity through creativity in bits of images so as to create, to have the ability to become, and to change the unsatisfactory identity (or to recover the fractured self). These manga characters function as the objet a that supports fantasies. They gaze back at the participants and remind them of what they don't have (lack). The participants learn more about themselves (via desire) through a mirror other-self relationship by identifying with their desired *manga* characters.

Such desire as associated with *manga* seems positive (hopeful) because it promotes change. For example, female participants often want to construct themselves with masculine aspects and see themselves in androgynous characters in order to seek alternatives, or to form a new identity from their limited Symbolic. This occurs not because the girls don't like to be rescued, or because boys don't like fighting, but because participants are looking for more flexibility in living their lives like the ones they can imagine. There is much freedom in *manga* stories and characters. Art forms such as *manga* operating in one's Imaginary certainly open up a significant space for making decisions about, thinking about, and playing with a multiplicity of possible identities through a fantasy space. *Manga* not only supplies a positive sense of fulfillment of its participants' identity-making through image-constructing and cosplaying, but through it they are also able to see a range of facets of self- and identity-changing. With *manga*, participants have the power to make changes to the self and to construct meaning. To them, *manga* is not just an escape from the Symbolic; rather, it is an outlet for fulfilling desire/lack by directing their attention toward alternatives, against their Symbolic (e.g., the oppressive mainstream American culture). In a Lacanian sense, because of the Imaginary, we are motivated to change ourselves; thus, those constraints of the Symbolic somehow create more possibilities through the imaginary world so as to heal and to recover from dissatisfaction.

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The attempt to feminize masculinity as female participants described in androgynous (or effeminate male) characters in *manga*, one can argue that the image of a feminine man looking back at them reminds them of what they lack in the reality frame. In other words, they desire men somewhat similar to themselves, which would be an equal relationship they desire. They imagine that such men "probably won't hurt you. They will be nice, like, they will put the toilet seat down and clean up after themselves." In a larger sense, Lacan would say their connection with these characters arises as an unconscious reminder—of the realm of the Real. We are unconsciously, but continually, reminded of the lack at the core of our existence. We may be able to "see" what we want to see, but the objet a (object gaze) always reminds us that we cannot have, or be, what we see. Lacan warns us that identity remains an illusion (misconstruction) between the Imaginary self and Symbolic identity that we identify as we continue to search for this wholeness and misrecognize the unified image of self.

Implications for Art Education

Often, learning in an art classroom is driven by the teacher's desires, interests and values rather than the students', even though, as Wilson and Toku (Toku, 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Wilson, 2000) observe, understanding students' interests outside the classroom motivates students' artmaking and exposes them to means of self-presentation and identification, and such meaning-making will go ahead of the students' identity under-standing. Walker and others (Walker, 2009; Walker, Daiello, Hathaway, & Rhoades, 2006; Walker & Parsons, 2010) also argue that recognizing one's affective dispositions, unconscious fantasies, and subjectivity can also facilitate positive self-transformative shifts away from oppressive authoritarian principles. Further, desire as a pedagogical approach can liberate and empower; in particular, gender/sex identity conflicts can be mitigated by empowering imaginary gender performance through personal meaning and artmaking, so as to change fixed and unsatisfying identities.

Non-western art forms such as Japanese *manga* can provide an open space for critical imagination and incorporating non-hegemonic gender identities for students to identify components of their own desires and interests through artmaking, and help students to develop their own identities through imaginary register. *Manga* fantasy where students can more freely engage in the creation of alternative gender/sex identities allows students to undermine the previous identity assigned to them, and to perform and construct a new identity based on a new set of signifiers.

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Questioning the Racial Question: Scenes from Manga, Theater Auditions, and Other Unlikely Places

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Introduction

This essay begins with a short scene, auto-autobiographical and mostly verbatim. The characters are as follow:

- Grad Student: A Ph.D. student, female, Japanese, has lived in the United States for the last decade. Late 20s.
- Boyfriend: Grad Student's relatively-new boyfriend, white. Late 20s.
- Boyfriend's Sister: Boyfriend's older sister, also white. Early 30s.

The phone rings one winter morning in 2003, in Grad Student's Chicago apartment. It is her boyfriend, who had been visiting his family. He is calling, this particular morning, on her scholarly expertise: "I was watching this movie with my sister and her kids. It's called *Kiki's Delivery Service.* Have you seen it? Anyway. But, so, my sister had a really interesting question about it, and I wanted to ask you. Not just because you are Japanese, you know, but because you are writing a dissertation on manga. Here, you are on the speakerphone!":

BOYFRIEND
Ok. So, here's the question. Are you ready?? This is a Japanese movie, you know? And the characters have Japanese names? But they are all white!

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
I mean they don't look Japanese *at all*.

BOYFRIEND
Why is that? Have you *ever thought about that*?

GRAD STUDENT
Um...

BOYFRIEND
Have you noticed? I'm sure you've noticed.

GRAD STUDENT
So... let me ask you this. What makes you say that the characters are white?

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
Well, their eyes are really big... and round...

BOYFRIEND
Do you know what we are talking about?

GRAD STUDENT
Yeah, I do.

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BOYFRIEND
Of course, you do, you are the expert.

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
I've just never seen an Asian person with eyes like that.

GRAD STUDENT
I see... But... have you seen *anyone* with eyes like that?

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
(Interrupting) And some characters have brown hair, or red, not black.

GRAD STUDENT
Maybe because it would be more difficult to tell the characters apart if everyone had the same hair color? Especially when their facial features are so stylized, you know?

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
But Asian people *do* have the same hair color.

GRAD STUDENT
Right, and that's why white people can't tell Asian people apart.

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
Exactly!

BOYFRIEND
Laura!

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
What? Oh. *She* said it!

GRAD STUDENT
I don't know how to put this, but I don't know if we should assume that these features signify race.

BOYFRIEND
Sweetie! One boy in the movie has red hair! And freckles! No Japanese person looks like that.

GRAD STUDENT
Are you saying red hair and freckles disqualifies a person from being Japanese?

BOYFRIEND
Have you ever seen a Japanese person with red hair and freckles??

GRAD STUDENT
My mother...?

BOYFRIEND
Your mother *dyes* her hair!

GRAD STUDENT
So does Laura.

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
That's different!

GRAD STUDENT
Why?

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
Because I am *already* white.

GRAD STUDENT
My mother isn't exactly trying to look white.

BOYFRIEND
I didn't say she was! Did I say she was?

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
She's not?

GRAD STUDENT
Besides, she is not tricking anyone that she is white.

BOYFRIEND'S SISTER
That's true, actually.

BOYFRIEND
Wait, she has freckles?

GRAD STUDENT
Yeah she covers it up with makeup...

The question "Why do characters in manga look white?" is hardly original. English-language scholars of manga have named it as one of the most commonly asked questions by non-Japanese readers (Kawashima; Levi; Schodt; Thorn), and I experienced the same, particularly when I was a young graduate student writing my dissertaion on manga, almost to two decades ago. At times, the question seemed like a casual observation; at others, it sounded more like a provocation, or a "teaching moment": they were calling me on my blind spot, inviting me to contemplate the "internalized oppression" of the Japanese consumers "reflected" on the pages of manga, and to challenge my own "willingness to ignore this

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important and obvious issue". In any case, I never had any good answers (none that satisfied the questioners); as someone who grew up in Japan reading manga, I had not associated the facial features to be "racially specific" (to Caucasians).

Most existing scholarship on manga share the position that the facial features of manga do not represent "whiteness" to Japanese readers. Fredrick Schodt explainsthat it has something to do with self-perception:

> Comics are drawings, not photographs, and as such they present a sugjective view of reality. This subjective view of reality is particularly apparent in depictions of self, for each culture rends to see itself in a unique, often idealized fashion that may change over time. Just as American European comics do not depict people realistically (how many people really look like superman?), neither do manga. Japanese people however, may be a little emore flexible than others in their self-perception. (1996, p. 60).

Antonia Levi, on the other hand, explains that the drawing style, particularly of shojo manga (girls' comics), *did* indeed signify "white people" at the onset, but eventually lost its original reference: "large-eyed, varied-hair-color look [...] began as a portrayal of Westerners" in *Berusaiyu no bara* (*The Rose of Versailles*) by Ikeda Riyoko, 1972-73. The style became so popular that "[to] contemporary Japanese, [the look] no longer indicate[s] race" (Levi 11). Levy's facts are unfortunately inaccurate; large-eyed characters in shojo manga appeared at least a decade earlier than *Berusaiyu no Bara*, and in depicting "Japanese" characters. FIG. 1 is an image from Ishi no Hana by Mizuno Hideko, a ballet-themed manga taking place in Japan, depicting Japanese characters. Still, Levi's approach to the question (implicitly) reminds the questioner of individual artists' creative agency (i.e. a work of manga does not simply "reflect" the cultural consciousness of the masses).

Terry Kawashima offers a comprehensive and complex analysis, examining manga images side by side other practices that could be misconstrued as symptomatic of the Japansese' desire to "appear more white," including beauty procedures that promise to deliver fair skin. He asserts that the visual properties such as oversized eyes, fair skin and varied hair colors cannot be automatically equated with "whiteness" or (more dangerously) associated wtih "white envy". His argument does not stop at disqualifying the question for its dissonance with the "Japansese" reading of manga's facial features, but takes it as a point of entry to caution against the perception of race as a set of visually recognizable features unique to each race:

> If [a manga character] looks exclusively "white" and not at all "Japanese" to a viewer, it is only because that viewer has been culturally conditioned to read visual images in specific racialized ways that privilege certain cues at the expense of others and lead to an over-determined conclusion; [...] This visual reading process operates at a level below everyday awareness and is thus naturalized; it is central to the ways in which "race" itself is conceptualized, perpetuated, and constantly reconfigured (2002, p. 161)

Figure 1. Mizuno Hideko, *Ishi no Hana* [Stone Flower], December 1961. Ishi no Hana was serialized January-December 1961 in magazine *Nakayoshi*.

The persuasive (and consistent) debunking in the existing scholarship doesn't seem to have permeated popular readership; the question "why do manga characters look white?" still continues to be asked, most notably in college classrooms. According to my colleagues' experiences as well as my own, attempts to disqualify the question (ex. "they do not *actually* look white to its intended audience") are often met with skepticism; counter-questions such as "why do manga characters look white *to you*?" have even provoked defensiveness. Well-meaning and socially-conscious students struggle to see the facial features of manga as not racially marked, particularly in light of increasingly diverse or diversitying campuses, efforts toward race-conscious dialogues, and heightened (and welcome) awarenes of "white priviledge" both as social critique and as a tool for self-reflection. Controversies surrounding past and present "racist" or "racially-charged" visual representations furtner complicates the dialogue. For example, in September 2018, Austrarian newspaper Herald Sun printed a cartoon image

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of Serena Williams Williams, causing a world-wide controversy. Cartoonist Mark Knight had depicted Williams throwing a fit, stomping on her tennis racket, and with a pacifier on the ground (FIG. 2). The image was meant, presumably, to critique Williams' "babish" behavior to challenge the umpire after a match; but it was the manner in which her facial features were depicted that disturbed its viewers — prominent and wide nose, very full lips, and volumninous hair in a wiry ponytail. In the background, the umpire asks the opponent (Naomi Osaka, presumably) "Can you just let her win?". Cultural figures such as journalist Charles Thompson and author J.K. Rowling have publically con-demmed the representation as racist and sexist, equating it to "old images of Jim Crow, or the newspaper cartoons drawn of Jack Johnson" (Thompson). The public also responded to the way Osaka, a Haitian-Japanese player, appears as a "white woman" with blonde hair (*The Guardian*). The cartoonist, responding to the backlash, asserted "The cartoon about Serena is [...] not about race. The world has just gone crazy." (*Herald Sun*).

Figure 2. Herald Sun

We are at a juncture of great tension, in which the "past" visual and verbal representations of race interface with our present in an alarming, often violent, way. The *Herald Sun* cartoon is only a tip of the iceberg: college campuses suffer racist and anti-sematic vandalism, and harmful representations of racial stereotypes are continually exposed (as I write this, I am listening to a news report of a yearbook photo of the governor of Virginia dressing up in blackface). Standing at this moment, I can understand that saying manga's facial features have "nothing to do with race" may seem like a cop-out, or perhaps even destructive. I assert, however, that the impulse to critique *Herald Sun's* caricature of Serena Williams (or of Naomi Osaka in the background), the Jim Crow imagery to which it has been compared, and the facial features of manga characters along the same continuum of racial bias is dangerously self-compromising. By imposing the same lens of racial hierarchy to the two images, the question reinscribes, rather than challenges, the white-priviledged subject-position in contemporary (American) visual culture, constituting (and re-constituting) the very notion of race as a visually-maked, and visually-recognizable set of attributes. I have put (American) in parentheses here, because neither the cartoon of Williams nor manga are "American", but both have unique impact and particularly strong resonance in the United States. Regardless of their cultural origins, intention, or assumed audience, these images have already entered a part of our discourse, contributing to how race is defined and what it does in our lived realities.

The question "why do manga characters look white?" has a slightly different resonance now than it did two decades ago. It may not be a "good" question (as others have powerfully argued), but it could still be an "important" one, not because of what it asks but because of what it says about, and what it *does* in, the context in which it is asked. What are the consequences images of Japanese characters "looking/appearing white" (regardless of intention of the artist or interpretation by its intended audience)? What are the effects of these images being circulated, interpreted, and discussed in the context of race in America? What are some ways in which we may engage with the original question (without dismissing it), hopefully resulting in a productive outcome? In the first part of this essay, I name a series of assumptions inherent in the original question, "Why do manga characters look white (and not Japanese)?" and propose several revisions to the question, by removing or addressing the assumptions. My belief is that the question could be re-directed and re-porpused in order to tease out the intricacies of discourse surrounding our visual concept of the "Japanese/ Asian" face. The second part of the essay focuses on what the question "does" as opposed what it "asks," analyzing it as a *performative utterance* that makes realities come into existence by naming. While phrased as a *question*, "Why do characters in manga look white?" functions as a *statement* that performs a series of actions. The performance is simultaneously isolated (specific to the particular context of the utterance) and continuous (as a repeated series of utterances whose history is continually renewed and revisited). The consequences of these actions have ranged from the definition of manga itself outside Japan to appropriateion of manga as a participant in the culturally-specific (American) performance of racial identities, which is always constituitive rather then expressive.

There are a few disclaimers that I would like to put forth before I begin. First, the scope of this essay is limited to the context of the United States, though Americans are not the only people who ask the question (nor is it, by any

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means, limited to "white people"). Second, by calling something an "assumption," I am not necessarily calling it "incorrect" — rather, I am characterizing it as a concept that we rarely question, but take for granted, in the same manner that we say "the sky is blue" and "I am alive". What I am calling "assumptions" are circumstances, ideas, or definitions that are neither correct nor incorrect in and of themselves, but by sheer existence and pervasiveness define our worldview, and social realities, in a particular way. Third, my use of the terms "Asian" and "Japanese" throughout the essay may seem arbitorary, but they are not — this may sound ludicrous — always inter-changeable. In most cases, when people casually point out that a manga character "does not look Japanese," they are not typically saying that the drawing looks "more Chinese/ Korean/ etc. than Japanese," but that it does not look more generically "Asian." On the other hand, when people compare manga to other depictions of faces by "Japanese artists," they are most likely referring to specifically "Japanese" faces by specifically "Japanese" artists. Throughout this essay, I have assessed the contexts and used a more appropriate term.

The final disclaimer, which is the most challenging to explain concisely, is that the term "white" has dual meanings throughout the essay. While the exact def-inition and origin of "whiteness" in European and American contexts has been a subject of scholarly investigation for some time (Dyer; Painter; Yancy), I am not so concerned with historical and syntactical precision. Rather, my goal partly is to tease out the ambiguity and inconsistencies with which the notion "white" and "white people" are used in Japanese and American contexts. I draw on two sets of primary definitions. One is whiteness as an "un-raced" existence in dominant discourse. Here the specificity of the person's/ character's/ figure's/ representation's cultural orign is irrelevant. Richard Dyer cites John Isbon to state that "being, say, Polish, cathlic or Irish may not be as important to white Americans as some might wish. But being white is" (4). I am not saying that Dyer's statement is always true of lived realities of a specific individual, but suggesting that the question "why do manga characters look white (and not Japanese)?" is not concerned with specific cultural, ethnic or national origins asociated with "whiteness", nor the class, economic status, or geographic location of the imaginary "white person" that the characters (supposedly) ref-erence. The question points simply to the lack of visually racialized features of "Asianness" (slanted eyes, black hair, olive skin), replaced by attributes that are associated with "whiteness" such as blond hair and blue eyes (though plenty of "black" "Asian" people sport blond hair and/ or blue eyes as a part of their fashion statement, easily achievable through use of hair dyes and contact lenses).

The definition of "whiteness" described above interfaces with the second definition, which is that of "white people" as fictional entities that exist in the Japanese imaginary, or the "object of the Japanese gaze" as Kawashima puts it (163). This includes Caucasian models in ubiquitous Japanese advertisement and fashion plates, as well as the "European" or "American" settings in some manga. As in the first definition, the precise ethnic origins or cultural specificity of the "whiteness" remain unimportant, even when the representations are placed in time and place that corresponds to locations in "real" history and geography (the French Revolution in *The Rose of Versailles*). The two definitions of white(ness) originate from contrasting subject positions and point to two separate objects, though the contours of the objects are uncannily similar in their inclusivity and amorphousness. It is because of this similarity in contours (but not contents) that the two definitions start to become intertwined and conflated with each other, causing a slippage. For instance, the practice of featuring "white" characters (or employing white-dominant settings) in manga and the phenomenon of "Japanese" characters looking "white" to US readers must not be considered in a continuum, or placed in a simple cause-and-effect relationship.

PART 1: REVISING THE QUESTION

Assumption #1: The large-eyed, varied-hair-colored look in manga signifies race.

Existing scholarship on manga has already identified the most obvious assumption in the question: *the large-eyed, varied-hair-colored look in manga signifies race*. By removing the asssumption, placing greater emphasis on the agency of the artists to make aesthetic choices and finally evaluating this image in a historical context, we may rewrite the question as follows:

Revised question #1: "Why have Japanese manga artists drawn characters with such large eyes, and varied (light) hair colors?"

There are technical explanations for the large-eyed, light-haired look of manga charaters. As the drawings are simplified and coded, the eyes function as the primary vehicle for artists to communicate the characters' emotions; artists use elaborate details inside the char-acters' pupils for this purpose. The larger the eyes, the more expressive the character, and the greater the readers' empathy with the character. In FIG. 1, the protagonist, Ruri (most prominently featured on right and left) has much larger eyes than the two supporting characters in the center, Eiji (center left) and Shizue

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(center right). The general rule is that "the larger the eyes, the more expressive the character, and the greater the readers' empathy with the character."

The technique of depicting characters with light hair is called *shironuki* ("white out") and it is used to distinguish between characters who otherwise have similar facial features and/ or hairstyles. Light hair does not automatically indicate that the character is blond; rather, it symbolically represents black hair without depicting it. This convention developed over time in the second half of the twentieth century. In Ikeda Riyoko's 1966 Yukio Kun, Yukio, a transfer student, is depicted with light hair. When he is assigned to sit next to another light-haired character, Shizuko, classmates tease "Hey, it's so clever, they sat the two akage (literally "redhead(s)," but often simply refers to lighter hair color) together" (13). Later, when Yukio collapses during a gym class, Shizuko remarks "I am sure that his hair turned light because he was always sick, like myself" (23). Here the colors on the page actually represent the hair colors of the characters; not only that, they are justified as to why "Japanese" characters have significantly lighter hair, and the explanation serves as an important plot device. Three years later, in Hatsukoi Monogatari (The Story of First Love, 1969), Ikeda depicted "Japanese" characters with hair colors in a variety of shades (black, white/ blonde/ *shironuki*, shaded/ crosshatched). Hitomi, a Japanese sixth-grader, appears with shironuki curls, almost identical to young Marie Antoinette in The Roses of Versailles three more years later (1972). These three works by the same author, three years apart, seem to operate on three different systems of sifnification in regards to hair color on the page. In Hatsukoi Monogatari, Hitomi is neither chronically ill (like Yukio or Shizuko in Yukio Kun) nor "white" (like Marie Antoinette in The Rose of Versailles); her hair color is never addressed or explained in the narrative. Here it is helpful to imagine a hypothetical film or television adaptation of Hatsukoi Monogatari, and how we might "cast" the role of Hiromi. It is unlikely that we would choose a "white" person with light hair. It is also not likely that we would color the actor's hair to match the drawing. The way in which Hitomi's hair is drawn may connote something about the character, such as her innocence or her physical beauty. It may also signify anything and everything the late 1960s Japanese readers associate with blonde hair — except the actual hair color.

Figure 3. Ikeda Riyoko, *Yukio Kun*, 1966.

Assumption #2: There is a particular, and recognizable, way in which "Japanese/Asian" faces look like.

This assumption is so pervasive that it is difficult to imagine a world without it. It not only informs our worldview but continually reassserts itself, constantly feeding back into the cycle of cultural production and identity formation. This goes beyond the world of manga, to virtually every form of visual art and representation, even as artists make explicit efforts to intervene. I am most familiar with examples in my current home discipline of theater, and it is what I will draw on here: *Yellow Face* is a semi-autobiographical play by David Henry Hwang that revolves around a casting controversy for an "Asian leading man." In one of the key moments of the play, an actor, Marcus Dulman, gives a powerful audition. As DHH immediately becomes excited about the prospect of casting him, the producer (Stuart) questions the actor's identity, as Marcus "does not look Asian." I will quote from the scene here in some length to preserve the comedy of the scene:

DHH
What do you mean, "Look Asian?"

STUART
Well, he doesn't seem to possess — any Asian features... At all.

DHH
And what exactly are "Asian features?"

STUART
He's got dark hair, but —

DHH
Short, high cheekbones, slanty eyes?

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STUART

David –

DHH

I gotta say, I find your question sort of offensive. Asian faces come in a variety of shapes and sizes — just like any other human beings. Which we are, you know.

STUART

Miles, is he Asian?

NEWMAN

We managed to have a little conversation on the subject. He's not full-blooded –

DHH

He's Eurasian. You want to start discriminating against them now?

STUART

David, if our leading man, who's supposed to be an Asian dressing up in whiteface — if when he takes off his make-up, he still looks white — would that bother you?

DHH

Looks white — to who? Other white people?

STUART

Just to put this on the table — you're certain you're not jumping at this actor because we're ten days away from the start of rehearsals and we don't have any other choices?

DHH

I'm excited because I think Marcus could be the next John Lone or B.D. Wong.

STUART

At least they both look Asian.

DHH

I have to cast this in a way that feels right to me. And I can tell an Asian when I see one.

Just as DHH accuses Stuart of stereotyping Asian faces, DHH ends up falling into the same trap at the end of the scene, asserting that there are, indeed, visual markers of "Asian faces" that he is uniquely equipped to recognize. Later in the play, Marcus turns out to be "full-blooded", but not in the way that Miles meant: Marcus is 100% Caucasian. Here, DHH has doubly failed. Not only has he made an incorrect assessment about Marcus' ethnicity, but also, he has participated in the practice of yellowface — casting a white person as an Asian character — for which he has been vehemently against, as an artist as well as an activist and a public figure.

DHH and Stuart share the assumption that there are ways in which "Asian" faces appear, but they do not agree on how they should apepar, or *who* is capable of recognizing it (hence the comedy of the scene). Stuart seems to believe that "Asian" faces are universally recognizable to casting professionals and audiences alike, regardless of the viewers' background ("David, if our leading man, who's supposed to be an Asian dressing up in whiteface — if when he takes off his make-up, he still looks white — would that bother you?"). On the other hand, DHH believes that he, being an Asian American playwright, is a better judge of "Asian features" than Stuart ("I can tell an Asian when I see one.")

In contrast to these two (fictional) characters, the question "why does manga characters look white?" takes yet another stance. Being an "outsider" to manga, the questioner is better equipped — perhaps with a more "objective" view — to recognize qualities in manga that may be invisible to Japanese readers. This is reminiscent of early ethnographers whose practices have been critiqued for their colonialist and hierarchical approach, metaphorically described as "reading over the shoulders of natives" (Crapanzano 1989, quoted in Lassiter 139). By addressing this assumption, and taking inspiration from the increasingly self-reflexive approach in critical ethnography, we might rewrite the question, acknowledging the subject-position as uniquely biased:

Revised question #2: "Why do Japanese manga artists and I (American reader) not share the same view of what Asian/ Japanese faces look like?"

This revision hopefully results in some productive dialogue, investigating the systems of of signification and the history of visual representation, with concrete case studies. As dictated by its inspiration, the question is self-reflexive and ultimately (auto-) ethnographic. What "faces" and their representations has one encountered in their particular cultural upbringing, and how does it inform the ways in which one *reads* race? However, as an investigation into the subject (manga) rather than a catalyst for dialogue, the revised question is still inadequate. While Stuart and DHH are concerned about the face of a particular human being (perhaps compared to other humans — actors — who are clearly labeled/ defined as "white" and "Asian" in this context), it is unclear

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exactly with what manga faces are being compared. Does it compare manga faces with an actual face belonging to an individual, or with another drawing? If we limit the scope of the original question to "other drawings", the assumption becomes much more specific.

Assumption: "There is a way in which "Japanese/ Asian" faces should look like in a drawing."

Again, the statement is neither true nor false; it simply exists and informs the world, and manga somehow unsettles it. How did this assumption come into existence? How do we construct rules about how race is represented in *pictures*? While these questions are large expansive, a simple and likely answer is: through *other pictures*. One way to revise the question, then, is to limit the scope of the question to *other pictures*.

REVISED QUESTION #3: "Why do characters in manga look different from other pictoral representations of "Japanese/ Asian" faces that I have seen?"

This is a much more specific question about visual representation, with promise of multidisciplinary research drawing from theories and methods from art history, race studies, cultural studies, and beyond. One approach to address it may be to investigate the changing aesthetics and trends of "faces" depicted in Japanese art, taking into consideration myriad influences and quotations. It would be crutial to examine the conditions, subjects, and producers of such representation: whose faces are being depicted, how, by whom, and for what purpose? Are they real or imaginary (or "imaginary-inspired-by-real" and other variants)? Did the artist work from a live model, a secondary source (another painting, for example), or entirely from imagination? The structure of power and economic system of the art world would have to be taken into consideration: who has commissioned, produced, and circulated these faces, and for what kind of audience?

The revised question requires its own full-length study, and not likely to be fully explored in a part of an essay here. Case studies would inevitably include bijin-ga (portraiture of beautiful women), which have been the quintessential image of "Japansese face" in the West since its introduction in the nineteenth century (FIG 4). Manga is undoubtedly a departure from this aesthetic, but it would be inaccurate to assume that these ubiquitous prints "mimics reality" any more than manga, or that it attempts to do so at all. In his study of genres, Stephen Nearle cites Todorov to distinguish between "geneirc" and "social/ cultural" verisimilitude, the former referring to the extent to which a work of art conforms to the rules of its own genre, and the latter points to the relation between the work and the discourse of the world that surrounds it — not necessarily reality itself but another discourse, or the "public opinion" (32). Neither of these modes of verisimilitude is particularly concerned with likeness to reality, but it is clear that manga (as well as historical portrature) is concerned primarily with the former. Examining the ways in which artists of the same period depicted "foreginers" would present an intresting comparison (FIG 5); while some of these images draw primarily from the tradition of some of those images were copied from existing paintings from Europe, and artists copied not only the images but the "Western ways of seeing" inherent in the images (Oka 18).

Figure 4. An example of a bijin-ga

Figure 5. Image of a foreigner. Private collection.

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Another powerful case study could be WWII propaganda cartoons. Dr. Seuss cartoon of the 1940s depicts the Japanese military leader, Hideki Tojo, with slanted eyes and buck teeth (FIG 6). In other instances, the Japanese were frequently illustrated as rats, lice, and, most commonly, as apes or monkeys. It would be inaccurate, however, to say that the American public *perceived* the Japanese as apes or monkeys; it would also be unfair to critique the artists as "racist". By the very definition of "war propaganda cartoons," they have no pretense of neutrality. These images seek to critique, mock, provoke, and in general to promote the nagative image of the subject — not to represent the subject with compassion. They do not *reflect* already-existing stereotypes; they *create* them. Our ideas of what we think Japanese faces should look like *in a drawing* has been built upon *someone else's intention*, whether it is artistic, commercial, political, or otherwise.

Figure 6. Dr. Seuss

PART TWO: QUESTIONING THE QUESTION

So far I have approached the question as a "true" question, focusing on what it is asking. I have named and analyzed the unspoken assumtions within it, and revised it, several times, into more specific questions that address it from a range of perspectives from manga's creative decision-making to visual representations of faces in Japanese art history. In the second part of the essay, my focus shifts to the performative properties of the qustion itself. J.L. Austin defines performantive utterances as speeches that do not merely describe an action, but is an action in itself. By saying "I bet you five dollars that it will rain tomorrow," one has not described the rain, nor the action of betting; one has actually placed a bet. Uttering the sentence has performed the action of the bet, and named the *possibility* of rain come into existence. The use of Austin in the study of cultural production is strongly associated with Judith Butler, who described the process of gender, sex, and sexuality as *performative*, where identities and identity categories are brought into existence through a series of re-enactment. Butler's theory has been powerfully influential in studies of other types of identity formations, including race — though Butler herself warns that "race and gender ought not to be treated as simple analogies" and "the question to ask is not whether the theory of performativity is transposable onto race, but what happens to the theory when it tries to come to grips with race" (xvi). My use of Austin is simpler, using the question itself as a case study for its performative properties, evaluating what it is *doing* rather than what it is asking. By asking "Why do manga characters look white?" the question *inscribes*, more powerfully than it *describes*, the similarity between manga characters and "white" facial features, calling it into existence.

Here I turn briefly to a scene on American television, which has nothing to do with manga but provides us with a useful framework. There was an episode of *The Tyra Banks Show*, a talkshow hosted by model Tyra Banks between the years of 2005-2010, that elicited heated discussions on Asian American online forums and on YouTube. The guest is a young Korean American woman named Liz, who had recently undergone a plastic surgery to create more prominent creases of her eyelids, a common procedure in East Asia. When asked why she chose to go under the knife, Liz starts to explain that her eyelids were starting to sag, and that she wanted more youthful look. Banks interrupts her, changing the subject to Liz' upbringing and childhood — inviting her to talk about the experience of being (racially) teased for the shape of her eyes. Banks then goes on to accuse Liz for subscribing to the Eurocentric standards of beauty, and not admitting it. Banks points to her own hair: "I have a hair weave on my head. We are the same. I'm no different than you. [...] This is one step closer to what a Caucasian woman's hair is." The comments on the YouTube page have ranged from calling Banks "racist" to calling Liz "in denial." Robert Stam and Ella Shotat call this kind of phenomenon "the double binds and Catch-22s of racism: "if you are too unlike us, you are inferior; if you are too like us, you are no longer a 'real' Black or Indian or Asian'" (24). As a child, Liz was bullied for the shapes of your eyes; as an adult, she was bullied once again, on public television, for changing them. The majority of the YouTube comments are sympathetic to Liz and critical of Banks, but calling Banks "racist" is an act of victim-shaming. A woman gets a hair weave as a way of navigating in a white-supremacist world; she (carelessly)

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equates Liz' eyelid surgery to her own hair weave, but the "carelessness" comes not from her privilege but from her lifelong trauma of racism.

One could easily identify inconsistencies and self-compromising performantives in this short clip. Banks describes her hair, and Liz's eyes, as "one step closer to a Caucasian woman", while visually speaking, Liz' post-surgery eyes may very well be one step closet to Banks', and Banks' hair one step closer to Liz' — this is never acknowledged as the two women sit side by side. It is not my intention, however, to critique Banks, or any of the show's participants. The "true" purpose of Liz' surgery (or the "true" purpose of Banks for bringing her on the show) aside, it is clear that the idea of a racial minority making his or her face to appear "more Caucasian" causes simultaneous fascination and discomfort, inviting heated, often emotional, controversies from all sides. In discussing Japanese self-alteration practices like lightening of hair, Kawashima names the dangerous undercurrents of its critique:

> There lurks a double oppression underneath the apparently sympathetic query: "why would they want to try to look 'white?'": the question discursively presumes and delineates essentialist categories of race, and it domesticates disruptions of those categoric boundaries as the follies of the exploited-but-unen-lightened. Most importantly, the question masks and denies the process of racial construction through visual readings by reversing the order of visualization: it asks how a pre-racialized agent attempts to look like another "race," when instead we should be asking how one looks at a body and "races" it in the first place. (p. 183)

Kawashima further challenges the inherent Eurocentric binary of "natural vs. artifice", and asserts that if we were to challenge the very notion of race itself, we need to reevaluate the very idea of what visual features are naturally acceptable within each race.

The episode, or the verbal performances within, propose the following: 1) the act of making one's features "less ethnically stereotypical" is synonymous to becoming "more Caucasian"; 2) the practice of, say, making one's eyes appear larger (or with wider folds) is a reflection of the desire to "appear more white"; and 3) an Asian person having or obtaining large, round eyes endorses and promotes racism and Eurocentrism (by "mimicking Caucasian race"). If we live in a world in which all these statements are constantly reinforced through similar performances, it is perfectly understandable that a critically-minded and socially-conscious American student reader reads manga character as "white," and are disturbed by its significance. The question "Why do manga characters look white?" does not just ask a question but critiques the subject, as well as the circumstances of its production that (seems to) render "whiteness" as ideal. By doing so, however, the questioner has participated in the very performance that it critiques: they have used someone else's product (manga) as evidence of the injustices of another. The question has imposed Euro-Americal racial hierarchy onto manga, expanding its effect.

It may be inconceivable to first-time American readers that manga could present an alternate reality in which anyone can be "racially neutral" in *any setting*. A Japanese schoolgirl and Marie Antoinette may look identical to each other, not only because they are the dominant majority in their home environments, but also because they are the focal characters with whom the readers identify (see FIG 1). When I say anyone can be racially neutral, I do not mean to dismiss the xenophobia and ethnic-based discrimination (particularly against other Asians) that have existed, and continues to exist, in Japan and (consequently) on the pages of manga. Today, reprints of past manga contain disclaimers that the depiction of certain characters "may be offensive to today's readers." While those images are undoubtedly troubling, the "racially neutral" and "ethnically Japanese" protagonist is still not "white". A common variant of the original question, "why does manga depict its Japanese characters as white, while it depicts other racial minorities with stereotypical features?" imposes an incorrect, or at least inconsistent framework onto the two sets of images, reinscribing the very performance that it seeks to critique: while accusing artists for using unflattering racial stereotypes, it automatically characterizes its protagonists (without "stereotypical Asian" features) as "white", "mimicking whiteness" or "desiring to be white".

Having said this, the ways in which manga is produced and circulated in the contemporary global ecomony, as well as how the US audiences read race into the works of manga, is changing. Here I turn, once again, to a tennis-related image. The controversy over the *Herald Sun* cartoon of Serena Williams was followed by another, though perhaps lesser-known debate, this time over an animated Japanese television commercial depicting Naomi Osaka (previously portrayed as a "white woman" by *Herald Sun*) and Kei Nishikiori, a Japanese player (FIG. 7). The commercial was commissioned to a team of animators, and inspired by Takeshi Konomi's manga

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Tenisu no Oujisama (*The Prince of Tennis*). The image provoked criticism over social media, and *The New York Times* critiqued it as it "bears little resemblance to her real, biracial self. Her skin was unmistakably lightened, and her hair style changed — a depiction that has prompted criticism in Japan, where she has challenged a longstanding sense of cultural and racial homogeneity." Nisshin, the food-production company who commissioned the ad, apologized for their lack of sensitivity in diversity issues, and pulled the ad from public television.

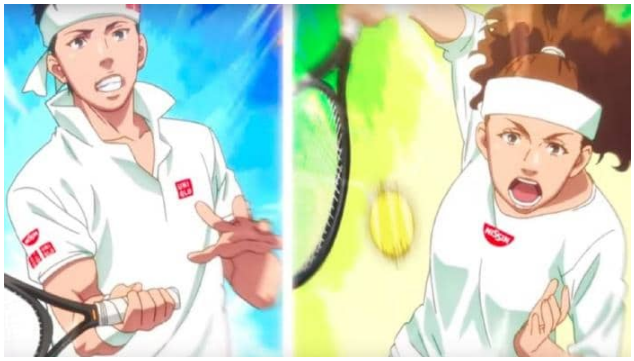

Figure 7. Naomi Osaka portrayed in an "anime" inspired TV commercial

Nissin's discontinuation of the commercial marks an important shift for manga, as it continues to reach greater visibility outside Japan. The artists probably did not think twice about crafting the commercial to take place in the (fictional) world of manga and anime, in which race does not categorize humans, at least in a visually-coded way. What the Japanese producers did not realize was that the commercial would eventually reach viewers to whom "racially neutral" is not only undesirable, but also connotes cultural erasure. As manga reaches more visibility outside Japan, its visual convention creates more frictions with its global audience. Still, I hope that this move toward global awareness does not compromise manga's ability to freely shift subject positions, creating its own dominant discourse in any chosen setting. Manga has historically liberated its characters from the boundaries of what could be visually "natural" for any individual, while allowing them to remain culturally and ethnically specific.

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Figure notes:

Figure 1. Mizuno Hideko, Ishi no Hana [Stone Flower]. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://matsuzakiakemi.seesaa.net/archives/201608-2.html

Figure 2. Herald Sun. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/herald-sun-backs-mark-knights-cartoon-on-serena-williams/news-story/30c877e3937a510d64609d89ac521d9f

Figure 3. Ikeda Riyoko, Yukio Kun, 1966. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://matsuzakiakemi.seesaa.net/category/27370637-1.html

Figure 4. An example of a bijin-ga. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://data.ukiyo-e.org/ohmi/images/Kitagawa_Utamaro_1-Mirror-011129-01-24-2012-11129-x2000.jpg

Figure 5. Image of a foreigner. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://blog.goo.ne.jp/otsumitsu/e/63571096dd149c3e778e43453239ae7d

Figure 6. Dr. Seuss. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://www.businessinsider.sg/before-dr-seuss-was-famous-he-drew-these-sad-racist-ads-2012-3

Figure 7. Naomi Osaka portrayed. Retrieved March 31, 2020 from https://www.foxsports.com.au/tennis/australian-open/japanese-company-under-fire-for-whitewashing-stars/news-story/37605f2a300750544ed9034b9c58fca1

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We are Now United by the Common Language Called “Manga”

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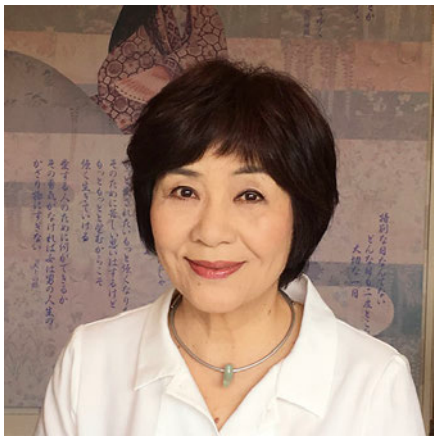

Machiko Satonaka, Japanese manga artist. In over 50 years in the industry, she has written more than 500 titles which include *Ariesu no otome tachi* (“The Ariesu Maidens”), *Umi no Ōrora* (“Aurora of the Sea”), *Tenjō no niji* (“Heaven’s Rainbow”), etc. She is a recipient of multiple awards. She serves as a professor in the school of Art and Design at Osaka University of the Arts, the director of the board of trustees of Society of Japanese Manga Artists, a representative of Manga Japan, and president of the board of examiners for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan International Manga Prize.

Manga has existed for a long time. One and four panel manga that illustrate satirical humor, 4-8 panel character pieces aimed at children, and epic story manga have existed for more than 70 years. Manga was something that “adults and children alike can enjoy and laugh about” that “illustrates an innocent, harmless world.”

In the postwar era of rapid economic growth, Japanese manga expressed and disseminated every kind of theme imaginable, including poison, anguish, and suffering, and ultimately came to expound philosophy. The intended readers weren’t limited to children: comic magazines targeted at adults also had a huge audience. Many famous works were born within a body of manga that contains works both good and bad, and the world embraced highly appealing characters that gripped the hearts of readers who had become connoisseurs. In this half-century, Japan became a country that excelled at manga.

The History of Manga

Manga’s roots are believed to lie in Toba Sōjō’s (1053-1140) *Chōjū giga* (“Caricature of Birds and Beasts”). Japanese picture scrolls depicted characters’ chronological progression through mysterious events. There are many famous works among the picture scrolls, such as the late Heian piece, *Shigizan engi emaki* (“Hand scroll of the legends of Mt. Shigi Temple”). It’s a little unreasonable, but I can’t help but think it seems as if the scroll divided and illustrated the frames straight from a film, and it has something like rudimentary speech bubbles in order to write the humans’ and animals’ dialogue.

Figure 1. Chōjū-giga (Animal Scrolls, literally, "humorous pictures of birds and animals") created by a monk, Toba in 12th C.

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Years and years later, a European artist named Honorè Daumier (1808-1879) was drawing caricatures. If we focus purely on deformity, Goya (1746 - 1822) created a body of significantly grotesque works, and later there were others, like Picasso (1881-1973), but I think that Daumier was probably the first genuine satirical caricaturist.

In Japan, we have Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), who drew the “Hokusai manga.” Ukiyoe innately depicts caricatures. It had a tradition of illustrating a variety of worldly conditions in an amusing, strange, or satirical way, and it was Hokusai who pushed all of these to the fore. Hokusai was incredibly prolific, and he left behind over 30,000 works.

Figure 2. Hokusai Manga (the end of 18th C.), which is Hokusai's illustration books including humorous pictures of everyday life.

When Japan entered the period of print culture, the newly-launched newspapers began to run satirical manga with a political bent. There were pieces that showed authority figures of the time fighting one another and, depending on the region, even works whose creators were resolved to risk their own lives to publish them. Manga was established little by little in this vein. Before long, manga appeared that was aimed at children and divided into panels, resembling the story manga of today. Expressing a story in an amusing way through stylized illustration became the conventional form of comics worldwide, and has long been the established norm.

The Influence of Tezuka’s Manga

Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) is most likely the catalyst for the expansion of Japanese manga. Tezuka’s manga uses a form of expression that had not previously existed. Let us suppose he is going to illustrate me talking to you now: You cannot see it but perhaps my legs might be trembling from nerves. To capture this, as I am talking, the picture reflects my body from an incredibly low angle so the frame shows it from below. The audience’s faces—people looking bored, sleeping, listening intently, gasping—float by, overlapping the image. This is a form of expression unique to Japan, the technique pioneered by the Japanese since the picture scrolls of old: to have countless frames exist simultaneously in the same scene. In that moment, in one space, not to have one panel equal one scene, but to include multiple scenes within one panel. This seems completely natural to the Japanese, but I didn’t realize this until I spoke with people outside Japan.

Figure 3. an image of Jitō depicted in Satonaka's long run manga, *Tenjō no niji* (1983).

Manga before Tezuka Osamu was something children would read and accept, something didactic—if you did something good, you’d get something good; if you were patient, you’d be rewarded; if you gathered your courage and fought, you’d be victorious—stories that would resonate with children and make them accept that “Oh, that’s the way it is.”

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There were so many works like that. Tezuka Osamu, even in my memory as a reader, was already by the late 50s drawing protagonists who weren’t rewarded, a sense of right and wrong that wasn’t understood by anyone, and the true hero who crumbled because of people’s misunderstandings. Since Tezuka’s debut, these concepts have become a natural part of manga to its readers.

Manga became synonymous with Tezuka’s style, and the children who read his works were influenced to become artists who drew manga like his. The artists who followed them again took inspiration from their predecessors, and that cycle of repetition carved out the field of Japanese manga. People wanted to create stories that didn’t exist anywhere else. They were embarrassed to imitate the artists who came before them. They wanted to write something different from their predecessors. Thus, the next generation of manga artists after Tezuka Osamu wrote extremely experimental works.

Righteous Indignation toward the Censorship Movement

This period of experimentation awoke criticism that manga was bad for children’s education. The critics even determined Tezuka’s *Astro Boy* was unacceptable, and dragged it into the censorship movement. The basis upon which it was declared unacceptable was that—despite the fact it was set in the future—the idea of robots having emotions was far too unscientific. What would happen if children accepted this kind of erroneous scientific knowledge as truth? Manga didn’t have a lot of words and could be read easily. If you read something that is too simple during the important period of brain development, it will impede that development. Reading sentences that are a little more difficult can improve your mind. This aspect of manga also flies in the face of science. Another issue was the number of scenes depicting robots fighting one another. The robots’ hands, legs, and at times their heads, were ripped from their bodies. What would happen if children were to imitate this ruthless behavior? This was the criticism leveled at Tezuka. The evil robots that appeared in Astro Boy were ostracized by society or treated as machines, but what caused people to exploit them was bad knowledge and a biased education: Even though they believe that what they’re doing is right, it ultimately produces antisocial behavior. The work illustrates the robots’ suffering. It makes children think “This kind of society must not exist, we must make sure it never exists.” I wondered why it would be dragged into the censorship movement. And I thought “I must protect manga somehow.”

It doesn’t matter whether a manga artist is male or female: You succeed or fail based on your work alone. It is precisely because it is what it is that manga can express things that are educational and easy for children to understand. The reason it is now said that Japanese manga surpasses all others in the world is that there are artists who broke with convention to be able to express these things, illustrate these themes, and develop these genres. And the readers followed them. I thought “I want to be one of them.”

With manga you win or lose by the strength of your creations alone. You can get by without showing your face. Is there any other world as impartial as this? I do like to draw, but more than that I love to come up with stories. More than anything, I thought there were already more than enough conventional girls, the same old stories of girls’ misfortune and fortune that seemed stamped into so many shōjo manga. If I were to draw manga, I wanted to draw girls who were self-reliant.

The Birth of Girls Who Think for Themselves

I admonished myself to properly draw what the heroines were thinking in typical shōjo manga. There had been a lot of shōjo manga that begged for your tears, full of girls who happened to be born into pitiable circumstances and who did nothing but cry and wait for a prince on a white horse. But there’s more to girls than crying. In fact, because they are girls they don’t cry in front of other people. Girls live by their own agency and have to think for themselves in order to do so. I deliberately determined to make sure my heroines decided on their own how to move forward when their lives reached a turning point. I hate it when girls are coddled just because they are girls. Aren’t girls cooler if they have responsibility for their own actions? That’s what I wanted to draw and I told myself I would.

Manga was looked down upon in those days. I thought by becoming a manga artist I would also be able to gain the power to support manga. It never

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crossed my mind to take another path. Later, when I thought of it as an occupation, there was also the fact that I loved to create stories. When I think about shaping a story with my own power, manga is an extremely effective medium. The only options to create a story and retain creative control yourself are manga and novels.

I randomly submitted a manuscript and became a professional at 16. At the time of my debut, an editor asked me why I didn't draw a more innocent protagonist and make her happy right away. I was often told if I didn't draw a more appealing girl, the readers wouldn't follow me, and I was asked why I had to give my story such an unhappy ending. Fortunately, my female readers were kind enough to understand that thinking for yourself and taking responsibility for yourself is a beautiful thing, and I think that must be why they supported me.

When you become a professional, it's only natural that you also attract a lot of unfriendly opinions. Because of the flashy promotions the editing department ran touting me for winning the Newcomers' manga prize when I was so young, they wrote that I was a "genius girl." I think I was just industrious, though. If I were a genius, I should be able to write without all of the effort. What hurt was when people said things like "This is terrible, you're no genius!" or "It bothers me that they can call this 'good' so easily" or "Just give up!" It was painful and contributed to my indescribable anxiety. I had no choice but to force myself to accept that this was the kind of thing that happens when you're a professional. Of course, there were also letters encouraging me, and later I understood, but the thing that made me happiest was when readers around my age would say "Oh, it's okay to think of manga as a profession" and become motivated. In fact, it seems that talented girls in my age group decided to submit manuscripts, having realized it was okay for girls to choose a career in manga, and that as long as it had originality, it was okay to draw anything. I think that was my biggest contribution to the world of manga.

The manga artists in Japan at that time weren't lazy. They didn't take adult assumptions and force them to match children's level. They ardently asked kids head-on "do you feel like this?" I wonder if that earnestness resonated with children.

Works that Recount History

Since I was a little girl, I would haunt the school library and read countless books there. As I read nonfiction, I gradually fell in love with history and thought that if I were able to become a manga artist, I wanted to draw histories.

I first became familiar with the *Manyōshū*, the oldest collection of waka poetry in Japan, compiled from the late 7th to late 8th centuries, around the time I was going through adolescence. *Tenjō no niji* (Heaven's Rainbow)[1], which took 32 years of my professional career, was about a woman and man from the era of the *Manyōshū* that revolved around empress regnant Jitō.

For a long time, I had the impression that we think of "Old Japan" as the samurai society and the militaristic era that followed the Meiji Period, but when I read the *Manyōshū* it depicted things like upper-class men putting their lives in peril by falling in love with lower-class women, and lower-class women jilting aristocratic lovers. This was completely different from the men of old Japan the adults talked about. Once I realized this, I became extremely interested in the *Manyō* period.

They say of our generation that the place of postwar women rose and the sexes became equal. Education became equal-opportunity as well. The differences between men and women were eliminated in our country. "What a great era we've entered!" my grandmother and mother would always say. "When we were girls, the old Japan wasn't like this. Women couldn't say anything. Women were one step down, subservient to men." I was always forced to listen to things like that.

I thought "Then what about the people who left behind the poems in the *Manyōshū*? There are poems composed by the empress, poems praising the empress, even poems about romance. Moreover, there were poems that find fault with superiors, poems that bemoan our country's cruelty, poems that denounce the government, poems sympathizing with people who were executed for plotting coups, poems empathizing with anti-government agents, poems whose authors are unknown, even poems composed as the final act of people who were essentially destitute, collapsing in the street before they died. Everything is recorded

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in the *Manyōshū* and the work presents the pattern of society as a whole. There is no difference in social worth, no difference between men and women. I was overwhelmed by the immensity of its scope.

What interested me most was how many reigning empresses there were during that period. The fact I was interested was itself proof that I had been thoroughly influenced by later generations into thinking that emperors had to be men and women rulers were automatically anomalous. Even if you read history books about that time, it is written that regnant empresses were only standing in as a matter of necessity at times when there were no suitable male successors. However, when I looked it up as a matter of interest, there were plenty of cases where the regnant empresses ruled even though there were numerous suitable men. There are even cases where women overthrew men to take the throne themselves.

The knowledge I'd gained from my reading was limited to explanations that were filtered through the eyes of men. There were a lot of explanations that just said that due to unspecified circumstances, women became rulers, but when I looked back at their deeds, that wasn't the case at all. The more I learned about the history of the past, the more I was able to see how much of that history we had cultivated in the ensuing years. This came as a shock.

Essentially, during the period of the *Manyōshū*, men and women were complete equals in matters of romance. It appears likely that women also worked. The image I'd had inside my head until then of men and women like the ones I'd seen in period dramas flew away, and I came to hold the view that women in our country had always been strong.

Women were never able to come to the fore in Japan. They couldn't speak freely. They couldn't live leisurely. They thought everything had to be the way men decreed. But if you look at it from a modern Japanese sensibility, when women ran Japan according to Japanese values they were also naturally participating in and moving the country. When I think about that, it gives me courage. When I realized women had been capable all along and it was just a misunderstanding that they weren't, it made me very happy.

Women are actually strong, so just by realizing this I could do any ordinary thing. I decided I'd draw heroines who don't cry in front of people. I'd draw romance manga where no matter what happened, the woman wouldn't cede responsibility to a man. She would make her life decisions herself. I thought I'd draw girls who decided everything about themselves for themselves, and that is how I came to draw manga.

The Difference Between Foreign and Japanese Manga Artists

When you ask Japanese manga artists what they would've wanted to become if they hadn't become manga artists, the most established answer by far is film director. The next common responses are scenario writer or author. There are very few who say artist. All of the answers are occupations in which you create your own stories and themes. You also come up with your own outline and character designs and translate them into pictures. This is true joy, creating a world with nothing more than your own head and hands. Movies are wonderful, but they require a lot of labor. They cost a lot of money. But with manga, to put it in extreme terms, as long as you have a piece of paper you can, with your own motivation and effort, draw a whole universe, the secrets of life, absolutely anything at all. I can't express the pure joy of creating a world yourself.

