In: Japanese Civilization in the 21st Century
Editors: A. Targowski, J. Abe and H. Kato
ISBN: 978-1-63485-598-3

Chapter 8

MANGA, WHICH MANGA? PUBLICATION FORMATS, GENRES, USERS

Prof. Dr. Jaqueline Berndt*
Kyoto Seika University, Kyoto, Japan

ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the 21st century, manga has gained global renown to such an extent that its name is now surfacing in various discourses. What is more, politicians, journalists, and even academics show an inclination to generalize about manga. In light of both the practical political and scholarly consequences which such generalization has, this chapter calls for differentiation, focusing on manga as media. Methodologically informed by the fields of manga studies, art history, and media culture, the notion of "media" applied here conjoins the aspects of material support and technology, traditionally referred to by "medium," with a consideration of the institutions, practices and interrelations underlying the production, distribution, and consumption of manga. Starting from historical notions mediated by the term *manga*, this chapter highlights how manga texts are conventionally positioned by format and site of publication, gendered and thematic genres, associated target groups and possible usages. Having proposed a tripartite classification, this chapter finally identifies a specific kind of manga that is in demand by fans on a global scale, a kind which not only matches the interactivity of the age of the internet, but historically also rests on a remarkable internal receptivity to non-Japanese comics in Japan.

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1990s Japanese comics have been proliferating to such an extent that their name, *manga*, is now circulating as a neologism in many languages. Manga has also become an easy-to-grasp label, deployable for a wide range of purposes. Japanese government institutions, for example, have come to use *manga* as an umbrella term when addressing soft

* berndt@kyoto-seika.ac.jp.

power and the global dissemination of Japanese media products. In December 2015, a federation of Diet members, with former prime-minister Asō Tarō as highest advisor, launched a proposal to establish a National MANGA Center in 2020, acknowledging that manga, as well as anime and video games, are by now Japan's main culture, calling for political initiatives that increase the nation's competitiveness and promote tourism (Editorial 2015). At the same time, manga is being regarded as a stronghold of child pornography, especially by non-manga readers from North America and Australia.[1] In June 2014, the Japanese Diet passed a bill, which sanctions the possession of child pornography, but makes an exemption for manga and anime. This has caused international outrage. During a brief visit to Japan in October 2015, the UN's envoy on child protection, 71-year old Dutch jurist Maud de Boer-Buquicchio, called for banning sexually abusive imagery of children, specifically targeting manga (McCurry, 2015).

As contradictory as these positions may seem, they have at least one thing in common: their sweeping generalization of manga. Such generalization, however, does not only subordinate comics to political interests, it also misses the factuality of manga in contemporary Japan. The maturation of manga as an industry and culture since the 1950s has given rise to an enormous range of expressions, readings, and other usages. Today's manga is polycentric, and as such it calls for differentiation. Precisely this shall be demonstrated below. Taking its departure from a brief discourse-related overview of the term *manga*, this chapter focuses on publication formats, genres, and their addressees, before finally touching upon manga as global media. Thus, its underlying approach is formed by media-studies concerns, which prevail in Japan-based manga research in contrast to the majority of English-language comics criticism with its roots in literary studies, and Japanese-studies cultural anthropology with its inclination to dissolve manga (and anime) in "popular culture," reducing it to a mere mirror of society (Bernd, 2013, p. 66-67; Berndt, 2014b).

THE TERM: FROM VISUAL ART TO GRAPHIC NARRATIVE

The word *manga* (which is used here, in line with Japanological custom, without an "s" in the plural) was initially written with two Sino-Japanese characters: 漫 (*man*: diverse, random, rambling, capricious) and 画 (*ga*: line drawing, picture). This compound has been translated as "funny, spontaneously drawn pictures." Art historian Tsuji Nobuo,[2] for example, explains that the word *manga* meant "random sketches" in the 18-19th centuries whereas it translates now as comic strip, or more precisely "cartoon-like art created in Japan or rendered in a Japanese style" (Tsuji, 2001, p. 54). The randomness mentioned by Tsuji invokes uncalculated visualizations of things and thoughts in quick brushstrokes. This, however, was an ascription to the *Hokusai Manga* by 19th-century Europeans, who failed to determine the criteria underlying this pictorial reference book and assumed an "Oriental" spontaneity (Guth, 2015, p. 59). From a contemporary perspective, the immediacy and quickness implied in the conventional definition can also be regarded as suggesting movement beyond any

[1] In 2009, the United Nation's Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women urged Japan to ban sexually explicit manga and games. Cf. McLelland (2011) for a critical survey of the subsequent development.
[2] Japanese names appear in the domestic order, i.e., surname preceding given name without separation by comma, except in the References.

representational intent. Yet, more than to the moving line, discourse has tied manga to laughter. The bilingual *Dictionary of Japanese Art Terms* defines it as, "Comic pictures intended to make the viewer laugh," continuing with the reservation that "it means, however, free pictures of self-indulgence in case of Hokusai's Manga" (1990, p. 599). Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) began to publish his *Manga* in 1814; fourteen more volumes were to follow until 1878 (cf. Bouquillard and Marquet, 2007). Hokusai did not coin the word *manga* though. Historians from as far back as 1928 have pointed to much earlier examples of its use (Hosokibara and Mizushima, 1928, p. 124). When the term *manga* first spread in the early 19th century, it was primarily used to indicate a large and wide assortment of drawings or an extensive catalog of motifs, which did not necessarily serve a humorous purpose (Miyamoto, 2003, p. 322). Pictures with a comical orientation were more specifically referred to as *giga* or *toba-e*, the latter alluding back to the Buddhist abbot Toba Sōjō (1053-1140), the purported creator of the *Frolicking Animals Scrolls* (*Chōjū jinbutsu giga*). While both *toba-e* and *giga* already had a long tradition in Japan, *manga* was a new term. In reference to Chinese painting treatises, it designated a compilation of models for amateurs and trained professionals alike. This educational function – in addition to the missing emphasis on storytelling – distinguishes the early manga from Japan's graphic narratives as they developed after World War II. In terms of the production process, both their deliberate rendering and the team work required also set post-war manga apart from random, spontaneously drawn sketches.

Around 1900, Hokusai's and others' collective term *manga* changed into the signifier of a certain style of drawings, that is, satirical and comical pictures (*fūshi kokkei no ga*). This manga emerged from modern newspapers. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), one of the leading intellectuals of his time and publisher of *Jiji Shinpō* (*Current-Affairs News*), issued a textual column called *Mangen* and employed his America-experienced nephew Imaizumi Ippyō (1865-1904) to add cartoons to it. In 1895, Imaizumi released a collection of his drawings under the name of *manga*, and two years later he presented some so-called manga in the second exhibition of the White Horse Society (*Hakubakai*), a group of Western-style painters. Noteworthy here is the fact that modern manga was institutionally affiliated to painting (cf. Miyamoto, 2002). Throughout the 19th century reading, watching and talking about cartoon-like images had intermingled, but at the century's end, manga came to be reconceived as a predominantly visual art which addressed itself to an individual viewer. This shift was epitomized by Kitazawa Rakuten (1876-1955), who took over the cartoon section in *Jiji Shinpō* when Imaizumi fell ill. In 1902, Kitazawa was given a *Jiji Manga* (*Current-Affairs Cartoons*) section in the Sunday supplement. But by calling his illustrations and comic strips *manga* he did not aim at the Hokusai tradition; he rather distinguished his drawings from the caricaturesque *ponchi-e* (*ponchi*: Japanese for *Punch*, the British journal which served as the model for *The Japan Punch* by Charles Wirgman, 1862-87) (cf. Duus, 2013; Stewart, 2014). In the late 19th century, the term *ponchi-e* replaced *toba-e* before *manga* assumed the modern meaning of satirical picture or cartoon, as it predominantly signified when *manga* ultimately became part of everyday parlance in the 1920s. Ronald Stewart notes that "Rakuten would repeatedly express his distaste for Edo-period visual culture and for the form that shared its outmoded traits, *ponchi*. In his eyes, these were vulgar, too wordy, incapable of direct [pictorial] expression" (2013, p. 34).

In the 1920s, in the wake of newspaper comic strips and satirical journals, the term *manga* came into wide use, but it was to change its meaning fundamentally after World War II when Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) refined earlier attempts at so-called story-manga by

profiting from references to modern European novels and American cinema, Disney's animated movies to begin with, rather than traditional painting or calligraphy. Henceforth, *manga* assumed the meaning of graphic narratives, which is not to say that its other meanings disappeared. Throughout the 20th century, the word *manga* denoted cartoons, caricatures, comic strips (*koma manga*) as well as graphic narratives serialized in weekly or monthly manga magazines. Since the 1960s, these narratives have often been indicated by rendering the word *manga* in *katakana* syllabary, and in this form, the word sometimes serves as a collective term for all kinds of comics, regardless of nationality. The word was further used for animated films (*manga eiga*, *TV manga*) before the name *anime* gained currency in the 1970s. Due to the global spread of Japanese comics since around 2000, the romanized version of the word has found entrance even into Japanese script (like in the name of the federation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter). Today, *manga* generally signifies serialized entertaining fiction in comics form that integrates image and text with the help of a vast variety of balloons, pictograms and modifying lines, fonts, and graphically rendered sound effects. Used in a narrow sense, *manga* has come to refer to a specific illustration style and character design, especially abroad. This chapter focuses on neither newspaper cartoons, comic strips, nor "manga-anime" as a finish and industrial compound, but rather magazine-based graphic narratives.