If we consider sequential art in other countries around the world, there are, for example, American comics like *Spiderman* and *Batman*. When Japanese manga first began to expand abroad and I became acquainted with American sequential artists, there was something I found strange whenever we'd introduce ourselves. Japanese people would say "I write such-and-such series", but American artists would say "I am so-and-so, the person who took over X character from *Batman* from X year to Y year." Theirs is an introduction of "this is my artwork." Essentially, Americans create comics like films where they say "this is the producer and the director, that's the script, and you can leave that to the lead actors." There's always someone creating new scenarios for *Superman* no matter how many decades have passed since the original creator's death. And so there will always be new releases.

When I tell Hong Kong manga artists I draw hundreds of pages each month, they're surprised.

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And when I tell them I have five to six assistants in total, they say “What? What a tiny company!” Their concept of a manga artist is a system where the creator is the president of a publishing company who delegates the works they’ve conceived to be drawn by others, and then publishes those works in house. Japanese manga develops in a completely different way from the rest of the world, but the quality of the work is born from that process. A work no one else could have made, a character only that person could have drawn. An expression born purely because it was this person who created it. That’s important, isn’t it? That’s what gives a work a sense of unity between the dialogue and the story that person conceived.

Authors have put their heart and soul into cultivating themes and presentation styles that will allow them to be read by both middle and high school students. That is why readers continue to read manga even as they grow into middle, high-school, college students and adults. I think the reason manga has been accepted by every possible generation is that the authors expanded their genres, themes, and their breadth of expression to draw in a way that would make their work compatible with a diverse age range. A lot of interesting works have come from that process.

An increasing number of adults believe that manga is manga, literature is literature, and the way you enjoy them is different. Manga culture has blossomed as a result.

Japanese Manga as Seen from Abroad

In the 1970s, publishing companies thought when manga culture blossomed in Japan that they might be able to sell it in America and acquired the works of numerous authors. Americans who saw *Doraemon* at that time responded, “It’s not cute.” They said “This nonsensical creature has all kinds of abilities and the main human character is passive. A pathetic story like this isn’t entertaining.” They also said it was too long, and that it was plain because it was monochromatic. Moreover, it keeps going and going and there are dozens of thick volumes. “I don’t want this, it isn’t a comic.” The publishers and authors all thought, “Okay, manga is culturally unique to Japan after all. Oh well.”

Figure 4. A cover of first volume of Doraemon created by Fujiko F. Fujio (Shōgakukan, 1969 to1996)

Around the same time there was talk of people reading Japanese manga all over Asia. They were circulating “bootleg” copies. Japanese readers had taken copies with them when they left Japan, and people who had studied abroad or worked in Japan and talked about how interesting they found Japanese manga brought volumes back to their home countries, and little by little pirated copies appeared on the market. Even though we had already been told manga was completely useless in America and that manga weren’t comics, we heard about its popularity in Asia and wondered if it was simply a passing fad, but thankfully that wasn’t the case. It was on my mind as well, and so whenever I had the chance I asked Malaysian, Indonesian, Singaporean, Korean, and Taiwanese readers what they liked about each work—what scenes did they think were cool, what they thought about this protagonist, what scenes resonated with them—and every time their responses weren’t much different from those of Japanese readers. They felt the characters we thought were cute were similarly cute.

There is a lot of past history between Japan and its neighboring countries, and no matter how much we

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try we won’t be able to understand each other. I have had a lot of personal experience with Asian friends with whom I get along in private, but ultimately wondered if it wasn’t futile. But what we felt when we read manga was one and the same—at heart, I realized that this was a “language” we had never used before. I thought with manga we can share that we are moved in the same way, and I was convinced that manga had become a wonderful global common language. After the war, we were able to come to a deeper understanding of America through TV series like *I Love Lucy* and *Superman*. I think it’s possible manga and animation serve the same purpose.

We created an NPO in order to understand each other through manga, and began to work to see if we could do something to promote it together. “Manga Summit”[2] was born from the joint efforts of Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, Hong Kong, and Chinese manga artists and is an international conference of artists. Artists from each of the East Asian countries that were the earliest to adopt manga have joined hands to support further development of this shared culture. Manga Summit doesn’t just deepen the amity between artists. Sometimes we offer opinions on social problems from our perspective as manga artists. In 1997 at the Seoul conference, the Korean government had instituted strong rules regulating expression in manga, so the participants filed a complaint and composed a written statement expressing their desire for free expression. After the conclusion of the 2008 Kyoto protocols, we were inspired to make our main theme about environmental reform and through manga to enlighten people about movements to halt global warming, promote nutrition, and the 3Rs (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle). In recent times, this has not just been the work of Asian countries. We’ve transitioned to international symposiums that have participants from America and France as well. To quote the charter established by Manga Summit:

> We are now united by the common language called “manga.” We want to share our joy with the people who played a part in helping manga bud and take root in each country. We want to join hands to make manga a common language. We want to share the joy of having your culture be accepted, the joy of supporting each other, the joy of building a future based on a common culture—these are the emotions and the passion we want to be known by as many people as possible.

In Conclusion

Today, *Doraemon* and *Sailor Moon* are the heroes and heroines of children around the world, Pikachu from *Pokemon* is the beloved pet of children all over America, and it appears that the character Lupin from *Lupin the Third* is Italian women’s ideal type. Japanese manga spread and established itself across the globe, and now the dream of going to Japan and becoming a manga artist whose work could circulate throughout the world if they produce a hit, has spread among young people aspiring to become manga artists.

Figure 5. The first volume of the original Japanese release of *Sailor Moon* illustrated by Takeuchi Naoko and published by Kōdansha (July 6, 1992).

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Figure 6. A cover image of a dojinshi with Pocket monsters' characters collected by Toku at Tokyo Comic Market (Summer, 2000).

It is generally thought that you can become a manga artist even if you’re bad at drawing. Even if someone isn’t skilled, as long as there are pictures only they can draw and an atmosphere they want to convey, they will be convincing. We have naturally come to enjoy the feeling of putting together stories and scripts like a movie. It is best if we can create character designs in our own way. We don’t mind if we’re told “This isn’t a comic.”

If you ask why it was only Japanese manga that developed in this way, it is because it was uninhibited by common sense. This uninhibition gave birth to many varied genres, themes and characters. Manga has also been supported by readers, and because of that there are some incredibly niche works, works with a broad general appeal, and, moreover, abundant works that are marketable to children, adults, men and women. When you have such a wide array of works, it generates excitement and the people who want to write manga themselves increase in turn. Japanese manga culture was built in the years since we broke the pact that manga had to be a certain way.

Manga is just one form of expression, and it’s actually the creator who decides what to draw using that form. There are times when the protagonist is unattractive, times when evil wins, and times when justice is not understood. Japanese artists used the form of manga to announce to the world “I want to write themes like this. I want to draw protagonists like this.”

I want to offer this advice to everyone determined to become a manga artist: You don’t need to draw well. Set your sights on expressing yourself in a way that empathizes with your characters. I want you to face the future without forgetting your willingness to take on challenges, because you can’t tell the author’s background from a manga, and manga is something you can create no matter your age.

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[1]. 1983-2015, Kōdansha. A historical romance starring the 41st ruler of Japan, empress regnant Jitō, as the protagonist. As empress, Jitō helped her husband after his ascension, ascended the throne herself after his death, and demonstrated the political savvy to establish the Taiho Code and order the collection of the *Nihonshoki*. The manga illustrates the love and turbulent life and career of the woman called Empress Jitō.

[2] Manga Summit, for which Machiko Satonaka serves as a representative, is an international conference of manga artists. Beginning with the 1996 “East Asia Manga Summit” hosted in Tokyo and Iwaki, Fukushima prefecture, the conference has rotated through most of the major cities of East Asia including Seoul, Taipei, Hong Kong, and Beijing. http://www.mangasummit.jp/?lang=eng

Part 2

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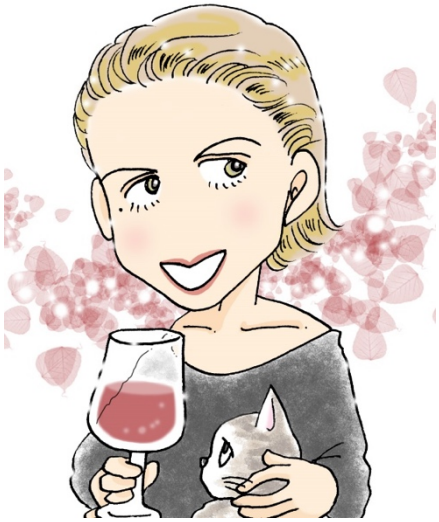
Manga as a Teaching Tool for Enhancing Learning and Understanding of Japanese Classical Literature

Paola Scrolavezza
University of Bologna



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A classic is a work which constantly generates a pulviscular cloud of critical discourse around it, but which always shakes the particles off. (Italo Calvino, 2013)

Genji is now perceived, both in Japan and abroad, as one of the most potent emblems of the imagined community of the Japanese nation; as a masterpiece of world literature for which, and to which, Japan, its language, and its citizens are somehow responsible. (Michael Emmerich, 2013)

The increasing development of web communication networks and technologies plays today a fundamental role in spreading and penetrating Japanese visual popular culture into everyday experiences of new Italian generations. That's why using popular culture as a teaching tool results in stimulating students' active participation in learning processes and helps enhance the understanding of complex concepts and theories (i.e. both cultural and social issues and critical approaches). This perspective is obviously based on the view of the university class as a hermeneutic community. I use visual popular culture in my own teaching practice in two ways:

1. As a teaching tool to develop, teach, and understand Japanese classical literature in my class.
2. As a lens through which we can analyze Japan's contemporary culture, society, and experience in the project 'NipPop: Words and Forms from Tokyo to Bologna'.

'NipPop: Words and Forms from Tokyo to Bologna' is a project created and developed by the Japanese Language and Literature teaching staff of the School of Languages and Literatures, Translation and Interpreting – Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna. It focuses on contemporary Japan, particularly on those phenomena – such as cinema, manga, and animation – that have played a decisive role in spreading Japanese culture worldwide during the last decades. Our main annual event is held yearly in May/June and alternates between conferences with Japanese and Italian artists and international scholars, and activities involving the audience and the students directly, such as workshops, concerts, cosplay contests, screenings and performances with artists and authors. Through such engaging activities involving different forms of art and culture, we aim to suggest a reflection on the processes that led to the origins of fandom, as well as on the trends that are gaining widespread popularity in an increasingly heterogeneous audience and on important issues in Japanese contemporary reality and society.
But what I want to focus on here is the educational experience in my class on Japanese classical literature. The title I have chosen for my course is *Canon*

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Formation, Cultural Identity, and Classical Japanese Literature. Its primary aim is to provide students with some basic tools to approach Japanese literary texts in order to facilitate the understanding of the most representative authors from the Nara period to the end of the Tokugawa era, and to stimulate the critical analysis of some fundamental notions such as "classic" or "literary canon." The re-writing of classical narratives and history in contemporary pop culture (first of all the many manga versions of the masterpiece of Heian period *Genji monogatari* [The Tale of Genji]) offers a perfect starting point for discussing those topics and involving students in various interactive activities which can make the classroom more dynamic and creative.

Teaching Japanese Literature in Italy Today

Teaching Japanese literature in Italy today requires an in-depth analysis on two crucial issues:

1. Analysis of the situation of humanism in Italy today.
2. Analysis of the stereotype which is still prevailing in the representations of the so-called *Orient*.

But first of all, it is important to focus on the object of teaching, i.e. the concept of literature itself, or the history of literature. If reflecting on the concept of literature means reflecting on the canon and its formation and conceptualization in the modern era, the central issue today is represented by the history of literature's relationship with transmission and reception processes. This is because the meaning of a literary work is intrinsically linked to the process of reception, and therefore to the communication relationship between writer and reader. That is historically conditioned both at the moment when the work itself was made public, and today when we turn back to read it. The meaning of a literary work is therefore conditioned not only by the evolution of the literary institution but also by society's values and culture - which are also constantly changing.

A literary work is therefore not written once and for all but is constantly renewed, and actualised time after time in different ways: to quote Bachtin on Shakespeare, the author we know today is certainly not the same as he was in the Elizabethan age (Bachtin, 1988, 344-45). As a consequence, for any time period, generation, and age, a literary work must be questioned and subjected to the scrutiny of the values which have meanwhile been established.

Within such dynamics, readers, schools, and in particular universities, have a great responsibility today not only in keeping alive the cultural heritage of the past through its re-use, but also in selecting it. And here it is clarified why the history of literature should not only be the history of the literary institution, but it should also be the history of transmission and reception, of a work's fortune and of the readers' tastes in different ages, and of the evaluations of the critics and of the audience.

As we gradually distance ourselves from the moment when a literary work was produced, as a matter of fact, the cultural gap between us and the work itself increases, especially when it belongs to a world that is also geographically remote. Moreover, today the deep transformations in the way of conceiving and perceiving culture, books, and history are widening the gap between younger generations and literature itself because of the processes of digitalisation currently in progress. In my experience, our students are feeling a deeper and deeper distance not only from the texts of the past but from the literary text itself. Perceptive modalities have been established that question the traditional relationship between writing and reading, and those make the moment of receiving and actualizing a text problematic. This forcibly leads us to place the moment of the valorization of the text – that is of its interpretation – at the core of the teaching practice. But in order to interpret, appreciate, and thus actualize a literary text, the text must first be deeply understood in its many aspects. Indeed, the question of the meaning that a text assumes for us today can only be raised and analyzed on the basis of a deep understanding of the original meaning of the text. It is an intervention that in the case of a text belonging to the past and coming from a geographically distant culture such as the *Genji Monogatari* - the classic *par excellence* of Japanese literature, whose composition is conventionally dated to 1008 and attributed to the court lady Murasaki Shikibu – we begin with an exercise of translation and paraphrasing, an action that allows us to transpose the text into today's language. And that includes expressive forms and languages far beyond the traditional written text which embrace also the visual dimension. That is the case of the manga and anime versions of ancient and modern classical texts, which can be read throughout as 'translations' and 'paraphrases' as long as they are presented as forms of communicative mediation between writing and reading. It is basically an operation of reduction: the connotative values are lost in part or in full, and primarily remain the denotative ones. But it is only from the denotative values that it will be possible, subsequently, to explore and test the polysemic character of the text.

Through translation, paraphrasing, and commentary - as Romano Luperini (2013) observes in his recent volume dedicated to literary education in Italian schools - the student begins to be familiar with the text,

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albeit through a reduction of it. The process acts in brief as a bridge between past and present: in fact, it is not a simple reduction of the text to the present, for example through the use of pop culture languages, but rather the starting point of a hermeneutic process that will allow us to return to the past. Only in the dynamic shift between past and present - and between present and past - is it possible to achieve a critical actualization of the literary texts, and not an empty one.

For this reason, it is necessary to contextualize the message of the text, to place it in its time, through the enhancement of intertextual links and references to the author's poetics, literary production and sources, and to contemporary literary and cultural debates. A fundamental part of the process is the identification and highlighting of the issues referring to the imagination underlying the period when the text was composed. Such operations, instead, lead to the acknowledgement of the homologies between the literary and the historical-social levels, through which the passage from the translation-paraphrase-comment ground to that of interpretation is realized. Although – needless to say – interpretation must always remain open and problematic.

In other words, the ultimate goal of education is to understand why a text, even though it is so far *from us*, is still relevant *for us*; i.e. it succeeds in engaging the class as a hermeneutical community. The interpretation, in fact, marks the moment when the reader finds himself at the very center, and this also entails responsibilities and constraints to the extent that within the hermeneutic circuit and circle of the class the text cannot - and must not - be phagocytized. Even if post-modernism has challenged this assumption, underlining how, in contemporary reality, words are separated from things - to quote a famous aphorism by Umberto Eco, *nomina nuda tenemus* - it remains compulsory not to ignore the historical otherness of the text. In educational and critical practices, the past cannot be reduced to a database, but rather becomes the object of a construction necessary to restore a deeper and broader state of knowledge through the re-construction of the context around the text. And that context also includes the history of criticism and therefore that of the text's readings and interpretations.

From this point of view, using the anime and manga versions of *Genji Monogatari*, an unquestionable masterpiece of classical Japanese literature, offers many clues for reflecting on the concept of "classic," on the canon, on the role played by reception practice in the text's history, on the past, and on the ways in which the present relates to it.

The Decline of Humanism and the Question of the Canon

At the beginning of this essay we highlighted how fundamental it is for educational practices to be aware of the current status of humanism in Italy. For years we have been talking about it in terms of decline as an inevitable consequence of the prevalence of technical and utilitarian ideologies, and of the spread of audiovisual and multimedia communication. The triumph of mass-media, of advertising languages, the spectacularization of the public and private sphere, and the rise of digital technologies have certainly contributed to fostering a sense of growing alienation from the literary text. Book culture increasingly seems to be part of an obsolete past, and the literary language is perceived by the younger generations as foreign and hostile. As Luperini (2013) observes, it is necessary to elaborate a new educational paradigm aimed at the enucleation of text contents in order to establish a vibrant relationship with the present, redefining - and re-legitimising - literary studies as an interpretative space for research in cultural-humanistic perspective.

Crucial within this discourse is the canon question and the meaning and role that it still plays in literary studies, as well as the heated debates of recent years that seem to have somewhat strengthened. The debate - as is well known - was triggered by the publication of the famous *The Western Canon: The Books and Schools of the Ages* by Harold Bloom (1994), preceded by the seminal *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (1973). With *The Western Canon*, Bloom proposes choices - starting with that of placing Shakespeare at the center of the canon and at his side, but in a subordinate position, Dante - that have triggered endless controversy. He criticizes what in his opinion is a guilty dropout of aesthetic value in the school teaching in favor of a perspective crushed on social instances. For this reason, it would no longer be possible to establish a canon, which on the contrary he considers necessary: because the choices and judgements are no longer based on aesthetic value, but on an easy usability, it is spoiled by aims unrelated to literature itself. For Bloom it would be much more useful, also for educational purposes, to make students read the classics, and – among contemporary literary works – a few texts selected by both academics and critics because, in their opinion, these literary works are destined to become themselves classics in the future. Bloom's attacks on the degeneration of literature in the era of rock, punk, and comics, and there were many replicas, especially in the field of Cultural and Postcolonial Studies, but also in Reception Studies, starting from Jauss and from the protagonists of the debate on world literature. It is impossible here to give even a summary of the debate's history.[1]

What emerges clearly from the debate is that the canon is a socio-cultural construct, and as a result it is always

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shifting and relative, and cannot be fixed once and for all or dogmatically imposed. Each canon is temporary, because it depends on the moment's prevailing taste, culture, and imagination. Paradoxically, it is in this precariousness that the canon finds its *raison d'être*: it is necessary because it expresses both the memory and historical conscience of a specific community.

Reading a Japanese classic like *Genji Monogatari* in Italy today as part of a university program means first of all questioning *why* it is considered a classic in Japan and in the rest of the world. Reading it through its pop rewritings means reflecting on what it still has to tell today (I intentionally echo here the famous definition of Italo Calvino, taken from *Why Read the Classics?*, "A classic is a book which has never exhausted all it has to say to its readers"), but also it means thinking about the relationship that contemporary Japanese culture entertains with the texts it considers classical or canonical.

Rewriting the Classics

In recent years, critics have also debated about rewriting practices. Much has been said about the post-colonial rewritings of the canon in English and Francophone studies, and the classical reference - there is also a canon of criticism - remains *Palimpsestes* by Gérard Genette (1982). In Italy, a good example of rewriting involving pop cultures is represented by the volumes of *La grande letteratura a fumetti* (The Great Literature in Comics) published by Mondadori Comics; in the presentations of the volumes, the adherence to original texts is emphasized and this suggests that the starting point for the project has been the need to bring young people closer to the classics of Euro-American literature through comics, where philological rigor is diluted in entertainment. In Japan an equally valid example is offered by the *Aoi bungaku* project, launched by Madhouse, which sees the anime adaptation of selected modern classics of Japanese literature thanks to collaborations with famous mangaka, including Takeshi Obata [2], Tite Kubo and Takeshi Konomi, as character designers. As far as *Genji Monogatari* is concerned, there are many rewritings and - as Emmerich points out - it is clear that the eleventh-century classical text, composed in classical Japanese, has little to do with the prestige *Genji Monogatari* continues to enjoy as a canonical work (Emmerich, 2013, p.10). Indeed the relationship between *The Tale of Genji* as "the pinnacle of high culture" (Emmerich, 2013, p.10) and *The Tale of Genji* as a phenomenon of popular culture is long and multifaceted. The text from the classical era to the present days has been the subject of commentaries, essays, and textbooks, but also an object of parody and pastiche, and has been adapted in illustrated books, *ukiyo-e*, theater, film, manga, and anime. This impressive body of paratexts and re-writings tells the story - equally long and multifaceted - of the reception of the classical text and of the cultural history of Japan on which *Genji Monogatari*, since the time of his composition by the court lady Murasaki Shikibu, has exerted a profound influence at various levels.

As Haruo Shirane pointed out, moreover, not only have the media and institutions canonized *The Tale of Genji* - or rather re-canonized, several times and at various ages - in Japan, but it is also one of the few Japanese texts that, in the modern period, has come to be recognized also overseas as part of world literature, celebrated as (perhaps) the world's first novel (Emmerich, 2013, p.10). This process, related to both authority and symbolic value in terms of national identity construction attributed to the text, has been accompanied by different dynamics linked to the popularization of the text itself, which have in fact made it accessible to a new and wider audience. In particular in the postwar years, free modern translations and manga, movies, and anime adaptations transformed the classical text in "a staple of pop culture".

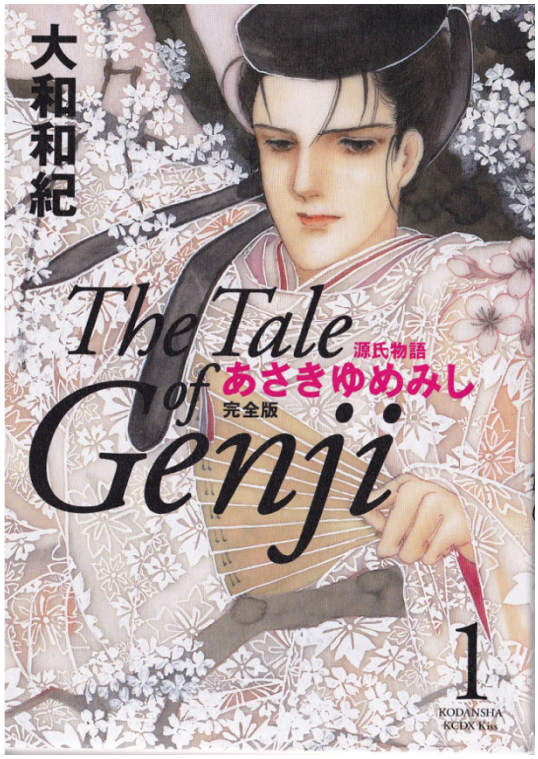

Figure 1. Image of young Genji by Yamato Waki (Yamato, volume 1, 2008 [reprint], Cover). ©Yamato Waki/Kodansha

During the Meiji period (1868–1912) at the beginning of the 20th century, with the spread of the nineteenth-century European notions of "literature," *Genji Monogatari* was recanonized as a "novel," a genre which was now considered as the most advanced literary form, and it played an important role in the establishment of the new fields of national literature (*kokubungaku*) and national language (*kokugo*). Then, in the Shōwa period (1926–1989) it inspired novelists such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari,

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Enchi Fumiko and Mishima Yukio. Finally, at the end of the century the process of popularization explodes, and between the 1980s and 1990s, many full manga translations were written – the most famous of which is *Asaki yume mishi* (Fleeting Dreams, 1979–1993) by Yamato Waki – , and also many *anime* and movies were released.

> Broadly speaking, *The Tale of Genji* has been received in two fundamental ways, which I have called readerly reception and writerly reception. In readerly reception, the text is approached as something primarily to be read, interpreted, and taught. In the history of *The Tale of Genji* reception, this has taken the form of collated manuscripts, commentaries, variorium and annotated editions, criticism, scholarship, character genealogies, chronologies, textbooks, and anthologies. In writerly reception, by contrast, *The Tale of Genji* is the source for literary production, ranging from a stylistic model to an object of allusive variation, parody, pastiche, digests, adaptations, and translations. In media reception, which can be considered a subcategory of writerly reception, the *Genji* is the basis for re-creation in such media as painting, drama, illustrated books, fashion, food, design, musicals, films, animation, and comics. [...] Writerly reception differs fundamentally from readerly reception in that the writer looks to the text not only for the narrative, characters, and scene, but also for models of composition, style, and poetic diction and for creative inspiration (Emmerich, 2013, p.10).

Among the most interesting works related to the media reception analysis that I read with the students attending my course in Japanese classical literature figures the serialization of Yamato Waki's *Asaki yume mishi* (Fleeting Dreams), which I mentioned above. This famous manga rewriting of *Genji Monogatari*, was first published in *Mimi*, a monthly comic magazine for teenage girls. The serialization started in 1979 – at the beginning of the so-called golden age of *shōjo manga* (girls' comics) – and lasted for almost fifteen years, until 1993. Issued in book form by the end of 1999 and then released in further several formats - pocket, semi pocket, and luxury – *Asaki yume mishi* reached an unparalleled popularity, selling more than 17 million copies (Kitamura, 2008). Yamato Waki herself has written that it was her hope to offer a manga version of *The Tale of Genji* before people lost all interest in the Heian period masterpiece (Yamato, 2001, vol.7, p.278). Indeed, in the 1970s, neither the classical text nor its many versions in modern Japanese were able to attract readers, especially the younger ones. As we have seen happen today in Italy, the younger generations were starting to lose interest in books due to the collapse of traditional literary culture and the social transformations related to accelerated economic growth. But Yamato's version, with its accessible language and "romantic" drawing style, was able to fascinate a wider audience of teenage girls and young women. Given the number of copies sold, it can be concluded that Yamato Waki has achieved her goal, which is to revive the interest in Murasaki Shikibu's masterpiece.

Another manga series that played a key role in the reception of *The Tale of Genji* in present-day Japan is the version by Egawa Tatsuya. The serialization of his *Genji Monogatari* began in March 2001 in *Ōru-man* (All Man), a manga magazine for young men. Egawa's version, in spite of the numerous descriptions and illustrations of sexual encounters – which are typical of *seinen manga* – is a word-for-word translation of the classical text into modern Japanese, completed by explanatory notes in the margins, and it includes some original sentences. The author himself writes that his dual purpose was to provide a resource for study, and a "night friend" for his target audience, teenagers preparing for college examinations (Schodt, 1986, p.18; Kitamura, 2008).

Another particularly curious version worth remembering is *Ozukami Genji monogatari Maro'n?* (Getting the Gist of *The Tale of Genji*, I/Chestnut?, 2002) by Koizumi Yoshihiro, which presents an unusual portrait of Hikaru Genji in form of a chestnut (*maron*). (Figure 2)

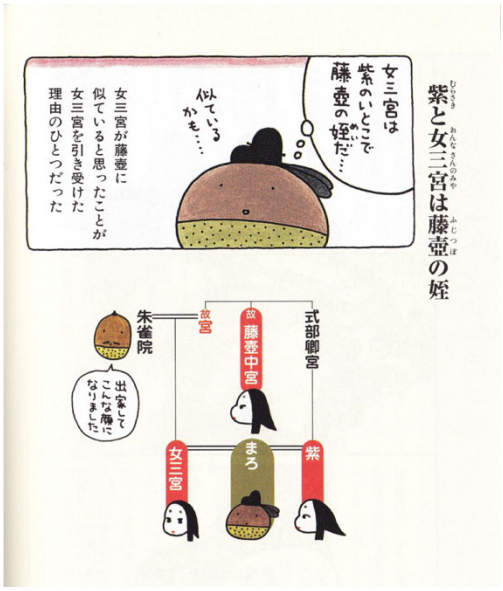

Figure 2. The relationship between Genji, Fujitsubo, Murasaki and The Third Princess Onna Sannomiya by Koizumi (Koizumi, 2002, 184). ©Koizumi Yoshihiro/Gentosha

The author explains that the choice comes from his sympathy for *marron glacés*, but the term *maron* actually allows a particularly successful wordplay with the first person pronoun *maro* used during the Heian era - says Maria Teresa Orsi, the author of the recent

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Italian version of *Genji Monogatari*. Koizumi's work also, like the Egawa version, does not lack a philological rigor: the manga is divided into fifty-four chapters with the same titles as the original, and is accompanied by tables and diagrams aimed to illustrate to the readers the customs and structure of the Heian Court, as well as the complex relationships between the main characters.

In short, it is clear that the analysis of the manga versions of *Genji Monogatari* offers the opportunity to reflect – at a more theoretical level – on the formation and deconstruction of the canon, and – at the context level – on the relationship contemporary Japan entails with its history and its cultural heritage. But it also provides food for thought on contemporary society, on the role of pop cultures and their relationship with so-called "high" culture, and on the relationship between literature – i.e. written texts - and the new media. And last but not least, the analysis of the manga versions of *Genji Monogatari* allows us to explore issues related to the transnational circulation of culture in an increasingly globalized world, the role of interlinguistic and intersemiotic translation, and growing relevance to the market. And ultimately this allows us to rediscover the meaning of reading the classics.

As we said at the beginning of this essay, the reading/interpreting practice implies a dialogue with the text and with the other readers/interpreters of the past and present, and this practice is an indispensable premise for the actualization of the text. This basically means analyzing in critical perspective the reasons why we read and value certain texts in the classroom, and thus correlating the current imagination of the class to the historical imagination of the texts.

At the basis of this educational proposal there is obviously - as we have already pointed out - the enhancement of the class as an hermeneutic community, a *conditio sine qua non* for a practice based on the centrality of the moment of reading, and therefore of the student as the subject of learning. But that implies also an approach intrinsically transcultural and transdisciplinary, open to interconnected readings of texts following paths built by genre - as a channel of communication and reception – or by subject - as a bridge between the imaginary of the reader and that of the work. This is an approach not strictly limited only to the study of the literature. And here too, in reality, other questions arise. First of all: which literature? Literature, in fact, like the canon, is ultimately a convention, and literacy is a cultural construction articulated in different forms according to the historical periods. In other words, the literary text is something that tradition, canon, and reception - that is, the relationship between writing and reading - have historically configured as literary. And proof of this is the series *La grande letteratura a fumetti* by Mondadori Comics mentioned above, where alongside Tolstoy we find Emilio Salgari.

I want to conclude this part with another quote from Haruo Shirane who, in summarizing the value of the rewritings of *Genji*, implicitly and involuntarily synthesizes the reasons for the effectiveness in educational terms of placing such rewritings at the core of the hermeneutic circuit and circle of an university class:

> The unceasing transformation of the *Genji* in contemporary media and modern languages, including foreign languages, has also given a text that is over a thousand years old and almost impenetrable to modern readers an unfailing sense of contemporaneity in Japan and elsewhere. *The Tale of Genji* remains a work that deserves attention not only because of its canonicity or its place in the Japanese school curriculum, which allocates diminishing time to the classics, but as a result of its constant reenvisioning by writers, readers, artists, and new media. (Shirane, 2008, n.p.)

Reversibility of Distances and Differences

There remains one last point to be briefly analyzed: the impact of the persistence, in the context of con-temporary Italian culture and in the imaginary of younger generations, of an essentialist stereotype about Japan and Japanese culture. In this perspective, Japan becomes a sort of dreamland where the traits characterizing the so-called *Orient,* still perceived as exotic, mystical and distant, are encapsulated. At the same time the country appears as a synthesis of the anxieties and fears plaguing contemporary - or if you prefer post-modern - society facing the spread of technology, an image that re-emerged even more powerful after 2011.

The reduction of Japan to a stereotyped image has a long history, which Japan itself has largely fed. In Italy a fundamental role was played by Gabriele D'Annunzio, who in 1923 wrote these significant verses:

> *Nel Giappone nei dintorni di Kyoto abiterò un vecchio tempio di legno,*
> *fra i ciliegi lievi e gli stagni coperti dai fiori del loto e*
> *i sorrisi discreti dei bonzi*[3]*.* (D'Annunzio, 1990, p.33)

> *In Japan, near Kyoto, I will live in an old wooden temple,*
> *between the light cherry trees and the ponds covered with lotus flowers, and*
> *the discreet smiles of the bonzes.*

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D'Annunzio's image of Japan was built on the basis of the arrival of Japanese culture in Europe during the great season of international exhibitions, the fascination of which lay most of all in the fact that those gave visitors the impression that the whole world was on display before their eyes: art, science, and technology transformed into the most spectacular form of mass entertainment imaginable then. In Japan the international exhibitions have certainly helped to strengthen the authority of the emperor and the state, celebrating on the one hand the goals achieved by the country on the road to modernization and westernization, and on the other hand projecting a specific idea of national identity. In fact, from the Meiji Restoration until 1925, the government ensured that Japan made an adequate display of itself in all major international exhibitions as part of its efforts to ensure that the country was perceived as a modern nation in all respects (Low, 2007; Hoffenberg, 2001; Yoshimi, 1992).

To tell the truth, however, Japan's first participation in an international exhibition dates back to the year before the Meiji Restoration, in 1867 in Paris. The invitation to participate had come directly from Napoleon III in person, and it was the *han* of Satsuma and Hizen who were responsible for the organization of the Japanese pavilion: although small in size, this allowed visitors a taste of the refined traditional aesthetics, expressed in lacquers and ceramics, and it received unpredictable success. The first event after the Restoration was the great exhibition in Vienna in 1873 where the space reserved for Japan was large enough to allow the setting up of a garden that re-proposed the atmosphere of Kyoto temples. Vienna was followed by the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, dedicated to the celebration of the centenary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, which was even more sumptuous.

Each time the Japanese pavilions, and especially the area dedicated to traditional arts - ceramics, silks, lacquers, kimonos and *furoshiki* - aroused interest and curiosity, partly because of the novelty and partly for the preciousness of craft techniques, and for the aesthetics in general. In other words, on the one hand, thanks to the wars against China (1894-95) and against Russia (1904-05), Japan sought international affirmation as a military and - hopefully - political power; on the other hand, with its participation in the Great Expositions it tickled the taste of the West for a certain exoticism. In other words, the country itself favoured the emergence of a sort of self-Japanism through which it titillated the fascination for a traditional aesthetic perceived overseas as soft and "feminine," in the broader context of the purest, most widespread, and spontaneous orientalism *fin de siècle*.

The traditional craftsmanship and art in the pavilions set up for the major international exhibitions and the *geisha* made immortal through the portraits by Felice Beato, made Japan famous throughout the world and crystallized its image in the phenomenon of taste called *japonisme*. To these images, after the Second World War, others were added, which critics have condensed in the label "techno-orientalism" and which emphasized the most modern, technological, and futuristic features of the country, essentially related to the anxiety of the post-atomic era. Just think of the portraits of destroyed cities chasing each other in post-war animation (and not only): Ōtomo Katsuhiro's *Akira* (1988), Rintarō's *Metropolis* (2001), and Hosoda Mamoru's *Summer Wars* (2009), each in a different way, offer interesting representations of the metropolis as a focus of the narrative of modernity's failure. Buildings aimed to protect individuals and communities prove to be inadequate, ambiguous, inhospitable, and porous.

What these two stereotypical images of Japan - one dominated by a refined aesthetic and the other by the fear of the destruction of humanity itself by a technology no longer controllable - have in common is that they locate and enclose the culture that produced them at a terrific distance, as well as both favor the popularization of Japan as an oxymoronic paradise. And in spite of the fact that both have been - as we have seen - culturally and historically built in a past that is now over, they are still vital.

The limit of the stereotype is that it becomes a paradigm, not necessarily wrong but partial. To undermine them and unveil their partiality it is essential to start processes leading to a critical awareness of differences. We have talked so far about the operation of text translation and transmission in a vertical perspective, from the past to the present, but teaching Japanese literature in Italy also implies considering the horizontal perspective, the one that looks at the shift from other cultures to ours and from our culture to theirs. In every translation act, the texts are grammarized in our language, and every transmission process establishes a transcultural dia-logue. In any case, such processes involve a clarification of the cultural difference.

Here too emerges the need to focus on the problematic nature of reading in order to revive the text in new ways, to remove it from the timeless fixity of a canonical, scholastic and normative dogma, and to transform it into an interdialogic subject.

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[1] In Italy, too, many critics have reacted to Bloom's positions (see "Allegoria,"1998; Orlando, 2001; Pisani, 2015).

[2] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[3] The volume contains some of the approximately 30,000 autograph documents left by D'Annunzio and kept in the Personal Archive of the Vittoriale.

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Toward "Reciprocal Legitimation" between Shakespeare's Works and Manga

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Introduction

In April 2014, Nihon Hoso Kyokai (NHK: Japan Broadcasting Company) aired a short animated film titled *Ophelia, not yet* created by Inoue Ryo.[1] The animation visually cites John Everett Millais's painting of *Ophelia* (1852) with cheeky twists: in this animation, Ophelia looks like the Ophelia by Millais, but she does not die because she can swim, being a national backstroke champion.

> My garments were pulling me down deep under the water.
> Suddenly I remembered,
> I am a national backstroke champion, am I not?
> Soaked clothes spread wide were dragging me down, but
> Not yet, not yet, it is not time for a watery death . . .
> My abusive boyfriend told me 'Go to a nunnery'.
> Not yet, Not yet,
> I would not be such a sweet fool to forgive him by laughing him away.
> Go, go, Ophelia . . .
> Almost native to that element, you can go anywhere in backstroke.
> Ophelia, Ophelia, don't give up, not yet.

This animation offers us one of the most up-to-date reworkings of Shakespeare's works in pop culture. Ophelia, in this animation, does not give up, does not die beautifully as in Millais's painting. To borrow Coppélia Kahn's (2012) phrase, this Ophelia is "a different Ophelia—a subject more than an object" (p.232). In its savvy cutting-and-mixing of canonical, high arts (Shakespeare and Millais) and pop culture (animation), *Ophelia, not yet* recycles, spins off and recalibrates "Shakespearean cultural authority to fit the demands of youth culture" (Lanier, 2010, p.112), which would not tolerate simplistic glorification of feminine self-sacrifice for love. It thereby playfully yet radically challenges the objectification and sexualization of Ophelia's death.

This essay will attempt to contextualize the complex negotiations, struggles and challenges between high culture and pop culture, between Western culture and Japanese culture, between authoritative cultural products and consumer products (such as animation), to argue that it would be more profitable to think of the relationships between highbrow/ lowbrow, Western/non-Western, male versus female, heterosexual versus non-

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heterosexual, not simply in terms of dichotomies or domination/ subordination, but in terms of reciprocal enrichment in a never-ending process of mutual metamorphoses. In an attempt to explore possible cases of what Douglas Lanier calls "reciprocal legitimation" (p.104) between "highbrow, middlebrow, and popular culture," I shall try, after briefly surveying Shakespeare's works as they are remade in comics format, to record some of the recent cases of Shakespeare remade in glocalized manga and animations (including the British *Manga Shakespeare Series*). In that process, this essay will try to showcase the ways in which Shakespeare's works and Shakespeare comics/manga/animation can compete in productive ways, with both as globalized/ localized cultural capital.

Shakespeare in European and American Graphic Novels

The first American Shakespeare comics were *Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth* in the *Stories by Famous Authors Illustrated* series, published in 1950. Shakespearean lines were modernized into 1950s American English, though the meaning remained the same. In 1952, *Hamlet* appeared in the *Classics Illustrated* series, which used the original Shakespearean English. In the "To be, or not to be" soliloquy scene, the upper right quarter of one whole page was given to a balloon for the soliloquy, and an explanatory note was added at the bottom of the page (Blum, 1952, p.16).

Richard Burt (2007) edited *Shakespeares after Shakespeare* and wrote in his introduction that "Comic book adaptations tend to be among the most conservative in any medium" (p.10) that adapted Shakespeare's works. While other medium such as novels and films dare to deconstruct the authority of Shakespeare by boldly altering, modernizing or parodying his works, comic, where "characters from Shakespeare. . . are almost always in period dress" (Burt, p.10), are largely faithful to the originals.

However, though few in number, there are some comics that adapt, rather than directly translate Shakespeare to create original stories. One example is the *Sandman* series by British science fiction writer, Neil Gaiman (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* #19, 1990; *Doll's House, Part Four*: *Men of Good Fortune* #13, 1990). In *The Tempest*, the story is integrated with "the end of Shakespeare's career and *The Tempest*" (Gaiman, 1995, p.41). Tony Tamai (2005), a Japanese American comics artist, employs manga style to set *Macbeth* in a space where the three witches look like robots and warlords fly on flying monsters: although the graphics are in sci-fi style, the Shakespearean lines are preserved without modernization.

Shakespeare in Japanese Manga from the 1950s to the 1970s

While faithfulness to Shakespeare's language is deemed highly important in most cases of graphic novels/comics versions of Shakespeare in English- speaking worlds, manga artists in Japan can take greater liberty with Shakespeare's poetic language; as Shakespeare's lines are presented in Japanese, there is little point in trying to be faithful to the original language. Conversely, if "there is something 'Shakespearean' other than the language," these works given in non-Shakespearean language "need no longer be regarded as secondary to their anglophone counterparts" (Minami, 2010, p.110).

In some cheekily iconoclastic cases, authors of manganized Shakespeare have taken great liberty with the stories, the contents of Shakespearean lines and the settings, to make them almost unrecognizable as Shakespearean. Tezuka Osamu's[2] "Robio and Robiette" (Tezuka, 2014; originally published in 1965), an episode in *Astro Boy*, is a tragic love story between Robio, a robot, and Robiette, another robot; his *Bampire !* (Tezuka, 2000; originally published in 1966-69) combines Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (the protagonist, Makube, is lured into pursuing his ambition by the prophesy of the three witches) and *Richard III* (the protagonist dreams of the ghosts of those he killed, just as Richard III dreamed that the ghost of his victims), and his *A Parrot with Seven-Colored Feathers* (Tezuka, 2000; originally published in 1981-82) has episodes adapted from *Hamlet, The Taming of the Shrew* and *Othello*. Minamoto Taro creates a superbly slapstick parody of *Hamlet* (Minamoto, 2013; originally published in 1972), where Hamlet ridiculously insists on peeping under Ophelia's skirt. Aoike Yasuko's *Sons of Eve* (Aoike, 1978) is outstanding in its sophisticated use of Shakespeare in outrageous parodies: in a play-within- a-manga scene, the role of Juliet is performed by a drag queen/king whose biological sex can change from time to time. Cute and effeminate Romeo swears his eternal love "by yonder blessed moon"(*Romeo and Juliet*, 2:1:149) and is gently scolded by his drag king/queen, Juliet, that he should "swear not by the moon, the inconstant moon" (151).

Feminist Guide to Shakespeare in Manga in the 1990s to the 2000s

When Shakespeare holds supreme cultural authority as a man and a western author, how do Japanese female

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manga artists recycle his works in order to address gender-related issues?

One good example of creative reuse of Shakespearean stories is Akino Matsuri's *As You Like It* (1997-98). The girl protagonist, Jacqueline, cross- dresses as a boy and joins a traveling theater troupe (Elizabeth I's secret agents undercover) led by Shakespeare. The author is fully conscious of the convention of boy actors performing the parts of females in the age of Shakespeare.

In one episode (Act 2), the young master of an aristocratic mansion where the troupe stays to perform is secretly in love with one of his male attendants. He decides, with Jacqueline's help, to cross-dress as a lady, in order to have just one dance with his loved one. The attendant as well has been in agony for his passion for his lord. It turns out that the Lord, named Celia, is actually a woman who was brought up as a man to secure her/his inheritance.

This is a good example of "reciprocal legitimation" or hybridizing of Shakespeare's work and manga, both of which address gender issues via cross-dressing. Akino consciously cultivates the rich tradition of girls in boys' clothing convention in Japanese manga, especially in Shojo manga. We can be certain that Sapphire in Tezuka's *Princess Knight* (1963-66) influenced Akino's creation of the above episode. The princess in Tezuka's work is brought up as a prince because the kingdom would have been usurped otherwise, as the laws of the kingdom forbid a woman to inherit the throne; she double cross-dresses (as a girl dressed as a boy dressing as a girl) to have a dance with a prince from an enemy kingdom. Likewise, Celia's mother raises her daughter as a boy in order to take revenge on a patriarchal system that oppresses her and her daughter. Akino mixes the cross-dressing in Shakespeare's work with Shojo manga to achieve the remarkable result of problematizing gender hierarchy via cross-dressing.

Manga reworking and renovation of Shakespeare can work to problematize gender issues without gender bending, as Sanazaki Harumo does in in her manga reworkings of Shakespeare's works. Her Shakespearean adaptations are given from the perspectives of the marginalized and the silenced, such as Lady Macbeth, Lady Capulet and Hippolyta. Her narrative technique and manga skills in her manga adaptations effectively challenge the heterosexism, gender hierarchy and patriarchy in Shakespeare's works. Created for mature female readers, her works belong to the genre called *redikomi* (Ladies' comics), which can have more sexually explicit material than manga intended for younger readers (Shojo manga). What is unique about her Shakespearean works is that she can focus on the power struggles between men and women in heterosexist patriarchal orders by making her works sexually explicit.

Sanazaki's *Romeo and Juliet* is narrated from the perspective of Juliet's mother, Lady Capulet [Figure 1], and her *Macbeth* is given from the perspective of Grouch, Lady Macbeth. Sanazaki revives Lady Macbeth's historical personal name, Grouch, which Shakespeare erased in his work. Figure 2 allows us to see how manga skills and techniques are employed to highlight the divide between the public, political sphere of men and the privatized and politically disempowered space of women.

Figure 1. Lady Capulet in Sanazaki's *Romeo and Juliet*. "Romeo and Juliet, they did what they wanted to do as their desire dictates, without thinking about others. Why do we need to pity them? They were the happiest ones." (Sanazaki, 2003, 120-121). © Sanazaki Harumo

Figure 2. The scene of Macbeth's coronation in Sanazaki's *Macbeth*. Above left, the lords are celebrating the new king's coronation, saying "Hail, Macbeth, King of Scotland!" Bottom left, Grouch, Lady Macbeth says "This is not what I wanted." (Sanazaki, 2003,184-185). ©Sanazaki Harumo

In that two-page spread, Macbeth, surrounded by men, is shown in a wider frame at the top left, crowned on the Stone of Scone, while Grouch, in isolation, is shown in a smaller frame at the bottom left, saying "this is not what I wanted" in her inner soliloquy.

Likewise, Sanazaki's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* focuses on Hippolyta, the Amazon Queen whose kingdom was defeated by Theseus' Athens. Even though Hippolyta knows that Theseus, as a political conqueror of her kingdom, can claim to sexually "conquer" her, she would not, at first at least, succumb to Theseus' call to think of their union as a marriage of love, and resists against a romanticization of the power relations between the conqueror and the conquered as "love." In Sanazaki's works, Shakespearean stories about passionate teenagers in love, ambitious military men and romantic love are adapted to reveal how the original works are youth-oriented, gendered and hetero-normative.

Contextualizing the Globalization of Manga Format Shakespeare: Cool Britannia, Cool Japan, Manga and Shakespeare

It was in 2007 that SelfMadeHero (SMH), a publishing house in London, introduced its *Manga Shakespeare Series* (MSS) with *Hamlet* (text by Richard Appignanesi, illustration by Emma Viecelli) and *Romeo and Juliet* (text by Appignanesi, illustration by Sonia Leong). *Manga Shakespeare Series* hybridizes two huge cultural capitals: manga and Shakespeare.

Appignanesi, the originating editor of the successful, illustrated *For Beginners* book series (Icon Books), uses Shakespeare's English, not a modernization, in his MSS texts, though he partially cuts and shortens the original. The general editor of MSS, Emma Hayley, is firmly determined to make MSS a pedagogical means of leading young readers to read Shakespeare's original English in manga. By 2009, SMH had published fourteen manga versions of Shakespeare's works (*Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, The Tempest, Richard III, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Macbeth, Julius Caesar, As You Like It, Othello, Much Ado about Nothing, King Lear, Twelfth Night, Henry VIII* and *The Merchant of Venice*).There is some historical background that made MSS possible in the 2000s. An American journalist, Douglas McGray argued about Japan's growing influence on global pop culture in "Japan's Gross National Cool" in 2002. The *Manga Shakespeare Series* was published between 2007 and 2009, when the Japanese government and Japanese businesses were seeking to promote Japanese pop culture products in what is called the "Cool Japan" movement. "Cool Japan" was in turn modeled on the "Cool Britannia" of the 1990s UK. According to Maezawa Hiroko (2012), Cool Britannia had two main emphases: cultural democracy and economic values. The former is meant to signify attempts to "democratize" culture, to make every culture, whether it is high culture or popular culture, accessible to everyone, regardless of class, ethnicity or gender. This aspect of Cool Britannia, the "democratization" or disregard for the cultural hierarchy between high culture and pop culture, was clearly illustrated when the prime minister, Tony Blair, invited British rock super group, Oasis, for lunch at 10 Downing Street on one day and attended a performance of *King Lear* at the National Theatre a few days later. Culture should be evaluated according to its economic value: this was the second point of emphasis of Cool Britannia. If culture is an industry, it can create employment. It was argued, therefore, that the government, the citizens and the market need to cooperate with one another to promote the creative industry. Under such a regime, cultural values and economic values tended to be regarded as one and the same. Shakespeare's works, commonly regarded as uncool, were made into one of the icons of Cool Britannia culture, yet they also became simply a cultural commodity to be shelved or trashed when they did not sell well. The Japanese government attempted to recycle the logistics and tactics of Cool Britannia by promoting Cool Japan on a global scale, as we can see in the fact that the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry released a proposal on the Cool Japan Strategy in 2011.[3]

The *Manga Shakespeare Series* hit the market at about this time. When MSS appeared on the scene, manga, which had been a niche market product sold at specialty stores, was becoming more mainstream in the UK and, partially owing to Cool Japan effects, it was becoming available at ordinary bookstores, occupying substantial space in the graphic novels/comics section. Even so, the MSS team, headed by the General Editor, Emma Hayley, had some anxieties about its reception: manga fans might reject MSS because it was Shakespeare, and Shakespeare admirers might look down on it because it was manga.

All MSS illustrators are manga artists living in the UK (their places of origin/ancestors' origins are various, including Malaysia, Italy, Japan). At the outset, collaborative works by Japanese artists living in Japan and the editorial team in the UK was one of the options, but MSS decided to employ manga artists residing in the UK so that the British publisher, SelfMadeHero, could help cultivate local manga talents. In this way, the globalized/localized

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cultural capital of manga is combined with the cultural mega-capital of Shakespeare, which has likewise become globally shared and localized. To take one example, the illustrator of *Twelfth Night*, Nana Li, was born in China, brought up in Sweden, and is active as an Original English-language manga[4] Artist in the UK (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Twelfth Night illustration by Nana Li. Manga Shakespeare Series (Li, 2009, 1). © SelfMadeHero

Sonia Leong, the artist for *MSS Romeo and Juliet*, sets her work in today's Tokyo, where Romeo and Juliet belong to the two warring yakuza mafia families. Romeo is modeled on the J-pop star, Yoshiki (from the band, X Japan); Juliet is dressed in Wa Rori costume (Japanese Lolita), a combination of a type of Victorian doll fashion full of frills and panniered full skirts (called roriita [Lolita] fashion) originating from Japan, with some elements of traditional Japanese costumes, such as the kimono.

Emma Viecelli makes clever use of manga conventions, such as the world after the final world war and a beautiful male youth in agony, in setting her *Hamlet* in a dystopian future after apocalyptic climate change and world wars, where surveillance cameras put everyone under total surveillance. She created her Hamlet as a beautiful boy filled with teenage angst, who is psychologically unstable and philosophical.