"Manga Proper": Magazine-Based Genres and Beyond

Many people picture manga as a more or less uniform, easily recognizable body of media texts (despite the fact that anime exhibits a much higher degree of visual consistency due to its conditions of production). Manga are usually assumed to be graphic narratives that invite readers' immersion, first of all, by means of attractive characters. Such characters address their consumers with huge eyes and other signifiers of cuteness, breathtakingly long legs or compressed droll *chibi* bodies, seemingly blond hair and other similarly de-Japanized markers of physical difference. Manga is typically characterized further by speedy consumption and semiotic excess. In addition to its monochrome rendering, it is expected to exhibit an extraordinary variety of comics-specific symbols and typefaces as well as fascinating double-spread compositions. Often, complex panel layouts undermine the grid of the traditional comics page while guiding the reader's gaze efficiently through plot-centered narratives, whose dynamic impression is being achieved by alternations between rushing forward and pausing. This kind of manga functions less as a visual art; it rather leans on a visual language[3]: pictorial elements are supposed to be read, or better, quickly grasped, rather than watched and contemplated. Moreover, a language can be learned. Manga is defined by some as a kind of comics that prompts[4] copying, and it is also a well-known fact that *How to Draw* publications have served as a major gateway for establishing manga firmly within youth cultures worldwide (cf. Bainbridge and Norris 2010). In other words, "manga proper" consists, first and foremost, of highly conventionalized signs, which are memorized by artists

[3] Cf. Neil Cohn, Chapter 8 "Japanese Visual Language" (2013, p. 153-171). "Comics are not a language, but they are written in a visual language of sequential images." (2013, p. 2).
[4] According to recent English-language comics studies, the word "comics" is used for both singular and plural here.

and readers in order to be replicable and to be shared. For many dedicated fans, a single manga's intrinsic quality as a narrative work is less important than its potential as a text to invite participation, facilitate relationships, and mediate taste communities. A typical manga is therefore not a self-contained "graphic novel" by a single author, but something like a TV series, although unfolding in close relation to audience response to a higher degree. Such manga escape the modernist concept of originality, their appeal owing much to cultural circulation, to being revisited and having the value of individual texts reassured by emulation and parody.

What is held to be "manga proper" leans heavily on popular series first published in specialized anthologies. After magazines for children successively increased the amount of pages dedicated to manga during the 1950s, a new publication format was established in 1959, the manga weekly, taking its departure from the concurrently launched *Shōnen Magazine* (Kodansha) and *Shōnen Sunday* (Shogakukan).[5] Not quite a decade later, in 1968, the leading publishers introduced book editions under the name of *komikkusu* (comics), beginning with *Jump Comics* and *Margaret Comics*. Running to approximately 200 pages, these bound volumes (*tankōbon*) have made the cheaply produced, low-price and highly volatile manga profitable. The close interrelation between magazines as market makers on the one hand and *tankōbon* as profit generators on the other hand was at the core of the exceptionally successful manga business model between 1970 and 2000.

The magazine format gave rise to manga's conventional genres, which have been less defined by thematic content (such as science fiction, mystery, fantasy etc.) than age and gender, namely *shōnen* (boys),[6] *shōjo* (girls) (cf. Berndt, 2014a), *seinen* (youth), and *josei* (women). One of manga's most striking particularities is the "gendering" by publication site and, closely related, style. This is not to say that series targeted to men are exclusively being read by men. However, in terms of the discourse, the standard of manga has manifested itself as that of the male genres.[7] Thus, it does not come as a surprise that genre borders are mostly crossed by women, who may read certain manga – mostly *seinen* titles – as "universal" works or reframe heteronormative *shōnen* titles parodically as male-male romances. Fannish activities like the latter have spawned a new commercial genre since the 1980s, now known under the name of Boys Love in Japan (and *yaoi* abroad). This actually represents a thematic category. Other thematic categories that have come to the fore in the domestic Japanese market are, for example, Horror, Science Fiction, and Gag. Typical of manga proper, however, are works that interweave, at least in part, a mishmash of those genres. This can be spotted already in series of the 1970s. Ikeda Riyoko's classic shōjo series *The Rose of Versailles* (1972-73), for example, switches abruptly from the romance to the gag register and then again to the historical mode inserting explanations on the French revolution, which the series' young female readership withstood because they were compensated with images of fashionable costumes and admirable characters. Nakazawa Keiji's *Barefoot Gen* (1973-87), the famous semi-autobiographical account of the Hiroshima A-bomb dropping and the subsequent struggle of its victims, contains depictions which are reminiscent of the Horror

[5] Established proper names, including place names, are romanized without macron on vowels.
[6] Cf. Uryū (2009), who also links the emergence of the shōnen manga genre to the magazines of the 1960s.
[7] Symptomatic in that regard is the inclination by politicians and civil servants to privilege male artists who employ a generically male style, such as Kawaguchi Kaiji (b.1948), who was commissioned to create the 14-page Tokyo "X" Day manga, a supplement to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's brochure Tokyo Bōsai/Disaster Preparedness Tokyo (2015; available online in Japanese, English, Chinese, and Korean).

genre, interspersed with mangaesque exaggerations that serve to mentally distance the reader from the depicted atrocities. After all, the series ran first in the boys' manga magazine *Shōnen Jump* (June 1973 – September 1974). And finally it should be noted that so-called *ero-manga* does not usually only take the form of a plausibel narrative; it is also often interwoven with Comedy or Fantasy and even Action (cf. Nagayama, 2006) which makes it difficult to demarcate pornography in the conventional American, or Australian, sense.

Prioritizing thematic categorization, as is common with manga translations abroad, has its potentials and limitations. One of the latter is obscuration of the initial target group. This group, however, has been vital for both the production and reception of manga, affecting narrative and stylistic decisions to a considerable extent. Thus, a manga's site of first appearance reveals important parameters, stretching from generic profile and print run to the interrelationship of a specific manga with others serialized concurrently in the same issue. As is widely known, magazine editors have acted as producers and advisors to the artists, but the audience has also had a say in determining the course which long-running series take, in particular via survey postcards. It is precisely this intricate net of interrelations which falls from view when manga circulate exclusively in book form, as is customary outside of Japan but increasingly in Japan as well. Since 2005, the initially subsidiary *tankōbon* has become dominant, generating approximately two thirds of the annual sales of all printed manga (cf. Shuppan Kagaku Kenkyūsho, 2015). This new prevalence rests on Japan's demographic and technological change. The prime target group of the magazines – teenagers – is shrinking, and their media usage is dominated by smartphone, computer and TV rather than printed material; with regard to entertainment they turn to anime and video games rather than the still, mute, and monochrome graphic narratives of manga. As manga departs from being children's or youth culture, the established business model reaches an impasse, and the industry's commercial heyday, exemplified by the magazine *Shōnen Jump* and its 6.53 million copies per weekly issue in 1995, recedes into a dreamlike distance: while still the flagship of manga magazines, in 2015, *Shōnen Jump* had a print run of less than 2.4 million copies (cf. mangaseek, 2015).

In recent years, Japanese consumers, especially grown-ups, buy more manga *tankōbon* without checking the magazine serializations first. This facilitates reading across genres; after all, as a format, the book puts itself forward as reading matter for everyone, regardless of gender or taste community. Especially striking is the gradual de-gendering of the *seinen* genre. Initially targeted at non-child male readers, it is, at least in part, becoming a non-gendered kind of manga for adult readers. Indicative of the new transgeneric trend in a more general way are female artists whose names obscure their gender, such as Arakawa Hiromu and Nakamura Hikaru, Ono Natsume, Yoshizaki Seimu, and Okadaya Tetuzoh (Tetsuzō). But the increasing age of manga readership and the closely related advance of the book format is a phenomenon that cuts both ways. While not drawing attention to new artists as easily as a magazine, which provides a catalogue-like round-up within a given generic field, books are capable of lowering the gender-specific barriers between genres. This again may invite misapprehensions, especially abroad where the traditional magazine-based manga genres have never been as firmly rooted as in Japan. If, for example, a male reader, who has never heard of the Boys Love genre, blunders into such a manga, he may conceive the steoretypical pairing of an under-age debaucher and his older-aged object of desire as politically incorrect, not noticing at all that he holds the product of a heterosexual female fan culture in his hand. In other words, the influx of the magazine format has been so profound, that even in book

form manga may stay closely connected to a specific readership, with a particular horizon of expectations, shaped by specific genre conventions.

Yet adult readers may also reach for the new genre of *essay manga*.[8] Using simple vertical strips that stretch over only a few pages, it relates almost diary-like episodes, be it life with a depressed and therefore unemployed husband,[9] a strong wife who consults SNSs after 3/11 instead of trusting the official media,[10] or an aged and demented mother.[11] With essay manga, the cartoonesque comic strip, which has lost the role it once assumed in daily newspapers, seems to recur, albeit autobiographically tinted and at different sites: in women's magazines, city journals, as an epilogue or bonus episode added to manga *tankōbon* editions, and sometimes as a series in manga magazines. Neither plot-driven like long-running graphic narratives nor bound to one publication format, essay manga holds the potential to carve out a future for Japan's graphic narratives beyond the conventional genres.

A Different Generic Fabric

Besides entertaining fiction there is another genre, which circulates primarily in book form, although not that of the manga *tankōbon* – *gakushū manga* (literally meaning "manga to learn something"). In order to promote the view that entertainment and education are not mutually exclusive, especially with an eye to foreign countries, The Nippon Foundation launched its Manga Edutainment project in 2015.[12] Under the auspices of veteran manga artist Satonaka Machiko (b. 1948), one hundred titles were selected, including the above-mentioned *Roses of Versailles* and *Barefoot Gen*. Remarkably enough, the list does not include any *gakushū manga* in the strict sense, that is to say, publications tagged as such, produced directly in book form without prior magazine serialization and released by a publisher not specialized in manga. Sometimes drawn by artists unknown within the field of graphic narratives, these *gakushū manga* hide behind non-spectacular cover designs, which at times even indicate the name and affiliation of an academic supervisor. Such comics have not necessarily been regarded as "manga proper" by regular consumers, manga researchers included. In contrast, foreign critics who are unfamiliar with not only the visual language used in manga but also the generic bifurcations of Japan's manga culture may find educational productions most authentic, as has happened with respect to manga adaptations of the *Tale of Genji*.[13]

Gakushū manga appear in a vast variety of forms, stretching from literary digests to science textbooks, and, in terms of style, from entirely fictionalized accounts to talking-heads, occasionally including hybrids of purely textual passages and a few paneled comics pages in-

[8] Kobayashi Yoshinori was one of the pioneers, mainly with his polarizing series Gōmanizumu sengen (1992-2009), which was focused on political issues rather than the individual lifeworld of the artist, the latter being characteristic of recent essay manga, for example, by women (cf. Sugawa-Shimada 2011).