Talking Back to Shakespeare in Manga Ways

Japan has a large variety of manganized Shakespeare; some are faithful transmedia translations, others represent outrageous pirating. Faithful manga translations include Igarashi Yumiko's *Romeo and Juliet* (1995), and the *Romeo and Juliet* manga for elementary school children by Isakawa Megumi (2014). One case of the recent outrageous spin-offs is the *Black Butler*'s *Hamlet* episode (Shinohara, 2009), in which a transvestite performs the part of Ophelia, but she/he confounds the notion of pure, dedicated and self-sacrificial love by falling in love with every possible good-looking male around him/her.

There is a substantial number of *Romeo and Juliet* parodies in Japan, sometimes involving cross-dressing. As more recent additions to this tradition, we have a manga about a boy who has difficulty identifying himself as a boy, performing the role of Juliet in a high school performance against a Romeo performed by a girl (Shimura, 2011).

What are the relationships between Shakespeare's original works and their pop culture spin-offs? Manganized Shakespeare has become more audacious in its mash-ups, spin-offs, simplifications and critical challenges of Shakespeare's works. In some cases, Shakespeare's works function mostly as simple devices to get the manga stories going: they are far from being faithful to the originals. They pirate, rip off and abduct the originals, leaving few traces of them. The question is, are we to call these mangas Shakespeare-related cultural products? It could be argued that these mangas are sacrilegious with respect to Shakespeare's works, or that they are simply using Shakespeare as a marketing gimmick, which is at least partially true. Yet, even when this is the case, they are paradoxically offering tributes to Shakespeare, the biggest cultural capital. Conversely, manga purists can also argue that the Shakespeare industry is trying to take over manga in order to prolong the shelf life of that old commodity, Shakespeare. However, my contention is that Shakespeare and Shakespeare- related products that are almost impossible to recognize as coming from Shakespeare can reciprocally enrich each other, offering the chance to problematize basic assumptions, such as heterosexism, gendered social relations and class structure, both in Shakespeare's originals and in the adaptations.

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Hamlet in Osaka (Morishita, 2005), a manga about a working-class boy whose mother began living with her brother-in-law within 50 days of her husband's death, deconstructs the elements that make *Hamlet* a tragedy. The viewpoint of the working-class bad boy is emphasized in the manga. It starts with a scene where the protagonist is confronting his teacher for having compared him to a neighbor's hamster, named Hamu, when the teacher was actually comparing him to Hamlet. This experience proves to help make the boy more literate, for although he comes from a social milieu where reading classic literature is believed to be for teacher's pets and for geeks, the boy actually reads *Hamlet* in translation to fight back against his teacher, and learns that Hamlet is simply a wimpy spoiled crybaby. This reading experience teaches him not to be like Hamlet: he accepts his uncle and his mother's baby (whose biological father is unknown) into the family that his mother financially supports by working hard day and night. This manga rip-off, at the same time as it relativizes the ethics of monogamy and female sexual fidelity in the original (for *Osaka Hamlet*, it is not a big deal that the protagonist's mother was sexually unfaithful to her former husband/ his father), it scrutinizes Japanese society where Shakespeare's works are supposed be the monopoly of highly educated elites and the ideal of a good wife/wise mother is still binding.

Romeo and Juliet has become a well-established model to be emulated, imitated and sometimes parodied in manga. Basically, manga adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* are about love between heterosexual persons whose gender identity does not conflict with their biological bodies: girls identifying themselves as girls loving boys identifying themselves as boys. Recent developments in pop adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet*, however, problematize the hetero-normative basis of the *Romeo and Juliet* story, by making persons with same-sex passions and/or with discomfort with the gender identity perform their Romeos and Juliets.

Aoike's *Sons of Eve*, previously mentioned, where effeminate Romeo woos his Juliet-in-drag is one of the prototypes of lighter, slapstick gender-bender adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet*. Similarly devised recent work includes an episode in the *Black Butler* where Grell Sutcliff, a grim reaper, fights with Sebastian, comparing their inevitable confrontation to the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet (Toboso, Chapter 2). Her/his modified quotation from *Romeo and Juliet*, "Sebastian Darling, Wherefore Art thou Sebastian Darling?" adds a "queer" twist to this scene, making it possible to read this scene as that of a man wooing another man. These works, on their intentionally slapstick and blasphemous approaches, prompt us to notice how heterosexist *Romeo and Juliet* can be. However, if we remember that in Shakespeare's day the role of Juliet was performed by a boy actor, we can think of these manga queerings of Romeo and Juliet as instances of reviving, renovating and recreating not-necessarily- heterosexist possibilities of the original story.

Some mangas provide us with possibilities to deconstruct the heterosexist basis of Shakespeare's works by employing cross-dressing to give voices to lesbian desire. In *Daughters of Aries* by Satonaka Machiko (1973-75), a girl named Romi plays the part of Romeo. When classmates harass Romi and Emi (Juliet), saying that the girl-to-girl intimacy they show in their cross-dressing *Romeo and Juliet* is "unnatural," Romi confronts their heterosexist assumptions, asking "who determines girl-to-girl intimacy is 'unnatural'?" (Vol 1, p. 157).

Tsugumo Mutsumi's *Moonlight Flowers* (2001) is consistent in its challenge against hetero-normativity. Two women, who performed *Romeo and Juliet* in their all-female high school performance, meet each other after several years of separation, and discover their undying mutual same-sex passion. Sahoko, who performed the part of Juliet, tries to be a good wife to her husband, as patriarchy in the late 20th century dictates. The husband, an elite businessman who needs a trophy wife in order to be successful in the business world, accommodates himself with a mistress when he finds that his wife is less compliant than he expected. He attributes his infidelity to his wife's sexual unresponsiveness. The abusive husband of Sahoko (Juliet) is severely criticized by Kaoru (Romeo) as a homophobic male chauvinist whose male pride depends on his assumed ability to control female sexuality, and hence, for whom lesbians are the worst imaginable enemy. Shakespeare's works, when adapted to manga, offer a fertile ground to test non-cisgender, non-heterosexual possibilities in recycling Shakespeare.

Takako Shimura's *Wandering Son* (2002-2013) was mentioned in "12 Awesome LGBT Anime and Manga Characters."[5] In episodes of a junior high school performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, a boy who wants to be a girl performs the part of Juliet, and a girl who is not sure about her gender performs the part of Romeo.

In Kanno Aya's *Requiem for the Rose King,* with powerful women and an intersexed protagonist, the artist chooses *Richard III* for her artistic experimentations with gender transgressions. Elizabeth is a fiendish dominatrix thirsting for political power, sexually insatiable, who raped

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Henry VI to get impregnated. Jean D'Arc is said to have been killed for her cross-dressing. She, as a ghost in boyish fashion, haunts Richard whenever he is in crisis about his intersexed body.

The artist is known for her comic, but radical, questioning of gender stereotypes in her *Otomen* (combination of *otome*, meaning *girly*, and the English word *men*), which has frequently appeared on the *New York Times* bestseller list.[6] The central plot involves a romantic love comedy where gender stereotypes are exaggerated, twisted and reversed: the male protagonist --- super masculine in his public life as a master of martial arts, but in private life addicted to girly hobbies such as reading Shojo manga, sewing and baking --- falls in love with a girl who, conventionally cute in appearance, is more like an action hero (she is also a master of martial arts and is desperately poor at everything girls are supposed to like, such as cooking). The artist highlights how unconventional their love is by deliberately referring to *Romeo and Juliet* (vol. 11).

While *Otomen*'s characters, rebelling against gender stereotypes, have no problems with their gender identities, the protagonist of *Requiem of the Rose King* is an intersexed person. The protagonist remains fairly firm in his gender identity as a male in spite of his intersexed body, and is strongly misogynist in his hatred of his body and the powerful women around him. The series is still ongoing. In terms of gender politics in this adaptation, the contrast between Elizabeth, a willful bitch, and the super feminine Henry VI, who is attracted to Richard without knowing his identity, could be another case of innovative recycling of Shakespeare's cultural authority in today's Japan, where various experiments, challenges and questions regarding the oppressively normative gender/sexuality hierarchy are being explored, especially via pop culture.

Conclusion

This article is an attempt to explore the possibilities of "reciprocal legitimation" between Shakespeare's works and manga/anime/comic adaptations of them. After observing that in English-speaking worlds, comics versions of Shakespeare have stayed largely faithful to Shakespeare's original works, this article analyses the globalization and localization of Shakespeare's works and manga, both of which are no longer monopolies in their places of origin. Some comics/manga/animation adaptations are faithful to Shakespeare, others are in-your-face cheeky. Shakespeare's works and their comics/manga/animation adaptations are involved in complex negotiations, struggles and challenges with one another, in productive ways. Even though it is true that intermedia metamorphoses are part of the commercialization aimed at profit making, yet commercialization has the potential to make Shakespeare's works "pop", in the sense that they are "democratically" open to everyone. Among the things that commercialization has made possible in comics/manga/animation adaptations, we can count analytical insertions into the politics of gender/sexuality in Shakespeare's works and in today's Japan.

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[1] The chapter was originally published as Yoshihara (2016), "Toward 'Reciprocal Legitimation' between Shakespeare's Works and Manga," *Multicultural Shakespeare*, *14* (29). All translations from Japanese are mine, unless otherwise noted. Japanese names are given in Japanese order.

[2] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[3] See Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, http://www.meti.go.jp/english/press/ 2011/0512_02.html. Last accessed June 27, 2015.

[4] Manga originally produced in English, inspired by Japanese manga style. Abbreviated as OEL manga.

[5] GoBoiano, List by Dallas Marshall (June 17th, 2015), http://media.goboiano.com/list/ 3024-12-awesome-lgbt-anime-and-manga-characters.

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Looking at the Human World through the Eyes of Yōkai in Natsume's Book of Friends

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Introduction

I teach a literature course titled "The Gothic and the Supernatural in Japanese Literature." In this course, taught in English, we study folkloric tales and literary works such as Ueda Akinari's[1] *Tales of Moonlight and Rain (Ugetsu monogatari)*, Izumi Kyōka's "Holy Man of Mount Koya" (*Kōya hijiri*), and Lafcadio Hearn's *Kwaidan*. Surveying works about *bakemono* (dead spirits, monsters, evil spirits, etc.), we examine recurrent motifs, concepts, and narrative patterns, while studying the cultural and historical backgrounds behind the works and modern discourse on monsters and super-naturalism. The study of *bakemono* is a rich multi-disciplinary subject, intersecting visual and narrative arts. Taking advantage of the resources at my college's art museum, I bring my students to view a scroll from the mid to late Tokugawa period (18th-19th century) called *Bakemono sōshi* (Illustrated Monsters), in which various images of supernatural creatures of the sort that appear in the stories we read are depicted.

Figure 1. Japanese, 18th-19th century. Detail image of monsters: "oyanirami" and "bukakkō" in *Bakemono sōshi*. Hand scroll (1 or 2); Ink and colors on paper mounted on silk. Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, purchase, Betsy Mudge Wilson, class of 1956, Memorial Fund, 2005. 17. 1-2.

Toward the end of the course, I always introduce Midorikawa Yuki's comic *Natsume's Book of Friends (Natsume yūjinchō)*. This work is categorized as a yōkai manga. The term yōkai, also referring to *bakemono*, has become more popular in the twentieth century. We place this manga in bake-mono cultural history, and examine the cultural value of yōkai manga by taking today's audience and globalized popular market in mind. *Natsume's Book of Friends* is a modern popular product which stands on cultural, literary, and artistic imaginings of past and present. In this work, Japanese monster

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tradition is re-imagined, re-created, and presented to the diverse readers of the 21st century.

Popularity of Natsume's Book of Friends

Japanese popular culture today is rife with yōkai (spirit or monster) characters. The success of Miyazaki Hayao's *Spirited Away* is probably fresh in everyone's mind. Miyazaki's characters - scary but adorable - are derived from Japanese traditional monster images. Yōkai have appeared in art, literature, folklore, and film, and they have always fascinated people. The popularity of yōkai in recent manga and anime has developed fans outside of Japan as well. The idea of yōkai is now widely acknowledged overseas.

Japanese people have lived with yōkai since ancient times. Folklore and stories have described human interaction with them and taught religious and cultural mores and beliefs. Yōkai continue to inspire today's artists and creators, who produce stories that fit the modern audience. Midorikawa Yuki's *Natsume's Book of Friends* first appeared in the girls' comic magazine *LaLa DX* in 2003 and is currently serialized in its sister publication *LaLa* every month. These magazines' target audiences are teens and young women in their twenties. Midorikawa's yōkai are characterized by human personalities; they all have rich emotions. Girls' comics are known to pay special attention to adolescent girls' sensitive interiority. This comic tradition supports the basis of *Natsume's Book of Friends*. Readers find the story deeply resonant because both the yōkai and human characters' delicate minds are carefully delineated. After reading this manga, readers often say that the story is comforting. *Natsume's Book of Friends* has been made into TV anime series and animated films. In 2008, it was selected as a finalist for the Manga Taishō Award. The surging popularity of this work is observed in the fact that author Midorikawa's hometown, Hitoyoshi City, Kumamoto, where the stories are supposed to take place, has now become a tourist destination ("Real-life Locations of "Natsume's Book of Friends," n.d.). Visitors including those from overseas come to this small pastoral town to bask in the world of the manga.

The manga series has been translated into various languages including Chinese, Korean, English, French, Italian, and German. Regardless of the translated language, the term yōkai is kept the way it is. Why hasn't this term been translated? Perhaps it is because the concept of yōkai does not directly equate to ideas such as monsters and evil spirits. A Japanese yōkai is a multi-faced creature; it could be good or bad, adorable or scary, nurturing or devouring. Despite its complexity, the concept of yōkai is embraced by diverse audiences today. Yōkai manga's international success indicates the fact that the idea of yōkai is not only Japanese cultural terrain anymore, but has opened up to a broad audience.

Overview of Yōkai History

Yōkai's cultural history is summarized in such works as Komatsu Kazuhiko's (2006) *An Introduction to Yōkai Culture* (translated in 2017) and Michael Dylan Foster's (2009) *Pandemonium and Parade*. Here I would like to briefly go over how yōkai culture evolved and prospered to contextualize *Natsume's Book of Friends*.

Foster (2009) explains that the word yōkai is "variously translated as monster, spirit, goblin, ghost, demon, phantom, specter, fantastic being, lower-order deity, or more amorphously, as any un-explainable experience or numinous occurrence" (p.2). He prefers to leave the definition of yōkai "open-ended," because "the history of yōkai is very much the history of efforts to describe and define the object being considered" (Foster, 2009, p.2). Komatsu (2017) similarly finds it problematic to define the term yōkai in a simplistic manner. Komatsu, however, posits three basic conceptual categories; "yōkai as incidents or phenomena," "yokai as supernatural entities or presences," and "yōkai as depictions" (Komatsu, 2017, 13-19). The categories also indicate how people's under-standing of yōkai has transformed over time.

Yōkai - more commonly referred to as *mononoke* and *bakemono* in the premodern era - originally indicated strange occurrences; mysterious incidents were believed to have been caused by spirits. Komatsu (2017) explains the idea of yōkai by giving an example of the legend of "Bean Washer"; when villagers heard strange sounds of babbling water, they made themselves believe that the sound was caused by a spirit called Bean Washer (p.13). Inexplicable incidents are thus made explicable through the creation of yōkai.

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Yōkai as "a strange phenomenon" gradually became "entities." Yōkai spirits started to take the forms of animals, goblins, and anthropomorphized objects, and came to be depicted in picture scrolls around the 16th century. *A Scroll of Night Parade of One Hundred Demons (Hyakki yagyō emaki)* presented "a procession of demons passing through the capital at night" (Foster, 2009, p.8). The mysterious creatures drawn in the scroll were "un-worshipped spirits" (Komasu, 2015, p.16), which resided in the realm outside human civilization and were therefore viewed as "others" that were prohibited to be seen by humans.

18th century artist Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788) revolutionized monster culture by creating a series of supernatural images in a book called *An Illustrated Catalog of the Demons' Night Parade (Gazu hyakki yagyō)*. Toriyama portrayed each character individually instead of lining monsters in a procession. Scholars point out that Toriyama's book functioned as a yōkai encyclopedia, which people used to view monsters as "information" (Kagawa, 2005, p.163). In other words, yōkai had become a target of examination by humans. Yōkai books and scrolls came to be mass produced, and commoners could easily access them. People's fascination with yōkai thrived in the 18th - 19th centuries. Komatsu (2017) states that yōkai "began to be appreciated as entertainment. The very act of depicting yōkai spoke to the advantage enjoyed by the human side" (p.18).

Japan had rejected Western influences until the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912). Japanese people enthusiastically accepted advanced scientific knowledge of the West at the turn of the 20th century, and supernatural beliefs and superstitions started to be viewed with doubt and suspicion. Philosopher Inoue Enryō (1858-1919) established yōkai studies and attempted to "rationally explain away supernatural beliefs so that Japan could become a modern nation-state competitive with the West" (Foster, 2009, p.27). Enryō "developed an analytical framework to categorize yōkai and to scientifically sort out 'superstition' from what he defined as 'true mystery'" (Foster, 2009, p.27). Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), who saw a crisis in people's neglect of spiritual values, compiled tales that were handed down in Northern Japan in his *Legends of Tono* (*Tōno monogatari*, 1910) to preserve Japanese cultural memories. "Yanagita did not debunk yōkai beliefs as superstitions but set out to collect and organize them, listing them by name, place, and characteristic – as in a museum," (Foster, 2009, p.28). Through yōkai discourse, scholars and philosophers contemplated the reality of westernizing Japan and struggled to redefine Japanese cultural and national identity. Yōkai, at the same time, came to be viewed in binary opposition to the West and the modern; the term yōkai began to be associated with the old, the past, tradition, and nostalgia.

There was a yōkai revival in the popular culture of the postwar era. The contribution of manga artist Mizuki Shigeru (1922-2015) to this revival is hard to ignore. His well-known manga *Gegege no kitarō* (available in English translation under the title Kitaro) has been "repeatedly serialized, reprinted in book format, and adapted into TV anime series and other media formats" (Suzuki, 2019, 2201) since the 1960s. *Gegege no kitarō* has fascinated audiences from children to adult. The work is about a yōkai boy named *Kitarō* and his friends, good yōkai, as they try to protect the world from evil spirits and their influences. The yōkai characters "often appear next to humans, and even some share the same space within the same community of human" (Suzuki, 2011, p.233). Shige (CJ) Suzuki (2011) asserts that Mizuki's works utilize yōkai or deformed creatures as metaphors, signifying discriminated beings in modern society. A strong anti-war message and social criticism are also prominent in his works. Mizuki borrows traditional yōkai images and appropriates them for modern audiences.

Yōkai in popular culture is alive and well in the 21st century. The literary and artistic values of yōkai manga and anime are recognized and enthusiastically studied by scholars and critics. Suzuki (2019) points out the fact that scholars often tend to overemphasize the direct and continuous lineage from premodern culture in interpreting yōkai works (p.2203). Taking Mizuki Shigeru's case as an example, he insists that his yōkai stories are not the re-enactment of Japanese tradition, but involve ". . . a performative process of constructing a continuity of cultural tradition by aligning his works with premodern visual culture" (Suzuki, 2011, p.229). Performativity is a valid point. Old and nostalgic atmosphere appears to be emphasized in yōkai manga and anime, but it is merely atmosphere. *Natsume's Book of Friends* is an example of manga which, though inspired by yōkai tradition, flexibly

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modify yōkai images and narratives without losing the old-fashioned taste.

Examination of *Natsume's Book of Friends*

The main character of this manga is a high school boy named Natsume Takashi. He has an extra-sensory ability to see monsters. Having lost his parents soon after he was born, he has been taken care of by his distant relatives. Because of the odd behavior caused by his unusual ability, he is considered "strange" and a "liar." Treated as an annoyance, he has been sent to one relative after another. Takashi has always been alone and has felt isolated both at home and school.

One day, Takashi finds a "book of friends," a possession of his grandmother Reiko who had passed away before he was born. In this book, names of yōkai are inscribed. He soon learns that it was created by Reiko who not only had the ability to see yōkai but also possessed a strong supernatural power. She often approached yōkai, challenged them to fight, and made them promise that, if they were defeated, they would become her subjects. The unbeatable Reiko recorded the names of the yōkai that she had defeated in her "book of friends" and used it to call them whenever she needed them. Feeling bad for the trapped yōkai, Takashi decides to release each one of them from the book by returning their names to them. As he releases them, he learns each yōkai's story. From the stories, he also learns about who he is and who his grand-mother was. The yōkai explain how they interacted with Reiko; some of them even liked her. Through this interaction, Takashi comes to realize that Reiko was a lonely woman like him and just wanted to have friends. The yōkai are mediators for Takashi, connecting him to Reiko, and helping him retain his family memories.

Some of the yōkai are angry because they were mistreated and exploited by humans. Some are bewildered because they have lost their homes because of the destruction of nature caused by humans. Some nostalgically long for the ties with the humans with whom they had warm emotional connection. All the yōkai are commonly sad and lonely in the modern world where their existence is belittled and neglected. Takashi's role is to listen to and console them, and eventually to release them from their trauma and emotional sufferings.

The episode of "The Dew God" best represents the marginality of the supernatural beings. Although most characters in this manga are "un-worshipped spirits," there are some episodes which deal with "worshipped spirits" classified as *kami*, animistic spirits or deities. One day, one such *kami*, a tiny spirit named Tsuyukami, visits Takashi. He tells him how the world has become a difficult place in which to exist. In the past, he had a much closer relationship with humans. He says that people used to come to his shrine, pray, and show appreciation. But today, people have forgotten about his existence. Tsuyukami's body, the size of a teacup, indicates the degree of people's attention and appreciation.

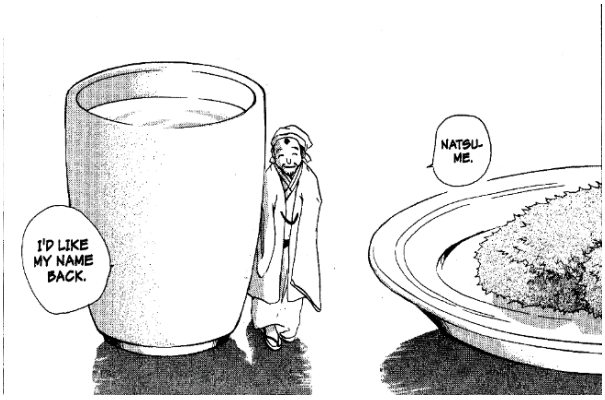

Figure 2. Image of Tsuyukami (Dew God) in *Natsume's book of Friends* (Midorikawa, vol.1, 2010, p.64). ©Midorikawa Yuki/Hakusensha

The smaller the kami's size, the less the people care about it. In the past, *kami* had a role to play in the human community and humans had some responsibilities for *kami*, through which the balance between nature and civilization was maintained. Today, however, Tsuyukai has only one visitor, an old lady named Hana, who has been paying visits to his shrine since her childhood. Tsuyukami has watched her grow. The fact that he has harbored romantic feelings for her is nuanced in his facial expression. They have never exchanged words, but the acts of praying and being prayed to constituted interaction between Hana and Tsuyukami. Now Hana is aged, ill and about to die. Tsuyukami feels that he has no reason to stay in the human world. Tsuyukami asks Takashi to return his name, and states: "She was the last person to worship me. When she dies, I will fade away, too" (Midorikawa, 2010, volume 1, p.92). After getting his name back, Tsuyukami vanishes from the world.

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The image of the aged Tsuyukami, who wears a traditional outfit, has the air of antiquity. But Tsuyukami and the story are Midorikawa's inventions. The episodes in *Natsume's Book of Friends* come from Midorikawa's everyday experience. Inspired by humorous and lively animal caricature in *Scrolls of Frolicking Animals (Chōjū giga)* from the 12th century,[2] she creates her yōkai to convey what she thinks about today's world. Yōkai are utilized as agents acting on her behalf. In an afterword, Midorikawa reveals her intention behind this episode:

> I came up with this story because whenever I see a little shrine buried among the bushes, I wonder if the resident God is lonely. Or if I see a tangerine offered once in a while, I imagine that the God will keep busy with his duties as long as at least this one person is around. . . . I challenged myself to make it seem like the 'Scrolls of Frolicking animals' with little birds and beasts darting/scampering around."
> (Midorikawa, 2010, volume 1, p.196)

Some stories feature romance between humans and spirits. The romantic union of human and spirit is traditionally called *iruikon* (marriage between two species) and appears in folktales, legends, and literary works. It is evident that Midorikawa's stories use the *iruikon* （異類婚）folkloric frame, but the stories diverge from the conventional folkloric pattern. Peppered with romantic language, tone, and imagery, the episodes are presented as romantic tales, which appeal to today's girl audiences.

In *iruikon* tales, supernatural beings are usually animals such as foxes, snakes, or birds. One well-known tale is "The Crane Wife" *(Tsuru nyōbō)*. An injured crane saved by a male villager changes its form to a woman and comes to the human world to marry him. *Iruikon* tales often have taboo elements. In "The Crane Wife," the crane wife tells the husband not to look at her when she is weaving. He, however, breaks the promise and discovers his wife's identity - a crane. The crane woman leaves him and goes back to the world from which she came. *Iruikon* tales "always end with the separation of humans and *irui* [different species or spirits]. Irui either reveal their true identities at the end or die in order to go back to their sphere" (Ōtsubo, 2010. p.47). *Iruikon* tales teach readers that humans should always have a sense of awe toward nature and that they should maintain a "certain distance from [. . .] nature, because it [is] the world where the humans should never go too close" (Namoto, 2011, p.44).

Midorikawa's "Glowing in the Dark" is an episode about a firefly spirit called Hotaru. In folklore, the motif of a firefly often represents a dead spirit *(Kaii yōkai densho dētabēsu* [Yokai Legend Database]). Midorikawa's firefly sprit, however, does not have a dark side. In fact, Midorikawa explains that this episode was inspired by her friend's joke; her friend comically told her that "he was riding his bike on the boot paths between rice fields and used the firefly that landed on his bike as a light" (Natsume, 2010, volume 3, p.186). The firefly spirit is created as a young girl with a long hair in this story.

In the past, the spirit Hotaru had met a man named Akifumi who had the ability to see spirits. As they talked with each other, they gradually fell for each other. One day, a tragedy occurred; Akifumi could no longer see Hotaru. Hotaru tried to show her presence but failed to do so. She was devastated. Akifumi was also deeply saddened, and he remained single. Now middle-aged, he finally decides to move on with his life and settle down. Although her melancholic facial expression suggests her sadness, Hotaru bravely states that she is happy to know that he does not have to be alone anymore. Her mixed feelings are carefully conveyed in a monologue and with soft and delicate artwork typical to girls' comics. Flexible utilization of frames and space accentuate a feeling of sentimental romance.

Hotaru asks Takashi to release her name from the book, so that she can change herself into a firefly. According to a legend in this story, firefly spirits are allowed to become real fireflies only once in their lifetime; turning into a firefly means her death. Even at the cost of her own life, Hotaru wants to show her presence to the man she loves. As a firefly, she flies around and lands on his hand. And, as if wishing for his happiness, she flies away with a tremendous number of fireflies in the forest and enlightens the surroundings. Conventionally, female yōkai are portrayed as either evil or pitiful beings (Ōtsubo, 2010, p.47). But Hotaru is not a bitter character the readers feel sorry for. The episode ends with a sad but beautiful tone, suggesting that the love and trust cultivated between them are never broken. The story is nuanced with the help of soft visual images and a

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delicate narrative tone, which distinguishes it from conventional morally oriented folkloric tales.

In an afterword, Midorikawa gives some background to this story: "This episode ran in *LaLa*. . . , so it was about a romance. And it was summer, so I used fireflies. . . . My editor reminded me that a romance shouldn't ramble and there should be more detailed emotions" (Midorikawa, 2010, volume 3, p.186). Evidently the author and the editor are conscious of the target readers and create tales appropriate for a girl's magazine in which emotional value is conventionally emphasized.

"The Man among the Cherry Blossoms" is another romantic story. It starts with a scene in which Takashi purchases a painting of a cherry tree at an antique store. After he brings the picture back home, he starts seeing a female yōkai named Miya. In the story, Miya shows some monstrous propensity at the beginning, but she is actually a sad character who cannot control her own strong emotions. She tells Takashi the story of her past. One spring, she met a young man named Yasaka. Without knowing that she was a yōkai, he started talking to her. He told her about his difficult life and his dreams. It became a routine to meet each other every spring. However, Yasaka did not show up one spring; physically fragile, he had passed away. Unable to accept this reality, Miya made herself believe that he had escaped into the world of a painting that he had made. She had carried this painting of a cherry tree with her always since then. She had even traveled with the picture to please him and to show him around the world.

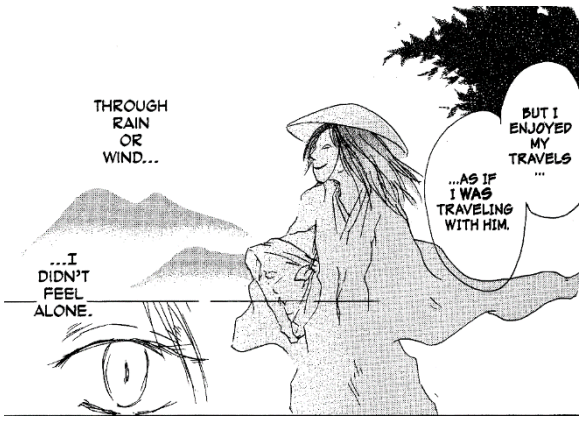

Figure 3. Image of a yōkai traveling with a picture in *Natsume's Book of Friends* (Midorikawa, vol. 4, 2010, p.137). ©Midorikawa Yuki/Hakusensha

The image of Miya recalls modernist writer Edogawa Ranpo's dark fantasy "The Man Traveling with the Brocade Portrait" (*Oshie to tabisuru otoko*, 1929), the story of a man who is obsessed with an old-fashioned doll in a brocade picture. The man enters into the picture so that he can be with the girl of his love. Tragically the man keeps aging, but the doll stays ageless. The younger brother of the man feels pity for him and travels on a train with the picture to comfort his brother. Ranpo's story emphasizes the sadness of human mortality and unrequited love. Miya's story ends positively with the help of Takashi. He releases Miya from her deep emotional suffering. As a result, Miya vanishes from the world. But Takashi, in his dream, sees Miya and her lover reunited under the cherry tree in full bloom in the world of the picture.

The yōkai in *Natsume's Book of Friends* are often heartbroken, saddened, or angry. Takashi elicits their stories, releasing them from their emotional pain. Although it often means the end of the yōkai's existence, Takashi plays the role of healer. There are human characters who fight against yōkai through exorcism for their own benefit. Fighting and violence are discouraged in this manga. Takashi strongly disagrees with the people who take advantage of yōkai and try to harm them. He is always on the side of yōkai, even though he is sometimes targeted and attacked unreasonably by them. He sees yōkai as his sympathetic friends. The fact that Takashi does not fight makes him a special hero.

Takashi's kindness and compassion toward yōkai comes from the fact that he sees himself as a sort of yōkai. Regarded as strange and weird, Takashi is a marginalized being. Yōkai's loneliness resonates with Takashi deeply. Through comforting yōkai and easing their pain, Takashi's trauma is gradually healed. Overcoming inner difficulties together with yōkai, Takashi becomes mentally stronger and eventually learns the importance of making the effort to reach out to his classmates and his new family. Each yōkai reflects a fragment of Takashi. Each yōkai's story is embedded within Takashi's own growing up story.

The *atogaki*, or afterword, attached to each volume of the comic book is an important element. It consists of the name and the visual image of each character. (Figure 4)

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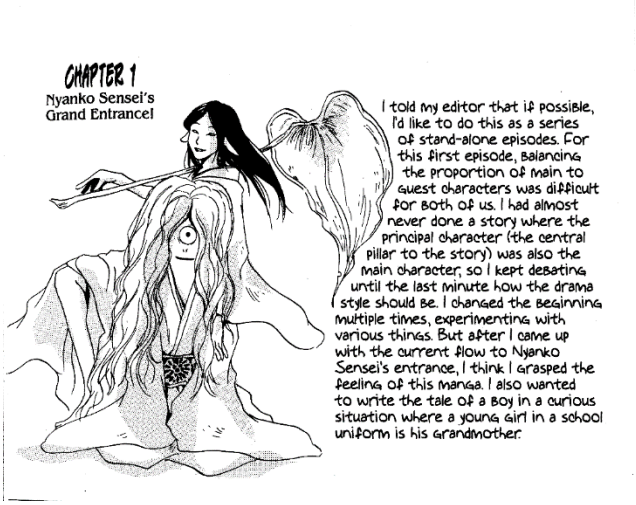

Figure 4. Afterword for Chapter 1 in *Natsume's Book of Friends* (Midorikawa, vol.1, 2010, p.196). ©Midorikawa Yuki/Hakusensha

Midorikawa's afterword can be regarded as her yōkai encyclopedia. Additionally, Midorikawa includes comments, some background to each story, and a message to the readers. Toriyama Sekien's *An Illustrated Catalog of the Demons' Night Parade* is not only emulated, but also advanced through the inclusion of the author's voice and presence. She uses the afterword as a space of communication with her fans, which makes her yōkai characters much closer and more approachable to the readers. *Natsume's Book of Friends* is a hybrid of past and present, tradition and innovation. While a traditional mood and taste are maintained, the manga foregrounds emotional values, addressing the loneliness and feeling of marginality that people in the 21st century tend to have.

As a manga, *Natsume's Book of Friends* is often categorized as *iyashi-kei*, meaning "healing or comforting type."[3] Amanda Robinson explains that *iyashi*, "the noun form of the verb *iyasu*, to cure, fix, soothe, is usually translated as 'healing' but it carries the connotation of both physical and mental mending" (Robinson, p.3). She explains that the *iyashi* boom today is attributed to people's search for "opportunities for positive social interaction to help them deal with . . . feelings of disconnection and loneliness" (Robinson, p.2). Such businesses as cat cafés, where people sit next to cats and relax, therefore, are sustained. Robinson states: "Experiences that offer low-key sociality, combining community and relaxation, like time spent in an animal café, are increasingly popular among this generation of Japanese workers because they offer the positive feelings of intimacy that are hard for many Japanese to find elsewhere" (Robinson, p.3). Cafés, commemorating new anime series of *Natsume's Book of Friends* or the release of film versions, are occasionally opened in several major cities for a limited time. Yōkai character goods are available, and edible treats such as pancakes and parfaits in the likeness of the adorable sub-character, Nyanko-sensei, a cat yōkai, are enjoyed by patrons. *Natsume's Book of Friends'* touching stories, as well as the cute characters, provide the audience with *iyashi*, allowing them temporarily to forget about their busy lives and the pressure of work and school. The manga appeals to a diverse audience and is easily appreciated by readers without any Japanese cultural background or knowledge. Midorikawa Yuki released yōkai from the terrain of Japanese culture, propagating them to the outer world.

Conclusion

At the beginning, yōkai were mere "incidents," but developed to become "entities." They were then depicted in the form of art to entertain people. What do yōkai mean today? Midorikawa's yōkai are vessels which represent "human feelings."

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (1996) asserts that monsters provide a key to understanding the culture that spawned them, stating: ". . . monsters ask us how we perceive the world, and how we have misrepresented what we have attempted to place. They ask us to reevaluate our cultural assumptions about race, gender, sexuality, our perception of difference, our tolerance toward its expressions. They ask us why we have created them" (p.20). Yōkai are constantly appropriated to fit the society of the time. Komatsu (2017) considers: "Yōkai research is human research. The field is still in its infancy, but I suspect that it will continue to spread through related disciplines, eventually growing into a body of knowledge with the power to rescue humanity from its emotional turmoil" (p.77).

At the turn of the twentieth century, philosophers and folklorists discussed the value and authenticity of yōkai amidst Westernizing Japan. In the 21st century, yōkai have proliferated beyond Japan. Yōkai are being re-examined and re-evaluated by

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scholars both Japanese and non-Japanese (Komatsu, 2017, 26-27). Recent emerging discussion points include the validity of regarding today's yōkai as the continuation of Japan's past (Suzuki, 2019, p.2203) and the effect of popular yōkai merchandise on yōkai culture (Foster, 2015, p.79), etc. The reviving popularity of yōkai in manga and anime requires a new approach to their examination in the contexts of commercialization, media mixture, and global-izing youth culture.

Acknowledgement:

I would like to thank Professor Nahoko Fukushima for helping me identify yokai in the Bakemono sōshi scroll, and Dr. Elizabeth Nogrady, Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Academic Programs at The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center at Vassar College, who always welcomes my students when my class visits the LOEB art museum and assists me to teach the monster scrolls.

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[1] The Japanese names in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.
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[3] *Natsume's Book of Friends* is always included a list of "*iyashi-kei*" anime and manga created by North American audiences. *Iyashi-kei* is defined as "a term used for anime and manga created with the specific purpose of having a healing or soothing effect on the audience." *Iyashi-kei* works "often involve alternative realities with little to no conflict, emphasizing nature and the little delights in life. This is a subgenre of Slice of Life and often titles overlap- Slice of Life often involves the daily life of characters and frequently has humorous storylines" (Iyashikei [healing] manga and anime).

Girls in Boys' and Men's Manga

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Introduction

When reading comics, we dive into fantasy realms wherein we play and pretend. As we read, our minds inhabit not just the air of the fantasy world but the very bodies of its residents. Precisely because manga characters are not real, appearing only as cartoonish outlines on the page, we fill the gaps in our knowledge of them with ourselves. As comic theorist McCloud (1994) argues, "when you look at a photo or realistic drawing of a face you see it as the face of **another**. But when you enter the world of the **cartoon** you see **yourself**" (p.36). We *identify* with them.

As children we then play out these identities, pretending we are the characters. In the process we make the characters part of ourselves. Even as adolescents and adults we play out these identities in our imaginations and through fan practices ranging from cosplay to fan fiction and *dōjinshi* [fan comics]. Why do characters' gender, appearance and actions matter? Isn't manga just for fun? Representation matters because it impacts how we imagine and how we play—and when we imagine and play, we dream dreams of ourselves and others, we fantasize about the kind of people we want to be, and we develop empathy for others. As Cocoa (2016) emphasizes, it is critical that children are able to imagine themselves as both heroes who look like them and heroes who do not (p.221). When characters are presented as sexual objects—as female characters are in many boys' and men's manga—readers are prone to objectify them rather than identify. However, boys' and men's manga with empowered and uneroticized female characters give readers of all genders female role models to imagine themselves as, empathize with, and admire. Due to space constraints, this paper focuses on a predominantly cisgender binary. However, the ways in which characters challenge gender norms can also be read as challenging the nature of the gender binary.

Gender and Genre in Manga

Knowing who is reading what is key to understanding manga's influence. Almost everyone in Japan reads manga. In a 2012 survey only five percent of men and eight percent of women said that they read no manga at all. Approximately eighty percent of Japanese men and women in their twenties said they like manga, as did sixty-five percent of the oldest age group surveyed (forty to forty-four) ("Manga ni," 2012). It is widely believed by scholars that manga is even more popular amongst

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children. Manga are serialized in telephone book-sized magazines, generally released weekly or monthly, that include one chapter each of several different manga series. These chapters are then compiled and resold as trade volumes, which each contain around 180 pages of a single series (ex. *Naruto* volume 1). Trade volumes are the most commonly read form of manga ("Manga ni," 2012).

While manga magazines are not the primary form in which people read manga, they are central to the production, consumption, and physical presence of manga in Japan. Manga are organized in book stores and online by genre, and the genre a manga falls under is determined by the genre of the manga magazine in which it was serialized. These genres are, generally speaking, named after the target audience of the magazine, and the major manga genres are boys' [*shōnen*], men's [*seinen*], girls' [*shōjo*], and women's [*josei*]. The vast majority of best-selling manga are in the boys' and men's manga genres, and the most popular comics in these genres are read across gender and age groups. In contrast, girls' and women's manga are almost exclusively read by girls and women.[1] Consequently, if we are interested in the kinds of female characters being consumed by *both* girls and boys, we must examine the boys' and men's genres.

Furthermore, in Japanese society men still hold almost all the positions of power. In 2019, the World Economic Forum ranked Japan 121st out of 153 countries in terms of gender equality overall; 131st in the proportion of women legislators, senior officials and managers (with women making up only fifteen percent); and 144th in gender equality in political empowerment (with women making up only ten percent of the members of parliament, and with no female prime ministers in Japanese history). If media has the potential to impact how we view and treat others, then we should consider how the media that boys and girls grow up on portrays girls and women.[2]

Objectification of Real and Fictional Girls in Boys' and Men's Manga Magazines

It is perhaps unsurprising that, despite their sometimes significant female readerships, boys' and men's manga foreground boys and men as subjects. Over the decades, however, they have also developed a tendency to present both real and fictional girls and women as sexual objects, often intertwining these real and fictional bodies. When their appearance is overtly sexualized we tend to consume (objectify) rather than associate with (subjectify) even strong, clever, or brave female characters. While girls encounter female role models in girls' manga, there are few female role models in the manga genres boys grow up on.

In the 1960s, Japan witnessed its most prominent protest to date against children's manga that both objectify and depict the sexual harassment of girls. *Shūkan shōnen jyanpu* (lit. weekly boys' jump, hereafter *Jump*) faced critical articles in newspapers along with protests, boycotts, and book burnings by parents and teachers because of its popular and influential comic *Harenchi Gakuen* [Shameless Academy] (original run, 1968-1972) by Nagai Gō[3]. Although new at the time, *Jump* is now the longtime bestselling manga magazine in Japan. As Nagai (2017) recounts in the very first interview of *Jump*'s 50-year retrospective's three-volume exhibition catalogue, these protests were in response to *Harenchi Gakuen*'s "raunchy gags and nude scenes," which elementary school boys across the country were mimicking by lifting girls' skirts to look at their underwear (pp.14-17).[4]

Nagai recounts how he and his editor dismissed these protests, and instead decided to push the eroticism further. In the *Jump* 50-year retrospective and other interviews nearly fifty-years after the protests, Nagai does not consider the feelings of elementary school girls harassed by boys mimicking his comic. Rather, he believes that it is "only natural to be interested in that sort of thing starting in elementary school" (Nagai, 2017, p. 17). He emphasizes that he had female fans, while also asserting that his female characters do not just have beautiful bodies but are also cool and strong-willed (Connell, 2007; Nagai, 2017; Yoshida & Nagai, 2018). *Harenchi Gakuen* and many of his subsequent manga series are filled with depictions of male characters delighting in the sexual assault and objectification of female characters. Nagai's complicated and troubled legacy is further demonstrated by the magical girl transformation sequence he is credited with inventing, through which ordinary girls become superheroes, but only after being displayed nude during the transformation sequence.

The objectification of women in media worldwide is a well-established trend, and to consider how this dynamic of objectification and subjectification plays out, it is useful to turn to American media theorist Laura Mulvey. In her groundbreaking article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Mulvey (1975/1999) argues that there are two primary pleasurable ways of "looking" in Hollywood films of the 1930s through 1960s: viewing characters as objects and identifying with characters (pp.835-37). Specifically, she argues that many films present women as passive sexual objects to be voyeuristically consumed, and male

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characters—who themselves voyeuristically look at women—as subjects for viewers to identify with. Mulvey argues that classic Hollywood cinema almost always constructs *both* the viewer and the viewer-identified protagonist as (heterosexual) males, and therefore all viewers look at the woman as an object. This is what Mulvey calls the "male gaze" (Mulvey, 1975/1999, p.837). Within these films' narratives the male character exhibits control over the woman, who is either bad and must be punished, weak and must be saved, or purely a beautiful object to be consumed via observation (Mulvey, 1975/1999, p.840). (It should be noted that Mulvey later complicates her argument by discussing female viewers of melodramas with female leads (1981/1989).) Although Mulvey was writing about Hollywood films of the mid-twentieth century, she could just as easily have been describing the boys' and men's manga magazines of today, highlighting the similarities and mutual borrowing between Japanese and American media. The same can also be said of Hollywood today, which still predominantly forefronts masculine visions of strength, even in productions with female leads.

One key aspect differentiates Nagai and Mulvey's female characters: Nagai's are lines drawn on paper, while Mulvey's are portrayed by living actresses. As scholars have argued time and again, it is critical that we distinguish between reality and fantasy: drawings of people are not real people.[5] Many prominent manga scholars, such as Akagi, Azuma, Galbraith, Itō, and Saitō, emphasize that readers—especially avid fans—do not confuse fantasy and reality.[6] Furthermore, many, including Akagi, Itō, Galbraith, McLelland, Saitō and Welker, propose complex theories of reader-character empathy to counter or complicate criticism of manga's commonplace disempowering, violent and/or unrealistic portrayals of girls, LGBT individuals, and other social groups disadvantaged by Japan's hetero-normative patriarchy.[7] While it is certainly true that readers relate to fictional characters in complex ways, it is imperative that we address how manga magazines intentionally connect real and fictional bodies, especially those of girls and women.

In recent years, the majority of boys' and men's manga magazines feature erotic or suggestive drawings of girls or young women on their covers. Around half of the most popular boys' and men's manga magazines *also* feature suggestive photographs of girls or young women on their covers, known as *gurabia* [gravure], alongside the erotic drawings—intermixing real and fictional girls and women. If there is a woman's or girl's photograph on the cover, there is almost always a titillating photo spread of her inside the magazine as well. I propose that this intermixing blurs the line between sexually objectifying manga characters and living people.

In an open letter to the Japanese Diet, The Board of Directors of the Japan Society for Studies in Cartoons and Comics successfully employed the distinction between real and fictional persons in voicing their opposition to the proposition that the revised child pornography law apply to comics, as a similar law does in the United States (2013). Japan's resulting 2014 revised child pornography law applies to living individuals under eighteen years of age. Its definition includes, for instance, photographs emphasizing the chest area, even if there is only partial nudity (Act on Regulation, 2014). I therefore use "girls"/"boys" to refer to persons under eighteen. For context, while Japan's age of consent is thirteen, a web of often situationally dependent national and local laws raise the age of consent across most of Japan. At age twenty children legally become full adults.

Most of the manga magazine cover photos, including those featuring models aged fifteen or sixteen, feature them in revealing bikinis—a clear substitute for the lingerie they cannot appear in. When the girls are under eighteen, bikini shots are usually placed alongside photographs of them in school uniforms or other clothing that emphasizes their youth (like leotards). The model's age is usually printed alongside the photos. The vast majority of these *gurabia* feature members of pop music girl bands, known as *aidoru* [idols], and the girls and women who do these cheesecake photos for magazines are known as "*gurabia* idols." Featuring idols on manga magazine covers began in 1972 with *Weekly Shōnen Magazine*, which for decades has been the second-bestselling manga magazine (JMPA, 2019; Okada, 2008, p.92).

It is important to recall that the covers of about half of boys' and men's manga magazines do not feature photographs of real people, including almost all the magazines in these genres with significant female readerships, such as *Jump*, *Corocoro*, *Big Comic Original*, and Kodansha's *Morning*, *Afternoon*, and *Evening* magazines. There are also some signs that the use of underage bikini models is changing due to international pressure. For example, the most popular network of girl idol groups (AKB48 and its affiliates) as of 2018 no longer allows members under eighteen to model in bikinis—a decision reportedly influenced by negative international media coverage ("AKB gurūpu," 2017). At the same time, magazines have responded by featuring underaged bikini models from less well-known groups, and suggestive photographs of underaged girls remain a staple for many manga magazines.

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These erotic photographs of real girls and young women are usually juxtaposed with fictional female characters, who are often even more erotically displayed. Opening boys' and men's magazines, semi-pornographic and suggestive content is common, especially in manga magazines aimed at older readers, and particularly in the men's manga sub-genre for men in their late-teens to twenties referred to as *yangu* [young] manga. A particularly striking example of juxtaposing real and fictional bodies is the December 1, 2017 issue of *Young Gangan*. The magazine included a sheet of tear-out plastic bookmarks promoting the release of a live action movie based on the manga *Saki*. On this sheet, photographs of the young actresses (aged fourteen to nineteen) are juxtaposed with drawings of the characters they portray. Here, the photograph of a fourteen-year-old actress in her school uniform costume is shown beside the character she portrays, who is drawn facing away from us and without underwear, completely nude from the hips down. As in this example, by jux-taposing eroticized images of manga characters with photographs of living girls and women, manga magazines intertwine their objectification and devaluation of manga characters with that of real girls and women.

Even one of the biggest proponents of the argument that readers do not associate desire for manga characters with real people, Galbraith (2012a), observed that in manga magazines "'fictional' women often appear right beside photos of 'real' women," concluding that "the crossover is clear" (pp.190-92). Indeed, suggestive photographs of girls and young women are often presented on the same page as, or only a couple of pages away from, erotic manga depicting sexual exploitation of and/or sexual violence against women and/or girls. Galbraith argues that this crossover is part of what makes the real girls who were photographed into fictional images in the eyes of fans (2012a, pp. 190-201). However, Galbraith's argument does not address how fans perceiving idols as fictional images designed for their erotic consumption could impact how they view other living girls. Indeed, we know that many fans consider and want idols *to be real* because physically touching idols, via high-fives or handshakes, is central to the idol fan experience and the idol industry. Galbraith fails to address how the fiction-reality crossover can easily work in the opposite direction, making fictional manga depictions of girls seem more real.

When it comes to the content of men's and boy's manga magazines, there is a remarkable dearth of female leads even in magazines boasting significant female readerships, with men's comics featuring relatively few and boys' having almost none at all. Female characters in these genres are often presented in sexist and misogynist ways—a trend that is particularly pronounced in boys' and young manga. Female characters' outfits are often skimpy and revealing, their bodies are often hyper-eroticized (even for young characters), and "fan service"—showing female characters' underwear, boy characters "accidentally" putting their hand or face on characters' breasts, etc.—is expected. The few strong female characters that do exist are often criminals or villains, overtly masculinized in all but their feminine and able bodies, relegated to support roles, and/or regularly in need of saving by the male lead(s)—character types remarkably similar to those identified by Mulvey in Hollywood films of the 1930s to 1960s. When female characters are sexually objectified and shown as needing to be punished (because they are evil) or saved (because they are weak), it is unlikely that a reader will admire them or aspire to be them.

I argue that the media environment of manga magazines not only discourages readers from identifying with and admiring fictional girl and women characters, but also encourages the sexual objectification of their living counterparts. This is particularly concerning in Japan, where sexual assault—especially of school girls—is widely reported to be at a crisis level, as is the number of minors working not only directly in the sex industry, but also in adjacent industries catering to older men that offer one-on-one time with school girls.[8]

The 2016 Boom in Feminist Manga

In 2016 there was a wave of men's and boys' manga with strong, brave, and uneroticized female leads and supporting characters. Although there is not enough space to discuss it in depth here, these empowered female leads and supporting characters build off of a history of strong female characters across manga genres that can be traced back over decades, including notable examples such as *Princess Knight* (1953-1968), *Rose of Versailles* (1972-1973), *Yakyū-kyō no uta* [The poetry of baseball fanatics] (1972-1976), *Dr. Slump* (1980-1984), *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1982-1994), *Sailor Moon* (1991-1997), *JoJo's Bizarre Adventure: Stone Ocean* (2000-2003), and *Nana* (2000-2009). This 2016 wave is furthermore intertwined with other Japanese media with female leads, the widespread popularity in Japan of American films and television programs with female leads, and the rising prominence of women in international sports. Girls' manga have similarly seen an increased focus on gender equality and counteracting sexual violence in recent years. One notable example is *Sayonara Mini Skirt* (2018-2019), which garnered widespread media attention for prominently challenging

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sexual assault, the sexual objectification of girls, and misogynistic gender norms.

In this section I focus primarily on the manga *The Promised Neverland* (hereafter *Neverland*), but will also draw examples from *Witch Hat Atelier* (hereafter *Atelier*); *Farewell, My Dear Cramer* (hereafter *Cramer*); and *BEASTARS*, all of which began serialization in 2016 and are still in serialization as of April 2020. Although I reference the Japanese originals in this chapter, all four series are being translated into English, and I refer to them by their English titles. All are boys' manga, aside from *Atelier*, which is a men's manga published in perhaps the most female reader-oriented men's manga magazine: *Morning Two*. In terms of the gender of their creators, *Atelier* is created by a woman (Shirahama Kamome), *Cramer* is by a man (Arakawa Naoshi), *BEASTARS* is by a woman (Itagaki Paru), and *Neverland* is drawn by a woman (Demizu Posuka) while the gender of its writer (Shirai Kaiu) is a secret.