[9] Hosokawa Tenten, Tsure ga utsu ni narimashite, Gentōsha, 2006- (no magazine series).

[10] Fukumitsu Shigeyuki, Uchi no tsuma tte dō deshō (serialized in Manga Action since 2007-).

[11] Okano Yūichi, Pekorosu no haha ni ai ni iku, Nishi nihon shinbunsha, 2012 (pre-published single episodes in town journal and hospital neswpaper).

[12] The Nippon Foundation, "Manga Edutainment: kore mo gakushū manga da!," http://gakushumanga.jp

[13] See for example the privileging of Tsuiboi Koh's artwork for The Illustrated Tale of Genji: A Classic Japanese Romance (Tsuboi Kō, art; Shimizu Yoshiko and Konaka Yōtarō, supervisors, Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōrai, 1989; Japanese and English editions) over Yamato Waki's shōjo manga Asakiyumemishi (1979-93) by American Japanologist Lynn Miyake (2008).

between. Japanese "science comics," meant to support school education and characterized by a more or less patronizing attitude, can be traced back to the late 1930s (cf. Ito, 2013), and the Japanese equivalent to *Classics Illustrated*, that is, editions of *Famous Literary Works in Manga*, took off in the mid-1950s. But the breakthrough for *gakushū manga* enjoyed by salarymen as comics (and not as a supplement to, or surrogate of, schoolbooks) was heralded by renowned manga artist Ishinomori Shōtarō (1938-98) and his production studio. Their *Japan, Inc.: Introduction to Japanese Economics* (1986-88)[14] was not only one of the first to cross borders; it also seems to be the only *gakushū manga* available in western languages. Within manga/comics studies this genre also remains a blind spot, which is not to say that the phenomenon as such can be easily passed over: educational, or informational, comics are gaining ground in Europe and North America, and they play a crucial role in the South Korean *manhwa* and Chinese-language *manhua* industries. But while educational manhwa are being exported within Asia to a significant extent, Japan's *gakushū manga* stay a domestic phenomenon and as such usually go unheeded by foreign readers.

Leaving the categories of the domestic industry aside and considering globalization, manga presents itself as a tripartite field. The first and major part is dominated by graphic narratives serialized in major manga magazines such as *Shōnen Jump*, which circulate abroad in *tankōbon* editions and exhibit what is widely recognized as "manga style." Inaugurated around 1996 by Toriyama Akira's *Dragon Ball* (1984-95) and maintained by frontrunners like Oda Eiichirō's *One Piece* (1997-) and Kishimoto Masashi's *NARUTO* (1999-2014), the global boom of this kind of manga has won over non-Japanese teenagers to reading comics. While interlinked with anime, light novels, video games, and merchandise to form just one part of larger media-mix franchises, the global boom of this kind of manga has given rise to a whole new form of "alternative comics," namely fan-made, self-published manga (*dōjinshi*). In the early 21st century, the interrelation between industrial mainstream and fan culture has reached a level which no longer allows the latter to be characterized as small-scale, amateurish, or entirely non-commercial, at least not in Japan. The first kind of manga, or "manga proper," further includes so-called Global Manga, defined by Casey Brienza as "published sequential art products of a sometimes globalized, sometimes transnational, sometimes hyperlocal world in which something its producers and consumers might call 'manga' can be produced without any direct creative input at all from Japan" (2015, p. 4).

Fans, however, are concerned with manga's relation to Japan, first and foremost in the form of a familiar style and storytelling. This is suggested by fans' rejection of the second kind of manga, comics reminiscent of avant-garde or underground traditions, closely related to the so-called *gekiga* of the 1960s and early 1970s (cf. Holmberg, 2011). Abroad, this kind of manga is usually popular among comics aficionados with a general interest in graphic narratives, and thanks to that interest Japanese artists like Tsuge Yoshiharu (b. 1937), Tatsumi Yoshihiro (1935-2015), and Maruo Suehiro (b. 1956), but also Yokoyama Yūichi (b. 1967) enjoy much more prominence overseas than at home. Detrimental to domestic fame is that these works lack the basic requirements of "manga proper," such as characters to empathize with and world-settings which easily offer themselves to both fannish and commercial appropriation.

[14] Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 1986-88, 4 Vols. Volume 1, not yet drawn by the Ishinomori himself, was translated into English by Peter Duus (University of California Press, 1988).

But there is a third kind of manga, bridging the two poles. Taniguchi Jirō, Takano Fumiko, or Matsumoto Taiyō, Igarashi Daisuke, and Asano Inio, to name just a few whose works are available in official translation, are all experienced authors of longer or shorter graphic narratives that are first serialized in manga magazines and later republished in bound volumes. But the magazines they publish in do not belong to the major commercial forces of the manga market. Within the industry, these artists' works occupy a position between the franchise-related bestselling series that capitalize on fan activities, that is, manga of the first category, and the small group of often gekiga-related productions, that is, manga of the second category. Neither confronting the reader with unusual depictions nor serving them unconditionally, these graphic narratives are both catchy and thought-provoking. Due to their not necessarily genre-oriented style and storytelling as well as their medium-range print runs, such works are positioned as "alternative" by Japanese manga readers, something which is difficult to convey to non-Japanese comics critics.

Global Media

The manga boom, which set in at the end of the 1990s, was not a direct continuation of previous attempts at exporting translated editions, such as *Barefoot Gen* (cf. Sabin, 2006), *Japan Inc.*, *Lone Wolf and Cub*,[15] or *AKIRA*.[16] This makes itself evident in the differences of both generic category and readership. While the early translations appealed to readers of the above-mentioned categories 2 and 3, the manga of category 1 predominates now. This manga has been welcomed by young people on a large scale as a media[17] par excellence, its main attraction owing to the possibility of participation on a number of levels. For example, readers' empathy with characters and immersion into story worlds facilitated by long-running series, fan service and media-mix strategies; creating fan art and fan fiction mainly by appropriating existent characters and narratives; forming taste and knowledge communities, preferably online, and meeting up in real life, for example, at conventions and Cosplay events. As manga have come to be employed as screens onto which to project experiences and desires, publishers deliberately produce series full of gaps and blanks, thereby opening up manga texts for a whole range of applications. Consequently, the strength of manga bestsellers rests less on representational contents than on effects; that is, affective and as such sensory, or even sensual, effects – Scott McCloud describes the manga-specific participation as "physical" (2006, p. 221) – but also cultural and subcultural effects, which apply to both Japan-related exoticism and community-building, and finally economic effects. With manga translations, readers do not face a shortage of supply (Bouissou, 2006, p. 153-154), and publishers have had better chances to operate in the black than with most other kinds of comics, at least until the climax of official releases was reached around 2007. In short, "manga proper" can be characterized as media – less in view of its technological support, but

[15] By Koike Kazuo (script) and Kojima Gōseki (art), 1970-76; first (partial) US edition 1987.
[16] By Ōtomo Katsuhiro, 1982-90; first (complete) US edition by Marvel beginning in 1988. Cf. Zanettin, ed. (2014).
[17] The word media is deliberately distinguished from medium here: while the latter tends to invoke primarily material aspects and technological support (in the case of manga, print, and more recently also so-called e-comics, in addition to the basic multimodality of expression), the first encompasses a broader notion, conjoining the aspects of medium with institutions and practices that interrelate producers, consumers, and texts.

rather in consideration of the relations it mediates: between producers and consumers, readers and characters, and amongst readers themselves.

In recognition of the global manga phenomenon, the Japanese government, represented by then-foreign minister Asō Tarō, established its International Manga Award in 2007. Initially not intended to astound Japanese readers with unfamiliar comics, but to confirm the spread of a home-made model, in recent years, non-manga style productions have made their way among the nominees. Yet, while award-winners receive an invitation to visit Japan, translations of the awarded works into Japanese are not endowed, which prevents the Award from becoming a tool of mutual exchange. In comparison, the Japan Media Arts Awards, bestowed by Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs, have promoted foreign comics available in Japanese translation by means of their Excellence and Encouragement prizes since 2009.[18] Additionally, three major manga-related institutions, including the Kyoto International Manga Museum, mounted the so-called GAIMAN Awards in 2011; completely unrelated to British comics author Neil Gaiman, foreign (*gai-koku*) comics (*man-ga*) are selected through online polling. All these endeavors seem to be attempts at reviving the cultural exchange that allowed manga to develop its aesthetic and cultural hybridity, and which happens to match the contemporary global mediascape.

Whereas today, manga is mostly regarded as outward-going, prior to the 1970s it was characterized by an astonishing openness to foreign comics. From the pre-war era onwards, Mickey Mouse had been a popular character; it appeared already in 1934 in one of the earliest manuals for drawing manga and also later in the weekly *Shōnen Magazine* (1960). Disney's influence on Tezuka is legendary. Tarzan was a character of overwhelming presence in the post-war years, and Superman was no stranger to Japanese boys either. In 1970, Ikegami Ryōichi (b. 1944) even transferred *Spiderman* to Japan in a series, which was translated into English and published by Marvel in 1991 (cf. Stein, 2013). In 1968, *Shōnen Jump* featured a 15-page episode from Alex Raymond's *Flash Gordon* (1934-) in its very first issue, followed by another one from the syndicated newspaper comic strip *Mandrake the Magician* (1934-) in issue No. 2. Tezuka's alternative magazine *COM* (1967-1973) commissioned critic and translator Ono Kōsei to run a special column on foreign comics, where he introduced *Captain American*, Robert Crumb, and *The Peanuts*, but also *Tintin*, whose first Japanese translation had actually been published in 1968. Japanese manga readers, who do not learn French, got to know *Tintin* as a children's book available through the book editions of a Christian publisher (*Fukuin shoin*) and a publisher addressing housewives (*Shufu-no-tomo sha*), but because of this publication site and format, only few have regarded it as a "manga." Contrary to what one might expect, the deep-rooted ignorance of Japanese manga readers towards foreign comics is not necessarily due to a lack of translations. What has thus far blocked a broad view on comics are different taste communities[19] on the one hand, and publication formats on the other hand. The fact that the majority of manga readers cling to one specific category, namely the above-mentioned first category, stems back to the major manga magazines, which have eventually come to set the standard for manga worldwide (even if their products circulate in book editions outside of Japan).