These manga were chosen because of their wide reach and critical acclaim. *Neverland* was the fourth-bestselling manga in 2019 ("2019 nen," 2019). *Neverland* and *BEASTARS* won *Kono manga ga sugoi's* [This manga's amazing!] 2018 first and second place awards respectively for boys' manga, and both have also won multiple other awards. *Atelier* was ranked by booksellers as the manga they recommended most in 2018. Finally, *Cramer*'s creator is famous for his previous manga, *Your Lie in April*, which was a huge hit and was turned into a live-action film. In their own way, each manga emphasizes equality across genders and ethnicities, defies and reenvisions standardized voyeuristic and exploitative portrayals of girls, and addresses either directly or metaphorically the social challenges that girls face in their daily lives.

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into the history and current state of feminism in Japan, it is necessary to briefly address what I mean when I use the word "feminism" in relation to these manga. Firstly, while the words feminist and feminism have been adopted into Japanese (*feminizumu/feminisuto*), none of the manga discussed here have been labeled *feminisuto* by their creators. This is in part because the word *feminisuto* is generally negatively associated with prioritizing women rather than equality across genders. However, in 2017 a group of Japanese women college students—many of whom had lived abroad—successfully pressured the most prominent Japanese dictionary (*Kōjien*) to redefine *feminizumu* in line with international definitions that emphasize gender equality (Tomorrow Girls Troop, 2017).

This kind of international influence on Japanese feminisms is not new, and can be dated back to at least the late nineteenth century—even as the most prominent Japanese feminist scholar, Ueno Chizuko, places the beginning of the Japanese feminist movement in the 1970s (A. Kanno, 2018). Shigematsu describes the relationship between American and Japanese feminisms as one of inspiration, solidarity, and critique — an "interlocutor" (2012, pp.xxi-xxii). While the struggles of Japanese women are different from those of American women, many of the fundamental rights being fought for are the same, including equitable political and economic empowerment, equal access to education and extracurricular activities, a greater balance of labor in the domestic sphere, and an end to sexual harassment and gender discrimination. When I speak of feminism, I am referring broadly to the pursuit of these basic principles of equality.

Promises of an Egalitarian Neverland

Of the above series, *The Promised Neverland* has made the biggest impact in terms of sales (and therefore reach), selling more than 18 million copies worldwide over seventeen volumes as of February 2020 ("Kitagawa Keiko"). It was the fourth bestselling series in Japan in 2019, overturning the manga publishing industry's conventional understanding of the boys' manga market ("2019 nen," 2019). *Neverland's* first place award for boy's manga from *Kono manga ga sugoi* [This manga's amazing!] led to prominent placements on bookshelves countrywide, and stickers advertising *Neverland's* win were plastered in trains throughout Tokyo. In *Neverland*, *Jump* not only found one of its best-selling series, it also found its *first ever* prominent female lead intended for readers to aspire to be. The irony here is that even as the protagonist, Emma, embodies *Jump's* self-proclaimed three core themes—friendship, effort, and victory—she and the series as a whole act as a powerful and subversive critique of the status quos of both Japan and boys' manga.

Jump is Japan's most widely read manga magazine, selling an average of 2.2 million issues a week when *Neverland* was first serialized (JMPA, 2016). *Jump* has built a media empire off its manga, including anime, live-action films and plays, theme park attractions, museum exhibitions, and endless merchandise. While there have been other best-selling series serialized in *Jump* in the past with prominent girl and women characters—such as *Dr. Slump* (1980-84), *Stop!! Hibari-kun!* (1981-1983), *Cat's Eye* (1981-1985), and *JoJo's Bizarre Adventure: Stone Ocean* (2000-2003)—these characters were comedic relief, sexually objectified, criminals, and/or considered male by

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other characters.[9] Furthermore, only one (*Stone Ocean*) had a girl or woman as the unambiguous lead, and she was highly eroticized.

In contrast, Emma—the protagonist of *Neverland*—is both a hero and a role model: strong, caring, serious, brave, intelligent and neither sexualized nor objectified. Although Emma is physically the strongest out of the group of children she leads and also takes on more of a fighter role as the series progresses, these stereotypically "masculine" traits are balanced by her stereotypically "feminine" traits, including emphasis on the family and attempts at mercy and negotiation whenever possible. This contrasts with Hollywood's strong woman archetype, who generally has a masculine personality and a feminine body (Schubart, 2007, p.18). While some readers reported initially thinking she was a boy, this was likely just because she did not fit the standard eroticized body type of girls in boys' manga; she wears a skirt for approximately the first thousand pages. Instead of falling into regressive archetypes of strong female characters, as blogger Kaiser (2019) comments, "Emma [...] fills the role of the instinctive, raw-power heart of the team that's almost universally reserved for male characters."

To summarize the plot, *Neverland* starts with happy children at an isolated, rural orphanage. The idyllic setting immediately shows dystopian cracks, with bar codes on the children's necks and hours every day spent taking tests on computers. Soon Emma, the oldest of the girls, discovers that the "mother" running the "orphanage," Isabella, has been raising them as food for literal monsters. The daily tests determine whether or not they will live for a little longer—just so their brains can become more delicious delicacies for the monster elite. Teaming up with her two best friends (both boys), Emma insists that they plan not only their own escape but that of all the children: their "family."

For all the story's fantastical elements, what distinguishes Emma from other *Jump* leads (aside from her gender) is her realism. Like most boys' manga heroes, Emma is extraordinary, but unlike most she does not possess any superpowers. Likewise, while she battles in a sci-fi world, Emma and her enemies are in many ways real and present in our own world. As *Neverland's* editor Sugita argues, in order to make a work resonate with readers, you have to reference readers' real-life worries (S. Sugita, personal communication, March 18, 2019). *Neverland's* fantastical world, built out of the collected horrors of decades of Japanese and American media, presents an allegorical metaphor for our society and the pressures it places on children, and it proposes that a girl without any superpowers can lead the overthrow of that dystopic reality.

In her article for *Anime Feminist*, Dee (2018) argues that *Neverland* is an extended metaphor for Japanese society. Although the caretaker Isabella loves the children she raises and tries to give them the best life she can, she must put them through grueling schooling so their brains will be more delicious for the monsters controlling society. The metaphor here is clear, as Japanese companies routinely overwork their employees into illness, and periodically make the news for literally working employees to death. Isabella drills the children because she herself was only given two options—to be eaten or to compete with other intelligent girls to run an orphanage/farm herself. Dee reads this as a metaphor for women's two options in contemporary Japanese society: to work to/until death (like the children) or to raise children knowing they will be worked to/until death (like the "orphanage" Mom and her assistant, Sister Krone). Yet, "Emma flatly refuses" Isabella's offer to escape certain death by working for the monsters, and thereby refuses to "resign herself to being defined solely by her place within a traditional family structure—to being a Sister or a Mom and nothing else" (Dee, 2018).

While Dee's reading of the social metaphors in *Neverland* is compelling, Emma does not actually reject motherhood. On the contrary, she takes over the mother role from Isabella—who aligns with Japanese and American media's bad mother archetypes (Mari, 2002, p.398; Schubart, 2007, pp.29-32). As good mother and hero, Emma adopts the children, plans for their futures and provides for, trains, and protects them, even when that means risking her own life. She teaches the selfish and pessimistic boys and men around her by example to love, trust, hope, be selfless, and be good parental figures. As such, she proposes that we must all, regardless of our gender, protect and care for the young and helpless as if they were our own children.

As the story progresses, it begins to more directly confront gender stereotypes. For example, in volume ten *Neverland* depicts the requisite "if they were on summer vacation" scene that we see across boys' and girls' manga. *Neverland* does so in the form of an alternate reality off-take comic strip in between chapters in the trade compilations. In boys' manga, these scenes almost without exception show girl characters in skimpy bikinis, like the magazine cover models. However, none of the girls are in bikinis in *Neverland*'s version. *Neverland*'s editor Sugita says that not sexualizing Emma was a conscious decision that the creative team made, arguing that if she was sexualized then readers would not know

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whether to identify with her or objectify her (S. Sugita, personal communication, March 18, 2019). Instead, Emma wears a swimsuit reminiscent of 1930s fashion, and the other girls wear t-shirts over their bathing suits, as is standard among girls and women at Japan's beaches.

The only one wearing a bikini is Sister Krone, Isabella's twenty-six-year-old assistant, who leans back in a stereotypical "sexy" pose (Shirai & Demizu, 2018, vol.10, p.68). Yet, instead of eroticizing her for the male gaze, this pose and outfit show off her extremely muscular body. In this alternate reality Krone trains boys and girls alike, and they all become built like muscle women (Shirai & Demizu, 2018, vol.10, p.130). (Figure 1) Not only does *Neverland* deny the "male gaze" its voyeurism, it transforms the bikini from a tool for objectifying girls into a display of the kind of physical strength generally reserved for prominent male characters.

It should be noted that Krone's depiction has been problematized for other reasons, specifically because towards the beginning of the series her depiction shared similarities with racist caricatures of Black people in American media. However, the creators did not realize the racist implications of the depiction, and Krone's representation becomes less extreme as the story goes on (S. Sugita, personal communication, March 18, 2019). These exaggerated features do not appear with other Black characters nor with characters of other ethnicities.

As *Neverland's* plot progresses we are introduced to an even wider variety of characters, of many ethnicities, who work to dismantle gender and racial stereotypes. Together they build a utopia based on an intersectional feminist vision of equality. While the main characters are Caucasian and Asian, characters of diverse ethnicities are prominent throughout, and the characters themselves never note racial differences. This relative racial equality is rare for manga. There are other girls in leadership positions as well, demonstrating that Emma is not an exception. There is a man who takes on Emma's role for another group of children, showing that this caretaker role is not gender specific. There is also a nearly fifty-fifty gender distribution in fighter roles, which is very rare for a boys' manga. (The notable exception to this rule is the magical girl sub-genre wherein ordinary girls *transform into* powerful fighters—which is to say they cannot be powerful and their normal selves at the same time, although neither can most superheroes.) *Neverland's* gender balance reflects the increasingly even gender distribution of fighter roles in American media prominent in Japan, such as *Game of Thrones*, of which the editor, writer, and artist are all fans (S. Sugita, personal communication, March 18, 2019). However, unlike *Game of Thrones*, *Neverland* neither displays female characters pornographically nor eroticizes their torture.

Figure 1. Comic strip from in between chapters that depicts an alternate reality with the series' characters training at the beach. K. Shirai & P. Demizu (2019). *The promised Neverland* (S. Yamashita, Trans.) (Vol. 10) (p.131). San Francisco, CA: Viz Media. (Original work published 2018) YAKUSOKU NO NEVERLAND © 2016 by Kaiu Shirai, Posuka Demizu/SHUEISHA Inc.

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The even gender distribution carries over to other gendered roles as well. In one montage scene with children performing various tasks to upkeep the shelter —cooking, hunting, cleaning, caring for the sick, gardening, and leadership/planning—boys are foregrounded in nearly all roles. (Figure 2) In Japanese society boys almost never help with housework; in fact, the World Economic Forum reported in 2019 that women in Japan do nearly five times more unpaid labor than men, among the highest rates in the world. In boys' manga the division of gender roles can be even stricter than in reality. Exceptions exist, but they are often represented as comical or limited to the motherless. The boys in *Neverland* may technically be motherless, but they are not

Figure 2. Page of a comic depicting daily life at the bunker. K. Shirai & P. Demizu (2019). *The promised Neverland* (S. Yamashita, Trans.) (Vol. 12) (p. 13). San Francisco, CA: Viz Media. YAKUSOKU NO NEVERLAND © 2016 by Kaiu Shirai, Posuka Demizu/SHUEISHA Inc.

without a mother figure, nor without girls who could be tasked with the "feminine" labor. In this context, showing boys happily caring for the sick, cleaning, farming, and hunting—with no role considered emasculating or preferable—is almost revolutionary, and it embodies the gender equality at the center of both the global feminist movement and *Neverland*.

Neverland addresses many of the issues central to feminist debates of the past century both in Japan and worldwide. Emma and her companions defy the traditional gender roles embodied by their caretakers at the "orphanage"—roles which are intertwined with capitalism, wherein corporations require mothers and caregivers to give birth to and ruthlessly train children to be consumed by corporations for their economic gain. The alternative proposed by *Neverland's* children is a utopian socialist society wherein everyone acts as one big family, caring for one another without desiring individual gain and without gender or ethnicity-based discrimination. In its defiance of boys' manga's norms, *Neverland* highlights how manga has normalized the sexualization of children's bodies through the repetition of tropes such as drawing girls in bikinis even when it is irrelevant to the story, and it turns these tropes on their head in ways that empower female characters. As one of the best-selling series in Japan, this manga demonstrates readers' hunger for revolutionary texts that challenge Japanese society's repressive patriarchal capitalist social structures.

Manga's Wider Feminist Revolution

In 2016, a number of other boys' and men's manga challenging traditional gender roles and promoting gender equality also emerged, including *BEASTARS*, *Witch Hat Atelier*, and *Farewell, My Dear Cramer*. *Atelier's* creator (Shirahama) has worked for DC and Marvel/ Disney comics drawing strong female pro-tagonists like Star Wars' Rey and DC's Batgirl and Wonder Woman. In interviews, the editors of *Cramer* (a comic about a high school girls' soccer team) talked about the influence of Japan's Olympic medalist women's soccer team on their work (S. Eda, T. Oda & T. Tachibana, personal communication, May 13, 2019). *Neverland's* editor Sugita said that he and the writer (Shirai) are not only inspired by Japanese Studio Ghibli movies like *Spirited Away* and *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*, but also American media featuring prominent empowered female characters, including *Game of Thrones*, *Walking Dead*, and *Stranger Things* (S. Sugita, personal communication, March 18, 2019). For these manga, a globalized media network has been central to how and why they created strong female leads in the historically (and contemporarily) misogynistic and patriarchal genres of *shōnen* [boys'] and *seinen* [men's] manga. These works

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have themselves become part of this same globalized network through translation and their adaptations into anime and other media.

For both *BEASTAR's* creator (Itagaki) and *Cramer's* creator (Arakawa) the standardized tropes of sexually objectifying girls in boys' comics provide a powerful means to challenge these same tropes. However, while the creators of *Atelier* (Shirahama) and *Cramer* both refuse to sexually objectify their young female protagonists, Itagaki often draws her high school student characters erotically. However, she complicates her characters' eroticism by making them literal animals. On one chapter cover multiple female characters are shown in lingerie—a common trope if they were in bikinis instead, and if they were not animals (Itagaki, 2017, vol. 4, p.119). However, their animal bodies challenge the normalcy of such inherently unnatural and exploitative poses. Yes, they are sexually objectified, in this scene as elsewhere in the manga, but their animal faces, fur and (temporarily hidden) fangs and claws create a clear dissonance—we should not be looking at *these* bodies *this* way. In another *BEASTARS* scene, the main female character (a rabbit) is forced to strip by a lion, because scared animals taste better. We expect the male lead to burst in and save her, but she refuses to cower in fear or shame, powerfully and sneeringly proclaiming her pride in her body (Itagaki, 2017, vol. 5, pp.68-84). Throughout the series *BEASTARS* forefronts the rabbit heroine's sexual empowerment, and she has the second most "screen time" after the male wolf lead who swoons after her.

In both *Cramer* and his other works, Arakawa also imitates then undermines common voyeuristic shots. Skirts might rise into the air, but we never see underwear or cleavage, and instead these scenes turn readers' expectantly piqued interest to representations of the girls' defiance and strength. Arakawa's *Cramer* and its prequel *Sayonara, Football* (2009-2010) focus on the seemingly ever-present struggles for equal opportunities, resources, education and respect for girls and women through the stories of girl soccer players. *Cramer* provides a stark contrast to most boys' sports manga, which tend to focus on competition and defeating the enemy team by mastering special techniques. Instead, *Cramer* depicts competing teams cooperating to overcome discrimination from the male coaches and school principal who only provide sufficient resources and training to the boys' soccer team, at the expense of the girls' team. Throughout, the girls refuse to give up. *Cramer's* editors state that the characters' struggle to get the basic resources and support they need is based on the real struggles of girl and women soccer players in Japan, as exemplified by the story of their national team—struggles shared by women soccer players around the world (S. Eda, T. Oda & T. Tachibana, personal communication, May 13, 2019; see also FIFPRO, 2020). (Figure 3)

In contrast with the eroticization of girls in most boys' and men's manga (and even some girls' manga) involving magical fighting girls, as described by Saitō (2011), *Atelier* explores different visions of how girls with magical powers can be strong. There are no transformation sequences here—they are always witches. The etching-inspired artwork gives the characters grace and a sort of weightiness as it blends manga styles with centuries-old European "high art" techniques. The girls of *Atelier* work with each other and male characters to solve problems, but they are neither overly masculinized nor overly feminized. The four main characters (all girls) are all hardworking, determined and clever, and each develops her own individual magic reflecting her personal strengths. One character in particular rejects any attempts by others to tell her how to use magic, and instead uses her beautiful and gentle magic in the face of danger to creatively solve problems others cannot. (Shirahama, 2018, vol.4, pp.75-81). (Figure 4) On the pages of a men's manga magazine, Shirahama's girl and boy characters strive to use peace-based magic, rather than violence, to overcome challenges.

In all these series, girl characters refuse to adhere to their genre's and wider society's patriarchal expectations regarding both their abilities and their bodies. Their

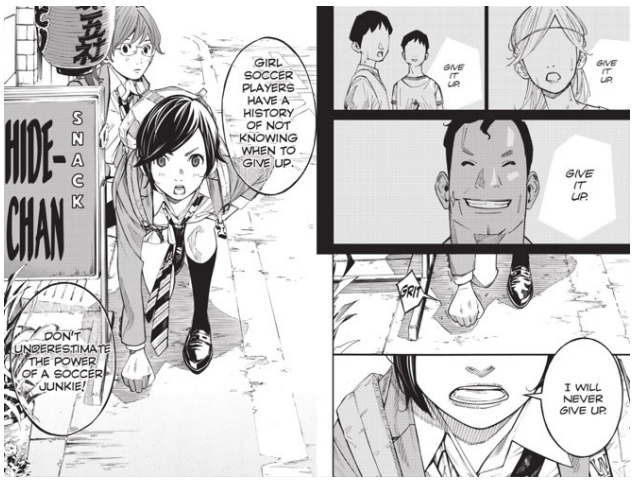

Figure 3. Page of a comic depicting flashbacks of people telling a character to give up and her refusing to. N. Arakawa (2019). *Farewell, my dear Cramer* (No. 7) (A. [Alethea] Nibley, A. [Athena] Nibley, Trans.) (pp. 24-25). San Francisco, CA: Kodansha Comics Digital-First!. (Original work published 2016) © NAOSHI ARAKAWA / KODANSHA

struggles often reflect familiar real-life struggles against gender discrimination. Critically, the most prominent boy characters in all these series support the strong girl

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characters. Moreover, the "feminine" traits of these boys are central to their own strength. Furthermore, like *Neverland*, these series show images of different ethnicities (or species) working together, linking gender equality to racial equality as in the intersectional feminist movement.

Figure 4. Panel of a comic in which a character asserts that "there's no one way you have to do things." K. Shirahama (2019) *Witch hat atelier* (S. Kohler, Trans.) (Vol. 4) (p. 80). San Francisco, CA: Kodansha. (Original work published 2018) © KAMOME SHIRAHAMA / KODANSHA

Conclusion

Boys' and men's manga have well-deserved reputations as misogynist genres. In men's manga (especially its "young" sub-genre) and boys' manga there are few female leads, and girl and women characters are usually portrayed as erotic objects for the male gaze to consume, in contrast to these genres' clever, brave, strong and heroic male role models. The strong female characters who do appear are often masculine in all but their able and sexy bodies. They are also almost universally weaker than and often in need of saving by their male compatriots, or otherwise bad and in need of punishment by the male hero. Furthermore, men's and boys' manga often intermix and juxtapose fictional characters with full-color photographs of underaged girls and young women, usually provocatively posed in revealing bikinis—undermining the often-voiced argument that eroticization of fictional girls in manga does not relate to how real girls are perceived and desired.

Yet, since 2016 we have seen a steady stream of popular boys' and men's manga that portray strong, independent, and complex girl leads, building off a steady trickle of strong female characters over the past decades, and intertwined with international media and feminist movements. The girls in these comics are, for the most part, neither sexualized nor objectified, and when they are it is often complicated. They are not men in women's bodies, but rather portrayed as having both "feminine" and "masculine" traits, as do all people. They also show strength itself to be multifaceted—physical, mental, intellectual, creative and collaborative—and their feminine traits are central to their strength. They are proud leaders, and inspire the boys and men around them, even when those boys and men initially think the girls are weak, dumb, or delusional.

These manga's feminisms prioritize equality at work and in sports, sexual liberation, freedom from sexual harassment, and equitable distribution of housework. Central to all of these works are feminism's most fundamental demands: equality and respect. These characters demand that they, their bodies, and their complex personalities be treated with respect. They demand that we recognize both their masculine and feminine traits, that we recognize these traits as part of being human, and that we acknowledge that both femininity and masculinity can be strengths. Finally, they present these girls as role models to be aspired to by both boy and girl readers. While still exceptions, their popularity and prominence signal that change is finally coming to manga, and that readers are hungry for more.

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[1] See "'Manga ni kansuru ankeeto' ni kansuru chōsa kekka" [Results of a manga survey] (2012), Dan (2014, pp.205-24), Ingulsrud & Allen (2009, pp.160-4), and Fukutomi (1973, pp. 86-92).

[2] For research on how fiction can impact empathy and treatment of others, see Johnson (2012), Kidd & Castaneda (2013), and Fowler & Shigley (2014).

[3] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[4] Some have argued that the trend in lifting girls' skirts was not started by Nagai's comic. However, Nagai himself repeats the story multiple times without directly rejecting the premise that his manga inspired the trend.

[5] For scholarship arguing against connecting real and fictional bodies, specifically relating to manga pornography of minors, see Vincent (2011, pp. xii-xiii), Saitō (2011, pp.29-31), Board of Directors of the Japan Society for Studies in Cartoons and Comics (2013), and Galbraith (2017, pp.109-133).

[6] See Galbraith (2017, pp.113-114), Saitō (2011, pp.24, 151), and Azuma (2009, pp. 26-27).

[7] See Galbraith (2012b, p. 350); Saitō, quoted in Cather (2012, 238); Welker (Spring 2006, pp.842-43); and McLelland (2001).

[8] See U.S. Department of State (2018), Ekin (2017), and "Denshanai de" (2015).

[9] It is somewhat ambiguous whether the lead character of *Stop!! Hibari-kun!* is a boy cross-dressing as a girl or a transgender girl. However, the manga's title and many of the central characters treat the lead as a boy cross-dressing. That being said, it is an important manga in the history of the representation of transgender individuals in manga and deserves further research.

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From Fukushima to Hiroshima: Teaching Social Engagement through Manga

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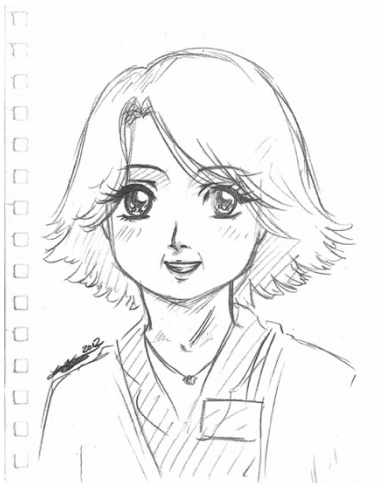

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(Illustrated by Kirin Johanna Tesselaar)

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Introduction: The Post-Fukushima Framework

The 3.11 triple disaster of North-Eastern Japan in 2011, in particular the meltdown of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power station, is already regarded as an essential element in teaching and learning and research in Japanese studies. As Gebhardt (2017) stated at the symposium "Literature after 3.11," 3.11 urges "us to reconsider our position and role as specialists of Japanese culture." Indeed there is a very rapidly expanding post-3.11 studies involving a wide range of disciplines, including literary studies, cultural studies, history, sociology, anthropology, environmental studies, and political science. As literary studies scholar Kimura Saeko[1] (2018) has pointed out, the importance of 3.11 has widely been recognized in Japanese studies, especially outside Japan, establishing a sub-field of Japanese studies (pp. 24-25).[2] Inside Japan, however, the triple disaster may appear to have nearly been forgotten in everyday life and major media, as the government and industries encourage the public to believe that things are "under control" and that reconstruction is well under way. As early as 2013 critics and journalists pointed out the alarmingly rapid "forgetting" of Fukusima (Kimura, 2018, pp. 7-9). In the face of this conscious and subconscious forgetting and neglect of the disasters, which are far from being resolved, various groups and individuals are tirelessly trying to keep the memory alive and raise awareness. Such efforts include continuous and active production and reception of innovative post-3.11 cultural texts (Kimura, 2018, pp. 25-26). Needless to say, it is important for studies of manga not only to pay attention to the unprecedented disaster but also to be a part of this growing interdisciplinary scholarly, artistic, and ethical concerns about issues related to post-3.11 culture and society.

One of the most important points to note about post-3.11 literary and cultural studies is that it is not limited to depictions and discussions of the actual and historical disasters in Tohoku or surrounding themes and motifs, but it covers a much wider subject matter and period. In Kimura's words, "post-disaster literature has shaken the existing rigid reading paradigm and forced change in critical stance" (Kimura, 2018, p. 26). As an example of change Kimura cites increased creative and critical interests in historical events, in particular the Asia-Pacific War. Just as the post-3.11 subject matter is not limited to the 2011 disaster, or the texts depicting it, the subject of critical analysis includes pre-3.11 cultural products; we cannot read, view, consume and analyze texts and images about the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for example, in the same way as we did before the nuclear disaster in Fukushima.

While the historical disasters and their long-lasting or almost ever-lasting radiation and other effects are deeply disturbing and depressing, we must not forget their positive meanings in teaching and learning about 3.11. One that may be useful to overcome the overwhelming feeling of helplessness at the scale, depth and width of the disaster is the notion of "hope," as advocated by novelist Hayashi Kyōko (1930-2017), who experienced the dropping of the atomic bomb in Nagasaki, and committed to anti-war, anti-nuclear causes through her writing and social movements. Neither sentimental nor superficial, this "hope" is based upon the "experiences," not only of people in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Fukushima but in Trinity, USA, which was the site of the first nuclear experiment, as well as Chernobyl, and many other places and periods. As her fellow novelist and leading figure of the peace movement, Ōe Kenzaburō, commented in his speech at a major anti-nuclear protest meeting in March 2013, what Hayashi called hope was "built on the intention never again to let children die through exposure to radioactivity" (Ōe, 2013, quoted in Shimamura, 2018, p. 113, translated by Middleton). The hope is also a will and determination to cross geo-political, generational, and cultural boundaries to face and act towards the goal.

This paper explores what studies of manga can offer in order to instill this post-3.11 "hope." While the chapter by Dollase deals with use of post-3.11 manga in Japanese language education, this chapter presents two approaches that can be used in Japanese studies and popular culture courses, using translated materials. However, what we propose here can also be utilized in Japanese language courses and other relevant courses such as literary studies, film studies, environmental studies, and disaster studies.

The first approach is to place a special focus on food, cooking and eating within the manga texts that deal with Fukushima or Hiroshima/Nagasaki. The thematic of food offers an effective tool to analyze a variety of issues through concrete and tangible objects on the one hand and at the same time on symbolic, metaphorical, and metaphysical levels. It is also a useful way to introduce critical theories to students who may be familiar with the manga texts as consumers or fans but are not necessarily used to scholarly approaches that enrich their reading. The thematic approach is easily applicable to other themes such as manga (and other textual) rep-

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resentations of, for example, music, fashion, aviation and so on.

The second approach we introduce here is comparison and contextualization. While the comparative approach itself is hardly new, our example of cross-generic and both synchronic and diachronic comparisons will demonstrate the effectiveness of a post-3.11 viewpoint. This approach, too, will give students a useful tool that can be applied to a wide range of studies. It will also give incentive to develop their awareness about socio-historical and political contexts, which, hopefully, will lead to their engagement with the betterment of the world.

Thematic Approach: Food in Nuclear Manga

Food has been the subject of multiple scholarly disciplines ranging from the obvious food and nutrition studies to literature, history, anthropology, sociology, gender studies, economics, environmental studies, peace studies, international relations, and so on. Within literary and cultural studies there are numerous publications examining cultural representations of food and related themes from various perspectives (e.g. Aoyama, 2008; Counihan & Van Esterik, 2008; Shahani, 2018). This is partly because food is "endlessly interpretable, as gift, threat, poison, recompense, barter, seduction, solidarity, suffocation" (Eagleton, quoted in Shahani, 2018, p. 1). Food is not only essential sustenance for life but it can be the goal, subject, and media for communication as well as expression. Food, cooking and eating play prominent roles in literature and arts to do with wars, environmental issues, gender and sexuality, survival, deprivation, displacement, identity, and healing. In post-3.11 literature and criticism, writers such as Tawada Yōko and Itō Hiromi and critics such as Sekiguchi Ryōko have made important food-themed contributions (Kimura, 2018, pp.92-102; Masami, 2016; Angles, 2017).

Among post-3.11 manga, one of the most controversial texts is the Fukushima episodes of the long-running (since 1983) popular series *Oishinbo* (The Gourmet; Kariya and Hanasaki, 2013 and 2014). As Lorie Brau (2017) points out, the Fukushima episodes of this manga, titled "The truth about Fukushima," places emphasis more on "food production than preparation or consumption, topics that dominate most *ryōri* manga series" (p. 181). Although use of regional food is common, indeed essential in many cases, in gourmet fiction and documentary, here it is deployed "to evoke nostalgia and despair over the loss of the land and its bounty as a result of the nuclear accident" (Brau, 2017, p.181). However, the manga caused a major controversy on two main issues: the alleged "lack of evidence connecting nosebleeds to low-level radiation exposure" and "the charge of 'damage-causing false rumor' that Fukushima was dangerous" (Brau, 2017, p. 193, citing Kariya's comments). Both are connected to the so-called *fūhyō higai*, i.e. "spreading false rumors that cause economic damage" (Brau, 2017, p. 178), which, in the post-Fukushima discourse, is used to attack and silence those who pursue and discuss the "truth" about radiation. Similar conflicts and pressures from industries, governments, and other interest groups have been seen many times, surrounding Minamata, for example. If there is a significant difference in the case of *Oishinbo*, it is the role of social media such as Twitter and Facebook (Moscato, 2017). Since the Fukushima episodes of *Oishinbo* focus on the "truth," they tend to be filled with information, often presented in interview format with real experts introduced in realistic drawing style, whereas the fictive characters, including the journalist protagonist, are presented "in a more cartoon-like fashion" (Brau, 2017, p. 178). As in many other gourmet fiction, the story combines information with human drama such as romance and father-son conflict and reconciliation. The narrative and graphic devices and structure, however, are more or less straightforward.

Hagio Moto's short story "Nanohana" was first published in the August 2011 issue of the monthly girls' comic magazine, *Flowers*. The story has attracted attention for different reasons from *Oishinbo's* case. First of all, it belongs to the shōjo manga genre, which is not normally associated with social commitment – despite many examples dealing with socio-political and gender issues. Second, its author Hagio has won numerous accolades and established fandom with her complex and sophisticated narrative and graphic techniques in works such as *Pō no ichizoku* (The Poe Clan) and *Tōma no shinzō* (The Heart of Thomas). She is also known for dealing with controversial issues such as child abuse, drug addiction, and incest. That this great artist published a story about 3.11 merely a few months after the event has also drawn attention. Whereas *Oishinbo* pursues the "truth," "Nanohana" seeks "hope," through the viewpoint of the sixth-grade school girl, Naho.

In stark contrast to the media "bashing" that *Oishinbo* received, which led the cancellation of this extremely long-term serialization, Hagio has continued to receive honors and prizes, from the Medal with Purple Ribbon (2012) to the Iwate Manga Special Prize (2018). As discussed in the conclusion, "Nanohana" was followed by a series of other post-3.11 stories, which are collected in a volume (Hagio, 2016), and has also been adapted into a play. Several factors may be attributed to the continuing

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positive reception of "Nanohana." Hagio uses both conventional and innovative graphic and narrative techniques familiar to her readers. Flowers are typical adornments and symbols in shōjo manga, and here the eponymous *nanohana* (field mustard, rape flowers), as well as *renge* (Chinese milk vetch), peach blossoms, and *yamayuri* (goldband lilies) are used effectively to create a pretty, idyllic, and nostalgic atmosphere (Hagio, 2016 p. 12). Notably, these particular flowers not only present girlish imagery; as they all have some relationship with food production, whether as fruit (peaches), vegetable (*nanohana* and *yamayuri* – the root of which is edible as *yurine*), green manure, or food for dairy and other farm animals (*renge*). In this way, a supposedly simply "flowery" girls' manga is revealed to be an eco-conscious, socially aware narrative.

Indeed, one commonality between *Oishinbo* and "Nanohana" is the focus on food production. Naho's family are farmers with cows and goats and orchards. Radioactive contamination affects everyone and everything. Naho's grief and fear grow. The person who offers some consolation and information to the girl and her mother is Mrs. Fujikawa, Naho's grandmother's friend. The elderly woman brings photos and tells about her experiences of visiting Kiev in 1994 and Belarus in 1995 as a nurse to treat children affected by the Chernobyl accident. Mrs. Fujikawa tells Naho and her mother that in Chernobyl people living in contaminated areas grow plants such as sunflower, field mustard (*nanohana*), and rye to remove radiation from the soil. This leads to the climactic scene of Naho recognizing the girl in her dream/imagination as "me in Chernobyl" and herself as "you in Fukushima." Naho is determined to use her grandmother's seed sower box to sow *nanohana*, helping to make the land viable for agriculture and livestock grazing once again. In the post-3.11 actuality Naho's hope for the future is problematic to say the least. Yet it is worth noting that the text does not suggest that everything will be all right; on the contrary, it captures the "uncanny anxiety" about radiation and people's lives and health (Kimura, 2016).

Just before this scene, which represents Naho's pre-3.11 memory of her beloved grandma, the girl's older brother, Gaku (meaning study/knowledge), tells her not to mention Gran, who was by the sea on the day and has not been found, to "Granda," for whom time stopped regarding his wife. Gaku admonishes Naho not to stop her own time as well, but to look carefully at what is happening.[3] Stopping time and eternal childhood are important themes in *Pō no ichizoku* and many other Hagio works as well as in classic children's literature such as *Peter Pan* and *Tom's Midnight Garden*. Gaku's standpoint shares similarities with the critical view of the notion of "eternal child" as a nostalgic escape from reality. The pioneer of childhood and girlhood studies, Honda Masuko, sees the child as a being that travels between life and death (Honda, 1982, p. 134). "Nanohana" captures such liminality of the child in post-3.11 situation. Some scenes (e.g. Hagio, 2016, pp. 12-15) recall Hagio's earlier texts such as *Pō no ichizoku* and other children's literature, in particular, that of Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933). In a 2012 sequel entitled "Nanohana—gensō *Ginga tetsudō no yoru*," Naho reads her mother's copy of Kenji's classic children's story, *Ginga tetsudō no yoru* (The night on the Milky Way train, 1934). The main part of the story is Naho's dream in which she travels on the Milky Way train with Gaku and meets their grandmother. In the 2011 "Nanohana" Naho travels not only between life and death but geographically between Fukushima and Chernobyl. The doppelgänger motif and a song within the story add to the psychological depth as well as intertextuality.

Whether the "hope" in the last scenes of "Nanohana" is valid and meaningful may be debatable, as seen in the students' somewhat doubtful responses to the story reported in Dollase's chapter in this volume. It is clear, however, that food in these manga about traumatic experiences invites us to link to other cultural representations of food as well as socio-political, environmental, and economic issues.

Comparative and Contextual Approach: Manga in the Media Mix

As the thematic approach outlined above demonstrates, manga cannot be taught in isolation from other media texts from both "high" and popular culture. Manga, of course, frequently function as source texts or adaptations of animated and live action films as well as many other storytelling formats; that is, manga usually sit within a complex convergence of media, what is described in relation to the Japanese context as the "media mix," which is "the development of particular media franchise across multiple media types, over a particular period of time" (Steinberg, 2012, p. 135). Students may be well aware of this situation, and, importantly for the classroom context, as McLelland (2018) points out, "those enrolling in Japanese language and culture classes today are likely to be well versed in a range of popular-culture genres and are likely to have more detailed knowledge of specific genres and titles than the professors teaching them" (n.p.). Students often consume these multiple texts, skipping easily between narratives, genres, and media, and they acquire

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sensitivity to complex and detailed layers of inter-textuality, even if they do not use the term "intertextuality" to understand such practices. This often develops as the kind of "database" approach Azuma Hiroki (2009) describes, wherein consumers (in Azuma's work, *otaku*) enjoy a kind of encyclopedic cataloguing of elements such as characters and character-types. In other words, students are likely to be amenable to cross-genre and cross-media comparisons.

Here we focus on three hit films of 2016 and some of their surrounding texts. Each of these texts has incited conversations and in some cases vigorous debates around the very topics that have been neglected by the Japanese mass media or even critiqued under the guise of the aforementioned *fūhyō higai* (damaging mis-information). Examined together, then, these stories contribute to ongoing memorialization and critical engagement with the events and aftereffects of 3.11. Comparing these diverse texts can provide an appealing and effective means to teach topics around post-3.11 "hope."

We turn firstly to Kōno Fumiyo's three-volume manga, *Kono sekai no katasumi ni* (In this corner of the world, serialized in *Manga action*, 2007-2009), which was published before the triple disasters, but adapted into an animated film of the same title in 2016 (dir. Katabuchi Sunao), in the post-3.11 context. *Manga action* is not a girls' manga magazine, but Kōno's style and narrative devices strongly suggest affinity with the shōjo conventions of the kind found in "Nanohana" discussed above. Furthermore, the keyword that plays an important role throughout the narrative is "ibasho" (place), which, as Fujimoto Yukari (1998) identified, is a quintessential shōjo theme. The prologue chapters of *Kono sekai...* also include fairy tale or folklore-like elements. The young protagonist Suzu, for example, cleverly escapes when she is captured by a monster who is not very scary but the kind of curious, wild being found in a Miyazawa Kenji story (Kōno's admiration for Kenji is widely known).[4] Suzu's dreamy and often absent-minded personality, and her artistic ability and resourcefulness are depicted throughout the narrative.

The first three episodes of the manga text are set in 1934, 35, and 38 respectively. In 1938 Suzu is a sixth-grader, the same age as Naho of "Nanohana." The main narrative, however, begins when she is eighteen, and deals with everyday life of people in Kure and Hiroshima from December 1943 to January 1946. The thematic of the previous section of this chapter, food, is ubiquitous and plays a variety of roles in the narrative, inviting us to link the scenes not only to previous texts but also to post-3.11 examples. For example, in scenes set in January 1934 and February 1938, Suzu and even her younger sister, Sumi, are involved in their family's *nori* farm. Children were part of the workforce in both domestic and industrial food production. As in many other texts depicting everyday life during the wartime and immediate post-war,[5] food shortages and related topics such as food rationing, substitute food, and recipes, abound in this manga. However, the focus is not on the starvation or contamination due to the atomic bomb, but on how people, especially women, coped with managing family's sustenance (e.g. Kōno, 2008, volume.1 pp.113-120). Although generally not as brutally graphic or nauseating as other texts about Hiroshima, Suzu's loss of her right hand, the drawing hand, by a time bomb, which also killed her little niece, tells us that there are many ways to depict the tragedies of the war. The final episode dated January 1946 creates "hope" in a simple yet complex and moving fashion. Suzu is drawn to a little orphan stranger, whose mother had also lost her right arm. She brings the girl home to her warm, busy family.

As we have noted, 3.11 triggered a surge of interest in historical disasters, in particular the Asia-Pacific War, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and nuclear accidents. This goes some way to explaining the surprise success of the animated adaptation of *Kono sekai...*. The hand-drawn animation style reflects Kōno's use of cross-hatching, shading, and fuzzy lines, and its pastel palette recalls us to the shōjo manga elements of her work. These aesthetics contribute to a relatively gentle de-piction of wartime and post-war Japan. The film was highly awarded and also stringently critiqued. The well-known screenwriter, director, and academic Arai Haruhiko (2017) created a furor with his criticism in a cinema festival pamphlet of the film's "same old representation of war = victimization," asking, "Do ordinary people have no share in war responsibility?" and adding that "There have been films that expressed the Emperor's war responsibility, and live action films that depicted everyday life during the war, and films that portrayed Japan as perpetrators during the war; have we already forgotten? This time, the audiences are to blame" (n.p.). The wealth of emphatic, contradictory responses to the film in relation to its post-3.11 depiction of wartime Japan provide ample resources for students to compare and critique.

The live-action film *Shin-Gojira* (Shin-Godzilla) offers a bridge from these wartime and post-war issues to the Fukushima disaster. Directed by the highly praised Anno Hideaki, the film joins a long line of monster movies that

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originated with the 1954 film *Gojira* (dir. Honda Ishirō), staying true to the action, spectacular destruction, and special effects requirements of the series. Notably, the 1954 Godzilla figure, appearing on the heels of the Allied Occupation of Japan, was depicted as a monstrous result of the United States nuclear experiments in the Bikini Atoll. However, the 2016 "new Godzilla" is the product of the 3.11 nuclear disaster and the direct responsibility of Japan: it is a mutant created by Japan's illegal dumping of nuclear waste into the ocean. This Godzilla also seems to possess an internal organ that is an atomic reactor: the creature is fueled by nuclear fission. A team of clever young civil servants and politicians manage to circumvent the interference of the older generation of politicians and U.S. representatives, and win the day by disarming and "freezing" Godzilla. At the happy ending of the film, Godzilla's nuclear fallout is revealed to have only a short half-life. However, Godzilla itself remains frozen in place beside Tokyo Station, a permanent reminder of the never-ending effects of radiation pollution and of the fact that this pollution is not limited to regional areas but does indeed seep outwards to affect the capital city.

In *Shin-Gojira*, U.S. forces propose to respond to the monster disaster with destructive military might. Through depicting Japan-U.S. clash and cooperation,[6] the film manages to reveal the socio-political and historical "truth" that is unpalatable and dangerous to government, industries, and major media controlled by them. That is, the film reveals that Japan's subordination to the U.S. is not a thing of the past but highly relevant to the present-day. Ironically, the film reminds us, this situation was the choice of Japan's conservative politicians who quite often now express their resentment about the defeat in the war and the establishment of the post-war Japanese Constitution which they insist was forced upon the Japanese by the Occupation Force.

Even more successful than *Shin-Gojira* at the 2016 box office was the gorgeously animated *Kimi no na wa* (Your Name), directed by Shinkai Makoto, a story of a teenaged boy and girl whose mystical body-swapping experiences allow them to prevent a small rural town from being destroyed by a meteor. Though this film does not explicitly address the topics of war, nuclear power, or the 3.11 triple disasters, it repeatedly engages with notions that were suppressed by the Japanese mass media in response to 3.11, namely "the end of the world," "ruins," and "the irredeemable loss of the hometown." The idealised pastoral home—a dream of the "real" Japan—is an important feature of post-3.11 texts. The huge popularity of *Kimi no na wa* has frequently been attributed to the film's nostalgia for the traditional festivals and slow life of the rural town; this is specifically imagined through a girl-grandmother connection of the kind which drove the fantastical element of "Nanohana" and is explored in many shōjo stories.

This mode draws on what Ivy (1995) described as "discourses of the vanishing," where "the ever-receding countryside" and its folk traditions function "as allegories of cultural loss that Japanese often link, viscerally, with personal loss" (p. 2). Susan Napier (2005) observes this discourse at play in what she terms the "elegiac" expressive mode (pp. 31-32) of many anime. *Kimi no na wa* is, like *Kono sekai...*, anchored in the details of everyday life, which are depicted against stunning and delicately drawn scenery. Through these visual feats the film offers both a familiar aesthetic of nostalgia and a beautiful fantasy of hope wherein a town is saved from destruction. However, famous director and cinema studies professor Koreeda Hirokazu responded warily to this emotional pull, arguing that it was high time for Japanese films to grow out of the device of the time-traveling schoolgirl (Tatsuta, 2016).

Kimi no na wa may seem distant from the difficult realities of 3.11 and its aftermath and *Kono sekai...* is set more than half a century prior to the disasters, whereas in contrast, *Shin-Gojira* draws obvious links to the nuclear accident at Fukushima. However, regardless of the difference in setting, all three deal with disasters, and we cannot underestimate the force this fact in itself lends to the push back against the pressure to forget 3.11. We can uncover and indeed develop post-3.11 readings of these three hit films from 2016 by comparing the texts themselves, including source texts such as manga, as well as comparing the debates that raged around them. This in turn allows us to learn, along with our students, about the meanings and effects of aestheticized representations of "hope."

Conclusion

We conclude by returning to "Nanohana." While the story by itself may seem to fit the discourse of nostalgia, it does allow multiple readings, which extend far beyond sentimentality or frivolity. As we have seen, focusing on food in the text and relating it to other post- and pre- 3.11 texts offer effective ways to explore these interpretive possibilities. Another interesting method is to compare and contrast its reception and adaptations. Just as the film version of *Kono sekai...*, juxtaposed with *Shin-Gojira* and *Kimi no na wa*, invites our re-reading of the original manga published well before 2011, interpretations of the 2011 "Nanohana" will continue to be enriched through

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ongoing reception and transformation. Here we cite two examples: other stories that are collected in the volume *Nanohana* (2012, rev. 2016) and the stage adaptation of "Nanohana" in 2019 by the theater group Studio Life.

The *Nanohana* volume includes two stories about Naho: the original 2011 "Nanohana" and the 2012 story that includes extensive references to Miyazawa Kenji's *Ginga tetsudō no yoru* and other texts. Sandwiched between the two Naho stories are three narratives with sexualized personifications of radiation, Madame Pluto, Count Uranus, and Salome 20xx, who is Plutonium, a daughter of Uranium. In contrast to the Shin-Godzilla, who represents a monstrous personification of radiation, each of these figures "loves" and seduces human beings with extremely dangerous sexual charms. However, while they live for 100,000 years, humans and even robots die (Hagio, 2016, p. 63). These stories are full of intriguing references to the Bible, Oscar Wilde, and a number of other texts and icons.[7] The last story in the volume, "Fukushima Drive," is a post-3.11 transformation of Kai Yoshihiro's 2009 song, "Tachikawa Drive," which was originally written as a requiem for Kai's friend. All these complex textual relationships expand and deepen the meaning of 3.11.

Another recent reminder of the ongoing effects of 3.11 is to be found in the 2019 theatrical adaptation of Hagio Moto's manga "Nanohana." Studio Life is a contemporary group with all-male actors but its writer/director is a woman, Kurata Jun, and the group has staged other Hagio works such as *Tōma no shinzō*. The stage version of "Nanohana" adheres quite closely to the manga, representing key issues around the effects of radiation on everyday life, from the wearing of face masks to the cancellation of a music festival due to the lack of a safe and suitable venue. The production closes, like the manga, on Naho's resolve that when/if she returns to her home in Fukushima—from which the family was evacuated due to radiation—she will use her grand-mother's seed sower box to sow *nanohana*.

Just as some critics rejected *Kono sekai...* and *Kimi no na wa* as politically uncommited nostalgia or fantasy, Naho's "hope" may well be seen as too soft and unsatisfactory. Juxtaposed with other stories that clearly and graphically depict both the horror and the allure of nuclear power, however, even this gentle "Nanohana" is permeated with "uncanny anxiety."

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[1] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[2] Kimura (2018, p.25) cites Gebhardt and Masami (2014), Bohn (2015), Geilhorn and Iwata-Weickgenannt (2016), Thouny and Yoshimoto (2017), and others. See also Angles (2016), Rosenbaum (2014) and Tsuboi, Richter, and Roth (2019).

[3] The heavy Fukushima dialect in Hagio's text has been replaced by Scottish English in Matt Thorn's translation. While it is outside the scope of this chapter, it would be interesting to compare and contrast how translators of "Nanohana" and *Kono sekai...* deal with (or avoid) the issue of regional dialects. This could also be expanded to include other translated wartime and disaster texts that have dialects, such as *Hadashi no Gen* (Barefoot Gen), and *Hotaru no haka* (Grave of the Fireflies).

[4] Students could compare Kenji's "Yamaotoko no shigatsu" (The mountain man in April) from his renowned *Chūmon no ōi ryōriten* (The restaurant of many orders) with this episode of *Kono sekai...*

[5] For example, in Ibuse Masuji's *Kuroi ame* (Black Rain, 1966) the protagonist's wife records food situations in Hiroshima. Nakazawa Keiji's acclaimed autobiographical manga, *Hadashi no Gen* (Barefoot Gen), has many scenes of hunger and starvation both during and after the war.

[6] Katō Norihiro discusses this topic in "Shin-Gojira ron" (2016).

[7] See Long (2014) for a detailed discussion of Hagio's personification of radiation trilogy. The second half of the article offers a good example of a post-3.11 re-reading of Hagio's 1980 work, *Star Red*.

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Teaching the 3.11 Earthquake and Disaster through Manga

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Introduction

On March 11, 2011, an earthquake of magnitude 9 struck off the coast of Northern Japan, and the subsequent massive tsunami damaged a large area and deprived many people of their lives. It was the worst natural disaster recorded in modern Japanese history and is now referred to as "3.11," the impact of which is comparable to that of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the U.S.A (Geilhorn & Iwata-Weickgenannt, 2017). The 3.11 disaster has changed Japanese society, culture, and people's views toward families, friends, and their own lives. The topic of the Japanese 3.11 *shinsai* (earthquake disaster) is a salient part of Japanese cultural history and its memory must be passed on to the future. It is important for language teachers to make a conscious effort to teach Japanese language learners of this traumatic event and also to make sure that they acquire cultural sensitivity in dealing with this topic.

In my fourth year Japanese language course (which is high advanced Japanese level) in 2018, I utilized a variety of *shinsai* related materials to teach the incident and to learn about the lives of those who lost their homes, families, and friends. Authentic reading materials I utilized in class included newspaper articles, literary works, and manga. Manga, which consists of visual art and language, was a particularly effective tool to elicit various language activities and to foster students' critical and imaginative thinking. Manga encouraged students' active involvement in discussion and activities as well. In this chapter, I will explain how the topic of the 3.11 *shinsai* was incorporated into my Japanese language class. While discussing issues and difficulties which emerged during the course of the instruction, I will present my ideas for manga as an educational tool in the hope that my experience might help further the study of education through manga.

Comics in Language Education

Scott McCloud (1994) points out that comics require a high degree of "reader involvement" (p.71) because it is the reader's job to render panel-to-panel transition meaningful. Comics contain "images that can be abstract or symbolic, often bear multiple connotations, and frequently go beyond the depicted subject matter" (Hecke, 2011, p.657). A lack of clarity "foster[s] greater participation by the reader" (McCloud, 1994, p.133). Noting students' positive attitude toward comics and graphic novels, Carola Hecke (2011) states that comics "can lead to heightened interest and greater willingness to participate in class discussion or other speaking activities" (p.654). Comics foster students' motivation to

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learn. Studies show that "motivation is one of the most important components for learning, and has been widely documented to be tied to cultural, emotional and cognitive factors" (Martello, 2017, p.32). The role of motivation in second language acquisition has been studied from various viewpoints for many years.

The use of comics as well as audio-visual materials such as movies and dramas "has become a common approach for the ESL/EFL educators" (Chan, Wong, & Ng, 2017, p.93), and many foreign language educators recognize the use of comics and graphic novels to be an effective teaching method. Hamako Furuhata-Turner (2013), for instance, states that "manga is the most efficient and effective learning tool" and enhances "translation competences, cultural knowledge and motivation" (p.72). Chinami Kyōko [1] (2005) considers that the sophisticated visual aspect of Japanese manga, in particular, is pedagogically valuable in enabling learners to understand subtle nuances which are typically witnessed in Japanese conversation. She states that such nuances are difficult even for language learners of high proficiency level. One of the benefits of manga is that speech and gestures are visually presented within a context. The context helps learners analyze why and in what situation a speaker chooses to use a certain type of speech (casual, formal, honorific, humble, male, or female speech styles). Understanding nuance is crucial in avoiding mis-understanding and miscommunication with others.