[18] Wisut Ponnimit Hesheit Aqua (2009), Alison Bechdel Fun Home and Paco Roca Arrugas (2011), Benoît Peeters and François Schuiten Les Cités Obscures (2012), Bastien Vivès A Taste Of Chlorine (2013), Li Kunwu and Philippe Ôtié A Chinese Life (2014), Ho Tingfung Non-working City (2015).
[19] The field of Science Fiction, for example, overlaps only partially with fan cultures engaged in the media of manga and anime.

In sum, during the formative phase of the kind of manga that is most successful on a global scale today, foreign stimulation was obviously welcome. But once this kind of manga had matured, an internalization set in that has led to a deterioration of the earlier openness. From the late 1970s onwards, the domestic market provided such satisfying growth rates that publishers did not have to look abroad. Eventually, manga started to spread outside Japan thanks to the work of foreign fans. It was not big businesses, but subcultural entrepreneurs that developed the respective markets in their countries.[20] However, the fact that manga's globalization gained momentum around 2000 cannot not only be traced back to the disinterest of major Japanese publishing houses in foreign markets. Manga works themselves seem to have matched the phase of transition from the culture of the Gutenberg galaxy to the mediascape of the information society. One of manga's major properties – its networking, or mediating, potential – leads back to the publication format, which has shaped style and storytelling, that is, the manga magazine. By means of survey postcards and special pages reserved for letters and fan art, but also for the manga artists to directly address the fans in the page margins of their series, the magazines accomplished a way to involve readers in quasi-virtual taste communities. In that regard, they seem to have anticipated what was materialized fully by the internet, which in turn has proved to be vital to manga's global spread.

Closing Remark

In recent years, an increasing number of journalists, critics, and researchers from different academic fields have shown interest in manga. This interest is primarily related to larger social issues, stretching from nuclear power to attempts at constitutional amendment, from gender relations to fictionalized sexuality. Manga is expected to provide insight into popular assumptions and everyday life. But manga cannot simply be "deciphered as a symptom, mirror, index, or antithesis of some larger social structure – as if there were an essential system of correspondences [...]" (Felski, 2015). Neglect of mediation – publication sites, genre conventions, readers' "horizon of expectations" – may easily lead to arbitrary findings, to assumptions about the socio-critical potential of one specific series or the discrimination of women in another. Against this backdrop, the discussion above has highlighted the necessity to consider the specific discursive and institutional positioning of individual manga texts. The differentiation, called for at the beginning, was eventually pursued in a twofold manner: by introducing a historical perspective to draw attention to diachronic change, and by illuminating synchronic diversity in the early 21st century. As a result, a highly relational notion of manga has appeared. In the broadest sense, and across all variations, manga texts may be approached as mediators of relations, which precondition their respective usage to a certain extent, ranging from traditional modes of reading to appropriative and transformative practices. In order to weigh the possible social, affective or sensual impact of a manga text, it is vital to acknowledge variables such as gender, age, and taste, familiarity with media and genre, affiliation with fandom and so on. What passes as "manga," depends on a network of changing practices, discourses, institutions and texts, which deserves to be noticed.

[20] Cf. Kacsuk (2011, 2016), whose publication based on the PhD thesis is forthcoming.

References

Bainbridge, J., and Norris, C. (2010). Hybrid manga: implications for the global knowledge economy. in T. Johnson-Woods (ed.), *Manga: An Anthology of Global and Cultural Perspectives* (235-252). New York: Continuum International.

Berndt, Jaqueline, (2013). The intercultural challenge of the 'mangaesque': Reorienting manga studies after 3/11," in J. Berndt and B. Kümmerling-Meibauer (eds.), *Manga's cultural crossroads* (65-84). New York/London: Routledge.

Berndt, Jaqueline, (2014a). *SKIM* as *GIRL*: Reading a Japanese American graphic novel through manga lenses. In M. Chiu (ed.), *Drawing new color lines: Transnational Asian American graphic narratives* (257-278). Hong Kong University Press:

Berndt, Jaqueline, (2014b). Manga studies #1: Introduction. *Comics Forum* (academic website for Comics Studies, Leeds University). Web.

Berndt, Jaqueline, (2015). *Manga: Medium, art and material*. Leipzig University Press.

Bouissou, J. (2006). Japan's growing cultural power: Manga in France. In J. Berndt and S. Richter (eds.), *Reading manga: Local and global perceptions of Japanese comics* (149-165). Leipzig University Press.

Bouquillard, J. and Marquet, C. (eds). (2007). *Hokusai: First manga master*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Brienza, C. (ed.). (2015). *Global manga: "Japanese comics" without Japan?* Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Cohn, N. (2013). *The visual language of comics: Introduction to the structure and cognition of sequential images*. London: Bloomsbury.

Duus, P. (2013). "Punch pictures": Localising *punch* in Meiji Japan. In H. Harden and B. Mittler (eds.), *Asian punches: A transcultural affair* (307-335). Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

"Manga, anime, gēmu kyoten no jitsugen o"– donza kara 6-nen, chōtōha giren ga ketsugi. (2015). *Asahi Digital*. Web.

Galbraith, P. W., Kam, T. H., and Kamm, B. (eds.). (2015). *Debating Otaku in contemporary Japan*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

Guth, C. M. E. (2015). *Hokusai's great wave: Biography of a global icon*. Honolulu: University of Hawai's Press.

Holmberg, R. (2011). Column: What was alternative manga? *The Comics Journal*. Web.

Hosokibara, S., and Niō, M. (1928). Nihon manga-shū: Fujiwara jidai – Meiji jidai. In *Tōzai manga-shū (Gendai manga taikan 6)* (65-172). Tokyo: Chūō Bijutsusha,

Itō, Y., (2013). "Gakushū manga" kyarakutā kenkyū josetsu. In C. Yamanaka, H. J. Leem, and J. Berndt (eds.), *Nikkan manga kenkyū* (Global Manga Studies, vol. 3) (201-226). Kyoto: International Manga Research Center. Print and Web.

Kacsuk, Z. (2011). Subcultural entrepreneurs, path dependencies and fan reactions: The case of NARUTO in Hungary. In J. Berndt (ed.), *Intercultural crossovers, transcultural flows: Manga/Comics*, (9-25). Global Manga Studies, vol. 2, Kyoto: International Manga Research Center. Print and Web.

Kacsuk, Z. (2016, February). From "game-like realism" to "imagination-oriented aesthetic": Reconsidering Bourdieu's contribution to fan studies in the light of Japanese manga and

otaku theory. *Kritika Kultura, a refereed electronic journal of literary/cultural and language studies*, Ateneo de Manila University. Web.

Mangaseek: minna de tsukuru manga database, "*Jump*, *Magazine*, *Sunday* – sandai shūkanshi no hakkō busū sui'i 1994-2015." Web.

McCloud, S. (2006). *Making comics: Storytelling secrets of comics, manga, and graphic novels*. New York: HarperCollins.

McCurry, J. (2015, Oct. 27). Japan urged to ban manga child abuse images. *The Guardian*. Web.

McLelland, M. (2011). Thought policing or the protection of youth? Debate in Japan over the 'non-existent youth bill'. *International Journal of Comic Art*, *13*(1), 348–67.

Miyake, L. K. (2008). Graphically speaking: Manga versions of *the tale of genji*. *Monumenta Nipponica*, *63*(2), 359-392.

Miyamoto, H. (2002). The formation of an impure genre: On the origins of *manga*. (Jennifer Prough, Trans.). *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, Jōsai University, Tokyo, vol. XIV, 39-48.

Miyamoto, H (2003). Manga gainen no jūsōka katei: Kinsei kara kindai ni okeru [sic!]. *BIJUTSUSHI*. Ed. by The Japan Art History Society, no. 154, 52 (2), 319-334.

Nagayama, K. (2006/2014). *Ero-manga studies: "Kairaku sōchi" toshite no manga nyūmon*. Tokyo: East Press.

Sabin, R. (2006). Barefoot Gen in the US and UK: Activist comic, graphic novel, manga. In J. Berndt and S. Richter (eds.), *Reading manga: Local and global perceptions of Japanese comics* (39-57). Leipzig University Press.

Shuppan Kagaku Kenkyūsho [Research Institute for Publications] (ed.) (2015). *2015-nenhan shuppan shihyō nenpō*, Tokyo: Zenkoku shuppan kyōkai.

Stein, D. (2013). Of transcreations and transpacific adaptations: Investigating manga versions of *Spider-Man*. In D. Stein, S. Denson and C. Meyer (eds.), *Transnational perspectives on graphic narratives: Comics at the crossroads* (145-162). London: Bloomsbury.

Stewart, R. (2013). Manga as schism: Kitazawa Rakuten's resistance to 'old-fashioned' Japan. In J. Berndt, and Kümmerling-Meibauer, B. (eds.), *Manga's cultural crossroads* (27-49). New York/London: Routledge.

Stewart, R (2014). Manga studies #2: Manga history: Shimizu Isao and Miyamoto Hirohito on Japan's first modern 'manga' artist Kitazawa Rakuten. *Comics Forum*. Web.

Sugawa-Shimada, A. (2011). Rebel with causes and laughter, for relief: 'essay manga' of Tenten Hosokawa and Rieko Saibara, and Japanese female readership. *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, *2*(2), 169-185.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. (2015). *Tokyo Bōsai/Disaster Preparedness Tokyo*. Print and Web.

Uryū, Y. (2009). "Shōnen manga" no hakken. In Yōichi, K, Narita, R., et al. (eds.), *Sengo Nihon sutadīzu 2: 60, 70 nendai* (223-237). Tokyo: Kinokuniya shoten.

Zanettin, F. (ed.). (2014). *Comics in translation*. New York/London: Routledge.