Many Japanese language learners take Japanese because of their interest in Japanese popular culture. According the Japan Foundation's survey in 2012, 50.4 % of the learners listed anime, manga, and J-Pop music as the reason or purpose for studying Japanese (Survey report on Japanese, 2012, p.4). The survey report states that "the fact that 'interest in manga, anime, J-pop, etc.' was more frequently cited than 'interest in history, literature, etc.' makes it clear that Japanese pop culture has made its mark throughout the world, establishing itself as a starting point for interest in and involvement with Japan and the Japanese language" (Japan Foundation, p.4). However, Kumano Nanae (2010) states that it is hard to say that language teachers are adequately responding to students' demands. The reality is that manga is "rarely utilized as a main material to teach" (Chinami, 2001, p.131). The fact that teachers are not familiar with manga and that they often do not know which materials to choose is surmised as a reason. Another reason is that there is a conception of manga as basically entertainment and therefore un-educational (Chan et.al, 2017, p.93). Some language teachers find *yakuwarigo* (role language), a speech pattern which has some peculiar association with some character, to be a problem as well (Responding to this view, Kinsui Satoshi [2011] argues that all spoken languages possess characteristics of role language and that a Japanese learner is in fact playing a role of a character in a conversation).

Shinsai (Earthquake Disaster) Manga

Manga is diverse in its content, narrative form, and readership. We cannot understand manga by a single definition as material for entertainment. *Shinsai* related manga, in particular, are worthwhile to examine as academic materials.

Since 2011, a large number of *shinsai* manga, which deal with the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear plant accident, have been published. Yamamoto (2014) reports that she found at least 40 manga works as of 2014 which dealt with the 3.11 earthquake, tsunami, and the Fukushima Daiichi disaster (p.69). Manga artists eagerly recorded, in the form of art, what they saw, how they felt at the time of the incident, and how they responded and acted after that. Their focus tended to be on individuals. Geilhorn and Iwata-Weickgenannt (2017) state that big data – radiation level, the number of evacuees, casualties, missing people, and so on – is always the focus for news media and that they do not cover personal experiences (p.9). They insist that big data "does not allow us to understand the socio-cultural dimension of disaster" (p.9). Manga artists probably feel that recording the human experience is crucial in order to pass the memory of 3.11 to the future. Manga artists have served as *kataribe* (storytellers), playing a significant cultural role.

Many manga artists have attempted to help people through charitable work. *Sutōri 311: Manga de egaki nokosu higashi nihon daishinsai* (Story 311: The Great East Japan Earthquake Depicted in Manga) initiated by Hiura Satoru, for instance, is a collection of episodes depicting the struggles of people in the disaster area. Each manga artist who participated in this project went to Northern Japan, listened to people, and made their stories into manga. The royalties from the sales of the publication were all donated for the recovery of the damaged area.

Anohi kara no manga (The Manga Since That Day), an award winning manga by Shiriagari Kotobuki, is a collection of works which employ various narrative and artistic styles. His "Chikyū bōeike no hitobito" (People of the Planetary-Protection-Family), included in this collection in the format of *yonkoma* manga (four frame comic strips), chronicles his experience after 3.11 and his

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everyday life in comical, cynical, and sometimes touching tones of voice.

Shōjo manga artists are no exception. *Deijī 311: Joshikōsei tachi no sentaku* (Daisy 311: The Choices of High School Girls) by Momochi Reiko was serialized in the shōjo manga magazine *Dessert* from December 2012 to August 2013. The story focuses on four high school girls who strive to live bravely after the Fukushima power plant accident. The emotional pain, sadness, and struggles of the girls are portrayed in the conventional girls' manga style, which uses delicate lines and focuses on inner feelings. In the story, one girl faces discrimination in a different town because she is from Fukushima. Another girl faces *fūhyō higai* (reputational damage); people stopped buying products from Fukushima due to their worry about food contamination, and her family, which owns a farming business, struggles. The story shows how, despite their hardships, each girl lives positively and cheerfully without losing hope.

There are also manga created for the purpose of educating readers. *Ichiefu: Fukushima genshiryoku hatsudensho rōdōki* (Ichi-F: A Worker's Graphic Memoir of the Fukushima Nuclear Power Plant), serialized in *Morning* from 2013, depicts the post-Fukushima situation in a realistic and journalistic tone. Author Tatsuta Kazuto describes his actual experience of participating in the cleanup and restoration of the nuclear power plant, and he carefully documents the seriousness of the accident and the clean-up process.

The episode of "Fukushima no shinjitsu" (The Truth about Fukushima) in the long running cooking themed manga *Oishinbo* (The Gourmet; written by Kariya Tetsu and drawn by Hanasaki Akira; serialized in *Big Comic Spirits*) depicted a scene in which the main character, a journalist, experiences nose-bleeds after returning from Fukushima. Responding to the panic this scene created in the readers of manga and to criticism of researchers and specialists, Prime Minister Abe Shinzō stated; "There is no confirmation that anyone's health has been directly affected by radioactive substances. The government will do its utmost to take action against baseless rumours" ("Gourmet manga stirs up storm," 2014). Manga critic Fujimoto Yukari (2015) states that "this incident indicates the level of attention that manga has recently drawn. It is meaningful to depict 3.11 related material, but at the same time, there are some difficulties" (p.226). People have come to understand the degree of impact that manga can make. This incident led a discussion on whether it is appropriate for manga, which is traditionally a popular medium, to deal with sensitive information which requires careful consideration.

Thus, manga's social influence became prominent after the 3.11 *shinsai*. Manga artists created stories and delivered messages in their own visual styles and voices. Though their styles and readership may vary, they all commonly attempted to keep the record of the disaster and of peoples' lives, and more importantly, to send a message of hope no matter how serious the situation.

Utilizing Manga in Language Class

I selected Hagio Moto's "Nanohana" for my fourth year language class (seven students enrolled in my fourth year Japanese language class, "Advanced Readings of Original Literary Works"; three of whom were Japanese heritage students). In order to put this work in a larger context, I employed Content Based Instruction (CBI), the goal of which is to have students study socio-cultural issues using language as a tool. This method uses authentic materials chosen based on the theme instead of teaching language in a controlled situation by using task based activities and model conversations in a textbook. The premise of CBI is "learning about *something* rather than learning about *language*" (Crandall, quoted in Heo, 2006, p.25). Or, to put it a different way, it is "learning *in* Japanese rather than learning Japanese" (Chikamatsu, 2010, p.11). Researchers believe that CBI is suitable for developing students' language skills for academic use as well as providing them with access to new concepts through meaningful content (Heo, 2006, p.30). In my class, facts and actual situations were first presented; the students studied about the earthquake, tsunami, and the subsequent Fukushima accident by reading newspaper articles and watching documentary videos.[2] Then, in order to look into the experience of individuals, I introduced manga.

Fujimoto (2015) points out that there is a difference between the 3.11 related manga written for male audiences and those written for female audiences, stating that male magazines tend to deal with energy issues and social issues, but female magazines tend to pay attention to people's lives and the choices they make (p.197). It is often pointed out that shōjo manga artists are good at visual projection of the characters' emotional state and their internal feelings. Shōjo manga tend to contain unspoken scenes from which readers are supposed to interpret what is in the minds of the characters. Hagio excels at internal portrayal.

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In "Nanohana," Hagio expresses the family members' emotions implicitly and sensitively. The story depicts reluctance of elementary school girl Naho and her family members, *kikan konnansha* (those who are from difficult-to-return-to zones) to accept hard truth; they believe that "Gran [grandmother]" was killed in the tsunami, but nobody refers to her death. Hiding their true feelings, they pretend to be fine and go about their daily lives. There is a scene in which the grandmother's friend Mrs. Fujikawa visits the family. Eighteen years ago, Mrs. Fujikawa, a nurse, had been assigned to work at the hospital in the Ukraine where children sickened by the radiation from the 1986 Chernobyl accident were treated. Naho's grandmother had made dolls and asked Mrs. Fujikawa to bring them to the poor children. Having learned that the grandmother is missing, Mrs. Fujikawa comes to see Naho's family bearing pictures taken at the hospital; in the pictures, the sick children pose happily with the grandmother's dolls in their hands. Mrs. Fujikawa also brings letters that the children wrote to the grandmother, which show how much they appreciated the grand- mother's kindness. Naho and her mother, who did not know anything about these volunteer activities, are greatly moved. Mrs. Fujikawa says that there has been an effort made in Chernobyl to plant flowers to clean the contaminated soil. Regrettably, how-ever, nobody knows how many more years it will take until the people can go back to their homeland. After Mrs. Fujikawa leaves, Noho sees her mother crying at the kitchen table (Hagio, 2012, p.20). (Figure 1)

We are shown a tableau of the mother seen from behind, her head in her hands as she sits at the table covered with the letters from the children in the Ukraine. Naho's thoughts as she watches her mother cry are written at the top of the panel: "My mother has been crying since the nurse, Mrs. Fujikawa, left. Has she also been sad and enduring this?" (Hagio, 2012, p.20). However, the mother's feelings are not verbalized.

I had students analyze this frame and write the mother's state of mind in Japanese sentences. The students interpreted the reasons for the fact that the mother cries differently. One student thought that the mother is sad because she misses her mother and also because she feels sorry for the children in Chernobyl. Another student read this scene as an indication of the mother's worry and desperation after learning the condition of Chernobyl. There was a student who interpreted that this scene suggests her tender feeling - she is touched by her

Figure 1. Image of a mother crying in the kitchen in "Nanohana" (Hagio, 2012, p.20). ©Hagio Moto/Shogakukan

mother's kindness. Various emotions – loneliness, sympathy, desperation, and heart-warming feeling – were elicited by this scene. Many scenes in manga depict characters' emotional states and reactions only visually and suggestively. Shōjo manga's characteristic focus on the internal works efficaciously for interpretation and discussion. The differences in interpretation result in a vigorous conversation among peers and make the language study educationally meaningful.

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Figure 2. Image of a Russian girl and a Japanese girl standing in a field in front of the ruined Fukushima nuclear energy plant in "Nanohana" (Hagio, 2012, p.24-25). ©Hagio Moto/Shogakuka

Another example of activity that I implemented was to have students fill empty speech balloons. In the story, Naho starts to have nightmares. In one of the dreams, Naho, in a dark forest, witnesses a nuclear power plant explosion. She also sees her grandmother standing in front of her. Naho desperately tries to bring the grandmother back home with her. This dream is a conglomeration of the fear and emotional agony Naho has suppressed. After this dream, she no longer pretends that everything is all right, which causes a chain reaction amongst her family. At the end of the story, Naho has another dream. This time, a Western girl (who had appeared standing next to her grandmother in the previous dream) is holding a seed spreader similar to the one owned by Naho's grandmother. She realizes that the Western girl is one of the children from the hospital. The girl shows Naho how to use the seed spreader and hands it to Naho. The wide frame on the page shows a damaged nuclear energy plant and *nanohana* (field mustard) flowers which surround Naho and the Western girl. (Figure 2)

There are four speech balloons coming from Naho. She states (SB represents speech balloon):

SB1: "You…"

あなたは　ー

SB2: "… are me. In Chernobyl, right?"

チェルノブイリにいるあたしだね？

SB3: "And I…"

あたしは

SB4: "… am you in Fukushima."

フクシマにいるあなた

(Hagio, 2012, pp.24-25)

Hagio Moto equates the situation of Fukushima and that of Chernobyl, suggesting the fact that the Western girl is Naho's double. Hagio may be suggesting that regardless of the countries, it is always children who are victims of nuclear accidents. The

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fact that "Naho in Chernobyl" transfers a seed spreader, a symbol of hope and recovery, to "Naho in Japan," indicates Naho's subconscious desire to be strong and hopeful.

Naho's trauma has created such a dream to heal her own mind. After making sure that Naho received the message of the "*nanohana*" (of planting flowers to renew the soil), the Western girl and Naho's grandmother recede from the scene with smiles. The story ends positively with a strong message of "hope." Without showing the original ending, I had my students fill this scene's balloons in Japanese.

Student A:

SB 1: "Are you giving this box to me? ....."

.....私にくれるの

SB2: "But there is no village anymore! Should I go back? ....."

でも村はもういないよ（grammatical error for ないよ）！帰るかな.....

SB3: "Good Bye."

サヨナラ

SB4: "Someday I will go back! I promise!"

きっといつか、帰るよ！約束する！

Naho had not thought that she could go back to her village in Fukushima, but she quickly comes to realize that returning to her hometown may be possible. Naho's strong determination to return to her hometown is observed in this example. This student effectively uses the pause ("....."), prosodic visualization of Naho's bewilderment and contemplation. Naho's determination and hope for the future are amplified with the employment of "....."

Student B:

SB 1: "Have you been trying to reduce the contamination using this seed spreader?"

え、もしかしてこの種まき器で　汚染を減らそうとしていたの？

SB2: "Are you now in my dream to give it to me?"

これを渡すために夢に出てきたの？

SB3: "....."

SB4: " -- Okay. I will plant lots of '*nanohana*.'"

-- わかった。なのはな、いっぱい植うえるよ。

This student similarly utilizes the pause ("....."); in this student's case, it connotes a sense of realization. It indicates the facts that Naho understood what the girl is trying to tell her and that she has undertaken the mission of cleaning the soil by planting seeds. This student suggests the role of the Western girl to be someone who teaches Naho an actual solution to fix the situation.

Student C:

SB1: "Thank you. But... "

ありがとう、でも...

SB2: "This is not a dream. Maybe this is .... Heaven."

この場所は夢だけじゃない。ここは....天国かな。

SB3: "So, I..."

だから、ぼくも（error for 私も）...

SB4: "I will see you, grandma, someday."

じゃ、おばあちゃん、またいつか会いましょうね！

This student interprets that the dream represents heaven, the realm in which her grandmother and the Western girl belong. The student reads that the grandmother has been killed by the tsunami and

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that the Western girl, who was once in the hospital in the Ukraine, has also died. The student thinks that Naho implies her own death in this scene. Naho bids farewell to these poor victims and tells them that she will someday join them in heaven. Unlike the other students' interpretations, Naho's intention of going back to her hometown is not touched upon.

Thus, a variety of interpretations were presented through the activity of filling empty speech balloons. There were more language activities I implemented using "Nanohana." For instance, I asked students to narrate one manga page with sentences in the literary style. These activities helped generate creative output of Japanese language. Also, comparison of students' work sparked conversation.

After finishing reading "Nanohana," I assigned students to exchange their opinions in Japanese on an online discussion board.

> Student A: "I enjoyed this manga very much. I first thought that this was going to be a sad story, but as the story progressed, I came to understand the message. It presents the message of hope, which makes people smile at the end. . . . This manga shows to readers, especially children, the importance of having hope."
>
> Student B: "There are many newspaper articles which show people's suffering and difficulties. The message of hope may seem simplistic, but there is something important in it. If hope is lost, that will be the end of the story. Hope will enable people to move forward to have cheerful lives. . . . If children have hope, adults will also gain energy and feel that they want to try hard and be positive."

These students found the story to be enjoyable and encouraging, and received a positive message. Interestingly, however, both think that the manga's target audience is children. They also considered that the message of "hope" is simplistic. It is true that the main character of "Nanohana" is an elementary school girl, but this story deals with the mature subject matter of nuclear accidents, revealing Hagio's political consciousness. "Nanohana" is meant for mature audiences to contemplate the future of nuclear energy.

The following comments express slightly negative views toward the fact that a manga would deal with the serious issues of the actual disaster.

> Student C: "It is a good story but might be too romantic and idealistic. There is neither recollection nor discussion of the actual disaster and the nuclear accident in the story."
>
> Student D: "It was a good manga, but, to me, the manga is too unrealistic. . . . In my view, the character [Naho] should have shown some development. . . . "

These students state that they enjoyed reading "Nanohana," but took the fantasy aspect of this manga negatively and considered it to be romantic, idealistic, and unreal. There seems to be a notion that fantasy manga is for popular entertainment for young readers. Their uneasiness toward "Nanohana" perhaps comes from a conception that serious issues need to be discussed in more "serious" media such as newspapers. But, as discussed in the chapter by Aoyama, Kawasaki, and Fraser in this book, "hope" is an emerging approach to be taken by literary writers and artists to overcome this depressing situation, and the notion of "hope" can be treated as a springboard to discuss the social, cultural, and political role of manga, furthering the understanding of the work and the surrounding culture.

Many of the translated manga available in English language are based on popular anime, the majority of which tend to be targeted at children and a young audience. Translated manga represent only one aspect of Japanese manga culture. Manga's diversity and sophistication, as witnessed in *shinsai* manga, are not well known outside Japan. Fantasy is one artistic approach to the subject and a means to engage readers. There is room for investigation on whether or not the reaction presented by my students has to do with their cultural and educational backgrounds. The level of readers' political consciousness might be a contributing factor. In any case, fostering comprehensive understanding of manga culture seems to be an important future task for us.

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Further Readings and Activities on 3.11

Besides manga, literary works were also dealt with in class. I selected "Kinenbi" (Anniversary) and "Tonjiru" (Pork Soup) (Shigematsu, 2013) by best-selling fiction writer Shigematsu Kiyoshi.[3] These stories are narrated from the perspective of those who live outside the disaster area. Shigematsu believes that the outsiders' experience is important and that it should be part of the *shinsai* memories. People's bewilderment and frustration, as well as their feelings of sympathy, are carefully delineated in Shigematsu's works. "Kinenbi" depicts an emotional bond between an elementary school girl in Tokyo and an aged woman in Northern Japan which is cultivated thorough a calendar the girl sends to the woman. The girl's thoughtfulness in sending her used calendar touches the old woman and heals her loneliness. "Tonjiru" is about the power of a family recipe for *tonjiru* (pork soup) invented by a father when he lost his wife many years before. The *tonjiru* that the father cooked for his three children after the funeral of his wife provided them with power to live. It is then provided to the people in the shelter in the disaster area to energize them. Art such as literary works and manga reflect human experience. These stories give students ideas for volunteering, as well as understanding "the value of outsiders" (DiNitto, 2017, p.27).

After reading the stories, the students learned that sincerity, sympathy, and human to human connection should be at the core of volunteer work and that there are so many ways that outsiders can be of help. At the end of the semester, I had my students create their own original "digital stories"; each student composed a short story in Japanese on a theme such as peace, family, or natural disaster. Using the digital video editing software Final Cut Pro, they attached images (either self-drawn or online free images), sound, and music to the recorded stories. The personalization of language learning is maximized through this activity. The ultimate goal, however, is to preserve the memory of the calamities and to assist the learners in nurturing the emotional awareness to prepare them for real communication.

Toward the Cultivation of Manga/Comic Teaching Methodology

The students were positive about reading manga in class. Below are some of the students' comments originally written in Japanese:

> "I want to learn conversational speech the most. Manga was useful to learn words which appear in conversations."
>
> "Manga was a good way to learn Japanese dialects as well as casual speech style. It was also a great medium for learning Japanese culture and social issues. Would you include manga in class more?"
>
> "I learned a lot from manga. It was different from the regular style of learning, so I was excited and read page after page with joy. Unlike fiction, I can see characters' faces, so I could understand the creators' intentions more clearly."
>
> "The accident of Fukushima is part of Japanese cultural history, so it is important to learn about it. Manga conveys not only information but also people's complex feelings. It was a good way for me to learn how to express feelings in Japanese."

Comics are multimodal texts which hybridize both linguistic and visual arts. They are highly productive tools "to create a broad variety of beneficial learning situations" (Hecke, 2011, p.655). Despite its popularity among young people, manga has not been fully taken advantage of by language teachers. The first step should be for language teachers to educate themselves with manga and anime (Kumano, 2010, p.89). Then, as Chinami (2001) emphasizes, it is necessary to establish "a manga teaching methodology" (p.131).

As Aoyama, Kawasaki and Fraser state in their chapter in this book, "personalization of the story and character empathy" are salient elements in fostering communicative competency of language learners, and thus, literary works and manga works are effective tools. Output activities such as filling the balloons require creativity and help students become aware that language is a form of art as well.

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Language activities which involve visual and language arts encourage the learners to read the materials deeply and carefully, and as a result, they learn to enjoy and appreciate the work.

The fact that "visual images and verbal language collaborate in the construction of narrative coherence and meaning" (Hecke, 2017, p.657) in comics is often ignored. Hecke (2017) emphasizes that, for establishing a language teaching methodology using comics, it is important to understand the values of "comic literacy" (p. 657) - the complementary interpretation of images and texts. Also, while students learn language through manga, they should grasp the complex meanings and allusions of the story. To establish a comic teaching methodology, a collaboration of experts from various disciplines – manga/comic specialists and art and language educators – will be indispensable.

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[1] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[2] I used some episodes from "NHK shinsai archives." https://www9.nhk.or.jp/archives/311shogen/voice/

[3] Shigematsu Kiyoshi debuted as a fiction writer in 1991, after graduating from Waseda University and working at a publishing company. He is the recipient of many literary prizes. The major theme of his novels is family. His representative works include *Naifu* (Knife) and *Bitamin* F (Vitamin F). He is active in *shinsai*-related activities, appearing in news, TV, and magazine media as a commentator.

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The Japanese the Japanese Don't Know in the Japanese Language Classroom

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Introduction

Japanese language textbooks assume a specific audience and are designed to be used in the classroom or as part of a curriculum for self-study. As international interest in manga and other forms of Japanese popular culture have burgeoned over the last few decades, many students of Japanese begin with some knowledge of language and culture derived from those sources and are often inspired to take up Japanese language study as a direct result. It makes sense that instructors should develop parts of their curricula that take this into account. The well-known *Japanese the Manga Way* (Lammers, 2005), for example, is essentially a grammar dictionary that uses manga excerpts to demonstrate various points.[1] Instructors may also turn to online sources such as Comic Zenon and SMAC! for "silent manga"—manga without words—which can be used for exercises in the classroom.[2] *The Japanese the Japanese Don't Know (Nihonjin no shiranai Nihongo*, hereafter *TJTJDK*) is a 4-volume manga series by Umino Nagiko[3] (illustrated by Hebizō) about a teacher called Nagiko-sensei, ostensibly based on the author, who interacts with her adult foreign students who have come to Japan to study Japanese. Unlike other materials developed for the language classroom, *TJTJDK* is written for a native-speaking Japanese audience, and with over two million copies sold, has shown itself to be a popular series. The use of authentic language sources as a supplement to a textbook is a common teaching strategy, and this chapter presents how *TJTJDK* can be mined for both language and culture lessons. With regard to the latter, the topics in *TJTJDK* are appropriate as an introduction to Japanese life while also providing a useful vantage point from which to consider broader issues of race and ethnic identity.

Japaneseness in *TJTJDK*

It is perhaps more accurate to call *TJTJDK* a "comic essay," or *komikku essei*, than a manga. The subtitle for the first two volumes reads, "A comic essay for the rediscovery of Japanese that brings together 'ah ha!' and uproarious laughter" (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Cover of *TJTJDK. Nihonjin no shiranai Nihongo*, Vol. 1. Illustrated by Hebizō. (Umino, 2009).

Indeed, *TJTJDK* is played for laughs and the vignettes are relatively short with little narrative continuity. Despite this, there is a bibliography at the end that includes dictionaries, textbooks, non-academic books on the peculiarities of Japanese, and resources for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test. In other words, *TJTJDK* is funny and light at the same time it dips its toes into the genre of educational manga. Nagiko-sensei, who teaches at a *Nihongo gakkō* (Japanese language school), helps her students navigate both the Japanese language and the intricacies of Japanese culture. The target audience is a general Japanese readership, and the students' mishaps are an opportunity to educate readers about aspects of Japanese language and culture that are taken for granted or obscure even to native speakers. In this way, there is a variety or quiz show element that falls into the broad genre occupied by TV shows like *Toribia no Izumi* (Hey! Spring of Trivia) and *Chiko-chan ni shikarareru!* (You'll Get Scolded by Chiko-chan: Don't Sleep through Life!), or even *Nēmingu baraetī: Nihonjin no onamae!* (Naming Variety: Japanese Names!), a show that examines the origins of Japanese names and word etymologies. Programs such as these often address topics that shed light on what it means to be Japanese.

TJTJDK is meant to be a version of the author's experiences as a teacher and is focalized through the perspective of Nagiko-sensei. Her reactions and commentary, out loud and in thought bubbles or asides, are presumably shared by readers. Ultimately, *TJTJDK* reinforces a feeling of fellowship for Japanese readers. They can laugh at the particularities of the Japanese language that come into relief through the eyes of Nagiko-sensei as she engages with her foreign students, but the readers are always in on the joke. Students' mistakes often hinge on the requirement that they have a relatively high level of linguistic competency while remaining ignorant of many cultural differences, thus they carry a whiff of inauthenticity, but this combination works well for giving Japanese readers a glimpse of foreign cultures when the students express surprise at Japanese conventions and explain their own.

Making the setting of *TJTJDK* a *Nihongo gakkō* is effective for foregrounding questions of Japaneseness. The presence of foreigners — as students and workers — in Japan is a topic that has assumed greater urgency as the population continues to age and shrink. Delineation of self and other, of insider *uchi* and outsider *soto*, is more pronounced when social and cultural identities are thought by the "in" group to be under threat. Scholar Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1993) writes that, "the marebito, or stranger-outsider deities who come from a settlement outside of Japan, constitute the semiotic *other* for the Japanese" (p.54), and that this framework has influenced notions of national identity over the centuries. This ancient conception may seem anachronistic but encounters with the civilizations of China between the fifth and seventh centuries, and then with those of Europe and America in the nineteenth century, brought about massive shifts in Japanese society. Ohnuki-Tierney continues, "The native concept of the Stranger Deity provided the model for perceiving foreigners as superior to the self, offering an ideal mirror for the Japanese to emulate," but post-WWII economic and technological successes "have had a profound impact on [Japanese people's] concept of their collective self" in which the "hierarchy between the *self* and *other* has been inverted" (p.112). As she further notes, in the absence of the other, the Stranger Deity, as a source of rejuvenation, "the self must rely on its own source of purity for regeneration" (p.136). If we follow this line of thinking, we come up against *nihonjinron*, or the study of Japanese uniqueness, that emerged in the 1970s and which found many adherents inter-nationally in spite of its dubious science and philosophy. Numerous studies have outlined, and debunked, *nihonjinron* concepts (Befu, 2001; Dale, 1986), and in doing so inevitably show that a core element of *nihonjinron* knowledge is the Japanese language itself. It is taken to be a significant factor in the

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production of Japanese identity and serves as an arbiter of who is Japanese and who is not. Tsunoda Tadanobu (1978), in one of the most well-known *nihonjinron* treatises, makes the argument that the Japanese language shapes brain function and, thus, culture and ways of living. Scholar and filmmaker John Nathan (2004) observes that Japanese people "have been prompted by familiar, troubling questions about identity to focus on their language as evidence of who they are and, more important, what makes them special" (p.5).

This concern was a significant one for scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the founder of *kokugaku* (nativist studies), who asserted that *mono no aware* (often translated as a sensitivity to the transient nature of beauty) in *Tale of Genji* was the basis of Japaneseness. Much later, in 1930, philosopher Kuki Shūzō (1888-1941) would latch onto another term, *iki*, in his treatise, *Iki no kōzō* (The structure of *iki*). He used European philosophical theory (Bergsonian phenomenology and Heideggerian hermeneutics) to deconstruct (or rather, construct[4]) the meaning of *iki*, a term that translates roughly to "chic" or "dandy" in English (Nara). Kuki argued that *iki*, which he defined by looking to Edo period merchants and the geisha of the Fukagawa demimonde, is uniquely Japanese not only because it is untranslatable due to its origins as a product of Japanese ethnic heritage, but that it could be reclaimed in the present if, collectively, the people of Japan chose to recall it. While the work of Norinaga, Kuki, or any number of *nihonjinron* theorists may have been driven as much by ideology as intellectual curiosity, defining self through difference with the other is not particular to Japan, nor is the notion that language is a key marker of in/out groups. However, the specific narratives and cultural expressions of these ideas can be revealing. As Griseldis Kirsch (2015) suggests, the presence of "Asia" and "the West" in fictional narratives must balance the tension embedded in Japan's historical relationships with those places. Mass media products, such as manga and television drama series, tend to distill Asia and the West into simplistic constructs that present otherness as a means by which to define the contours of Japanese identity, which means that representation of non-Japanese places or characters may show this bias. Elanor Sezer (2019) points out that some television shows that feature foreigners tend to praise Japan while highlighting cultural difference, and that other shows that feature Japanese *tarento* (popular entertainers) abroad reinforce the otherness of the outside world: "And this is what audiences are left with: The outside world is strange, often dangerous, and other." A similar argument could be made that representations of Japan in Anglophone media are also misleading due to the preponderance of stories that reinforce either "wacky Japan" stereotypes or Japan's perceived weirdness (e.g., rent-a-family businesses). Japan is not viewed as dangerous, but certainly as strange and other.

TJTJDK, by dint of its setting at a Japanese school and focalization through the eyes of a Japanese person who teaches an ensemble of students from all over the world, is very much about Japanese identity whether this is the explicit intent of the author or not. At the same time, *TJTJDK* gives language learners a look at how foreigners in Japan can be perceived. Students are bound to notice that the students in *TJTJDK* are presented in a caricatured and stereotypical fashion, and the non-Japanese reader (and most likely the Japanese reader, too) will find the depictions largely unrealistic even if they recognize kernels of truth in these types. The students in *TJTJDK* are drawn so broadly and are so clearly meant to be comical that non-Japanese readers can laugh along at the characters' foibles, especially when it comes to linguistic and cultural misunderstandings. In one example, an American student overreacts about the pronunciation of English words in katakana and complains that "most things about Japan are backwards," such as writing vertically from right to left or the gesture used to beckon someone. In another a student from China insists that the Japanese way of writing kanji is incorrect. In examples such as these, Nagiko-sensei enlightens readers with tidbits of information (e.g., Arabic is written from right to left, except for numbers, which are left to right) and reminds them that "non-Japanese" cultures are not a monolith. Showing the students to be naïve about cultures other than their own lets Nagiko-sensei engage in – or at least observe and comment on – many teachable moments.

Other students are eccentric, too, such as the French and Swedish students, both of whom have learned about Japanese culture before coming to Japan by watching yakuza and samurai movies, respectively. *TJTJDK* includes other stereotypical characters, such as the sexy but cool Russian woman, Chinese and Korean students concerned with part time jobs, the English businessman, a French anime otaku, an American otaku who dresses as Lupin (of the famed *Lupin III* franchise that began as a manga series in the 1960s), a pair of hyper fashionable Korean siblings, a Chinese gourmand who is always hungry, and so on. There are a few core characters who show up periodically, but many make one-off appearances for the purposes of a gag. The numerous misunderstandings and mishaps provide fodder for vignettes in which Nagiko-sensei, often flustered or surprised, does her best to remain on an even keel. When the Swedish student recounts how she was able to come to Japan, we see her parents warning her that it will be dangerous to go to

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such an uncivilized country (*yaban na kuni*) where she could be killed by a sword-wielding samurai. She chastises her parents for not knowing about Japan and assures them that Japan is no longer an isolated country, and that she will be safe because of the samurai code of not harming common people. She then confides to Nagiko-sensei her surprise that Japan was full of cars rather than horses. Nagiko-sensei offers, by turns, a polite smile and then an exasperated pose as she wonders to herself just how little is known about Japan in Sweden. As the French student agrees that they will continue to use Japanese picked up from movies just between themselves, Nagiko-sensei plugs her hears and thinks to herself, "Can't hear, can't hear, can't hear annnything." (Figure 2)

Scenes like this emphasize for Japanese readers the sense that Japan is viewed as a unique country, but it also centers Japan's normality (represented by Nagiko-sensei) in the face of ignorance, arrogance, and exaggerated behavior by foreigners.

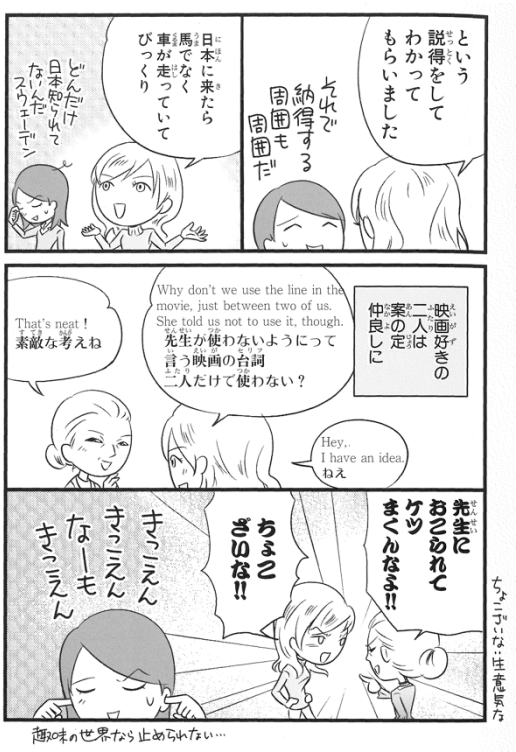

Figure 2. Nagiko-sensei encounters students whose ideas about Japan are based on the movies. (Illustrated by Hebizō). *Nihonjin no shiranai Nihongo*, Vol. 1. (Umino, 2009, p.29).

It bears repeating that the broad characterization of the foreign students is meant to be funny, and this is helped by the medium. Manga and anime, or a comic essay in this case, can domesticate difference and make it more palatable. For an example of this, we might turn to tennis player Naomi Osaka, who has received a great deal of attention in the Japanese and international press after winning consecutively two of the four biggest annual tournaments in her sport, in her case the 2018 U.S. Open and 2019 Australian Open. Numerous think pieces and journalistic stories have focused on her mixed heritage — Japanese mother, Haitian-American father, raised in the U.S. from the age of three, representing Japan in international com-petitions — and nearly all of them point out that she does not speak Japanese well, something she readily admits. Osaka was forced by existing regulations in Japan that prohibit multiple citizenships to decide whether or not to maintain her Japanese nationality before turning twenty-two years old. Aspiring to compete for Japan in the 2020 Tokyo summer Olympic games (now postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic), she chose to renounce her U.S. citizenship in October 2019 in order to keep her Japanese citizenship. Many fans in Japan have embraced Osaka, but voices have been raised that question her Japaneseness based on a number of factors that include her upbringing, lack of Japanese language ability, and her skin tone. In September 2019 a *manzai* comedy duo, A Masso, apologized after joking that Osaka was too sunburned and that she needed skin bleach. Before this, in January 2019 Osaka was involved in a media scandal when Nissin, one of her sponsors, ran an animated advertisement that depicted Osaka with light skin, straightened hair, and facial features that did not particularly resemble hers (Impey and McKirdy). Nissin apologized and withdrew the ad. Though the word "whitewashing" was used repeatedly in criticism of Nissin, Osaka's appearance as a typical anime character was likely meant to emphasize for a domestic audience her Japaneseness at the expense of her foreignness. Racial coding in Japanese manga and anime can be ambiguous, and in many cases lends itself to what Amy Shirong Lu (2009) terms "own race projection," or ORP. Nissin's representation of Osaka may have assumed that viewers would identify more positively with her — and by extension, Nissin — by eliding racial difference. Osaka's case shows the increasingly gray zone where Japanese and foreign overlap, and how genre conventions of manga and anime can influence public perceptions.

The racial and ethnic coding in *TJTJDK* features different tints of skin and hair color, and eyes are drawn in different shapes, but without additional context the minimalist drawing style would make these differences unclear or at least indeterminate in many cases. However, such coding works in tandem with explicit cues such as names, clothing, or simply stating a character's national origins, to erase ambiguity and potentially counter the effects of ORP. As such, there is tension between the

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visual images and the narrative that could allow readers to identify with characters even while the text insists in some cases on strict delineations. Reduced to generic conventions of manga art, characters are domesticated even as they remain foreign, which is useful because one of the primary functions of *TJTJDK* is to highlight differences with the goal of allowing Japanese readers to see Japan in a fresh and positive light. The final chapter of volume one, titled "Nihon ii kuni" (Good country Japan) with the subtitle "Nihonjin no shiranai Nihon no yosa" (The goodness of Japan the Japanese don't know), is an abbreviated chapter that acts as a coda for the lessons imparted up to this point to drive home the connection between language and culture, and the notion that an outsider's perspective can help Japanese people appreciate what they might take for granted. In this chapter, several students praise Japan while Nagiko-sensei listens in astonishment. A student from the Middle East says Japanese cities are beautiful because the buildings don't have holes from bombing raids, and a student from Central or South America is impressed that cars stop at intersections in Japan, explaining that it is too dangerous where he is from to stop at a light for fear of armed robbery. In less dramatic fashion, two students from Europe praise Japan because people keep promises, the trains run on time, and vending machines are plentiful. These comments cause Nagiko-sensei to realize that Japan is a wonderful place, something that is easy to forget because the good things become commonplace – this is the unifying message for Japanese readers.

TJTJDK reduces differences to stereotypes, which makes them more easily digestible. Throughout the series, each chapter ends with a single-panel comic that enlightens readers about cultural differences. In the first volume, this feature is called "the thing that students want to take back to their home countries." Examples include rice, 100-yen shops, and plastic food samples. In the second volume, the feature is called *tatamika*, or "tatami-ized" — a word whose derivation is noted as having come from the French "tatamiser" — to refer to a foreigner who is becoming Japanese, as symbolized by the straw *tatami* mat, a distinctly Japanese architectural feature. Each *tatamika* episode is titled "When I realized I'd been tatami-ized," and at the bottom of the page is a short note for Japanese readers to explain why the behavior is out of the ordinary since it is considered natural in Japan. Examples include a foreigner who has returned to his home country waiting for a taxi door to automatically open, a person with tight shoulders applying a *shippu* pad (pain relief compress), taking for granted that cashiers at a bookstore will put a cover on your book, using Japanese vocal interjections (even when not speaking in Japanese), giving ambiguous answers, seeing another foreigner in Japan and thinking "Ah, it's a foreigner!," and so on. In contrast to the fish-out-of-water trope of the first volume, the *tatamika* gags show the humor of foreigners who have assimilated. In the third volume of *TJTJDK* this segment introduces things that a foreigner saw for the first time in Japan, such as beer in vending machines or a person using an umbrella while riding a bicycle. These are banal observations that are not especially amusing, but they make for knowing chuckles by Japanese and foreign readers alike. Such scenes in *TJTJDK* are too shallow to counter *nihonjinron* doctrine in any substantial way, but on a surface level they do show that foreigners can assimilate — at least a little bit — into Japanese society. In the classroom, these single-panel gags are useful for bringing up culture topics and asking students to reflect on what things they take for granted where they are from.

TJTJDK in the Language Classroom and as a Television Drama

Thus far I have been primarily concerned with *TJTJDK* for its messages about Japanese culture and how it can be used in the classroom, but it does have practical uses for language learning, too. First of all, it is fun to read. Students can laugh along at the fictional students and may even identify with some of them. My students have enjoyed doing dramatic *ondoku* (reading aloud) of certain passages. The language is accessible for students with intermediate Japanese ability and the kanji in the speech bubbles are glossed with *furigana* (though Nagiko-sensei's internal thoughts are not). Additionally, the end of each chapter has a short quiz and a short essay with observations about language or culture. These essays provide slightly more challenging material but do not contain much specialized language. I have found that making a vocabulary list helps students greatly. The chapter quizzes are more about trivia than reinforcing material from the chapter, but they can serve as short assignments. There is also a companion volume to the series with 235 "drills" that culls questions loosely related to *TJTJDK*, and it is divided into five sections: 1) kanji, 2) grammar, 3) vocabulary, 4) polite language, 5) customs. Answers are given along with a brief explanation, but unfortunately the drills are not indexed to show which questions refer to which parts from the series. For this reason, this book is most easily used as supplemental or filler material since it does not pair particularly well with the main volumes in the series. On the whole, because *TJTJDK* is not a textbook or designed for a non-Japanese audience, instructors will have to modify or create materials to make it useful for language teaching.

For a higher-level Japanese language course, *TJTJDK* can be used in conjunction with secondary readings (both in

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Japanese and English) to explore issues surrounding *nihonjinron*, the history of foreigners in Japan, sociological studies on immigration, and so on. Further, *TJTJDK* could be used in a comparative study of manga or comic essays that make non-Japanese themes or characters central to the story, such as Ninomiya Tomoko's long running *Nodame kantābire* (Nodame Cantabile) or Oguri Saori's *Dārin wa gaikokujin* (My Darling is a Foreigner) series. I typically teach intermediate language courses and have found that *TJTJDK* makes for fruitful lessons at that level, too. Episodes and vignettes that introduce *hanafuda* (a card game), polite language, loan words, otaku, *rakugo* storytelling, visiting a shrine, visiting someone in the hospital (*omimai*), part-time jobs, writing on *genkō yōshi* (Japanese style composition paper), and others can serve as a topic for short lectures, writing activities, or role playing. Assigning a short portion of *TJTJDK* as homework to introduce a new topic or simply for a change of pace has been received well. For example, when introducing a section from our regular textbook on counter suffixes, I have had the students read the opening to the first volume of *TJTJDK* that includes a section in which Nagiko-sensei's students ask her to teach them the counters for various items that include toilet bowls, pantyhose, gloves, and skis. She grows increasingly flustered as she is unable to come up with all the answers right away, but she tries to conclude the lesson on a straightforward note by asking the class how to count people, a request that should yield unambiguous answers. When a student replies with *hiki*, the counter for small animals, because the phrase *otoko ippiki* (translates roughly as "a great man") is in the dictionary, Nagiko-sensei capitulates with the realization that "counters really are a labyrinth," a sentiment shared by countless Japanese language learners around the world. In order to read these sections, students are tasked with looking up the words in advance, and then we cover them together in class. Assigning students to read aloud the various parts, including speech and explanatory narrative, is useful as speaking practice and as a warmup activity.

An additional aspect of *TJTJDK* that is useful for teaching is that it was adapted into a 12-episode TV drama that aired in the summer of 2010, several months after the publication of the second volume.[5] In contrast to the manga version's use of numerous characters who appear only for short episodes, the drama limits itself to just nine students and each is used as the central plot device for an episode. Also in contrast to the manga, which has a wider variety of nationalities represented, the drama is heavy on the number of students from Europe and the U.S. (there are two Americans and five Europeans), with two Chinese students and none from other parts of Asia, South America, or other parts of the world. In this sense, it not a realistic representation of the actual numbers of foreigners, students or otherwise, in Japan.[6] Notably, the character of Nagiko-sensei is changed to Kanō Haruko (she is called Haruko-sensei or just Haruko in the drama), a former *karisuma ten'in*, or "charisma employee," an apparel shop employee who models that store's products in an appealing way. Haruko's sense of fashion and lifestyle trends are meant to influence others in her previous work, but the drama frames her initially as ill-suited to teaching.

The drama series of *TJTJDK* uses broad cultural stereotypes for laughs in a way similar to the manga. Variety programs, such as *Sekai no hate made itte Q!* (The Quest), sometimes send comedians and tarento to various parts of the world for a humorous glimpse at customs and festivals abroad. Shows like this go out of their way to find strange and exotic subjects. By bringing a non-Japanese cast to a show set in Japan, albeit a drama rather than a travel variety show, *TJTJDK* is rather unique. Its setup and tone bear a resemblance to a British show, *Mind Your Language* (1977-79, 1986), whose cast featured adult ESL students from around the world. Numerous adaptations appeared in other countries, including a Yakov Smirnoff vehicle, *What A Country* (1986), that aired in the U.S. *TJTJDK* has more quiz-like aspects that explain the trivia and history of language than did *Mind Your Language*, but both are remarkably similar in their use of the language-learning environment to show community-building, examine cultural stereotypes, and celebrate the home culture.

In the language classroom, the drama version of *TJTJDK* can be used for listening exercises, and it can go together with passages adapted from the manga. For example, the vignette with Nagiko-sensei teaching counters is made into a scene in episode one of the drama, and it is fun to use in tandem with the manga. In another example, I put together a unit on the supernatural that I began with a passage from the manga titled *Kowai hanashi* (Scary stories) that shows Nagiko-sensei explaining to her students that summer in Japan is associated with scary stories because getting scared (*zotto suru*), or having shivers go down one's spine, is cooling. One student responds that scary stories in England are associated with winter while another says that in China they are not shown on television. Nagiko-sensei's attempts to frighten the students with a classic Japanese ghost story, *Mimi-Nashi Hōichi* (Earless Hōichi), are thwarted by her student's lack of interest or fear (*TJTJDK*, vol. 2, pp.124-127). Next, I made a vocabulary sheet for episode five of the drama series in which Haruko talks about Japanese ghost stories and reenacts "Earless Hōichi" for her

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students, complete with sound effects for the *biwa* (Japanese lute) to set the mood. Though the students in the drama remain unmoved by her storytelling, which was far more dramatic than in the manga version, my class was amused by Haruko's efforts. In the drama, the students are more interested in poking holes in the story's title than talking about the story itself. (Figures 3 & 4)

Figure 3. Nagiko-sensei attempts, without success, to tell her students about Earless Hōichi. (Illustrated by Hebizō). *Nihonjin no shiranai Nihongo*, Vol. 2. (Umino, 2010, p.125).

Figure 4. Haruko regales the class with her version of "Earless Hōichi." Here she is making the sound of Hōichi's *biwa* (Japanese lute) to set the mood. (Masumoto, 2010). Screenshot taken by the author from DVD release.

After this, I had my students read Lafcadio Hearn's 1904 English version of "Earless Hōichi" so that they would have a firmer grasp of the entire story. We discussed the story in English, though this could be done in Japanese for a high level course, before moving on to an illustrated version of the story in the *Nihongo Yomu Yomu Bunko* series made for *tadoku* practice.[7] This helped furnish my students with vocabulary for talking about the story in Japanese. Then, I showed a clip from Mizoguchi Kenji's 1964 film, *Kwaidan*, that depicts the "Earless Hōichi" story. I assigned small groups to choose the versions they liked best and least, and to write out why. They then presented their arguments in Japanese to the rest of the class. The amount of time devoted to each of these versions depends on the level of the class and how much time is available for a unit like this; the schedule above was stretched out in my classroom across several weeks as a supplement to our main curriculum. Instructors can tailor discussion and follow-up assignments to suit their course's needs, including debate, original composition, and so on.

Returning to the topic of *nihonjinron*, a unit on horror stories or the supernatural such as this could be expanded to include a discussion of *fushigi* (strange or wondrous) as a particular type of Japaneseness. Gerald Figal (1999) writes about *fushigi* narratives that emerged in the Meiji period (1868-1912) as foundational concept for Japanese modernity and national identity, and as a forerunner to *nihonjinron* discourses that would come later. He writes:

> Ironically, foreign observers of Meiji Japan may have been the first to invite the *nihonjinron* trope of Japan as a unique and inexplicable *fushigi*, as the manifestation of a racial spirit felt in the Japanese blood and impervious to the foreign brain. The exoticization of a cultural other too often (or always, as disturbing as this might be) depends on and reinforces a cultural essentialism. (Figal, 1999, p.220)

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), the son of Greek and Irish parents who moved to the U.S. at the age of nineteen and later settled in Japan where he became a naturalized citizen named Koizumi Yakumo, is one such foreign observer. His main interest was Japanese spirituality and folklore (both literary and oral), and he devoted himself to translating, adapting, and writing essays about such aspects for an international audience. As Figal notes, Hearn's projects "possessed a deeply romantic, even erotic, longing that tended to fetishize the fantastic, reifying fragments of *fushigi* into whole cultural manifestations that could then be identified as

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authentically 'Japanese'" (p.221). Hearn's focus on the spiritual and wondrous allowed him to become a hallowed figure in Japan as an interpreter of Japanese identity, and at the same time reinforces the mystification and essentialism of all things Japanese. Indeed, in *TJTJDK*, Nagiko-sensei and Haruko are unable to scare the students with "Earless Hōichi" and, similarly, the stories the students tell do not seem to resonate with them, either.

Engaging with different versions of "Earless Hōichi" allows students to see how a story changes across time and medium, which then becomes a jumping off point to talk about Japanese TV drama conventions and where the manga and drama versions of *TJTJDK* differ. In order to do this, several episodes of the drama series should be watched, and they should be matched to the corresponding chapters in the manga. In the drama, Haruko is given a backstory in which a benefactor, Akimoto-sensei, helped her avoid being expelled from high school, and who is now principal of the language school where Haruko has been hired. Having fallen ill, Akimoto-sensei arranges the teaching job for Haruko and promises to help her get a full-time position afterwards. However, Haruko does not know she will be at a Japanese language school and that her students are foreigners until she gets to the classroom. The drama features common conventions such as workplace friction (especially between Haruko and her new boss), unrequited love between two colleagues, and Haruko's sense of obligation to Akimoto-sensei.

Another key difference between the manga and drama are the depictions of Nagiko-sensei and Haruko. Unlike Nagiko-sensei, who is unobtrusive and functions as a common sense focalizer for the audience, Haruko is a novice who is brash and unconventional. As a "charisma employee" and fashion model, she does not look or act the part of the typical teacher. With her blonde hair and bold fashion, she is as much a curiosity — and almost as much a caricature — as are her students. Together, they are oddball outsiders who bring a fresh perspective to a staid environment. The format of the drama requires recurring characters who can share the narrative load with Haruko, and over the twelve episodes of the series the students form stronger bonds with each other (and with Haruko) than they do in the manga. This helps to humanize all the characters to a greater degree than in the manga. As a result, where the manga emphasizes the beauty and goodness of Japanese language and culture, the drama makes central the importance of friendship, supporting others, and harmony between cultures.

Nevertheless, Haruko is undoubtedly the star of the show and is involved much more than Nagiko-sensei in helping her students navigate life in Japan. The students routinely rally to help each other and, in the process, learn something about Japanese culture and language. In the episode about ghost stories described above, the "ghost" turns out to be a Chinese student who has been sleeping at the school. He was kicked out of his lodging house for cooking eggplant that his landlord had left out with cucumber as an offering for *obon* (annual Buddhist custom in which families honor their ancestors). These *shōryōuma*, or "spirit horses," are carved out of vegetables and are meant to carry the spirits of ancestors from the world of the dead and then help them return after the *obon* period. This segues into a lesson on the "stubborn old man" (*ganko oyaji*) as a part of the "cultural wall" (*bunka no kabe*) that has to be scaled. Haruko helps the Chinese student to get through to the landlord, and all his classmates help by bringing the landlord *shōryōuma* to replace the one he lost. The *shōryōuma* they bring reflect their personalities and cultures (e.g., a Chinese dragon, a muscle car, a pepper with robot legs), and then as a group ask him to forgive their classmate. Moved by their efforts, the landlord accepts the *shōryōuma* and forgives the Chinese student. The conclusion of this episode is swift and simple, but the image of harmony between Japanese people and foreigners, along with the foreigners having learned something about Japanese culture, is a recurring theme. In the final two episodes, for example, Haruko helps a Chinese student who nearly gets roped into prostitution by a deceitful boyfriend, but Haruko is arrested in the process and decides to quit for the good of the school. This puts Haruko's dream of becoming a teacher — the primary narrative through line — at risk because everyone graduating together is a stipulation for her to get the necessary introductions from Akimoto-sensei. Before Haruko's eventual return, her boss comments to her that, although "foreigners are generally more individualistic than Japanese people," her class is strangely unique for their solidarity. In the end, all her students except one fail the course and must repeat it, but he returns to take it with everyone else (with Haruko joining once again as instructor) so that they can keep their promise to graduate together.

The students' Japanese may not always conform to the textbook, but they have internalized key lessons for living in Japanese society. One of those lessons, also in this final episode, can be seen when the students tell Haruko about the "beautiful Japanese" phrases that do not exist in their mother tongues, such as *otsukare sama* ("good job" or "you've worked hard"), *okaeri* ("welcome home"), *ichigo ichie* (a moment that people share which then

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passes, the ephemerality of the present). Haruko reveals, after a montage of her students saying "thank you" to her (every episode showed the featured student saying this to Haruko), that her favorite phrase is *arigatō*. Thankfulness and gratitude are certainly fine values, though not particular to Japan, that reaffirm the group's solidarity. In this sense, a series that could have been a rehash of tired *nihonjinron* attitudes instead centers the universal values of friendship and gratitude, and empathy for otherness, while remaining rooted in a particularly Japanese setting.

Conclusion

Incorporating authentic materials into the language classroom is an important but challenging endeavor. Manga and Japanese popular culture in general have large followings around the world, which makes them excellent source material. The subject matter and setting of *TJTJDK*, along with its built-in educational elements, provide a platform for teaching language, culture, and even media (race in manga, manga vs. drama conventions). When it comes to teaching language, *TJTJDK* works best as a supplement to a regular curriculum, and assignments (grammar, translation, *ondoku*, *tadoku*, etc.) should be tailored to the language level of students. I have found that *TJTJDK* works well for the intermediate level when used to create a change of pace and when introducing cultural elements. Aspects of Japanese culture can be introduced at a simple level, but *TJTJDK* lends itself to examining notions of Japaneseness – and self and other – at a deeper level. This may necessitate the inclusion of English language materials for beginning and intermediate level classes, but advanced ones can engage with these questions in Japanese if materials are curated by the instructor. *TJTJDK* is intended to make a domestic Japanese audience laugh, but it also is meant to give them a shared sense of positivity about their country. For the non-domestic audience, the gags are amusing, but at the same time they offer a behind-the-scenes glimpse at life in Japan. In the end, regardless of how readers orient themselves to the text, they can all use *TJTJDK* to question their assumptions and chuckle while doing so.

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[1] The text's author notes that it has its origins in *Mangajin*, a 1990s magazine and basis for a later series called *Mangajin's Basic Japanese Through Comics*.

[2] I would like to acknowledge Shige (CJ) Suzuki for introducing me to silent manga in his presentation, "A Media Studies Approach to Manga: Beyond the Area Studies Framework," delivered at the 2018 New York Conference on Asian Studies.

[3] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

[4] See Mostow (2008) for a critical reading of Kuki's writing and the ideological underpinnings of *The Structure of Iki*.

[5] Episode plots, character charts, and more can be found at Yomiuri Television's official website for *TJTJDK* (https://www.ytv.co.jp/nihongo/index.html).

[6] The fourth volume of the manga series has Nagiko-sensei go abroad to see how Japanese is taught outside Japan, but she visits only Australia and six European countries.

[7] Tadoku books are simplified versions of stories meant to help students of varying levels read quickly and without the aid of dictionaries.

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A Japanese Manga Literature Textbook for Developing Communicative Competence

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Introduction

This chapter discusses the manga literature textbook *Botchan* (Masuyama, 2011) [henceforth *Manga Botchan*], a manga-based textbook based on the well-known novel by Natsume Soseki[1] (1867-1916), and explores merits of the manga-based textbook in the use of the communicative approach to the teaching and learning of Japanese as a foreign language. For this purpose, particular attention will be paid to the textbook as a resource for developing the learner's communicative competence by relating Shimojo's (2013) analysis of the textbook to the merits of the use of manga. The textbook represents a broad range of textual variables such as narrative and conversation, formal and informal, sound-symbolic expressions, modern and contemporary, masculine and feminine, and central vs. local speech varieties. With these variables combined with the manga format, the textbook serves as a valuable resource for developing the learner's communicative competence concerning genre-appropriate use of coherent and cohesive texts, which is an important component of communicative competence to be developed but often overlooked in the teaching of the language.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, an overview of *Manga Botchan* is presented with discussion of different text types it offers and discusses reduction of the original text. This is followed by arguments for the use of manga in the communicative approach and an explanation of how inherent properties of manga relate to the guiding principles of the communicative approach. The discussion also extends to content-based instruction, which can be implemented with the content of *Manga Botchan*. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a summary.

Manga Botchan

Manga Botchan is intended for intermediate-level learners of Japanese as a foreign language, who have completed about 300 hours of college-level instruction, though the textbook may be used for beginning and advanced-level learners also. The textbook divides the whole storyline of the original novel into eleven chapters in the manga format. As indicated by the author, the manga format facilitates the learner's understanding of the storyline, the setting, and the feelings of the characters; it also helps the learner to become familiar with Japanese literature. In addition to understanding of the content of the novel itself, the text "presents an opportunity to explore Japanese daily customs, manners,

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cultural values, and perspectives" (Masuyama, 2011, p.5). The textbook may also serve as a resource for content-based instruction [CBI] on such topics as geography, history, economics, society, and the arts (Masuyama, 2011, p.5). This is a welcome characteristic of the textbook because, in recent years, CBI has been drawing attention for the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language, particularly for advanced-level learners (Chikamatsu, 2011; Watanabe, 2011).

Each chapter includes margin notes which consist of a bilingual vocabulary list and brief grammatical and cultural notes on select expressions. The appendix consists of the vocabulary index, sample exercises, and an essay in English on Natsume Soseki's *Botchan* as a literary work and its historical background. In addition, audio files and exercises are available on the publisher's website, and with these additional resources, the textbook is accessible for independent studies as well as for learners who are exposed to Japanese literature for the first time.

The manga text in each chapter is preceded by a pre-reading narration given by a story character. As in the case of typical comics, the manga text, the primary content of the textbook, consists of three types of texts: speech balloons, captions (narrations), and ono-matopoeia. Following the manga text, each chapter ends with excerpts of the original novel and some com-prehension questions for the text. Overall, the textbook presents the original content in five different types of text and it is expected that learners benefit from being exposed to the diverse types of discourse.

In what follows, I summarize the characteristics of each type of text outlined above and show the diverse discourse properties represented therein (see Shimojo [2013] for discussions of grammatical and discourse characteristics of these texts).

Pre-reading Narrations

The pre-reading narrative given in each chapter is a one-page passage, where a story character introduces the episode of the chapter and hints the turning point of the storyline. This preview serves as an advance organizer (Ausubel, 1968), which facilitates the learner's anti-cipation of the content, draws their attention to what is important in the story, and helps them link it to their prior knowledge which may be relevant to the story. The pre-reading passage in Chapter 1 is given in Figure 1.

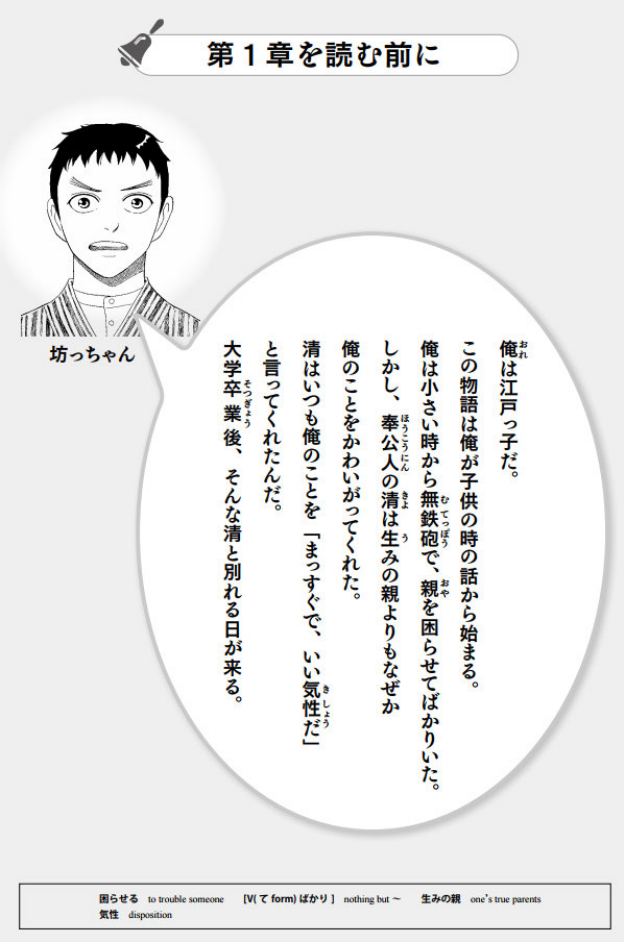

Figure 1. The pre-reading passage in Chapter 1, illustrated by Tsukidate Keito (Masuyama, 2011, p.14). ©2011 Yumani Shobou

In this passage, for example, Botchan introduces himself as a Tokyoite and reflects on his childhood personality and Kiyo's devotion to his welfare. This passage would prompt the learners to reflect on their own knowledge and experience such as their own childhood and mother figure. This particular passage is an autobiographical narrative in which Botchan narrates his own episode, but some other pre-reading narrations use a third person's perspective. It should be noted that the pre-reading narrations are presented in the manga format with a character figure and a speech balloon.

Speech Balloons

The speech balloons primarily present the interactive discourse of the story characters but they sometimes present the characters' unspoken thoughts. A sample manga text from Chapter 1 is shown in Figure 2 with the translation of the speech balloon discourse in (1).

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Figure 2. Manga text in Chapter 1, illustrated by Tsukidate Keito (Masuyama, 2011, p.18). ©2011 Yumani Shobou

The text here follows the scene of Botchan and his friends sumo-wrestling in a farmer's field during the day. That night, the farmer comes to Botchan's house to complain about the trampled carrot patch. The manga text here depicts one of the many episodes which show Botchan's reckless character and tendency to be a bothersome child for his parents. In frame 20 (the italicized part in the translation in (1), the speech balloon represents Botchan's unspoken thought, which hints his innocent nature in that he does not intend to cause damage to others.

As in written discourse, there are different types of spoken discourse (Maynard, 2005, pp.80-81), and this is also the case with the speech balloon discourse in *Manga Botchan*. It represents different discourse types, ranging from casual conversations to formal speech, including interactions among speakers of different social statuses and genders, therefore representing sociolinguistic variables that affect speech styles, politeness and gendered speech.

One important feature of the speech balloon discourse is the visualization of the prosody of speech. The visual representations include question "?", exclamation "!" (and often the combination of the two "!?"), timing of utterance "--", and hesitation pause and silence ".....". These are commonly used in manga, not in Japanese language textbooks, and serve as valuable visual guidance for the learners.

(1) The speech balloon discourse in Figure 2

農家	まだ芽が出たばかりだったんだ。そこで、相撲をとられたら、人参が台無しだよ！
Farmer	They were just sprouting. He was sumo wrestling there and carrots are all ruined!
坊ちゃん	*わらの下に人参があったのか……知らなかった。*
Botchan	*Oh, the carrots had sprouted under the straw. I had no idea.*
父	……まったく
Father	……Good grief.
	農家には罰金を出して許してもらったが……こいつはきっとろくなものにはならん！
	I paid the farmer for the damage to let him go, but this guy is not likely to become a decent person.
母	この前は年上の近所の男の子とけんかしたり、本当に乱暴で行く先が心配です。
Mother	He had a fight with a neighborhood boy the other day. He is so rough and I'm worried about his future.
坊ちゃん	清、おかわり！
Botchan	Kiyo, I need more!

Captions

Captions are given in some of the panels and they are given mostly from Botchan's viewpoint, though some of them represent a third-person narrator's perspective. The caption discourse in Chapter 1 is shown in (2).

(2) Captions in Chapter 1

1	——時は明治　東京のある小学校にて——
	It is the Meiji era, in an elementary school in Tokyo.
2	——坊ちゃんの家
	In Botchan's house

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3 ——また、ある日友達と畑で相撲をとっていた。

And, one day, I was sumo-wrestling with friends in a farm field.

4 その夜

That evening.

5 俺の無鉄砲は母を死ぬまでなやませた。

My recklessness annoyed my mother until she died.

6 奉公人の清はよい家の出だったが、明治維新で落ちぶれてしまったそうだ。

Kiyo, the maidservant, was from a well-to-do family, but I heard her family lost everything after the Meiji Restoration.

7 しかし、不思議と俺をかわいがってくれた。

But, she doted on me for some reason.

8 母が病気で死ぬと、清はますます俺をかわいがった。

After my mother died, Kiyo doted on me even more.

9 口癖は、

Her favorite saying was...

10 こんな俺を

Someone like me.

11 なぜか.....

For some reason.

12 母が死んで、六年後に親父も死んだ。

My mother died and, six years later, my father died too.

13 俺には兄がいたが、仕事で九州に行くことになった。それで兄は家を売った。

I had an elder brother, and it was decided that he would go to Kyushu for employment. So, he sold the house.

14 三年後——

Three years later.

大学を卒業し、教師として四国に行くことになった。俺は清に会いに行った。

I graduated from a college and I ended up going to Shikoku as a teacher. I went to see Kiyo.

15 清は風邪を引いて寝込んでいた。

Kiyo was sick in bed with a cold.

16 出発の日　駅にて——

On the day of departure. At the train station.

17 ——振り向いたら

When I looked back

18 清はやっぱり立っていた。

Kiyo was standing there, as I expected.

何だか大変小さく見えた。

She somewhat looked very small.

As shown in (2), the captions alone represent a self-contained text which outlines the storyline. While the narrations often provide supplementary information for the speech balloon discourse, they indicate a transition to a new "rhetorical unit" (Mann & Thompson, 1988) and guide the reader through these transitions in the way the discourse is meant to be organized. In written discourse, paragraphs represent units of the text (Maynard, 2005, Chapter 2). In *Manga Botchan*, each chapter represents one episode, and each of these episodes is hierarchically organized into "paragraphs." Some of these units represent an embedding structure which consists of a primary unit and a supplementary unit. For example, the caption discourse in (2) contains twelve primary units which are sequentially organized (1, 2, 3, 4, 5+7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18). Each of these units represents an episode. Episode 1 is followed by episode 2, which is followed by 3, etc. Units 5 and 7 form a contrast relation and they

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together are preceded by 4 and followed by 8. The other units (6, 9, 10, 11, 17) are supplementary. Unit 6 is a background of 7, and unit 17 describes a circumstance of 18. Unit 8 is linked with three supplementary units; unit 9 is an elaboration of 8, and units 10 and 11 together are in a concession relation to 8.

Thus, for proper understanding of a text and the textual coherence as intended by the narrator, it is important to grasp how propositions are linked within the text. Although these rhetorical structures are implied in the speech balloon discourse, the discourse organization is made clear by the caption discourse.

Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia presents subtle nuances of the story scenes vividly by mimicking actual sounds or describing non-auditory external phenomena and the character's psychological states. Onomatopoeia represents a major portion of the manga text in addition to the speech balloon and caption discourse, and the non-verbal mode of the text contributes to the ambiguity of manga, which will be discussed later in this chapter. An example of onomatopoeia in the manga text is shown in Figure 3.

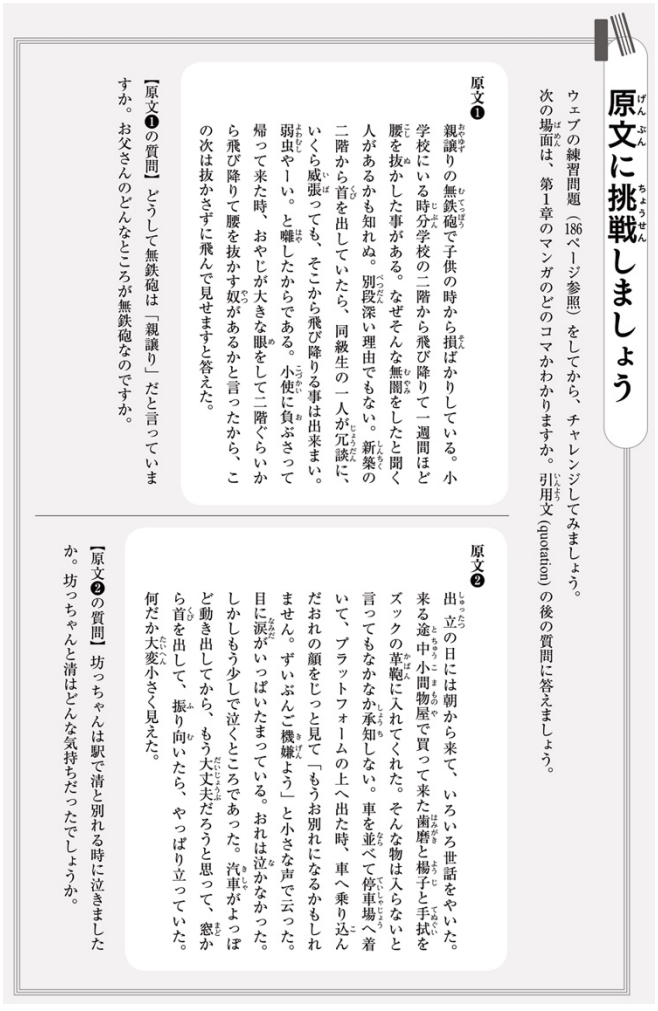
㊀ ダダダ (onoma) dash; running sound
㊁ しーん (onoma) silence
不思議なことに【ふしぎなことに】 (adv) strangely; oddly enough
静まりかえる【しずまりかえる】 (exp, v5r) to fall silent

Figure 3. Manga text in Chapter 4, illustrated by Tsukidate Keito (Masuyama, 2011, p.65). ©2011 Yumani Shobou

The onomatopoeia used in *Manga Botchan* includes the three types: phonomimes, which mimic actual sounds, phenomimes, which represent non-auditory phenomena, and psychomimes, which represent the characters' psychological states. In Figure 3, *dodon*, *dondon* (stomping), *dadadada* (running and dashing), *haahaa* (panting) are phonomimes, *shiin* (silence) is a phenomime. Not shown in Figure 3, but psychomimes used elsewhere include *muu* (feeling provocation) and *kachin* (feeling annoyed).

Original Text (Excerpts)

At the end of each chapter, there are two excerpt texts from the part of the original novel corresponding with the episode covered in the manga text. The excerpts given in Chapter 1 are shown in Figure 4.



原文に挑戦しましょう

ウェブの練習問題（186ページ参照）をしてから、チャレンジしてみましょう。次の場面は、第1章のマンガのどのコマかわかりますか。引用文（quotation）の後の質問に答えましょう。

原文❶

親譲りの無鉄砲で子供の時から損ばかりしている。小学校にいる時分学校の二階から飛び降りて一週間ほど腰を抜かした事がある。なぜそんな無闇をしたと聞く人があるかも知れぬ。別段深い理由でもない。新築の二階から首を出していたら、同級生の一人が冗談に、いくら威張っても、そこから飛び降りる事は出来まい。弱虫やーい。と囃したからである。小使に負ぶさって帰って来た時、おやじが大きな眼をして二階ぐらいから飛び降りて腰を抜かす奴があるかと言ったから、この次は抜かさずに飛んで見せますと答えた。

【原文❶の質問】どうして無鉄砲は「親譲り」だと言っていますか。お父さんのどんなところが無鉄砲なのですか。

原文❷

出立の日には朝から来て、いろいろ世話をやいた。来る途中小間物屋で買って来た歯磨と楊子と手拭をズックの革鞄に入れてくれた。そんな物は入らないと言ってもなかなか承知しない。車を並べて停車場へ着いて、プラットフォームの上へ出た時、車へ乗り込んだおれの顔をじっと見て「もうお別れになるかもしれません。ずいぶんご機嫌よう」と小さな声で云った。目に涙がいっぱいたまっている。おれは泣かなかった。しかしもう少しで泣くところであった。汽車がよっぽど動き出してから、もう大丈夫だろうと思って、窓から首を出して、振り向いたら、やっぱり立っていた。何だか大変小さく見えた。

【原文❷の質問】坊っちゃんは駅で清と別れる時に泣きましたか。坊っちゃんと清はどんな気持ちだったでしょうか。

Figure 4. The original text excerpt in Chapter 1 (Masuyama, 2011, p. 27). ©2011 Yumani Shobou

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The intention behind providing the original text in the end of each chapter, though only excerpts, is to situate the reading of the original text as an ultimate goal and to facilitate the transition to the original text on the basis of the comprehension of the corresponding manga text. The original text is expected to be more challenging for the learner to comprehend than the manga text due to not only more complex sentence structures but also the archaic style of language used therein, including vocabulary and grammar. Obviously, the reading of the original text requires proper understanding of the sentence structures as well as the expressions; therefore, the learners would rely on the bottom-up approach by decoding individual words and analyzing individual phrases and sentences in order to understand the whole text. In this process, their prior knowledge from reading the manga text would be very useful and serve as appropriate contextual information for the reading.

Reduction of the Original Text

One important area to discuss with respect to *Manga Botchan* is the gap between the original text and the manga text. The original text was edited for the manga text and the edit is mostly reduction (or simplification) of the original, though there are some minor modifications to the storyline as well. To illustrate the nature of the edit, the translation of a part of the original text covered in Chapter 1 is given in (3).

(3)

"Besides the above, I did many other mischiefs. With Kaneko of a carpenter shop and Kaku of a fishmarket, I once ruined a carrot patch of one Mosaku. The sprouts were just shooting out and the patch was covered with straws to ensure their even healthy growth. Upon this straw-covered patch, we three wrestled for fully half a day, and consequently thoroughly smashed all the sprouts. Also, I once filled up a well which watered some rice fields owned by one Furukawa, and he followed me with kicks. The well was so devised that from a large bamboo pole, sunk deep into the ground, the water issued and irrigated the rice fields. Ignorant of the mechanical side of this irrigating method at that time, I stuffed the bamboo pole with stones and sticks, and satisfied that no more water came up, I returned home and was eating supper when Furukawa, fiery red with anger, burst into our house with howling protests. I believe the affair was settled on our paying for the damage.

Father did not like me in the least, and mother always sided with my big brother. This brother's face was palish white, and he had a fondness for taking the part of an actress at the theatre.

"This fellow will never amount to much," father used to remark when he saw me.

"He's so reckless that I worry about his future," I often heard mother say of me. Exactly; I have never amounted to much. I am just as you see me; no wonder my future used to cause anxiety to my mother. I am living without becoming but a jailbird." (Natsume, 2012).

In this part of the novel, the part which is covered in the manga text is underlined (the latter half corresponds with the manga text in Figure 2 and the translation in (1)). As shown in this example, the manga text maintains the major storyline but undergoes significant reduction of the original text. As shown in Figure 2, for example, only one of Botchan's mischiefs, ruining a carrot patch, is captured in the manga text. With this edit, there is also a modification to the story in the manga; the one who came to complain is Mosaku, the owner of the carrot patch, instead of Furukawa, whose well was damaged by Botchan, as described in the original text. Furthermore, the manga text omits the additional details of Botchan's big brother, who was favored by the mother, and Botchan's reflection on himself being disfavored by his parents. In the manga text, after Botchan hears his parents' rebuke, he is just depicted as a boy who is indifferent to the parents' concerns and asks Kiyo for another bowl of food (see Figure 2, frame 24). In other words, the manga text represents only fragments of the original text, which in turn facilitates the learners to fill the gap on their own. This property of manga is discussed further in the following section in connection with some pedagogical implications.

Use of Manga in the Communicative Approach

Given the preceding discussion of *Manga Botchan*, this section addresses the pedagogical merit of the use of manga in the context of the communicative approach to the teaching and learning of Japanese as a foreign language. Communicative Language Teaching [CLT] has been formulated in reaction to the traditional methods, which place an emphasis on grammatical competence as the basis of language proficiency (as reflected in the strong emphasis on grammatical accuracy). Unlike the traditional methods, CLT aims to develop communicative competence including "knowing what to say and how to say it appropriately based on the situation, the participants, and their roles and intentions" (Richards, 2006, p.9). However, communicative competence

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necessarily requires grammatical knowledge for proper communication and therefore represents "a synthesis of knowledge of basic grammatical principles, knowledge of how language is used in social contexts to perform communicative functions, and knowledge of how utterances and communicative functions can be combined according to the principles of discourse" (Canale & Swain, 1988, p.73). Thus, CLT goes beyond development of mere grammatical competence in order to develop proficiency in the proper use of the target language, though appropriate use of language is emphasized over grammatical accuracy. The central guiding principles of CLT are given in (4).

(4)

The overarching principles of CLT (Richards, 2006, p.13)

- Make real communication the focus of language learning.
- Provide opportunities for learners to experiment and try out what they know.
- Be tolerant of learners' errors as they indicate that the learner is building up his or her communicative competence.
- Provide opportunities for learners to develop both accuracy and fluency.
- Link the different skills such as speaking, reading, and listening together, since they usually occur so in the real world.
- Let students induce or discover grammar rules.

Many university-level Japanese language textbooks which are used today align with these guiding principles of CLT. They are typically designed to provide task-based, meaningful, and purposeful communication activities, including role play and partner and group activities. Also, use of authentic materials as used in the real world is highly valued, especially for those intended for inter-mediate and advanced-levels. Within these ped-agogical trends, how is the use of manga beneficial to learners?

First, from the hearer's perspective, ability to understand the intention and expression of the speaker is an essential part of communicative competence. Putting this in the *Manga Botchan* framework, manga facilitates the learner's personalization of the story and empathy with the story characters, which helps them understand the emotion and intention of the story characters and how language is used or not used to express the intention. The visual representation of manga, including non-verbal expressions such as the characters' facial expressions and postures, also facilitates understanding of their intentions and features of the context. Additionally, the abundant use of onomatopoeia adds to the non-verbal representation of the manga.

The learner's personalization of the story and character empathy are indeed a critical aspect in the use of manga within the framework of CLT, as language learning activities must have purposes and meanings, hence involving real communication. Botchan's straightforward, honest, and courageous personality would invite leaners to care about him as he faces a struggle with his parents' apathy concerning his childhood and the difficulties he suffers from later in his adulthood as a new teacher. While character empathy does not need to be with a protagonist, personalization with the story naturally leads to processes which allow the learners to apply what they have learned to their own lives and to interactional processes in which they share personal experience and feelings. These activities create real communication. Clerici (2018) discusses *Nihonjin no shiranai nihongo* (the Japanese the Japanese Don't Know), a manga series by Umino Nagiko, as a resource for a Japanese class. In this manga, a teacher called Nagiko-sensei interacts with her adult foreign students who study at a Japanese language school in Japan. The target audience for this manga is native Japanese speakers, who can laugh about the students' mistakes but learn about aspects of Japanese which they were not aware of at the same time. Yet the manga is funny and useful for learners of Japanese as well, and Clerici points out that students may identify with some of the fictional students' characters. This particular choice of manga is interesting because of its setting directly relatable to learners of Japanese.

Another property of manga which is beneficial in light of CLT is reader involvement required in reading manga. Manga is designed to have gaps, which facilitates readers' participation. McCloud (1994) uses the concept of closure to refer to the "phenomenon of observing the parts but perceiving the whole" (p.63). Reading manga requires readers to use their imaginations and mentally connect separate panels in order to fill the gap and create a complete and coherent discourse (McCloud, 1994, pp.63-69). In other words, the reader is required to play an active role of filling the gaps constantly and creating a discourse on the basis of the visual and verbal materials presented by the manga. The created discourse may reflect readers' own interpretation of the manga. In the case of *Manga Botchan*, readers' gap filling is particularly important because of the significant reduction and simplification of the original text, as discussed earlier. Given the nature of gap in manga, Suzuki (2018) points out that the learner's own analysis of manga is effective

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and enables them to be active in class activities. In the CLT perspective, the active reader involvement in manga facilitates learner-centered instruction.

Readers' active analysis of manga also facilitates integration of different language skills, which aligns with the CLT guidelines (based on the assumption that the skills occur together in real life). Manga requires reading, analyzing visually, interpreting feelings and emotions, understanding subtle nuance, connecting the language to the context and culture, and creating coherent discourse representations.

Lastly, we cannot dismiss the obvious benefit of *Manga Botchan* in view of content-based instruction [CBI]. As indicated earlier, CLT aims for meaningful and purposeful interaction through language; therefore, CBI is a natural extension of the communicative approach because content may be used as the driving force of *meaningful and purposeful* activities (Richards, 2006, p.27). According to Krahnke (1987), CBI is defined as "the teaching of content or information in the language being learned with little or no direct or explicit effort to teaching the language itself separately from the content being taught" (p.65). As noted earlier, *Manga Botchan* may serve as a resource for content which is related to the literary work. Obviously, the directly related topic is Japanese literature, whether it is related to Natsume Soseki or something of a broader scope, but content relatable to *Manga Botchan* includes geography, history, and society pertinent to the Meiji period.

CBI may be language-driven or content-driven depending on how language and content are integrated (Met, 1998). A CBI class in which language learning is priority, as in the case of university-level Japanese language programs in America, is likely to be language-driven, though it is possible to design a class with a content focus (see Chikamatsu [2011] for her CBI courses on "War and Japanese" and "History of Japanese Americans in Chicago"). Content-focus activities for *Manga Botchan* I have found beneficial in my advanced-level Japanese class are subsumed under the "class project." In this project, each student chooses a topic related to Botchan, conducts research on the topic, shares the findings in class (by means of class discussions and presentations), and writes a report in Japanese. The past topics include *kotoba no danjosa* (gendered language), *giri ninjoo* (one's sense of moral obligation and humanity), *honne to tatemae* (one's real intention and public position), *Botchan no seegikan* (Botchan's sense of justice), and *Botchan to danjosabetsu* (Botchan and sexism). All of these topics are related to the themes which persist throughout Botchan's story. In the process of research and writing, students engage in activities such as group discussions, presentations, and post-presentation discussions, and these activities set acquiring information as a goal and therefore make content more visible in the language-driven CBI class. Also, in these activities, students get to use and integrate all of the language skills within a coherent framework (see Watanabe [2011] for more examples of language activities for CBI). Overall, that which is most relevant to CLT is not only the meaningful and purposeful communicative activities which students engage in but also the students' own knowledge being the driving force of such activities.

Summary

This chapter discussed the manga literature textbook *Manga Botchan* with special reference to the variety of discourse types used in the textbook and the benefit of the manga textbook in light of the communicative approach to the teaching and learning of Japanese. For the development of communicative competence, students must synthesize knowledge of grammar and discourse so that communicative functions of language are properly performed according to the principles of discourse. For this reason, it is critical that students have exposure to different types of discourse and *Manga Botchan* is a very effective resource for this purpose, and it is important that the teacher is aware of this benefit. Furthermore, this chapter argued that the merit of using the manga format to present the materials aligns with the guiding principles of CLT, the widely-used approach today. In addition, the inherent properties of manga, which facilitate the reader's involvement to fill the gap and create a coherent discourse, have positive impacts on the utilization of the communicative approach. Lastly, the content of manga serves as a vehicle for incorporating CBI into language teaching, where the content can be the driving force of communicative activities.

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[1] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.

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What Can We Do with Emotive Adjectives?: Manga as a Visual Facilitator of Empathetic Expressions

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Introduction

In the past few decades, many Japanese language professionals have endeavored to harness Japanese pop culture for language instruction. In the case of manga, this trend is reflected in the variety of language textbooks available on the market (e.g., Bernabe, 2004; Lammers, 2005; Masuyama, 2011). One aspect of manga that appeals to Japanese learners and teachers is the richness of language variation (Kumano, 2010; Lammers, 2005), including casual speech and vocabulary that rarely appear in traditional, grammar-based language textbooks. Such variation can provide readers with clues to characters' identities (Kinsui, 2003; Maynard, 2016) and interpersonal relationships, among other social contexts. Moreover, the abundance of images this medium offers, such as facial expressions and background effects (Cohn, 2013), facilitates an understanding of diverse forms of linguistic expressions.

Taking the stance that manga can in fact serve as effective authentic language materials, this chapter illustrates ways in which linguistic insights, coupled with existing pedagogical developments, can be used to facilitate the learning of emotive expressions, an area that has often been neglected in foreign language education (Maynard, 2005) and remains underexplored today. Emotions in manga—encoded both linguistically or visually—are often nuanced, as is the case in real-life situations, inducing readers' speculation and reasoning about them. In this sense, emotivity is closely tied to empathetic thinking—the act of feeling for others.

Among the numerous forms of emotive expressions in Japanese (Maynard, 2005; Nakamura, 1993), the present chapter focuses on adjectives. For linguistic and contextual samples, this study uses selected episodes from two works of so-called gourmet manga, *Oishinbo* (written by Kariya and drawn by Hanasaki, 1985) and *Kinoo nani tabeta?* (*What did you eat yesterday?*) (Yoshinaga, 2007). Although the analysis is not meant to generalize any particular characteristics of this subgenre, the choice of the theme is intentional; stories revolving around food are likely to involve various types of affective states that are relatable to most readers, ranging from sensations (e.g., tastes) to feelings (e.g. happiness, anger).

Note that the discussion presented in this chapter is based on the premise that language learning relies heavily on an awareness of the context in which learners participate in communication, in tandem with engaging

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content (Omaggio Hadley, 2001; see next section). From a manga reader's perspective, such contexts are multifaceted; they include visual, discursive (what has been said or explained in the story), and epistemic (readers' knowledge) contexts, which may allow for multiple ways of interpreting the emotions involved in the story. Accordingly, a goal of this study is to encourage agency and flexibility on the part of both students and teachers rather than to stipulate a fixed pedagogical formula. The analysis and discussion are intended to promote the value of studying the linguistic coding of emotions, which are deeply rooted in human communication and culture (Wierzbicka, 1999); they suggest that a study *of* and *about* emotive adjectives and their usage benefits greatly from the semiotic properties of manga.

The remainder of the chapter proceeds as follows. It first previews the potential of manga as authentic language materials and introduces relevant basics of Japanese emotive adjectives. It then analyzes selected manga samples and offers a discussion of how adjectives can be used *in* manga and in talking *about* manga, followed by concluding remarks.

"Inauthentic" use of authentic materials: Language, content and the best of both worlds

Manga exposes readers to rich linguistic variations and engaging content (Kumano, 2010). Accordingly, authenticity and content (Omaggio Hadley, 2001) have become key components of language pedagogy that incorporates manga as content-based instruction. This section outlines the present study's stance regarding these pedagogical concepts, while briefly reviewing selected manga-based textbooks.

First, language educators and researchers find authentic materials appealing because they are free of artificial modifications. On the other hand, some have cautioned that the selection and use of authentic materials can be problematic, especially for students at lower proficiency levels, because "[u]nmodified authentic discourse is random in terms of vocabulary, structure, function, content, situation, and length, making some of it impractical for classroom teachers to integrate successfully into the curriculum on a frequent basis" (Geddes & White, 1978, in Omaggio Hadley, 2001, p. 188). In the case of manga (and anime), the "impractical" aspect can also be attributed to its fictional nature, namely, its frequent use of expressions that are rarely used in real life and that do not match learners' speaking styles, in part because the stories and characters themselves are often fictional. These issues, however, can be minimized in manga-based language instruction materials. For example, Lammers' (2005) *Japanese the Manga Way* uses selected authentic manga frames with conversations that suit given grammatical topics, accompanied by grammar explanations in English. It introduces various Japanese expressions, progressing from shorter utterances to more complex phrases. As the author notes, instruction materials like this book benefit from the general features of manga, which include an abundance of linguistic variation and static images in context.

With regard to the usage of "content," Omaggio Hadley (2001) discussed the importance of "develop[ing] instructional models where language and content are closely intertwined" in order to "ensure that language learning occurs in a meaningful context and that language processing goes beyond the level of the isolated sentence" (p. 164). Bragger and Rice (1998) also argued that "content is not used merely to teach language forms and vocabulary items, but rather presents learners with issues that are interesting and valuable to learn about in their own right" (in Omaggio Hadley, 2001, p.167). The implementation of "content" framed in this way could be restricted to users at a high proficiency level because language barriers might otherwise impede the understanding of such content. Some published language-learning materials counter this concern, for example, *Manga Botchan* (Masuyama, 2011), a condensed manga version of the popular Japanese novel *Botchan*, by Soseki Natsume (1906). Designed for English-speaking learners of Japanese, the book serves as a bridge to literature for users who could not (or would not) otherwise read it in the original language. The dialogues and narrations contain various styles of Japanese, including casual speech in regional dialects and excerpts from the original text, written in formal style (Shimojo, 2013), accompanied by concise vocabulary and grammar notes, supplementary readings, and online exercises. The text is, for the most part, modified from the original in collaboration with a manga artist. Although the material is not "authentic" in this regard, readers have access to its thematic content, such as a young male Tokyoite's experience in a more traditional area of Japan, conflicts at work, and so forth.

In sum, manga-based language pedagogy can address the potential shortcomings of authentic and content-based materials, by either selecting the appropriate parts for grammar-based instruction or making the thematic content accessible for learners. In this sense, manga can provide the best of both worlds: on one hand, the kind of linguistic control that traditional instruction textbooks

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offer through modification, and on the other, engaging content—hence "inauthentic" use of authentic materials. The present study thus suggests that manga can be selected and adopted flexibly as a supplement to regular language textbooks. Depending on learners' proficiency levels and interests, the amount of input can vary from "fragments" (e.g., faces or frames in isolation) to entire episodes, prompting usage of words, sentences or longer utterances. In addition, users can engage with a specific theme for the entirety of each manga—for example, professionalism and perfection in preparing Japanese cuisine. This flexibility not only addresses potential logistical barriers to adopting authentic materials (e.g., curricular settings that require the use of certain textbooks, often in an all-or-nothing manner), but also makes manga suitable for learning emotive expressions. The present study, in fact, posits that the topic of emotion is itself a valuable cultural quality in its own right. Unlike incidental thematic content, such as historical events, emotion is ubiquitous in manga stories and elsewhere. Moreover, words that are readily available in a given language but are not easily, if at all, translatable (e.g., *hazukashii* 'embarrassing; embarrassed' [Rusch, 2004]) are regarded as windows into the culture associated with the language (cf. Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999). The mental actions of deciphering these complex concepts through stories and of positioning oneself relative to "others" (in this case, given characters) are an integral part of empathetic thinking. They can motivate learners to think about the contexts in which the characters feel in certain ways. Let us now look at emotive expressions in Japanese, focusing on adjectives.

"Emotive adjectives" and pedagogical relevance

Although speakers have a basic understanding of typical emotive adjectives, such as *ureshii* 'happy' and *kanashii* 'sad,' learning how to use them in context requires some conscious effort. This is due to the multifaceted nature of adjectives in general, which copious studies have demonstrated (e.g., Ono & Thompson, 2009; Minagawa, 2016; Murakami, 2017; Teramura, 1982).[1] Researchers have devised linguistic judgment tests for adjectives based on how they can be used and interpreted in sentences in order to provide objective criteria for identifying emotive adjectives (analogous to "emotional adjectives" by Murakami, 2017). Among the many adjective-classification systems proposed to date (e.g., Masuoka, 1997; Teramura, 1982; Yamaoka, 2000), the present chapter adopts Murakami's (2017) tests. Some examples based on her research are presented in (1):[2]

(1) a. *Hanako-ga* *ureshi-soo* *ni* *tabete-iru*
Hanako-NOM happy-EVI ADV eat-PROG
'Hanako eats looking happy.'

b. *Hanako-ga* *tsura-soo* *ni* *tabete-iru*
Hanako-NOM painful-EVI ADV eat-PROG
'Hanako eats looking like she is in pain.'

c. *Hanako-ga* *oishi-soo* *ni* *tabete-iru*
Hanako-NOM tasty-EVI ADV eat-PROG
'Hanako eats looking like she finds [the food] tasty.'

d. *Hanako-ga* *era-soo* *ni* *tabete-iru*
Hanako-NOM admirable-EVI ADV eat-PROG
'Hanako eats looking like she is admirable.'

Murakami's test uses the "[adjectival stem]-*soo ni* [verb]" construction "[someone] [verb]s looking/having the appearance of being [adjective]," in which the stem form of a target adjective takes the evidential marker *-soo* 'looks like' and is followed by an adverbial particle *ni* and a verbal predicate (in this case, *tabete-iru* 'is eating'). It distinguishes the adjectives in (1a) – (1c) from the adjective in (1d) in terms of how they are interpreted. In the former three, Hanako looks like she is feeling happy, feeling pain, and experiencing a good taste, respectively; that is, she does not herself look pleasing/look painful [to someone]/look delicious. Thus, in each case, it is appropriate to use the adjective to describe the subject's internal psychological state.[3] The sentence in (1d), on the other hand, does not provide an "internal" interpretation. It describes Hanako's manner of eating that is observable, in this case, looking (as if she is) admirable.

Upon establishing two additional tests, which further distinguish the adjective types in (1a) and (1b), from those in (1c) and (1d), and additionally distinguish between those in (1a) and (1b) (not discussed in the present study), Murakami classifies 642 Japanese adjectives into four categories, A-D (see Appendix A), which correspond to (1a) – (1d), respectively.[4] Although the four categories can be considered to be distinct from one another (A - 'emotive,' B- 'sensation,' C - 'hybrid' [because it combines features of the other three categorizes] and D - 'attribute,' in the order presented above), the present study regards items from Categories A–C, but not items from Category D, as "emotive adjectives."

What follows is a survey of how Japanese-language textbooks deal with adjectives. It is based on a combination of pedagogical materials used pervasively in North America, *Genki: An integrated course in Elementary Japanese I and II* (Banno, Ikeda, Ono, Shinagawa, & Tokashiki, 2011ab), and *Tobira: Gateway to Advanced*

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Japanese (*Tobira*) (Oka, Tsutsui, Kondo, Emori, Hanai, & Ishikawa, 2009); these three books are often adopted for first-, second-, and third-year Japanese classes, respectively. In the Genki series (Volume I: Lessons 1–12; Volume II; Lessons 13–23), Category B adjectives are introduced early on (eight items in Lesson 5, one in Lesson 9, and six in Lesson 10) (see Appendix B), and Category A items are distributed throughout the second volume (10 items in Lessons 13–22) (see Appendix C). In both volumes, a few Category C adjectives, which are limited in number in general, are introduced. In *Tobira* (Lessons 1–15), items from Categories A–C are evenly dispersed across the 15 lessons (see Appendix D). In all three textbooks, there is a substantial number of Category D items, which reflects the large inventory of this type in general (see also Appendix A).

With regard to grammatical context, emotive adjectives (i.e., Categories A–C) are introduced to be used with modifiers and adjectival predicates, such as *atsui koohii* 'hot coffee' and *koohii-wa atsui* (coffee-TOP hot, 'The coffee is hot'), respectively. The semantic properties of adjectives identified using the tests introduced above become relevant when expressions of so-called modality, "the aspect of a speaker's utterance that expresses his/her attitude" (Hasegawa, 2015, p. 307), begin to appear, such as the suppositional *-daroo* 'it is probably the case that~' and the evidential [stem]*-soo* 'it looks like~' (*Genki*, Lessons 12 and 13, respectively). When combined with emotive adjectives, these constructions function as "distancing devices" that enable speakers to appropriately convey what they observe about the feelings of others (i.e., in manga, the feelings of characters) (see Appendix E). In this sense, visual and story-based materials like manga can facilitate empathetic discourse. The advantage of manga concerns not only the range of available expressions they contain, but also contextual input that can prompt readers to come up with their own repertoire of expressions, while imagining the characters' psychological state. Although traditional textbooks make unique contributions, their dialogues and readings—in part due to space limitations—often fail to provide sufficient contexts to allow for the development of protagonists' complex emotions (cf. Abe, 2017).

As presented in the next two sections, there are two possible ways of utilizing manga, that is, from the character's point of view and the reader's (or observer's) point of view (cf. Imai, 2016; Ikegami & Moriya, 2009). For example, suppose that a character says, *Kore umai yo* (this delicious SFP) "It's tasty [I tell you]". (*Umai* is a colloquial version of *oishii* 'tasty,' and *yo* is a marker of assertion.) Taking the character's point of view in a role-play or skit activity in a classroom setting, learners could immerse themselves *in* a manga story and simulate a character's speech or experiment with synonymous expressions using different styles (e.g., *oishii!*; *umai na,* etc.). On the other hand, taking the reader's perspective, learners, as observers of the scene, could talk *about* the manga story in which the utterance occurred, imagining and describing how the character might be feeling in a given situation. They could observe the characters' facial expressions and other contextual cues along with the speech content to say, *Ureshi-soo desu* (happy-EVI COP.POL) 'He/she looks happy' (see example [1a] above), while using a speech style appropriate to the given speech situation—most likely a classroom setting, in which the *desu/masu* or "polite" style would be appropriate.

Language *in* manga: Characters' usage of emotive adjectives

In order to illustrate how emotive adjectives can be used in gourmet manga, an episode from the first volume of each gourmet manga, *Oishinbo* (Kariya & Hanasaki, 1985) and *Kinoo nani tabta?* (What did you eat yesterday?) (Yoshinaga, 2007), was examined. The best-seller *Oishinbo* depicts the culinary adventures of the journalist Shiro Yamaoka and his partner (later his wife), Yuko Kurita. In the pursuit of professionalism and perfection in Japanese gastronomy, the protagonists (sometimes along with other characters) visit various locations to taste and critique cooking ingredients and dishes. The slice-of-life manga *Kinoo nani tabeta?* depicts the everyday life of a male couple in their 40s, the lawyer Shiro Kakei and the hairdresser Kenji Yabuki. Its episodes revolve around what they eat in daily life. The series features such themes as the professional and social life of the couple and their interactions with families, friends, and coworkers, while also depicting their mundane activities, including planning a menu, shopping for ingredients, preparing a meal, having guests over, and giving and receiving food. A substantial part of each episode is dedicated to a scene in which one of the characters (usually Kakei) prepares a meal as he describes the recipe, so as to provide a demonstration for readers. The English versions of the two sources (2009 and 2014, respectively) were used to reference translations for the sentence examples.

Both works include scenes in which the characters react spontaneously to the food and describe speakers' feelings concerning food or food-related events using emotive adjectives. The episode of *Oishinbo* examined for this study (Episode 7, 138 frames), entitled *Dashi no himitsu* (The Secret of Dashi), involves a variety of verbal

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and visual reactions, such as satisfaction, surprise, and disgust, to the taste of meticulously prepared *dashi*, Japanese broth. There are two occurrences of Category A adjectives, *iyana* 'disagreeable; unpleasant,' *hazukashii* 'ashamed; shameful,' and three occurrences of Category C adjectives, *oishii* 'delicious,' *bakabakashii* 'ridiculous,' and *kawaisoona* 'pitiful.' In the episode of *Kinoo nani tabeta?* (Episode 1, 90 frames), there are three instances of the target adjectives, *iyana* 'disagreeable; unpleasant' (Category A), *kimochiwarui* 'creepy' (Category B), and *oishii* 'delicious' (Category C). Out of a total of eight occurrences of adjectives found in the two sources, three describe the taste of food positively. Sentences (2) and (3) present excerpts that use the word *oishii* 'delicious,' one of the most frequently used adjectives in both *Oishinbo* and *Kinoo nani tabeta?*:[5]

(2) ***Oishii*** *waa.*
delicious SFP
"Delicious!"

(*Oishinbo*, 1985, p. 174; *Oishinbo: Japanese cuisine: A la carte*, 2009, p. 26)

(3) *Baransu-toka-wa* *zenzen wakan-nai* balance-etcetera-TOP al.all understand-NEG

kedo, *kono takikomi-gohan* *suggoi*
but, this steamed.mixed.rice extremely

oishii. *Okawari.*
delicious. Seconds.
"I don't know anything about balance, but this seasoned rice is delicious. Seconds please!"

(*Kinoo nani tabeta?*, 2007, p. 16; *What did you eat yesterday?*, 2014, p. 16)

In (2), *oishii* appears as an exclamatory soliloquy. Kurita spontaneously uses the word, followed by the emphatic *waa,* an elongated sentence-final particle generally associated with female speakers. The utterance in (3) occurs in a scene in which Kakei and Yabuki eat dinner together at home. Yabuki comments positively on the food with appreciation for the cook, Kakei.

The remaining five adjectives are incidental in that they involve speakers' reactions that vary according to their personal dispositions or types of situations specific to the episodes. In the *Oishinbo* episode, for example, there is a "difficult" character, Kaibara, an artist and an extremely picky food connoisseur, who is also Yamaoka's father. In one scene, he overtly shows his aversion for having been invited to the restaurant (using *iyana* 'annoying; annoyed') after tasting poorly prepared broth, as shown in (4):

(4) *Nanda kono mise-wa!!* *Dakara*
What this restaurant-TOP so

watashi-wa *shokuji-ni* *yob-areru-no-wa*
I-TOP meal-to invite-PASS-NMLZ-TOP

iyana*-nda.*
annoyed-NMLZ.COP
"What's with this place?! This is exactly why I don't like being invited out to eat."

(*Oishinbo*, 1985, p. 163; *Oishinbo: Japanese cuisine: A la carte*, 2009, p. 15)

Although Kaibara's complaint is not directed overtly to a specific person, his brash utterance conveys his arrogant personality. Similarly, earlier in the episode, he uses the word *bakabakashii* 'ridiculous' out loud when Taizo Ohara, a publisher for whom his son, Yamaoka, works, suggests the idea of collaborating with Yamaoka on a culinary event.

Most of the emotive adjectives in the two manga are used in plain style, either out of rudeness or as a soliloquy or exclamation. The only polite form was found in an utterance by the mistress of a Japanese restaurant, as shown in (5):

(5) *O-****hazukashii*** *hanashi* *de gozaimasu*.
HON-**embarrassing** story COP.POL
"It is an embarrassing story."

(Oishinbo, 1985, p. 166; *Oishinbo: Japanese cuisine: A la carte*, 2009, p. 18)

The speaker here confesses to a group of customers (the protagonist Yamaoka and his coworkers) that the original chef is unavailable, resulting in the serving of dashi broth of compromised quality. The Category A adjective *hazukashii* is embedded as a modifier of a noun phrase, which occurs as a predicate, followed by the extra humble copula *de gozaimasu*.

The kinds of examples presented above can expose learners to various grammatical patterns and styles in which emotive adjectives are used. However, channeling such an awareness into speaking, that is, appropriately using any given adjective in context, would require multiple steps, including putting oneself in the characters' shoes, engaging in empathetic thinking towards them, acting out scenes in roleplay, and so forth. These steps are discussed in detail in pedagogical research on theatrical and dramatic approaches to language teaching, such as Noro (2009).

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Language *about* manga: Readers' description of others' feelings

We now shift our attention to what readers can say *about* the characters and stories of manga. Although emotions are often vividly shown through facial expressions, complementing, conforming to, or amplifying linguistic expressions, characters' appearances often contradict what they say, do, or think. Readers deal with this dissonance through their ability to infer speakers' (= characters') intentions based on combined evidence of visual, discursive, and epistemic contexts. However, regarding language production, that is, describing inferred meanings, they must be more intentional, not only in choosing an appropriate lexical "label" for the given situation (e.g., *kanashii* 'sad') but also in making a grammatical adjustment in order to use the word appropriately in a sentence, for example, by adding the [stem]-*soo (da)* construction, as presented in (1). In descriptions of someone's internal psychological state, Japanese grammar requires this adjustment to avoid a direct assertion. This idea was formalized by Japanese linguists such as Kamio (1994), whose theory "assumes that human territory is ... reflected in the use of Japanese and systematically controls it"; the theory is "based on the notion of psychological distance between a given piece of information and the speaker/hearer" (Kamio, 1994, p. 68). Japanese has numerous other constructions of this type, including *modality expressions* (Johnson, 2003, 2008). The choice of expression varies depending on the type and directness of evidence on which speakers' speculation or reasoning is based; for example, *kanashii-yoo da* 'appears sad' is less speculative than *kanashi-soo da* 'looks sad', which tends to involve visual evidence, and *kanashii-no-daroo* 'I suppose [he/she] is sad' is more strongly based on reasoning. The present study highlights the first two of Johnson's (2008) three categories of modality: *evidential modals*, *suppositional modals*, and *explanatory modals*.

Evidential modals are "concerned with a speaker's visual or sensory perceptions" and include the so-called visual -*soo (da)* 'looks like~,' the hearsay -*soo (da)* 'I heard that~,' -*yoo (da)* or -*mitai (da)* 'looks like' (less speculative judgment than the visual -*soo [da]*), and -*rashii* 'I heard/looks like' (Johnson, 2008, p. 255). Suppositional modals indicate the degree of speakers' conviction and include, in the order of highest degree of conviction to the lowest, -*hazu* 'it should be the case that~,' -*ni chigainai* 'it must be the case that~,' -*daroo* 'it is probably the case that~,' and -*kamoshirenai* 'it might be the case that~' (Johnson, 2008, p. 262). Given the wealth of these "distancing devices," I will illustrate three types of static images that can prompt their usage: direct facial expressions, ambiguous facial expressions, and facial expressions that are mismatched with "true" feelings and thus require other contextual cues.

DIRECT FACIAL EXPRESSIONS: EVIDENTIAL [STEM]-*soo*

In *Oishinbo*, reactions to food are often expressed through illustrations of vivid facial expressions, such as Kaibara's facial expression of disgust in the examined episode. In *Kinoo nani tabeta?*, on the other hand, illustrations of emotions are relatively subtle.[6] For both types, individual images can be used in simple mechanical exercises to prompt learners' speculations and their production of single sentences, much like the way language textbooks use illustrated pictures. For example, these images can be used to prompt the usage of evidential markers, such as the [stem]-*soo da* construction (Banno et al., 2011b, pp. 41-42), a marker of speaker's judgment "based on some visual or sensory impression of a situation" (Johnson, 2008, p. 255), as shown in (6) and (7):[7]

(6) *Kaibara-wa* *iya-**soo*** *da.*
Kaibara-TOP annoyed-**EVI** COP
"Kaibara looks annoyed."

(7) *Yabuki-wa* *ureshi-**soo*** *da.*
Yabuki-TOP happy-**EVI** COP
"Yabuki looks happy."

The same kind of visual prompt can be used to demonstrate certain limitations of usage. For example, the evidential [stem]-*soo* in the direct predicative form -*soo da* gives an "internal" reading only to Category A adjectives (e.g., *iyana* in [6] and *ureshii* in [7]) and Category B adjectives. Category C adjectives, such as *mazui* 'unsavory' and *oishii* 'delicious,' on the other hand, cannot have this reading with the same evidential construction; they require the adverbial form -*soo ni* followed by an action verb in order to have an internal reading, as presented in (1c) and illustrated here in (8) and (9):

(8) *Kaibara-wa* *mazu-**soo*** *ni* *tabete-iru.*
Kaibara-TOP taste.bad-**EVI** ADV eat-PROG
"Kaibara is eating looking like he finds [the food] bad."

(9) *Yabuki-wa* *oishi-**soo*** *ni* *tabete-iru.*
Yabuki-TOP tasty-**EVI** ADV eat-PROG
"Kaibara is eating looking like he finds [the food] tasty."

There are other evidential markers, as mentioned earlier in this section, which involve less direct evidence and a

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greater degree of the speaker's knowledge. Although this section does not discuss them, they can also be taught utilizing manga images of various types (Yamaguchi & Abe, 2014).

AMBIGUOUS FACIAL EXPRESSIONS: COMPLEX SENTENCES

Facial expressions in isolation are often ambiguous or give rise to multiple interpretations. For example, in *Oishinbo*, Kaibara smiles with his mouth, but his eyes look angry, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. An example of an ambiguous face illustrated by Akira Hanasaki. *Oishinbo*, volume 1, episode 7 (Kariya & Hanasaki, 1985, p. 177, 3rd frame). © Testu KARIYA, Akira, HANASAKI/SHOGAKUKAN

This facial expression is from a scene that takes place in a renowned Japanese restaurant; Kaibara would not admit that he was impressed with the broth he tried, which turned out to be broth his son had made, though he had praised it before discovering the fact. To describe the emotion displayed here, one could say:

(10) *ureshi-**soo*** *desu* *ga,*
glad-**EVI** COP.POL but

*kuyashii-**kamoshiremasen**.*
mortified-**might.POL**
"He looks pleased, but he might be mortified."

Needless to say, there are numerous other ways to describe the same situation; the bottom line is that ambiguous facial expressions invite multiple interpretations and thus would most likely prompt readers to use multiple clauses or sentences. Note also that the use of the suppositional modality marker *-kamoshirenai* need not be based on sensory evidence; for example, the judgment can be made by reasoning based on what has happened between Yamaoka and Kaibara or on readers' knowledge about father–son relationships in general. Thus, a lack of evidence or certainty calls for an act of inference on the readers' end.

MISMATCH BETWEEN APPEARANCES AND FEELINGS: BEYOND EVIDENTIALS

Learners can further read into characters' inner feelings, which often lie behind their words and facial expressions.[8] Information from the storylines—within or across individual episodes—and learners' own knowledge about personal relationships in general allow more room for discussion and, most likely, the production of longer sentences or more extensive discourse. A scene from *Kinoo nani tabeta?* exemplifies such subtlety. Observe Kakei's mother's face in Figure 2:

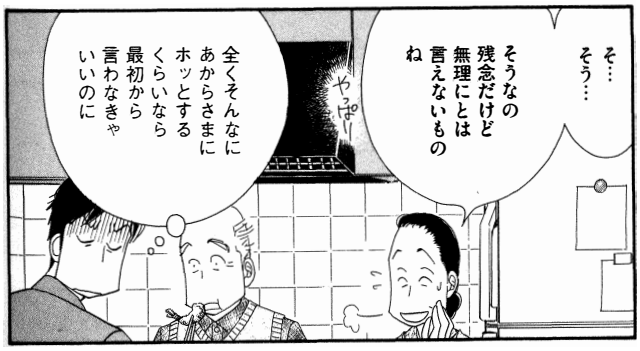

Figure 2. An example of a language-emotion mismatch *Kinoo nani tabeta?*, volume 1, episode 8 (Yoshinaga, 2007, p. 144, 4th frame). ©Yoshinaga Fumi/Kodansha

This scene occurs immediately after Kakei, who is visiting his mother, has told her that he will not be able to bring his boyfriend on weekends in response to her invitation. His mother, as shown here, says that she is disappointed but agrees that she can't force him. Here, despite her words, readers may be able to see that she is relieved, based on the previous context (e.g., that she has never met his boyfriend; that she looked nervous when mentioning the possibility of having him over, etc.) and the image of a smile with a sign of relief illustrated by a puff of air, together with readers' beliefs about parents in general. In fact, Kakei, who appears in the same frame, thinks (shown in the bubble) that his mother shouldn't have said anything in the first place if she was going to look so relieved. Readers observing this situation can, for example, talk about the mother's appearance, as in (11):

(11) *Zannen-soo* *da* *kedo,* *hontoo-wa*
sorry-EVI COP but reality-TOP

ureshii ***no-dewa-nai-deshooka.***
glad **isnt.it.the.case.that**
"She looks sorry, but in actuality, isn't she glad, I wonder?"

Sentence (11) uses another suppositional modality construction, the rhetorical question *no-dewa-nai-*

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deshooka. Using the image of the mother and the particular storyline can be used in a number of ways to negotiate emotions that she may be experiencing, drawing upon epistemic, discursive, and visual contexts. For expansion, this is also a good place for introducing new expressions, such as *anshin-shite-iru* (be.relief-do-PROG) 'relieved' and *toiuka* 'rather,' as in *ureshii toiuka anshin-shite-iru* 'be relieved rather than happy,' which can also be followed by *no-dewa-nai-deshooka*.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter explored the role of Japanese manga as a rich source of emotion concepts. Drawing on insights from linguistic research and pedagogical materials, it suggested that manga not only contains a wealth of linguistic variation that can indicate speakers' (= characters') personal styles and social situations, but can also serve as a facilitator of empathetic discourse for readers. Focusing on adjectives, this study proposed that elements of gourmet manga episodes, if selected intentionally, can prompt the use of emotion words integrated with appropriate grammatical constructions. In particular, it showed that visual input that invokes different types and degrees of certainty can be linked to certain modality constructions. Such constructions also inform learners about how to use lexical items. Moreover, the contexts that readers use may also be discursive or epistemic, which can be provided through a sequence of multiple frames, or an episode or even an entire series.

Japanese culture is often regarded as one in which the act of "figuring out the atmosphere" (*kuuki o yomu*) and "empathy" (*omoiyari*) are highly valued. In this respect, it is worth considering both the language-in-manga approach, which emphasizes the sociolinguistic information associated with interpersonal relationships among characters, and the language-about-manga approach, which can induce learners' active participation in interpreting others' internal psychological states.

In future research, a wider range of emotive expressions, including other parts of speech, such as verbs and onomatopoeia, figurative speech, and periphrastic expressions, would yield more comprehensive insights into facilitating empathetic thinking and discourse. Furthermore, the addition of empirical evidence from classroom practice would demonstrate pedagogical effects. I hope the present chapter, despite its limited scope, has brought to light the unique role of manga in the underutilized areas of emotion and empathy in linguistics and language education.

Acknowledgement

This project was partially supported by Middlebury College's Digital Liberal Arts (DLA) Fund, Faculty Professional Development Fund and Faculty Research Assistant Fund (2017-2018). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the DLA team, especially Michael Kramer (Department of History, SUNY Brockport) for sharing his insights on envisioning research using visual and digital materials. Many thanks to Leanne Galletly, Rachel Manning and Kat Cyr for technical assistance, and Jackie O'Connell and Haruna Takeda, research assistants whose dedication and skills in linguistics were of tremendous help in compiling the database used for this research. I would also like to thank the audiences at the panel *Education through manga* at the New York Conference of Asian Studies (Rochester, NY, September, 2018) and at my DLA Behind-the-Scenes talk at Middlebury (February, 2019) for their valuable comments. Special thanks to Kyoko Hayasaka Davis and Ken Pasciak.

[1] There are two structural categories of adjectives: *i-* adjectives, which have a dictionary form ending with *-i*, and *na* adjectives, which have a *-na* ending as a modifier or connection to another grammatical construction.

[2] Abbreviations used in this section: ADV = adverbial; COP = copula; EVI = evidential; NOM = nominative case (subject); POL = polite; PROG = progressive; SFP = sentence-final particle.

[3] Note that the adjectives can also have the "external" interpretation in different structural contexts. For example, *ureshii* can mean 'pleasing,' as in *ureshii nyuusu* 'pleasing news.'

[4] Murakami's list is based on the vocabulary list of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (old version), created by The Japan Foundation (2002). For adjectives used in the present analysis but not included in the list, the present author (a native speaker of Japanese), in consultation with another trained native speaker of Japanese, applied Murakami's tests to determine their types.

[5] Abbreviations used in this section are as follows: COP = copula; HON = honorific; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; PASS = passive; POL = polite; SFP = sentence-final particle; TOP = topic marker.

[6] The difference is supported by judgments made by two readers through facial-expression-tagging tasks (cf. Tokuhisa et al., 2006). For each face from cutouts from selected episodes, the most appropriate tag was chosen from the set HAPPINESS, ANGER, FEAR, DISGUST, SURPRISE, SADNESS, or NEUTRAL/NO EMOTION. Facial expressions in *Kinoo nani tabeta?* were evaluated as conveying emotions of lower intensity than in *Oishinbo*, which was evident from responses with additional modifiers before emotion words (e.g., *slight anger*).

[7] Abbreviations for English glosses used in the present section are as follows: ADV = adverbial; COP = copula; EVI = evidential; PROG = progressive; QUOT = quotative; TOP = topic.

[8] The author collected responses on emotion-tagging tasks, which require an understanding of the full stories, to compare them with the face-tagging tasks (mentioned in footnote 11). The results show frequent mismatches between the emotions that facial expressions suggest and the emotions understood through the stories.

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Appendix A Categories of adjectives (Murakami, 2017) [translations by the present author]

Categories	Items
A (39 items)	*igaina* 'unexpected'; *iyana* 'disagreeable; unpleasant'; *uttooshii* 'gloomy'; *urayamashii* 'envious'; *ureshii* 'glad'; *oshii* 'regrettable; valuable'; *kanashii* 'sad'; *kawaii* 'dear'; *kanmuryoona* 'deeply moved'; *kimariwarui* 'be embarrassed'; *kuyashii* 'vexing; vexed'; *koishii* 'longing/longed for'; *kokorozuyoi* 'encouraging; encouraged'; *kokorobosoi* 'lonely; helpless'; *zannenna* 'regrettable; sorry'; *shinpaina* 'worrying; worried'; *sumanai* 'unforgivable; sorry'; *setsunai* 'sad; painful'; *tokuina* 'proud'; *natsukashii* 'nostalgic'; *nayamashii* 'worried; worrying'; *nikui* 'hateful'; *hazukashii* 'ashamed; shameful'; *fuanna* 'uneasy'; *fushigina* 'mysterious'; *fushinna* 'doubtful'; *fufukuna* 'dissatisfied'; *fuheina* 'discontent'; *fumanna* 'dissatisfied'; *heikina* 'calm; unconcerned'; *hoshii* 'wanting'; *machidooshii* 'anticipating; anxious'; *manzokuna* 'satisfied'; *munashii* 'empty'; *munenna* 'chagrined'; *meiwakuna* 'troublesome'; *mooshiwakenai* 'sorry; inexcusable'; *monotarinai* 'lacking'; *yuuutsuna* 'melancholic'
B (49 items)	*atatakai* 'warm'; *atatakana* 'warm'; *atsui* 'hot (weather)'; *atsui* 'hot (thing)'; *arigatai* 'thankful'; *awatadashii* 'hectic'; *isogashii* 'busy'; *itai* 'painful'; *okashii* (*kokkeina*) 'funny'; *osoroshii* 'scary'; *okkanai* 'scary'; *omoi* 'heavy'; *omotai* 'heavy'; *kaitekina* 'comfortable'; *kayui* 'itchy'; *karui* 'light'; *kitsui* 'tight; tough'; *kyuukutsuna* 'cramped'; *kirakuna* 'easy-going; casual'; *kusuguttai* 'tickling'; *kurushii* 'suffocating'; *kemui* 'smoky'; *kemutai* 'smoky'; *koofukuna* 'happy'; *kowai* 'scary'; *sabishii* 'lonely'; *samui* 'cold (weather)'; *shiawasena* 'happy'; *sugasugashii* 'fresh'; *suzushii* 'cool'; *taikutsuna* 'boring; bored'; *taihennna* 'serious'; *tanoshii* 'fun'; *taboona* 'busy'; *darui* 'languid'; *tsumaranai* 'boring; bored'; *tsumetai* 'cold (thing)'; *tsurai* 'painful'; *nasakenai* 'pathetic'; *nikurashii* 'hateful'; *nemui* 'sleepy'; *nemutai* 'sleepy'; *himana* 'having a lot of time'; *fukuzatsuna* 'complicated'; *mabushii* 'bright'; *mendoona* 'troublesome'; *mendookusai* 'troublesome'; *yukaina* 'pleasant'; *wazurawashii* 'irritating'
C (24 items)	*awarena* 'pitiful,' *umai* 'delicious,' *urusai* 'noisy,' *oishii* 'delicious,' *omoshiroi* funny; humorous,' *kawaisoona* 'pitiful,' *kinodokuna* 'pitiful,' *kegarawashii* 'filthy,' *sawayakana* 'fresh,' *shibui* 'mouth puckering,' *jamana* 'distracting,' *shinkokuna* 'serious,' *suppai* 'sour,' *setsujitsuna* 'sincere,' *daijina* 'precious,' *taisetsuna* 'precious; important,' *tanomoshii* 'reliable,' *nigai* 'sour,' *bakabakashii* 'ridiculous,' *bakarashii* 'ridiculous,' *mazui* 'tastes bad,' *mezurashii* 'rare,' *mottainai* 'valuable,' *yakamashii* 'loud'
D (530 items)	*aimaina* 'ambiguous,' *aoi* 'blue,' *aojiroi* 'pale,' *akai* 'red,' *akarui* 'bright,' etc.

Appendix B Adjectives in Genki I (Lessons 1-12) by Murakami's (2017) classification

Categories	Items (number of items by lesson)
A (1 item)	L10 (1): *kanashii* 'sad'
B (16 items)	L5 (9): *atsui* 'hot (thing)'; *atsui* 'hot (weather)'; *himana* 'not busy; have a lot of free time'; *isogashii* 'busy (people/days)'; *itai* 'hurt; painful'; *kowai* 'frightening'; *samui* 'cold (weather)'; *tanoshii* 'fun'; *tsumaranai* 'boring'; L9 (1): *sabishii* 'lonely'; L10 (6): *atatakai* 'warm'; *nemui* 'sleepy'; *tsumetai* 'cold (things; people)'; *suzushii* 'cool (weather)'; *semai* 'narrow; not spacious'; *shiawasena* 'happy (lasting happiness)'
C (3 items)	L2 (1): *oishii* 'delicious'; L5 (1): *omoshiroi* 'interesting; funny'; L12 (1): *kawaisoona* 'pitiful'
D (41 items)	L2 (2): *takai* 'expensive; high'; *chiisai* 'small'; L3 (2): *ii* 'good'; *hayai* 'early'; L5 (25): *atarashii* 'new', etc.; L8 (3): *hetana* 'clumsy; poor at...', etc.; L9 (9): *aoi* 'blue', etc.; L10 (3): *chairoi* 'brown', etc.; L11 (1): *akarui* 'cheerful'; L12 (6): *amai* 'sweet'

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Appendix C Adjectives in Genki II (Lessons 13-23) by Murakami's (2017) classification

Categories	Items (number of items by lesson)
A (10 items)	L13 (3): *fuanna* 'uneasy; worried'; *ureshii* 'glad'; *kibun ga warui* 'to feel sick'; L14 (2): *hoshii* 'to want'; *urayamashii* 'envious'; L17 (1): *natsukashii* 'to miss; to long for'; L18 (1): *hazukashii* 'embarrassing; to be embarrassed'; L21 (1): *shinpaina* 'worried about'; L22 (2): *machidooshii* 'to wait eagerly for'; *rakuna* 'easy; comfortable'
B (0 item)	n.a.
C (2 items)	L21(1): *taisetsuna* 'precious; valuable' ; L22 (1): *urusai* 'noisy; annoying'
D (32 items)	L13 (9): *chikai* 'close; near'; *damena* 'no good'; *karai* 'hot and spicy; salty'; *karada ni ii* 'good for health'; *kibishii* 'strict'; *kibun ga warui* 'to feel sick'; *mezurashii* 'rare'; *naka ga ii* 'be on good/close terms; to get along well'; *sugoi* 'incredible; awesome'; L14 (1): *kechina* 'stingy; cheap'; L15 (1): *hiroi* 'spacious; wide': L16 (3): *karui* 'light'; *kitanai* 'dirty'; *yowai* 'weak'; L17 (3): *abunai* 'dangerous'; *sukunai* 'a little; a few'; *tsuyoi* 'strong'; L18 (3): *akarui* 'bright'; *kurai* 'dark'; *shitashii* 'close; intimate'; L20 (2): *murina* 'impossible'; *omoi* 'heavy'; L21 (5): *anzenna* 'safe'; *fubenna* 'inconvenient'; *hidoi* 'awful'; *tooi* 'far (away)'; *mechakuchana* 'messy; disorganized'; L22 (3): *binboona* 'poor'; *henna* 'strange; unusual'; *peraperana* fluent'; L23 (2): *mazui* '(food is) terrible'; *onajiyoona* 'similar'

Appendix D Adjectives in Tobira by Murakami's (2017) classification

Categories	Items (number of items by lesson)
A (5 items)	L3 (1): *zannen(na)* 'unfortunate; regrettable; disappointing'; L4: *kuyashii* '(someone is) frustrated; (someone is) regrettable' (1); L6 (1): *fushigi(na)* 'wonderful; strange; mysterious'; L8 (2): *hazukashii* 'to be shy; be embarrassed; be ashamed'; *fuanna* 'uneasy; ill at ease'
B (4 items)	L1 (1): *osoroshii* 'scary; frightening'; L2 (1): *kyoomibukai* 'very interesting'; L6 (1): *kurushii* 'hard; difficult'; L13 (1): *omoshirookashii* 'jocular; amusing'
C (4 items)	L1 (1): *umai* 'tasty'; L3 (1): *daiji(na)* 'precious'; L8 (1): *kawaisoo(na)* 'poor; pitiable'; L15 (1): *mottainai* 'wasteful; more than one deserves'
D (82 items)	L1 (7): *utsukushii* 'beautiful', etc.; L2 (4): *kantan(na)* 'simple; easy', etc.; L4 (4): *kuwashii* 'detailed', etc.; L5 (4): *hageshii* 'severe, intense', etc.; L6 (6): *erai* 'admirable; respectable', *isshookenmei(na)* 'very hard; with utmost effort', etc.; L7 (17): *ooraka(na)* 'broad-minded; generous', etc.; L8 (4): *choojinteki(na)* 'superhuman', etc.; L9 (3): *oshare(na)* 'stylish', etc.; L10 (3): *kashikoi* 'smart; clever', etc.; L11 (8): *kiken(na)* 'dangerous; perilous', etc.; L12 (10): *yawarakai* 'soft, tender', etc.; L13 (3): *komakai* 'fine, minute', etc.; L14 (3): *shinken(na)* 'serious', etc.; L15 (9): *mazushii* 'poor', etc.

Appendix E Modality constructions in Genki I & II (G) and Tobira (T) by Johnson's (2008) classification

Categories	Items (number of items by lesson)
1) Evidential modals	G L13 [stem]-*soo (da)* 'looks like~'; G L17 [hearsay]-*soo (da)* 'I heard that~'; T L6 [short]-*rashii* 'apparently~; I heard that~'
2) Suppositional modals	G L12 -*darool -deshoo* 'it is probably the case that~'; G L14 *kamoshirenai* 'it might be the case that~'; G L19, T L8 *hazu (da)* 'it should be the case that'; T L4 *no dewa nai-daroo ka* 'Isn't it the case that~?'; T L5 *ni chigai-nai* 'it must be the case that'
3) Explanatory modals	G L12 *no (da)* 'it is the case that~'; T L6 *wake (da)* 'it is the case that~'; T L7 (*to iu*) *wake* {*dewa-nai*/*ja-nai*} 'it is not the case that~'

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Manga in the Mix: *Naruto* and Media Specificity

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Webpage:
https://www.dllc.udel.edu/people/faculty-profiles/rhutch

Introduction

Methods for teaching with manga differ between Japanese language classes and culture-based classes taught in English. In my culture-based course "Japanese Visual Culture," students encounter manga, anime and videogames from Japan in their localized English versions, making a visual study more useful than text-based analysis. Students focus on the specificity of each medium in terms of how graphics, text, and movement combine to make meaning for the reader of manga, the viewer of anime, and the player of videogames. We then examine the "media mix" in Japan, and how consumers may avail themselves of a wide range of narrative forms and complementary merchandise to interact with their chosen fictional world.[1] A useful text for this study is Kishimoto Masashi's *Naruto*, a popular *shōnen* manga which debuted in 1997 and was quickly adapted into anime and videogame formats. This essay explores the reasons for *Naruto's* transmedia success, including its consistency of vision and the positioning of the consumer in relation to the text. The relative lack of academic attention given to *Naruto* in manga scholarship belies its significance as a fluid transmedia product, its very consistency taken as "mass-produced" and "simple." This essay reassesses the "simple" in terms of game design and media accessibility, showing the positive value of conformity to a unifying artistic vision.

Naruto as media phenomenon

The pilot manga for *Naruto,* published in *Akamaru Jump* as a "one-shot" in 1997, introduced a young boy who could transform into a fox-spirit. Developing this idea into a full story, artist and writer Kishimoto Masashi[2] decided to place his character in a ninja school setting. The protagonist Uzumaki Naruto must learn his craft and battle his rivals while trying to accept the truth of his own origins. As a baby, Naruto's body was used as a vessel to seal away a nine-tailed fox demon to protect his village, but consequently he was ostracized by the villagers he unknowingly saved. Naruto's story deftly blends tragedy with humor, action with romance, and silly school antics with observations on social structures and authority figures. Kishimoto enlists our sympathy for Naruto early, and his silliness and humor appeal to a wide target audience, never offensive but based on wit, physical pranks and getting the best of his teachers. Action sequences use a dynamic mix of angled panel frames, sharp motion lines and fast switches from extreme facial close-ups to zoomed-out overviews of the entire scene. Readers experience a roller-coaster of manipulated

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emotional affect, relaxing into a slower narrative pace only briefly before the action starts again. Add to this mix a cast of attractive characters who experience great psychological development over the course of the series, and Kishimoto's manga has all the elements for success.

Commentators on *Naruto* often mention its long serialization, spanning fifteen years from September 1999 to November 2014. Omote Tomoyuki (2013) argues that this distinction alone makes *Naruto* "a work of select status" (p.164). The narrative is split into three parts, with 238 chapters in Part I, a side-story about Master Kakashi from chapters 239-244, and Part II continuing the main story from chapter 245 to 700.[3] The anime series, directed by Date Hayato, was produced by Studio Pierrot and TV Tokyo, airing from 3 October 2002 to 8 February 2007, with 220 episodes. It appeared in English on America's Cartoon Network from 2005-2009, followed immediately by the sequel *Naruto: Shippūden*, which aired in Japan from 2007-2017.[4] Eleven films were released from 2004 to 2015, and at least 56 videogames (not including spin-offs) were released between 2003 to 2018, ranging across platforms as diverse as arcade cabinets, handheld systems, consoles and the PC, including online games. The first *Naruto* game was made by Bandai for the WonderSwan Color console, while some are now being re-released for the Nintendo Switch. Many games were released only in Japan. Some are single-player while others invite competition between two or more players; some are pure fighting games and others incorporate role-playing action. Compared to the manga and anime, the videogames are very diverse.

This multiplicity of adaptations, and the long-running nature of the series, evidence a large fan base for the *Naruto* franchise. *Dōjinshi* (self-published fan manga) abound, and for a few years in the 2000s, one could not move at an anime convention without bumping into a person in *Naruto* cosplay.[5] *Naruto* fans clearly identify strongly with the characters and invest much time and money into following the narrative. The popular legacy of *Naruto* may be seen in The Naruto Project, a series of events from 2014-2015 celebrating the end of the manga and anime series. These included the tenth film adaptation *The Last: Naruto The Movie*, released on 6 December 2014;[6] a *Naruto* exhibition in Shibuya Park that weekend, called "the Super Big Yosegaki Project"; and the stage play *Live Spectacle Naruto*, beginning in Tokyo on 21 March 2015 and travelling to Osaka, Fukuoka and Miyagi, as well as Macao, Singapore and Malaysia.[7] Six novels based on *Naruto* were released in 2015, collectively called *Naruto hiden* (*Secret Chronicles of Naruto*). Some manga chapters were selectively re-released in bigger volumes in the *Shūeisha Jump Remix* the same year, while the Naruto Exhibition in Tokyo opened in April 2015. As a measure of *Naruto*'s lasting popularity, the *Narutopedia* online wiki currently has 6,741 articles with over 9,000 accompanying images.[8]

Despite this massive following, *Naruto* has not inspired a great amount of analytical scholarship. Part of the reason is that the series is seen as derivative, since Kishimoto Masashi drew on ideas and styles from Toriyama Akira (*Dragon Ball*, 1984-1995), and Ōtomo Katsuhiro (*Akira*, 1982-1990).[9] A recent critical study concluded that *Naruto* is a "typical example of a *shōnen* action manga," and "does not deviate from the standard format… Because of its popularity, however, *Naruto* can also be said to dictate the format of the *shōnen* action manga genre as much as it has borrowed from it" (Spanjers, 2013, p.220). Naruto himself embodies the essence of *shōnen* visual style, distilled into a kind of super-*shōnen* ideal – a spiky-haired hero with large eyes, traumatic background, and supernatural powers from Japanese myth and legend. As such, *Naruto* may be seen as something of a foundational text. The remainder of this essay will argue that two notable features of the series that contribute to its success are its visual consistency, and the positioning of the consumer vis-à-vis the text.

Consistency of visual style

Scholars agree that *Naruto* is remarkable for its visual consistency, throughout the entire run of the manga series. This is partly because Kishimoto himself drew and wrote all panels for the manga during its initial serialization, later gaining the help of some colleagues for tasks such as shading, detailing, colour blocking and backgrounds.[10] Even so, Kishimoto's style is significant for its lack of change from early iterations of the series through to its final chapters. In many manga or sequential art series, there is generally to be found a change of art style from the earliest works to the latest, in a process that can be described as a refining of the style or as a degeneration of the original work.[11] Kishimoto himself talks about the importance of visual consistency in the artist notes to the *tankōbon* publication. Each chapter is followed by a one-page reflection on character design and original ideas for the manga. The notes on Sasuke are especially useful, following ch.18:

> Sasuke is a particular challenge for me to draw even now, because he is a young and rather pretty boy, but if I'm not careful he loses his youthful quality and I end up drawing him like a

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> much older boy or grown man... Keeping the visual consistently right makes him the character who takes the most work and energy from me. Maybe that's why he's become my favorite character. (*Naruto*, vol.3, p.26)

Kishimoto here recognizes the artistic challenge of visual consistency, and the satisfaction he finds in meeting that challenge. While Kishimoto admits that later chapters were influenced by angles and framing used in the anime series, the anime itself is extremely faithful to the manga panels. The backgrounds, characters and costume details of *Naruto* are immediately recognizable, and do not change in terms of details or overall look. Considering the relationship between the manga and its various adaptations, Gan Sheuo Hui (2013) observes that "Manga and anime are both image-based media, and it becomes relatively difficult to incorporate major visual changes without endangering the already established market for the brand image, when different forms of adaptation are launched simultaneously to boost sales" (pp.223-224). This is not to say that the anime is a "perfect copy" of the original. Rather, "the anime interprets the existing manga through subtle changes of layout, angle, timing, sound, movement, and color that may highlight new layers of meaning despite the familiar and overpowering presence of intense action scenes" (Hui, p.224). Hui explains the relationship between the manga panels and the animation:

> It looks as though certain panels of the manga have been chosen as key images for the anime and used as a visual narrative frame on which in-between images are arranged to provide smooth transitions from one point in the story to the next. Yet the anime goes beyond simply filling in the gaps between the selected panels, as narrative and visual aspects not found in the manga are included for greater complexity, visual interest, and more dynamism in the action sequences. (p.227)

The viewer gets a reassuring sense of familiarity as they recognize those key panels, yet also enjoys the new complexity and dynamism provided by the moving image, sound and effects. Hui analyzes several key episodes in both manga and anime formats, showing the visual fidelity between the two media (pp.228-229). At the same time, she considers the animation directors Suzuki Hirofumi (episode 17) and Hyōdo Masaru (episode 19) to have "authorial status," adding new material and creatively "amplifying" specific manga panels in their adapted anime form, even while maintaining the overall visual style (p.237). This visual similarity carries over into the videogame series, with character designs and environments based on Kishimoto's artwork. Certain aspects of Naruto's ninja skills, for example the "tailed beast mode," are depicted the same way across all three mediums, with Naruto exhibiting pronounced whiskery lines on his face and a glowing aura, flames surrounding his body.[12] (Compare Figure 1, 2, and 3)

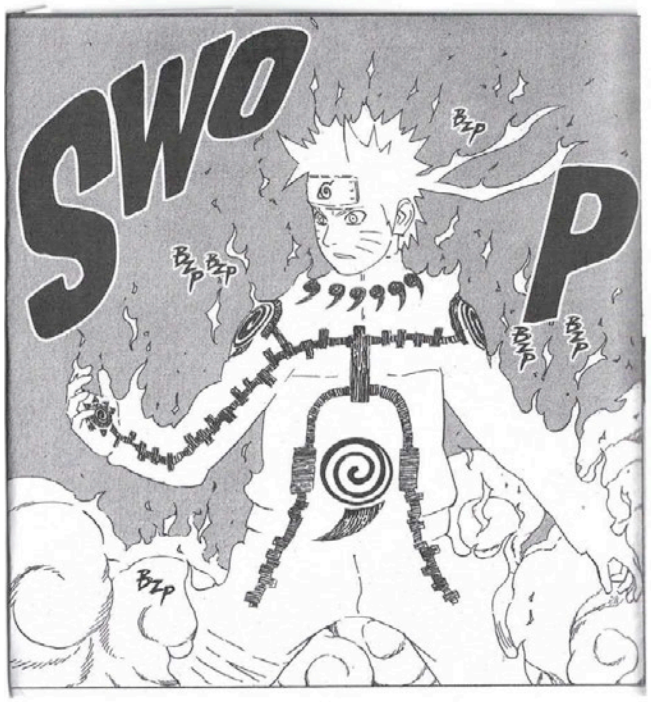

Figure 1. Naruto first transforms into Tailed Beast Mode in vol.53, chapter 499, p. 91. NARUTO © 1999 by Masashi Kishimoto/SHUEISHA Inc.

Figure 2: Naruto's first anime appearance in Tailed Beast Mode, *Naruto: Shippūden* episode 247. Screenshot by the author April 29, 2019.

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Figure 3: Naruto appears in Tailed Beast Mode in the cover art for *Naruto Shippuden Ultimate Ninja Storm: Revolution*, PlayStation 3, released 11 September 2014. © Bandai Namco Entertainment.

The choice of fighting game genre for the *Naruto* franchise is a natural fit for a ninja-based narrative with frequent combat sequences. The 2D background environments of fighting games like Capcom's *Street Fighter* series work well for a manga adaptation. Other fighting games such as *SoulCalibur* and *Tekken* also made extensive use of manga-style visuals for player rewards, ending levels with character backstories and information presented in hand-drawn panels, often complete with frames. Fighting games thus have strong ties to manga in both the dynamic field of play and also in the static character information, allowing Kishimoto's visual style to move fluidly into the new medium. A new game engine called CCS was developed by CyberConnect2 specifically for the *Naruto Ultimate Ninja Storm* series, with an emphasis on cartoon style and a special in-house shader, built to express a visual style consistent with anime cel-shading conventions. Director Matsuyama Hiroshi has explained that he chose not to use Western game engines (such as the Unreal engine) because of the high degree of realism those engines exhibit.[13] The games, as well as the anime, thus remain faithful to the original manga graphics. Kishimoto's work moves fluidly across media thanks to the fidelity of all texts to the original vision, not only in terms of visual style but also in terms of characterization, narrative, worldview and appeal to the consumer.

Subject-positioning in *Naruto*

The other significant feature of the *Naruto* franchise is that the reader/viewer/player is able to situate themselves within the text, experiencing varying degrees of agency and identification with the main character. In the manga, Naruto's tragic background is introduced to the reader very early in the story, with the villainous Mizuki revealing everything in the first chapter, only 25 pages into the main text.[14] The reader's sympathy for Naruto is elicited through Naruto's own facial expressions as he hears his background discussed by his elders. The first panel showing Naruto's reaction is an aerial view from a great distance, Naruto appearing tiny in the forest, surrounded by massive trees, and only a question mark over his head. As Naruto speaks with Mizuki, who stands high on a tree branch, he must look upwards, his eyes wide in disbelief. The frame centers in on Naruto's face until we see a close-up of his eyes, as he says "what?," using bold lettering to emphasize his shock.[15] In the panel where Naruto hears the truth about the demon fox, he is completely shaded grey, overcome with doubt and negative emotion. Now, instead of the question mark, he has two exclamation points near his face, encapsuled in a jagged speech bubble to show intensity. In these ways Kishimoto employs a range of different viewpoint perspectives, shading, and shapes of speech bubbles to underscore the meaning of the words in text. Naruto's processing of his own background transcends language, with the punctuation ? and !! immediately showing the reader what Naruto is feeling. Through this sequence on pages 34-35 the manga frames are very straight squares and rectangles, with none of the exciting angled panels of fighting sequences. This preserves the smooth flow of the narrative at such a critical point.

Following Mizuki's revelations, Naruto experiences flashback, re-processing events of his youth in light of the new information. He realizes why he has been shunned by the village, and reinterprets his own mischief-making as a desperate cry for attention. Throughout the manga series, flashback is often used to make convoluted parts of the narrative clear, or to re-emphasize important elements of characters' backstories. As the protagonist, Naruto's experience is shown in flashback most often, so the reader may also experience and re-experience Naruto's background through remembering their own encounters with his story, and re-processing these encounters from the standpoint of new knowledge. This process forges a strong bond between reader and character, and a sense of identification is reinforced. At the end of the initial "reveal" sequence, Naruto is further stunned to hear his teacher Iruka praise him: "He's an excellent student....

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That boy is no longer your demon fox. He is... a citizen of Konohagakure village" (vol.1, p.49). This speech is followed by one darkened panel, with small spots of white in a vertical pattern. Turning the page, we realize the spots are Naruto's falling tears. His face appears in a large, half-page panel, deformed with emotion, tears overflowing from his eyes, snot running from his nose, teeth bared with lips in a shaky line denoting trembling movement (vol.1, p.50). It is not an attractive sight, and the reader is forced to confront the depth of Naruto's emotion at the same time as their own revulsion. This confrontation deepens the reader's sympathy and identification with Naruto, as they realize the significance of the moment.

This close reading shows how Kishimoto manipulates the reader's emotion through various methods, including the moment of turning the page. The reader's physical action directly leads to a scene they do not want to see, but cannot turn away from, wanting to know what happens next. The creation of narrative tension in the manga with page-turning cannot be replicated in the anime, as the viewer does not need to take physical action to see the narrative unfold. In anime series, the timing of events within an episode is key, with more seconds devoted to certain images, based on certain panels, rather than others. Also significant is the cliffhanger ending, as the television viewer must wait until the next week for the continuation of the story (although these days Crunchyroll and other anime-streaming services make this idea obsolete). In some ways the role of the viewer is more passive than that of the reader, but viewers still identify with the protagonist through the use of perspective, camera angles, narrative focus and the use of colour and shading to bring Naruto and his relationships to the fore. In both manga and anime, the consumer occupies a subject-positioning equivalent to Naruto himself.

In videogames, the consumer's role in the narrative is different. Events in the manga and anime are linear and fixed, and the reader/viewer cannot change what happens in the narrative. Naruto's actions are predetermined, written by the artist and director ahead of time. In games, some narrative elements are also delivered in a linear fashion, such as cinematic sequences, cut-scenes, and character appearances dictated by happenings in the manga and anime. For example, *Naruto Ultimate Ninja* follows the story up to when Naruto and friends take the *chūnin* ninja examinations, while *Naruto Ultimate Ninja 2* ends with Tsunade's decision to become Fifth Hokage. Martin Roth (2013) examines these two games, arguing that both are based on the same "grand narrative" about Naruto, Sasuke and the other characters, following the pre-existing story while serving as an overarching framework for gameplay. *Naruto* games allow the player to engage with the "world" of the Naruto meta-franchise, enacting small, fragmentary narratives from the much larger story (Roth, p. 248). However, one of the most important differences in the videogame is the ability for the player to choose their character, removing Naruto from the position of protagonist and challenging his centrality (Roth, p.249). Roth observes that the player's experience of gameplay from an alternative perspective is similar to the side-stories of the anime series, where the viewer will not see Naruto's point of view for weeks on end while Sasuke's story becomes the focus. Just as the anime viewer knows that eventually the story will work its way back to Naruto, the player's ability to shift perspectives through character choice does not ultimately change the central story (Roth, p.249).

Given this scenario, the player's subject-positioning and agency seem minimal in the videogame medium. But many narrative elements and processes of character identification are determined by player actions and choices. Although all possible game events are programmed ahead of time, what actually happens in each play-through may be very different. The most important media-specific differences lie in this diffuse nature of story authorship, and in the possibilities engendered by the character select function of the fighting game genre (Hutchinson, 2007). Role-playing games are generally linear in nature, heavily story-based and usually limited to the perspective of the main character. Fighting games offer a range of perspectives, each of which present a small part of the puzzle which is the overall narrative of the gameworld. It is up to the player to piece the puzzle together in their minds, and thus understand the totality of the fictional world. This is true for all fighting games which originated as games – *Street Fighter, Tekken, SoulCalibur*, *Virtua Fighter* and so forth.[16] But since *Naruto* games are adapted from existing narrative media, this is not so much the case. Rather than starting with pieces of a puzzle and putting them together through exhaustive exploration of every character's experience, the player is starting with the whole narrative already in mind, and experiencing fragments of it as they play as different characters. This is why Roth (2013) says the games present "fragments of narrative." This makes the player of *Naruto* games sound more passive than players of *SoulCalibur* or *Tekken*, but this is not the case. Naruto's actions take place in two different arenas: the fighting game's active field of play where two opponents fight on a framed screen, and the explorable environment of

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Hidden Leaf Village. Both offer the player opportunities for agency and subjectivity.

In the fighting arena, the player is subject to strict limitations on movement. But the nature of doubled performance in this genre means that the movements belong to both the character on the screen and also the player, both engaged in competition against their on-screen or real life opponent. This win or loss experienced by the character is also experienced directly by the player. The narrative of the fighting game is "Naruto challenged X, fought as hard as he could, and won (or lost)." This narrative is created by the player, including the exact method by which Naruto won or lost. Perhaps he punched hard many times, kicked his way to victory, or employed his special ninja skills. Perhaps he spent the duration of the fight rolling along the ground. Whatever action Naruto does in battle, the player will feel as a memory afterwards: "Oh yes, that was when I made Naruto roll around the whole time" or "Remember when I pulled off that tricky attack?" In this way gameplay becomes a subjective memory for the player's own lived experience.

In the story modes of *Ultimate Ninja Storm* games, the player is not merely shown Naruto's environment, as in the manga or anime, but presented with the environment as a space to explore. The player then decides how to move through the space and in which order to attempt various actions. In *Naruto Ultimate Ninja Storm 3*, the 3D environment of Hidden Leaf Village is full of buildings to visit, shops to purchase items, a dojo to train in, a place to sleep, a restaurant to eat ramen, and so forth, according to the player's own desire. In this environment the player becomes Naruto, and Naruto is the player – his actions are entirely determined by the player's actions. Player agency is therefore present in both the RPG mode of these games and in the fighting field of play. This combination of high player agency and character em-bodiment creates a strong sense of player-character identification. But the player can only play as Naruto in Hidden Leaf Village, even though players can choose other characters for the fighting game mode of play. This can create a sense of disjunction, if the player has always fought as Sakura, for example, but then must explore Hidden Leaf Village as Naruto afterwards. While the default nature of roles in story mode enhances the feeling that Naruto is the "main character" of the game series, re-positioning him at its center, the ability to choose characters in one mode of play emphasizes the lack of choice in the other. In this sense, the choice and activity of the player can undermine the sense of immersion and identification in the videogame, in ways that readers of the manga and viewers of the anime would not experience.

Simplicity of design

The ubiquity of *Naruto* as a media franchise can be taken at face value as "mass-produced" and "simple." Where "simple" may be seen as a negatively nuanced word when discussing artistic forms, it can also indicate accessibility, relatability, and recognizability on the part of the consumer. From the very first glimpse of the manga cover, the reader immediately recognizes *Naruto* as a *shōnen* manga involving young ninja characters. Swirling clouds indicate mystery, scrolls indicate history and legend, bright colours indicate the character's dynamism and masculinity, and Naruto's "genki" look with cheeky grin ensures his relatability to the young (targeted male) audience. The male worldview is confirmed within the first few pages, as Naruto's favourite trick is to transform his body into that of a naked woman, to shock his teachers and amuse his friends. Since the male worldview is dominant in Japanese media, this is acceptable across a wide range of audience demographics, and the tasteful placement of clouds on the nude female body is fine-tuned to avoid offense (Kishimoto, 2003, vol.1 , p.14). Media accessibility is thus very high in terms of visuals alone.

Looking more closely at the manga text, there are very few panels or pages with lengthy narrative, even in unravelling the complex backstory of Naruto's birth. Most words in English are simple and can be read by students at the elementary school level; this is pitched lower than, for example, a Tezuka Osamu comic in the *Phoenix* series or the videogame *Ōkami*, which include many complex words and phrases in the introductory sequences. These works establish their audience expectations early, using complex text as a barrier to younger readers. *Naruto* in contrast welcomes readers, with simpler text and *furigana* gloss on words that may be difficult for the younger audience. When Master Kakashi hands a set of instructions to Naruto and his team, Naruto's heart starts thumping loudly as he stares hard at the text, saying "Hmmm..." out loud but thinking to himself "Aww, man! It's all in kanji!" (vol.1, p.121).

In terms of Naruto's own personality, he is highly relatable to any school student. In class he goofs off and performs antics for his friends, but at home his walls are covered with inspirational slogans urging him to work harder, succeed in his training, and overcome all obstacles. His *hitai-ate* headband resembles the headbands worn by Japanese students taking gruelling examinations, and his tiny room is full of materials for either mental learning or physical exercise. Further, Naruto's favourite food – ramen noodles – is cheap,

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widely available, and able to be prepared by any child old enough to handle hot water. His unrequited crush on Sakura and his intense rivalry with cool classmate Sasuke mean that Naruto is not a typical "hero" but someone who must struggle every day with petty annoyances. As the series goes on, *Naruto* becomes more serious and darker in tone, striking a chord with his maturing audience (Omote, 2013, p.168). In contrast to the more cheerful and optimistic *One Piece*, *Naruto* is more relatable for readers who experience some darkness in their own life, or perhaps wish to experience that darkness from a safe perspective (Omote, pp.168-169). Kishimoto does not shy away from blood and gore, even in Volume One, so young readers can experiment with their own ability to deal with more adult depictions of violence.

Fujimoto Yukari (2013) notes the Orientalist aspects of *Naruto*, blending ninja fantasy with science fiction to make a "hyperninja tale," more appealing to the North American audience than realistic representations of Japanese history and culture (p.174). As Franziska Ehmecke (2013) has noted, knowledge of the series' many intertextual references to Japanese culture is not necessary to enjoy the narrative, merely adding to "the story's exotic flair for the global audience" (p.209). But on the other hand, Japanese readers, or those who like a challenge, enjoy teasing out the hidden meanings of Japanese cultural symbols in the art and narrative, including names of places and characters such as Naruto himself.[17] The series provides the opportunity for surface enjoyment or deeper analysis, appealing to various levels of readership simultaneously. A more divisive aspect of *Naruto* is the fundamentally conservative nature of its worldview. Fujimoto (2013) notes the "conspicuously conservative" nature of female representation in the series (p.172), conforming to "anachronistic gender roles" and based on "outdated stereotype" (p.175). Fujimoto describes the conservative ethical model in the series: "the grown-ups enjoy the respect of the children who mature under their tutelage, and when these children have become grown-ups themselves, they educate the next generation" (p.175). Both manga and anime emphasize "honesty, perseverance, the importance of friendship, devotion to a cause that may require sacrifice, and so on" (Hui, 2013, p.238). Both mix entertainment with didacticism, "intended to lead to the positive socialization of their young protagonists" and by extension, the consumers (Hui, p.238). This didactic aspect is less apparent in the videogames, although the representation of female characters does not change.

Considering Naruto's accessibility in the videogame medium, the fighting game genre offers quite a low entry point in terms of player skill. The learning curve of *Naruto* is easy to understand: "If I push buttons things will happen, but if I really want to master ninja skills, I must practice in the dojo." This leads the player naturally to the dojo of Hidden Leaf Village, which can be used for training if the player so desires. In other words, the ninja training narrative of *Naruto* is not merely presented in cinematic cut-scenes but also emergent from player action. This speaks to a certain simplicity of design which is greatly prized in the field of game development. *Katamari Damacy* (Namco, 2004) was a smash hit videogame based on the simple design of rolling a ball across a field of play, cluttered with objects that would stick to the ball and make it grow larger. Creator Takahashi Keita (2014) has stated that simplicity of design is the main reason for the game's success, and fan reviews often mention the word "simple" (*shinpuru*) in their praise of gameplay.[18] "Simple" here does not indicate a negative value found in the terms "low art" or "dumbing down," but the positive value located in increased accessibility.

Conclusions

Coming back to the overall goals of this book, how can we use *Naruto* in the classroom to teach about Japanese visual culture? Based on the above discussion, I hope to have shown that *Naruto* can be used in a number of different ways: as a "Japanese culture" text, to learn about contemporary ideas of ninja and the representation of Japanese myth and legend in popular media; as a gender text, showing the expectations of the *shōnen* in their relation to the opposite sex, friends, and authority figures; as a visual text, showing how a particular visual style can be carried across a number of different media forms without losing fidelity to the original; as an exploration of media specificity, in terms of what the consumer can do in each narrative mode to feel a sense of immersion and identification with the main character (and how this can be broken); and as an example of successful design, where "simple" means "accessible" and "popular" is not a negative term. The visual consistency of *Naruto*, its accessibility and simplicity of design, make it a text that works extremely well for a study of media specificity. Because the manga, anime and games change so little in terms of visual style, students can focus on other properties such as what exactly the text is doing in terms of conveying information to the consumer, positioning the consumer vis-à-vis the characters and narrative, and enlisting the consumer's empathy and sense of identification. It helps that *Naruto* is so well known as a global mass media product of Japanese

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popular culture, as students familiar with one media form can then encounter the others. Knowing the story, the students can focus on visuals; knowing the characters, they can focus on exactly how our identification with those characters is created in each text. *Naruto* presents an excellent opportunity to analyze visual consistency and subject-positioning of the consumer, helping students engage their critical thinking and analytical skills through an accessible and familiar text.

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[1] On Japan's "media mix" see Steinberg (2012).
[2] The Japanese names which appear in references to Japanese language books and articles in this chapter follow the traditional Japanese convention of family name first, given name second.
[3] The 72 *tankōbon* volumes encompass Parts I and II.
[4] *Naruto: Shippūden* had a more convoluted distribution in English adaptation, involving Viz Media, Crunchyroll, Disney XD, Neon Alley and Toonami at different times.
[5] The proliferation of *Naruto dōjinshi* is documented by Fujimoto (2013); cosplay trends are based on personal observation.
[6] Despite its name, it was followed in 2015 by a sequel, *Boruto: Naruto The Movie*, released on 7 August.
[7] The play was reprised for the next two years in Tokyo and Osaka.
[8] See https://naruto.fandom.com/wiki/Narutopedia, last accessed 5 March 2019.
[9] See Kishimoto's own autobiographical notes (*Naruto*, vol.8, p.86; vol.10, p.82).
[10] See Kishimoto's notes introducing the team (*Naruto*, vol.6, p.26, 66, 106, 146).
[11] As an example, Albert Uderzo's art in *Asterix the Gaul* (1961) is markedly different from that in *Asterix and Cleopatra* (1965), and different again in *Asterix and the Great Divide* (1980), after the death of collaborator René Goscinny.
[12] The first anime appearance of Naruto in Tailed Beast Mode is in episode 247 of the *Naruto: Shippūden* series, "Target: Nine-Tails" (狙われた九尾, Nerawareta Kyūbi). See also https://www.tvguide.com/tvshows/naruto-shippuden/episode-5-season-12/target-nine-tails/306010/
[13] See interview with Nutt (2008).
[14] See Kishimoto (2003, vol.1, pp.33-40). Quotes are from the English-language version of the *tankōbon* series. This is the material I use in class, widely available in bookstores.
[15] The text is capitalized, as is the entire English translation, following standard lettering styles of Western comics. Text that remains untranslated includes things like billboards in the town environment, while special scrolls with kanji characters on them are usually translated in a footnote. In this way some of the Japanese textual feel of the original is preserved. For more details on the translation process in *Naruto* see Huang and Archer (2014).
[16] For more on the puzzle aspects of fighting game narratives see Hutchinson (2019, pp.72-74).
[17] Ehmecke (2013) explains the various meanings of Naruto's name, including a geographical reference to the whirlpool-filled Inland Sea (p.210), and an artistic maelstrom motif in the Japanese arts (pp.211-216).
[18] See Takahashi's interview at the GDC (Game Developers' Conference) in 2004: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0vra5PZcgaU. The Dengeki Online review (by a writer with pseudonym 'Igudon') praises the game's simplicity (*shinpuru*), echoed by comments in the fan discussion below. http://dengekionline.com/soft/review/2004/katamari.html.

Teaching Manga: A Medium-Specific Approach Beyond Area Studies

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<https://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/modern_languages/SSuzuki.htm>

Introduction

Over the last couple of decades, we have seen a surge in readership of and interest in comics in mainstream North American culture.[1] Comics—or "graphic novels"—have begun to be valued by educators, librarians, and scholars, and have been incorporated into school curriculums spanning from grade school to higher education.[2] The courses that employ comics are not found only in disciplines in the humanities–such as literature, history, film, and composition–but also in courses teaching science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (Gossin, 2009). Likewise, the study of comics has gradually been developed and institutionalized in academia, evidenced by the founding of several comics-focused journals and comics studies book series by scholarly publishers over the past decade.[3] In 2009, the discussion group "Comics and Graphic Narratives" was founded within the Modern Language Association, and the group has continued to have panels at annual MLA conferences ever since. More recently, the founding of the Comics Studies Society in 2016, the first comics-focused academic organization, marked a major step in strengthening the field of comics studies.

Over roughly the same period of time, Japanese comics known as manga have begun to circulate globally, gaining prominence in many countries and geographical regions. Many researchers in North America, including Japanese Studies scholars, have done academic work on manga, including publishing papers and monographs on manga and manga fan culture. Certainly, academic engagement with manga and institutionalization of the study of manga in English-language academia are welcome, but such attention is not always without problems. English-language scholarship on manga has often been governed and regulated by disciplinary demands and expectations, without allowances for the specific nature of comics & manga as a medium. With their incorporation into the curriculums of Japanese Studies or Asian Studies programs and courses, manga have often been discussed as a part of Japanese popular culture or as a gateway for understanding more nuanced aspects of Japan and its culture. However, manga is a multimodal medium that uses both words and pictures for communication, requiring audiences to both *read* and *see*." This formal hybridity not only resists a mono-disciplinary approach but as some comics/manga scholars have discussed (Hatfield, 2010; Berndt, 2008), studying comics and manga entails a self-critical

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examination of our own disciplinary orientations together with a demand for interdisciplinary dialogues and approaches.

With all this in mind, this chapter aims to convey two objectives: First, it addresses the potential and limitations of existing English-language manga scholarship in North American academia and problematizes the status of studying manga in such contexts. Second, the chapter introduces a method for formal analysis of comics called "*mise-en-page* analysis" that can be applied in classroom settings to analyze manga/comics pages from any "country of origin." It is true that formal and visual elements in comics are by no means separate from local comics conventions and cultural mediations—i.e., they often continue and replicate historical and accumulated cultural conventions in specific social, cultural, and industrial contexts—but this chapter proposes *mise-en-page* analysis as a means to avoid particularizing manga/comics into national or regional contexts. Rather than historicizing manga specifically, this chapter attempts to situate manga in a larger category of comics by arguing that manga came into existence as a modern, culturally hybrid medium without nationalizing or exoticizing itself. I have written this chapter—especially the latter half—with instructors who teach comics/manga in classroom settings in mind. As a whole, this chapter highlights the medium specificity of manga/comics for storytelling and other types of communication while proposing a method of formal analysis as a way to enhance students' literacy in multimodal media, including comics.

Problems of Manga/Manga Studies in North American Academia

In North American academia, the study of manga has developed in various disciplines over the past few decades in parallel with the development of comics studies. Frederik L. Schodt's *Manga Manga!: The World of Japanese Comics* (1983) offered a pioneering introduction to the diverse world of Japanese comics for Anglophone readers, setting the stage for a generation of scholars who would go on to investigate manga. Since then, several scholarly books and monographs about manga have been written, authored by academics from traditional disciplines such as cultural anthropology, literature, and gender studies, including, to name just a few, Anne Allison's *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics, and Censorship in Japan* (2000), Sharon Kinsella's *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (2000), Jennifer Prough's *Straight from the Heart: Gender, Intimacy, and the Cultural Production of Shojo Manga* (2010), and Deborah Shamoon's *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan* (2012). The authors of these volumes are generally considered specialists in Japanese Studies, a field which has inherited disciplinary conventions and models of inquiry from Area Studies. Traditionally, Area Studies has divided the world into discrete geographical areas and prioritized individual regions as discrete objects of study with an emphasis on regional/national particularities, while downplaying global dynamics, negotiations, and networks. In the case of Japanese Studies, a subdivision of Area Studies, the central object of study is "Japan," with a focus on its domestic contexts. The abovementioned authors have indeed offered well-informed, contextualized understandings of manga and its relation to industry, readership, society, and culture while cultivating a space for scholarly engagement with manga in English-language academia. However, such an orientation has (un)wittingly compartmentalized the discourse on manga within a Japanese or Japanese Studies context. Naturally, the disciplinarity of these approaches has also been derived in large part from the institutional and disciplinary expectations and demands that have regulated the academic job market.

In a similar vein, in higher education courses, manga have typically been taught as one part of Japanese popular culture—alongside anime, video games, fashion, and other globalized Japanese media artifacts—or used as course materials for investigating more complex and nuanced understandings of aspects of Japanese society, history, and/or culture. While these approaches have become common practice, they often examine manga from the vantage point of their existing disciplinary frameworks, governed by their own conventions, without paying much attention to the medium specificity of manga. As a medium, manga employs a combination of verbal and pictorial modes for communication and/or storytelling. Such cross-discursivity of comics (Chute & DeKoven, 2006, p.768) is at odds with the conventions of traditional disciplines—literary studies or art history, for instance. Furthermore, manga, when taught in a course about Japan, often invites a culturalist view; that is, manga are often presented as "Japanese" objects, emphasizing their cultural origin and domestic development. This association seems complicit with recent popular discourses on manga within Japan, including the Japanese government's "Cool Japan" campaign, which reappropriates and promotes manga as an expression of "Japanese" culture despite the fact that manga has been historically marginalized or disparaged by cultural authorities and governmental institutions until recently.[4] Manga scholar Jaqueline Berndt (2008a) reminds us of the critical importance of the media/medium-specific

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approach by observing that "academic theses and papers often give the impression that while manga may serve as a mirror for various social and cultural discourses, neither the media-specific aspects of comics nor the Japanese discourse on comics needs to be taken into account" (p.295).

On the other hand, recent English-language comics studies has offered self-critical engagements with existing disciplinary orientations when discussing comics. In his "Indiscipline, or the Condition of Comics Studies" (2010), comics scholar Charles Hatfield claims that comics studies cannot have a disciplinary status in the traditional sense because "the heterogeneous nature of comics means that, in practice, comics studies has to be at the intersection of various disciplines (art, literature, communications, etc.) . . . [and] this multidisciplinary nature represents, in principle, a challenge to the very idea of disciplinarity" (para. 2). Yet it seems to me that existing English-language scholarship and its discourse on manga often treats manga as an "Other" in (the larger category of) comics. Manga are often presented and discussed with an emphasis on their cultural difference and sometimes even "uniqueness" in contrast to comics proper—say, American mainstream comics—regardless of the diversity and heterogeneity of manga in its forms, genres, styles, etc. Even when discussing globalized Japanese comics in the U.S., manga is judged or measured by the distance from the conventional idea of American comics and rendered "foreign."[5] In his seminal book *Understanding Comics*, for instance, Scott McCloud (1993) points out the abundant use of a panel transition called "aspect-to-aspect" in Japanese comics and suggests that this aesthetic of manga is related to traditional Japanese gardens (pp.79-81). Following McCloud's approach, Neil Cohn (2010) claims the existence of a manga-specific "grammar" or a "ruling system"—which he calls "Japanese Visual Language" (p.187)—that governs Japanese comics. Cohn claims "unique" instances of "Japanese Visual Language" by sampling a limited number of mainstream, postwar story manga (long-form, often serialized, narrative comics), especially ones that have been globally circulated from the 1990s to the 2000s. Yet his linguistic/cognitive approach seems to disregard the diversity and heterogeneity of Japanese comics, as well as historical interactions between Japanese and western comics. Recent English-language translations of non-mainstream manga with diverse forms and styles—say, prewar manga and comic strips, *gekiga* (lit. "dramatic pictures"), *josei manga* (comics for women), including "essay manga"[6], as well as avant-garde or experimental manga (such as those by Tsuge Yoshihiro, Yokoyama Yūichi, Sasaki Maki, etc.)— stand as immediate complications of his claims. (Figure 1)

Figure 1. Yokoyama Yūichi is known for his avant-garde manga.

The question as to whether there is something inherently "unique" or "different" about manga in comparison to comics from other national or cultural contexts has become more complicated with the emergence of so-called original English-language manga (OEM), or "global manga." As manga have been globally circulated and consumed, several non-Japanese authors have (un)-wittingly incorporated certain drawing and character design styles from the manga they have encountered, especially those that tend to draw their characters with abstract body lines and big eyes.[7] Vaguely called "manga style" by global fans and authors, this idea of manga as a specific drawing style is, in fact, a recent construct outside of Japan. In the context of North America, the association of manga with the specific style derived from Japanese postwar story manga—typically mainstream *shōnen* (boys) and *shōjo* (girls) manga—imported to the United States from the late 1990s to 2000s (Power, 2009).[8] However, even with this narrow historical perspective, it has been increasingly difficult to differentiate comics originated in Japan from others due to the rise of new comics authors outside Japan who have grown up reading globalized Japanese comics. Some authors—Ashanti Fortson and Katie O'Neill, for example—create their own comics, and their "manga-like" elements (identified as such by critics or the authors themselves)

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are just part of the many influences they have received (or appropriated) from different types of comics, including manga, as well as other types of visual popular culture (film, design, cartoons, anime/animation) while growing up. (Figure 2)

Figure 2. Katie O'Neill credits manga artist Azuma Kiyohiko (*Yotsuba&!*) for her inspiration.

Figure 3. Monkey Punch, the author of the *Lupin III* series, is said to have adored Mort Drucker, an American comics artist.

On the other hand, in Japan, there are a number of Japanese authors who were inspired and influenced by American or European comics throughout history, including the postwar period, such as Miyazaki Hayao (*Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*), Ōtomo Katsuhiro (*Akira*), Katsura Masakazu (*Wing-Man*), Monkey Punch (*Lupin III*), and Terasawa Buichi (*Cobra*), to name a few. (Figure 3)

Looked at from a longer historical perspective, it is clear that Japanese manga creators have engaged in a series of intercultural negotiations and appropriations from Western caricature, Chinese ink drawings, American animal funnies and superhero comics, French-language comics (*bandes dessinées*), and other visual media, as well as other popular visual media forms—Japanese or non-Japanese—such as film, anime, satirical/political cartooning, and design/illustration. In short, what has come to be perceived as the "manga style" is the result of a mixed historical process of continuous accumulation of heterogeneous drawing styles and conventions beyond national and cultural borders, although these transnational interactions are often marginalized, if not disregarded, in the discussion (or perception) of manga or "manga style."

Although there is not enough space in this paper to give a comprehensive overview of the historical interactions and cross-pollinations of manga/comics, suffice it to say that the technological-material specificity of the rise of comics/manga—print technology, mass production, mass consumption, and mass distribution — points to the medium as culturally hybrid and a product of transnational interactions and appropriations in modernity. [9] In particular, formal elements, such as sequential panels and speech balloons, were imported from Western comics (Schodt, 2012, p.21), not inherited from premodern Japanese visual culture. While some have argued for continuity between modern manga and premodern visual culture (e.g., picture scrolls or paintings), such a traditionalist connection is a modern construct, often motivated by either a desire to legitimize modern manga by relating it to pre-existing visual "arts" or a desire to contain transcultural interactions within a national framework. [10] Manga scholar Ronald Stewart (2014) discusses how the term "manga" is used by different agents, including comics artists, including the modern manga artist and cartoonist Kitazawa Rakuten in particular; Stewart claims that for Kitazawa, manga "was something to be learned from the west and not from Japan's past" (p.28). Even the image-and-word narrative genre of *kibyōshi* from the Edo (early modern) period is difficult to identify as a direct progenitor of modern

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manga; as *kibyōshi* specialist Adam Kern (2007) notes, "contrary to the intimations of the proponents of manga culture, the modern manga was *not* the inevitable culmination of the *kibyōshi.* Nor did the *kibyōshi* entail the manga" (p.241). While highlighting the discontinuity between modern manga and its alleged precursors, we should, nevertheless, be careful not to abandon any possible continuity between modern manga and earlier visual/cultural traditions. Some modern and contemporary manga artists consciously employ premodern visual arts in their manga, although such a gesture is (and should be) understood as a purposeful construction of continuity, not a linear historical inheritance. [11] In considering contemporary manga, its cultural and formal hybridity always and already challenges classification in terms of nationality/national belonging.[12] In this sense, the "Japan" in "Japanese comics" should be understood not as a place of "origin" but as a contextual site where the processes of accumulation and transformation of aesthetic convention, cultural mediation, and new production take place.

After all, the history of manga is still under-historicized, and the histories of manga hitherto written are frequently limited in their scope to a national framework. Thus, some unexamined popular beliefs are still circulating in both mainstream and academic discourses, including claims that manga's origins are found in the twelfth-century *Scrolls of Frolicking Animals*; that the term "manga" was coined by Hokusai, [13] that the composite elements of visuality and textuality in kanji (Sino-Japanese characters) is the reason for the popularity of manga in Japan, and so on. Within Japan, these uncritical beliefs nearly dovetail with cultural nationalism, while outside Japan, manga is viewed with an emphasis on its supposed "uniqueness" or as an "Other" in sort of an Orientalist framework. What we need, instead, is to discuss "comics/manga as a medium" (or manga as comics) while encouraging more interdisciplinary approaches and dialogues among scholars from different places around the world.[14]

Medium Specificity and *Mise-en-page*

To begin, let us confirm the basic meanings of "medium" when we say "comics/manga as a medium." First, the entry for "medium" in a typical English dictionary—*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*—offers one definition as "a means of effecting or conveying something," from which the term "media" as a collective singular noun emerged, which signifies "a channel or system of communication, information, or entertainment." Following these definitions of "medium" and "media," we should be able to separate the conventional associations between specific styles/genres and forms/physical formats—e.g., we are encouraged to dissociate American comics from the superhero genre, or manga from a particular character design/drawing style. This point may seem obvious to many of us, but the stereotyping of comics as a genre persists, as Douglas Wolk (2008) writes: "As cartoonists and their longtime admirers are getting a little tired of explaining, comics are not a genre; they're a *medium*!" (Wolk's emphasis, p.11)[15]. Second, the term "medium" also refers to an intermediary between two or more agents. With this concept, we can highlight the function of mediation. That is, we can highlight how the form of a medium works, such as how comics as a medium bridge or "mediate" two entities—for instance, between author and reader, form and content, individual and society, and the like.[16] Comics scholar Hillary Chute (2016) noted that "[c]omics openly eschews any aesthetic of transparency; it is a conspicuously artificial form" (p.17). In other words, whatever is presented on the pages of comics is always and already *mediated*. This set of meanings of "medium" points to an intervening, performative nature inherent in comics that attempts to affect the reader cognitively and affectively through its formal and visual composition. Like McLuhan's famous dictum "the medium is the message," a medium is a social occurrence (i.e., making something happen) that influences individual experiences and society as a whole. This meaning of medium leads us to pay attention to what a medium is doing and how it does it. In the case of comics, the medium is *affecting* the reader's experiences, conventions, and discourses through formal and technical properties for storytelling or other communication. A more nuanced theoretical discussion on the concept of medium is possible—and has indeed been conducted elsewhere [17] — but these two sets of conceptual recognitions suffice to prepare us for our approach to the discussion of comics (including manga) with a focus on "medium specificity."

The term "medium specificity" is perhaps most associated with art critic Clement Greenberg, who discussed and theorized modernist paintings in the 1940s. Based on the distinction between poetry and painting in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's seminal essay "Laocoön" (1766), Greenberg claims that an artwork, to be successful, aims for medium specificity and purity—the ideal state of medium specificity without being contaminated by the influence of other media (see Greenberg 2000a and 2000b). While Greenberg defends and celebrates abstract paintings as his ideal expression of medium specificity and purity in fine art,[18] for many of us, his theorization reads as a typical elitist, high modernist

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stance; it argues for the purity and autonomy of an artwork, which is certainly at odds with the formal *and* cultural hybridity of comics (manga included) and their "populist underpinnings" (Hatfield, 2008, p. 143). Still, his idea of medium specificity serves to raise awareness of the materiality of art, including comics.

The materiality of a medium orients, if not restricts, the formal and aesthetic elements. In the case of comics, the physical sizes and shapes of different types of drawing paper orient the way in which an author works with the medium of comics. Comics artists must deal with the material potential and limits of the medium of comics. For instance, David Petersen (2009), the author of *Mouse Guard*, notes that he prefers drawing on square-shaped paper, not on the traditional rectangular variety, since the physical shape of the page can limit or open up his drawing potential and his page layouts (para. 4). (Figure 4)

Figure 4. David Petersen makes the aesthetic choice of drawing on square-shaped paper.

The material conditions of the comics medium (e.g., paper size, shape, and quality), thus, lead us to the consideration of formal and visual elements. Yet it is important to note that formal/visual analysis is not merely a means for breaking down the whole of a comics page into small pieces or individual constituents for examination, but also a method for paying attention to the relations between each visual and textual element (including blank spaces and emptiness) and analyzing their aesthetic mediation.[19] When speaking to medium-specific concerns about comics, we need to closely scrutinize the relationality of each formal and visual element—what Thierry Groensteen (2018) calls "iconic solidarity" in *The System of Comics*—and how the interaction of each element contributes to the reader's reading/viewing experience on multiple levels. One such method, which I propose here, is the *mise-en-page* analysis.

As the French-originated term suggests, the *mise-en-page* analysis was first developed by Francophone comics scholars. The term *mise-en-page* simply means "page layout," but the way in which these scholars use it points to an interest in how a page's layout affects the reader's experience in terms of time and space. One of the earlier scholars who paid attention to the physical surface of the comics medium is French semiologist Pierre Fresnault-Deruelle. In his 1976 essay "From Linear to Tabular," he points out that a comic strip "belongs to the temporal dimension (the linear), and the comics page . . . to the spatial dimension (the tabular)" (2014, p.122). He suggests that when reading a comics page, the reader is simultaneously aware of the sequentiality of narrative progression through the presentation of each individual panel *and* the overall composition of the page(s) as a unit of design. French comics theorist Thierry Groensteen (2018) argues for the importance of the first panel in relation to a page's layout by stating that "[f]rom the moment of sketching the first panel of a comic, the author has always and already taken . . . some larger strategic options . . . which [concern] the distribution of spaces and the occupation of places" (p.21). Another French comics writer/scholar Benoît Peeters's delineates four categories of *mise-en-page*: the "conventional," in which visual aspects operate independently from the narrative, which predominates; the "rhetorical," in which visual aspects are a function of the demands of the narrative; the "decorative," in which visual design, constructed independently from the narrative, commands the greatest share of attention; and the "productive," in which narrative is a product of the visual design (summarized in Cohn 2009, p.46). These formalist and theoretical perspectives prepare us to conduct a close analysis not only of page layout (such as the designs of panel sizes and shapes), but also on what is drawn and placed (and their relations) in the panel, in the sequence, and on the page.

Classroom Application of the *mise-en-page* Analysis

For classroom application, it is advisable to first share the basic vocabulary of comics analysis. For that purpose, Andrei Molotiu's "The List of Terms for Comics Studies"

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(online) or "Introduction to Comics Terms" in Rachelle Cruz's *Experiencing Comics* (2018) can be useful. Then, assign a couple of comics pages—ideally not one page, but two pages or more—and ask students to perform a *mise-en-page* analysis. A demonstration of formalist analysis can be found in Natume Fusanosuke's chapter in this volume. It is important to direct students to be aware that one of the objectives of this method is to slow down, think, and analyze comics pages by close-reading and close-viewing. To prompt students to take heed of the medium specificity of comics, questions such as the following—which I offer as a sampling, and are certainly not comprehensive—may be shared[20]:

● Graphic Style

- How would you describe the various styles employed in the work—cartoony, naturalistic, or iconic (or a mixture)? Does the author use a consistent graphic style, coloring (if any), and projection system throughout the work, or does the author vary them in places? What is the effect of these choices? In terms of drawing style, how do the designs of characters compare to their backgrounds?

- How are characters' postures, gestures, facial expressions, and bodies depicted? Do they indicate their internal/psychological state? How are characters' emotions visualized?

- In what way is movement or motion depicted or suggested? Are they suggested through visual signs or by multiple panels?

- How are shadow and darkness depicted (crosshatching, screen toning, or inking)? What is the impact of this choice?

- What kind of shapes are used for each individual speech and thought balloon? What do you think their intended effects are (volume, sound quality, type of thought, emotion, etc.)?

- Describe the background (or ellipsis of it) and its tone. How is it related to the scene, character(s), or other narrative elements?

- What kinds of onomatopoeias or emanate—visual signs for conveying something beyond diegesis—e.g., sweat beads (for fear or anxiety), light bulb (for finding an idea)—are used? For what purposes?

- In what way are drawn lines or pictures used to convey aural, tactile, gustatory, and/or olfactory sensations?

● *Mise-en-page* & Framing

- What is the spatial layout of the page? Does the *mise-en-page* follow the classical "grid style" or does it employ different shapes and patterns? What was the motivation for the page's layout, if any?

- What does the first panel depict (and in what way) on the page? Does the page layout have any symmetrical structures? How about the last panel—especially the last panel before turning the page? Does it insert a moment of tension, suspense, or excitement in the course of the depicted event?

- What figures or things are depicted within a panel? How are they focalized? What is omitted?

- How is the passage of time managed by the page's spatial composition?

- Is reading direction clear from one panel to another, or does the *mise-en-page* suggest various possible reading paths?

- What kind of décor is depicted? What props are visible or invisible?

- How is space composed within a panel? What is the relationship between panels?

- Where is the light source in the image, if available? What effect does it create?

Through this exercise, we can ask questions adapted from traditional literary studies to analyze setting, character, dialogue, narration, point-of-view, genre, theme, etc. However, the primary objective of this analytic method is to prompt students to be aware of how the formal and visual elements of comics contribute to their reading/viewing experiences.

Coda

It is, of course, equally important to discuss the content of comics/manga in light of individual works' socio-historical contexts, their industrial formation, and the readership of different comics cultures. It is, in fact, impossible to sever comics from its conventions, history,

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or industrial-audience formation, since any comics work is situated within socio-historical contexts. Yet, as mentioned earlier, such a focus tends to invite a national & cultural framework for the discussion and analysis of manga, while ignoring the transnational and transcultural cross-pollination embedded in the development of manga/comics.

From the instructor's perspective, implementing the "*mise-en-page*" analysis in teaching manga serves to foster students' active learning. Without overly relying on lectures on history and context, formal/visual analysis enables each student to actively engage with the medium of manga while paying careful, close attention to the composite elements in manga and sharing their observations with their peers. Gaining awareness of what a medium does and how it does it also encourages students to critically assess multimodal media, such as comics, TV, and social media, many of which have already become part of their everyday lives. Such critical media literacy has become increasingly important — and even necessary — to navigate our society, where media-generated images have become increasingly saturated.

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[1] In recent English-language scholarship on comics, the term "comics" is used as a singular noun when referring to the medium of comics but becomes plural when referring to particular instances such as individual comic strips or comic books (or "a comic" or "the comic" to refer to one such individual work). The Japanese language does not have a plural form for manga—i.e., the phrase "mangas" is awkward in light of academic conventions. In this chapter, I will use "manga" and "comics" as singular nouns when referring to the medium. Also, I use "manga" and "comics" as plural nouns when referring to works in the medium as particular instances or objects—e.g. manga *are* sold at convenience stores; or comics *are* works of visual art, etc.

[2] Chute and DeKoven (2006) identify this "paradigm shift" (p.770) as being prompted by the publication of the first volume of *Maus* by Art Spiegelman in 1986. In the same year, Frank Miller's *Batman: The Dark Knight Returns* and Alan Moore and Dave Gibbons's *Watchmen* were published. Both works demonstrated a "turning point" within mainstream American comics towards series that address darker, literary themes for mature readership.

[3] As for the development of comics studies in Anglophone academia in North America, see Hatfield (2010) and Beaty (2010).

[4] In recent years, however, we have increasingly witnessed the endorsement of manga by cultural authorities and governmental institutions in Japan, manifested as the campaign known as "Cool Japan."

[5] In his book *Comics Versus Art,* comics studies scholar Bart Beaty (2012) sidesteps the analysis of Japanese comics by stating that "discussion of manga has been elided in this volume, since the regimes of cultural value in Japan differ greatly" (p.12) even though he is open to discussing both American and Francophone comics.

[6] While these labels are loosely used in Japanese manga industry and by fans, the term *gekiga* usually refers to Japanese comics for young adult and adult males with little or no humor. The term *josei* literally means "adult women," and *josei manga* is a categorical label based on the target audience—i.e. adult women. Essay manga can be considered as a genre, typically depicting the everyday life of the author as the protagonist, from a subjective point of view, often with a simplistic or even "super-deformed" art style. Notable examples that are available in English are Azuma Hideo's *Disappearance Diary* (2005) and Nagata Kabi's *My Lesbian Experience with Loneliness* (2016).

[7] This association between manga and style is most manifest in several English-language "drawing manga" tutorials books.

[8] However, it is not easy to dismiss it as a mere misconception since several non-Japanese creators lay claim to the term "manga style." See Queenie Chan's online comic strip (2018), for instance.

[9] The term "global modernity" is proposed by Arif Dirlik (2003). He argues that modernity should be understood as a singular, global phenomenon. By this, he claims that we should understand that "alternative" or "multiple" modernities are expressions and articulations of contradictions within a singular, global modernity.

[10] Several scholars point out that Hoshokibara Seiki's *Nihon manga-shi* (A History of Japanese Manga) published in 1924 was one of the first to link modern manga with the twelfth-century animal scrolls by Toba Sōjo in 1928 (Stewart, 2017; Berndt 2008a, p. 306).

[11] For example, it is well known that Mizuki Shigeru's (1922-2015) drawings of *yōkai* monsters (preternatural creatures found in ancient Japanese folklore) are taken from Edo period illustrators, including books drawn by Toriyama Sekien (1712-88). See Papp (2012) for more.

[12] Zoltan Kacsuk (2018) investigates two major claims as to how to answer "what is manga"— "manga as style" vs. manga being "made in Japan"—and argues that neither position can be sustained without considering cultural, material, and historical situatedness.

[13] For an example of this misunderstanding being uncritically reiterated, see Berndt (2008, p.5)

[14] A few such attempts have been made, including Jaqueline Berndt's organized international conference, "Comics Worlds and the World of Comics: Towards Scholarship on a Global Scale," held at Kyoto International Manga Museum in 2009. See Berndt (2010).

[15] Wolk is referring to the fact that comics have been so much associated with the superhero genre in the North American context.

[16] There are several layers of mediations in terms of manga/comics—for instance, (1) formal and aesthetic mediation, (2) cultural, industrial and economic mediation, (3) authorial and receptive mediation, and (4) political and ideological mediation. This paper foregrounds the first layer of mediation for introducing the formal and visual method of analysis.

[17] The introduction of *Critical Terms for Media Studies* by W. J. T. Mitchell and Mark Hansen (2010) offers a theoretical discussion on the term "medium" and its importance in Media Studies.

[18] In his essay, Greenberg prescribes the standard for the quality of art by celebrating abstract modernist paintings.

[19] In Japanese-language manga criticism, *Manga no yomikata* (1995) is one of the most consulted books for formal analysis. Yet this book's approach stays largely in the realm of analytic determinism—i.e. essentializing each element's meaning and function without much consideration of relations among visual and compositional elements.

[20] I have consulted the following materials in generating the questions: Lefévre (2014), Kukkonen (2013), Berndt (2002, pp.308-313). Professor Elizabeth Nijdam's presentation at the first Comics Studies Society conference in 2018 was also helpful.

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Glossary

Akitashoten (秋田書店):

Akitashoten (Akita Publishing Co., Ltd.) is a Japanese publishing company, established on August 10, 1948 in Tokyo, that targets teenagers. It currently publishes mostly manga. Their most popular manga is a boy's weekly manga magazine, *Shonen Champion,* first published July 15, 1969.
See http://www.akitashoten.co.jp/

Anime（アニメ）:

Anime is a Japanese/English term, short for "animation" and characterized by stylish and colorful pictures showing lively characters in stories with many different settings. Most anime targets young children and families, but recently an increasing number of anime products have been created for adults. Anime is used not only for entertainment but also education in multiple areas such as history and human rights. It is also used extensively in advertising.

ARTS Education:

Arts in education is an expanding field of theory and practice informed by investigations into learning through arts experiences. In this context, the arts education can include performing arts (dance, music & theater), visual arts (2D, 3D, 4D & media art), and literature.

Avatar:

An avatar (also known as a profile picture) is a graphical representation of the user's character, which may take either a two-dimensional form as an icon in internet forums and other online communities or a three dimensional form, as in games or virtual worlds. The term "avatar" can also refer to the personality connected with the screen name of an internet user.

Bessatsu （別冊）:

A magazine published as a supplement to a regularly published magazine. For example the girls' comic *Margaret* has a special edition called *Bessatsu Margaret.*

Bishōnen /Bishonen（美少年）:

"Beautiful boys (or youths);" describes an aesthetic wherein a young man whose beauty and sexual appeal blurs the boundaries of gender or sexual orientation. It has always shown its strongest manifestation in Japanese pop culture.

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Bishōjo /Bishojo（美少女）：

Refers to young and beautiful girls. It is often used in the world of manga, anime, and computer games to describe a heroine as opposed to a hero described as “bishonen.”

Boys’ Love （ﾎﾞｰｲｽﾞﾗﾌﾞ）：

A genre of novels and manga that deal with homosexual love relationships between beautiful teenage boys. Popular with women, it is a direct translation of the Japanese word “Shonen Ai,” “Shonen” meaning “boys” and “Ai” meaning “love.” The genre is sometimes given the English name “men’s love.”

Chōjūgiga （鳥獣戯画）：

Chōjū-giga (鳥獣戯画, literally "Animal Caricatures") is a famous set of four picture scrolls (*emakimono*), belonging to Kōzan-ji temple in Kyoto, Japan. It is said Toba created the scrolls; however, it seems clear that more than one artist is involved. It is credited as the oldest work of manga.

Comiket （ｺﾐｹ）：

Comiket, short for Comic Market. See Comic Market.
See http://www.comiket.co.jp/

Comic Market（ｺﾐｯｸﾏｰｹｯﾄ）：

The biggest dojinshi selling event, a cultural phenomenon where mostly young amateurs display and sell their manga comics and magazines. It was first held in 1975, and has been held semiannually from then on. It is now held in Tokyo Harbor at the Tokyo International Trade Center. The center houses six enormous halls, with 80,000 square meters of space.

CLAMP:

*Clamp (*クランプ, *Kuranpu*) is an all-female Japanese manga artist group that formed in the mid-1980s. It consists of leader Nanase Ohkawa (大川 七瀬, *Ōkawa Nanase*), and three artists whose roles shift for each series: Mokona (もこな, *Mokona*), Tsubaki (猫井 椿, *Nekoi Tsubaki*), and Satsuki Igarashi (いがらし 寒月, *Igarashi Satsuki*). Almost 100 million Clamp *tankōbon* copies have been sold worldwide as of October 2007.
See **https://clamp-net.com**

Dōjin/Doujin （同人）：

Dōjin (同人) is a general Japanese term for a group of people or friends who share an interest, activity, or hobbies. The word might be translated into English as clique, fandom, coterie, or society. In Japan, the term is often used to refer to amateur self-published works, including manga and novels.

Dōjinshi/Dojinshi/Doujinshi（同人誌）：

Original manga-like fanzines, hobby magazines and comic books produced by amateurs. “Dojin” means people who share the same taste and “shi” means magazine. The term dojinshi has come to refer to both clubs and circles of high school or college students who create their own comic books, and to the comic books themselves.

Dragon Ball:

Dragon Ball (ドラゴンボール) is a Japanese media franchise created by Akira Toriyama in 1984. The initial manga by Toriyama was serialized in *Weekly Shonen Jump* from 1984 to 1995 by its publisher Shueisha, with the 519 individual chapters collected into 42 tankobon volumes. *Dragon Ball* was initially inspired by the classical Chinese novel *Journey to the West*. The series follows the adventures of the protagonist, Son Goku, from his childhood through adulthood as he trains in martial arts. Along his journey, Goku discovers his alien heritage and battles a wide variety of villains, many of whom also seek the Dragon Balls.

Furoku （ふろく）：

Furoku is the same as “Omake” meaning “extra gift.” Manga and other magazines sometimes offer extra gifts along with the publication itself to encourage customers to purchase it.

Edutainment:

Educational entertainment (also referred to by the portmanteau edutainment) is media designed to educate through entertainment, and a term used as early as 1954 by Walt Disney. Most often it includes content intended to teach but has incidental entertainment value. It has been used by academia, corporations, governments, and other entities in various countries to disseminate information in classrooms and/or via television, radio, and other media to influence viewers' opinions and behaviors.

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GLOSSARY

Fukushima Daiichi （福島第一）：

The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster (福島第一原子力発電所事故) was a nuclear accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in Ōkuma Fukushima Prefecture. It was the most severe nuclear accident since the 1986 Chernobyl disaster.

Gekiga (劇画):

Graphic manga that uses realistic drawings to depict serious stories, mostly for adult male readers.

Gekkanshi （月刊誌）：

Monthly magazine

Genji monogatari （源氏物語 Tale of Genji）：

The Tale of Genji (源氏物語, Genji monogatari) is a classic work of Japanese literature written in the early 11th century in the Heian period by the noblewoman Murasaki Shikibu. The work has 54 chapters and recounts the life of *Hikaru Genji*, the son of Emperor Kiritsubo. The tale concentrates on Genji's romantic life and describes the customs of the aristocratic society of the time. It may be the world's first novel.

Graphic novel:

A graphic novel is a book made up of comics content. Although the word "novel" normally refers to long fictional works, the term "graphic novel" is applied broadly and includes fiction, non-fiction, and anthologized work. It is, at least in the United States, distinguished from the term "comic book," which is generally used for comics periodicals. Japanese manga are called "graphic novels" rather than comics because of the quality of the story lines.

Hakusensha （白泉社）：

A Japanese publishing company founded in 1973, a subsidiary of Shueisha. It is best known as a shojo manga publisher. Their first magazine, a semi-monthly shojo manga magazine entitled *Hana to Yume* (*Flowers and Dreams*) started in 1974.
See http://www.hakusensha.co.jp

Hanano Nijyūyo-nen Gumi (Maginificent 24 Group: 花の２４年組):

The name “Magnificent 24 Group” refers to the members of the Oizumi Salon who were born in and around the Japanese imperial calendar year Showa 24 (1949). These artists significantly contributed to the development of subgenres in shojo manga and marked the first major entry of women artists into manga. Depending on different opinions of critics and fans, the members differ, but most include at least three: Keiko Takemiya, Ryoko Yamagishi, and Moto Hagio. Their works often examine "radical and philosophical issues," including sexuality and gender, and many of their works are now considered "classics" of shojo manga.

Hiroshima （広島）：

Hiroshima is best remembered as the first city targeted by a nuclear weapon when the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) dropped the atomic bomb "Little Boy" on the city at 8:15 a.m. on August 6, 1945. Most of the city was destroyed, and by the end of the year 90,000–166,000 had died as a result of the blast and its effects.

K12/K-12:

K–12 (spoken as "k twelve", "k through twelve", or "k to twelve"), from kindergarten to 12th grade, is an American expression that indicates the range of years of supported primary and secondary education found in the United States, which is similar to publicly supported school grades prior to college in several other countries.

Kawaii:

Kawaii (Japanese: かわいい or 可愛い, "lovely", "lovable", "cute") is the culture of cuteness in Japan. It can refer to items, humans and nonhumans that are charming, vulnerable, shy, and childlike. Examples include cute handwriting, certain genres of manga, and characters like Hello Kitty and Pikachu. The cuteness culture, or *kawaii* aesthetic, has become a prominent aspect of Japanese popular culture, entertainment, cloth-ing, food, toys, personal appearance, and mannerisms.

Keiko Takemiya （竹宮恵子）：

*Keiko Takemiya (*竹宮 恵子, *Takemiya Keiko*, born February 13, 1950) is a Japanese manga artist and was the president of Kyoto Seika University (2014-18). She is included in the Year 24 Group, a term coined by academics and critics to refer to a group of female authors in the early 1970s who helped transform *shōjo* manga (girls' comics) from being created primarily by male authors to being created by female authors.[3] As part of this group, Takemiya pioneered a

genre of girls' comics about love between young men (boys' love).
See http://freia.moon.bindcloud.jp/index.html

Kibyōshi （黄表紙）：

Kibyōshi（黄表紙）is a genre of Japanese picture book (kusazōshi - 草双紙) produced during the middle of the Edo period, from 1775 to the early 19th century. Physically identifiable by their yellow-backed covers, kibyōshi were typically printed in 10 page volumes, many spanning two to three volumes in length, with the average number of total pages being 30. Considered to be the first purely adult comic book in Japanese literature, a large picture spans each page, with descriptive prose and dialogue filling the blank spaces in the image.

Kōdansha（講談社）：

A major Japanese manga and literature publishing house, founded in 1909, which published the first boys' manga magazine, *Shonen Magazine* in 1959 and the first girl's weekly manga, *Shojo Friend* in 1962.
See http://www.kodansha.co.jp/English/

Lacan:

Jacques Marie Émile Lacan (13 April 1901 – 9 September 1981) was a French psychoanalyst and psychiatrist who has been called "the most controversial psycho-analyst since Freud". Giving yearly seminars in Paris from 1953 to 1981, Lacan influenced many leading French intellectuals in the 1960s and the 1970s, especially those associated with post-structuralism. His ideas had a significant impact on post-structuralism, critical theory, linguistics, 20th-century French philosophy, film theory, and clinical psychoanalysis.

Lady's Comic （レディースコミック）：

A genre of manga in Japan that originally targeted female readers older than 20 years of age. Currently it is divided into two types of lady's comics: one is called "Lady Comi" and often includes very pornographic sexual scenes; the other is "Lady's Comic" or "Young Ladies" and does not focus on sexual scenes. The first Lady's Comic was "Be in LOVE" published by Kodansha in 1979.

Machiko Satonaka （里中満智子）：

Machiko Satonaka（里中 満智子, born 24 January 1948) is a Japanese manga artist. She made her professional debut in 1964 during her second year of high school with the one-shot *Pia no Shōzō* (*Portrait of Pia*). She has since created nearly 500 manga in a variety of genres and has won diverse awards including the Kodansha Publishing Culture Award in 1974 and the Kodansha Manga Award in 1982. In addition to creating manga, Satonaka teaches at the Osaka University of Arts as the head of the Character Creative Arts Department and serves on the board of various manga-related organizations in Japan.
See http://www.satonaka-machiko.com

Mandarake（まんだらけ）:

A major used manga and manga related item chain store founded in 1984, in Nakano, Tokyo.
See http://www.mandarake.co.jp/

Manga (漫画):

Japanese comic(s). The word literally means "humorous picture." Developed from the Ukiyoe work of Hokusai Katsushika (1760-1849) into longer graphic narratives. Manga gradually developed into an original style of Japanese comic books reflecting the complexity of human dramas. Influenced by American comic books and Disney animation after World War II, the unique style of Japanese manga reached its peak from the 1980s to the 1990s.

Manken （漫研: 漫画研究会）：

Manken is short for Manga Kenkyukai, meaning an amateur manga study group. Members discuss manga and give each other suggestions and advice.

Mangaka（漫画家）:

Writer(s)/cartoonist(s)/comic artist(s) who create manga.

Manga school （漫画ｽｸｰﾙ）：

Correspondence schools of manga magazines developed to recruit and develop future professional mangaka for their magazines through monthly one-on-one training sessions and (bi)annual competitions with awards.

MEXT

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (文部科学省, *Monbu-kagaku-shō*), also known as MEXT or Monka-shō, is one of the eleven Ministries in the executive branch of the Government of Japan. Their goal is to improve the development of Japan in relation to the international community.
See **https://www.mext.go.jp/en/**

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Moto Hagio （萩尾望都）：

Moto Hagio (萩尾 望都*, Hagio Moto*) is a Japanese manga artist born on May 12, 1949 in Ōmuta, Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan. She is considered a founding mother of modern *shōjo* manga, especially *shōnen-ai*. She is also a member of the Year 24 Group. She has been described as the most beloved *shōjo* manga artist of all time. In addition to being an industry pioneer, her body of work shows a maturity, depth and personal vision found only in the finest of creative artists.
See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moto_Hagio

Nagasaki （長崎）：

Nagasaki is the capital and the largest city of Nagasaki Prefecture on the island of Kyushu in Japan. It became the sole port used for trade with the Portuguese and Dutch during the 16th through 19th centuries. During World War II, the American atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki made Nagasaki the second and, to date, last city in the world to experience a nuclear attack (at 11:02 am, August 9, 1945 Japan Standard Time (UTC+9)).

Name（ネーム）：

A kind of storyboard, but also a word for a stage in the development of each manga. It is a brief sketch of komawari (frame layout), composition in each frame, words, and the layout of characters.

Nara period（奈良時代）：

The Nara period (奈良時代, *Nara jidai*) of the history of Japan covers the years from CE 710 to 794. The capital at Nara was modeled after Chang'an, the capital city of the Tang dynasty.[2] In many other ways, the Japanese upper classes patterned themselves after the Chinese, including adopting the Chinese writing system, Chinese fashion, and a Chinese version of Buddhism.

Naruto:

Naruto (ナルト) is a Japanese manga series written and illustrated by Masashi Kishimoto. It tells the story of Naruto Uzumaki, a young ninja who seeks to gain recognition from his peers and also dreams of becoming the Hokage, the leader of his village. The story is in two parts, the first set in Naruto's pre-teen years, and the second in his teens. The series is based on two one-shot manga by Kishimoto: *Karakuri* (1995), which earned Kishimoto an honorable mention in Shueisha's monthly *Hop Step Award* the following year, and *Naruto* (1997).

Omake（おまけ):

Omake means *extra* in Japanese. Its primary meaning is general and widespread. It is used as an anime and manga fandom term to mean "extra or bonus".

Osamu Tezuka （手塚治虫）：

Osamu Tezuka (手塚 治虫, 3 November 1928 – 9 February 1989) was a Japanese manga artist and animator. Born in Osaka Prefecture, his prolific output, pioneering techniques, and innovative redefinitions of genres earned him such titles as "the Father of Manga", and "the Godfather of Manga". Tezuka began what was known as the manga revolution in Japan with his *New Treasure Island* published in 1947. His legendary output would spawn some of the most influential, successful, and well received manga series including *Astro Boy*, *Princess Knight,* and *Kimba the White Lion*, and the adult oriented series *Black Jack*, *Phoenix*, and *Buddha*, all of which won several awards. See http://tezukaosamu.net

Rensai（連載）：

To publish manga, novels, articles, and stories in serial form.

Sailor Moon:

Sailor Moon (美少女戦士セーラームーン, *Bishōjo Senshi Sērā Mūn*, originally translated as *Pretty Soldier Sailor Moon* and later as *Pretty Guardian Sailor Moon*) is a Japanese *shōjo* manga series written and illustrated by Naoko Takeuchi. It was originally serialized in *Nakayoshi* from 1991 to 1997; the 60 individual chapters were published in 18 *tankōbon* volumes. The series follows the adventures of a schoolgirl named Usagi Tsukino as she transforms into Sailor Moon to search for a magical artifact, the "Legendary Silver Crystal" (「幻の銀水晶, *Maboroshi no Ginzuishō*, lit. "Phantom Silver Crystal"). She leads a group of comrades, the Sailor Soldiers (セーラー戦士, *Sērā Senshi*) (Sailor Guardians in later editions) as they battle against villains to prevent the theft of the Silver Crystal and the destruction of the Solar System.
See https://www.viz.com/sailor-moon

Scanlation （スキャンレーション）：

The word scanlation (also scanslation) is a combination of the two words *scan* and trans*lation*. It is the three stage process of scanning, translation, and editing of comics from one language into another language, but mostly used for Japanese manga. Scanlation is done by amateur manga fans mostly without permission from the

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copyright holders. Scanlations are usually viewed at websites or as sets of image files downloaded via the Internet.

Second Life:

Second Life is an online virtual world, developed and owned by the San Francisco-based firm Linden Lab and launched on June 23, 2003. It saw rapid growth for some years and in 2013 it had approximately one million regular users. In many ways, *Second Life* is similar to massively multiplayer online role-playing games; nevertheless, Linden Lab is emphatic that their creation is not a game, stating, "There is no manufactured conflict, no set objective". See **https://secondlife.com**

Shōgakukan （小学館）:

A major publisher founded in 1922. They publish dictionaries, literature, manga, and nonfiction. Shogakukan, together with the publishing house Shueisha, owns Viz Media, which publishes manga in the United States. See http://www.shogakukan.co.jp/english/

Shōjo Beat:

Shojo Beat was a shojo manga magazine published from June 2005 to July 2009 in North America by Viz Media. It was a sister magazine to *Shonen Jump* and featured serialized chapters from six manga series, as well as articles on Japanese culture, manga, anime, fashion and beauty. See http://www.viz.com/manga/print/shojo-beat

Shōjo Manga（少女ﾏﾝｶﾞ）:

Manga published in girls' magazines. Manga created originally for girl readers.

Shonen Manga（少年ﾏﾝｶﾞ）:

Manga published in boys' magazines. Manga created for boy readers.

Shōnen-ai（少年愛）:

Love between boys. This genre shows male homosexual romances, and is popular among women.

Shōnenshi（少年誌）:

Boys' magazine.

Shūeisha（集英社):

Originally a department of the entertainment journal Shogakukan, it became an independent publication company in 1926. Some of its major manga magazines are the weekly boys' magazine, *Shonen Jump,* the weekly girls' magazine *Margaret*, and the monthly girls' manga magazine, *Ribbon*. See http://www.shueisha.co.jp

Shūkanshi（週刊誌）:

Weekly magazine.

Seinenshi（青年誌）:

Magazine for young men (late teens to twenties).

Shōgyoshi（商業誌）:

Commercially sold magazine.

Shinsai （震災 earthquake disaster):

See "Tohoku earthquake".

STEM:

STEM is a term used to group together the academic disciplines of Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, This term is typically used when addressing education policy and curriculum choices in schools to improve competitiveness in science and technology development.

STEAM:

STEAM is a term created by adding "Art & Design" to STEM.

STREAM:

STREAM is a term created by adding "Reading" to STEAM.

Tankōbon（単行本）:

A collection of a particular series in one volume. This is different from a magazine or complete-works series which often contain more than one title.

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GLOSSARY

The 3.11:

See "Tohoku earthquake".

Tōhoku earthquake（東北地震）：

The 2011 earthquake off the Pacific coast of Tōhoku (東北地方太平洋沖地震, *Tōhoku-chihō Taiheiyō Oki Jishin*) was a magnitude 9.0–9.1 (M_w) undersea megathrust earthquake off the coast of Japan that occurred at 14:46 JST (05:46 UTC) on Friday 11 March 2011, with the epicenter approximately 70 kilometers (43 mi) east of the Oshika Peninsula of Tōhoku and the hypocenter at an underwater depth of approximately 29 km (18 mi). The earthquake is often referred to in Japan as the **Great** East Japan Earthquake (東日本大震災, *Higashi nihon daishinsai*) and is also known as the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake, the Great Sendai Earthquake, the Great Tōhoku Earthquake, and the great earthquake of March 11.

Tokugawa era/period （德川時代）OR Edo Period：

Tokugawa Period (1603 – 1868). Historically considered the most stable and peaceful period in Japanese history, the Tokugawa Period — also known as the Edo Period, after the city in which the shōgun had his capital—began with Ieyasu's victory over Hideyoshi's forces at the Battle of Sekigahara, and the consolidation of political power around the Tokugawa clan and its daimyō allies in Japan's east on the Kantō plain. It marked the beginning of nearly three full centuries of shogunal rule by the Tokugawa family.

Virtual World:

A virtual world is a computer-simulated environment which may be populated by many users who can create a personal avatar and simultaneously and independently explore the virtual world, participate in its activities and communicate with others.

Yaoi（やおい）：

Stories about gay men written for women. The term Yaoi was coined by taking the first syllable of the words Yamanashi, Ochinashi, and Iminashi (no climax, no point, no meaning).

Yōkai/ Yokai （妖怪）：

Yōkai (妖怪, *ghost*, *phantom*, *strange apparition*) are a class of supernatural monsters, spirits, and demons in Japanese folklore. The word *yōkai* is made up of the kanji for "bewitching; attractive; calamity" and "spectre; apparition; mystery; suspicious." *Yōkai* usually have spiritual or supernatural abilities, with shapeshifting being the most common. *Yōkai* that shapeshift are called *bakemono* (化物) or *obake* (お化け).

Yomikiri（読み切り）：

A complete short story in a magazine.

Zōkangō（増刊号）：

A special issue.

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Rachel Charlow Lenz has a BA from Vassar College in English and Japanese Literature, an MA in East Asian Languages and Culture from the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, has studied at the Inter-University Center in Yokohama, and holds an MAT in Secondary Education from Drake University. Her undergraduate work centered on female gender and sexuality in manga, and her graduate work on Japanese Theatre. She has taught Japanese at Vassar College and Drake University, and worked as an assistant producer and translator for an American anime company. She currently teaches concurrent enrollment Japanese for Des Moines Public Schools and DMACC.

Judit Kroo is Assistant Professor of Japanese Linguistics and Culture at Arizona State University. Her research focuses on younger Japanese adults' navigation of liminal spaces between youth and adulthood, including linguistic and embodied practices associated with these spaces, and strategies of resistance to normative social ideologies within such spaces. Relevant publications include: 'Negotiating identities: First person pronominal use between Japanese university students' (forthcoming); with Yoshiko Matsumoto 'The case of Japanese otona "adult": Mediatized gender as a marketing device' (Discourse and Communication, 2018); and as co-editor Linguistic *Tactics and Strategies of Marginalization in Japanese* (under contract).

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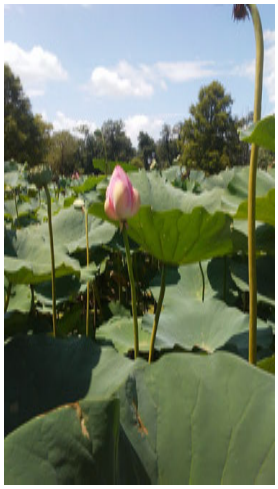

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Special Thanks

We would like to express heartfelt gratitude to all the individuals and institutions whose cooperation made this book project possible.

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Funding:

This book project is financially supported by Lucy Maynard Salmon Research Fund, Vassar College, USA

Credits:

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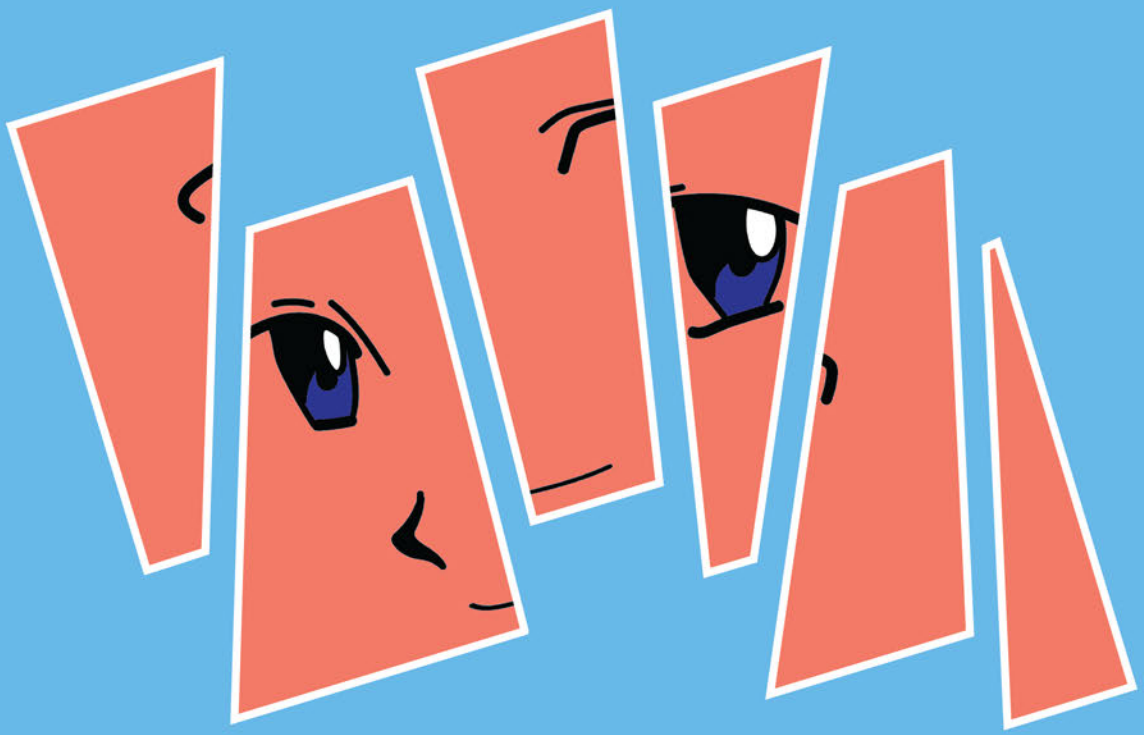

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