

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/51536>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

**Representations of Girls in Japanese Magical Girl TV Animation
Programmes from 1966 to 2003
and Japanese Female Audiences' Understanding of Them**

by

Akiko Sugawa SHIMADA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Humanities

University of Warwick, Department of Film and Television Studies

September 2011

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	6
Declaration.....	7
Abstract.....	8
Introduction.....	9
Chapter One: Review of Literature and Methodology	
Section 1: Young Women and Media.....	21
Section 2: Animation Studies.....	47
Section 3: Methodology.....	67
Chapter Two: Cultural Context	
Section 1: Japanese Girl (<i>Shôjo</i>) Culture.....	90
Section 2: Japanese Feminism from the 1960s to the 2000s.....	102
Section 3: Witches and Witchcraft.....	109
Chapter Three: Japanese <i>Mahô Shôjo</i> (Magical Girl) TV <i>Anime</i> from 1966 to 2003	
Section 1: <i>Mahô Shôjo</i> or Magical Girl <i>Anime</i>	
—Definition, History and Traits.....	125
Section 2: <i>Sally the Witch</i> (1966-68)	
—A Legitimate Elementary School Girl Witch Princess.....	128
Section 3: <i>The Secrets of Akko-chan</i> (1969-70)	
—A Non-hereditary Witch Girl and the Transformation.....	143
Section 4: <i>Meg the Little Witch</i> (1974-75)	
—Changing Notions of Girls’ Sexuality.....	155
Section 5: <i>Magical Angel Creamy Mami</i> (1983-84)	
—Emerging <i>Kawaii</i> Girls’ Culture and Transformation.....	164
Section 6: The <i>Sailor Moon</i> series (1992 -2000)	
— Fighting Girls in a Team and Female Solidarity.....	180
Section 7: The <i>Magical Doremi</i> series (1999-2003)	
—The Recurrence of ‘Mothering’ and Reconciliation.....	195

Chapter Four: Japanese Girls and Women Reading Magical Girl TV <i>Anime</i> : Audience Research	
Section 1: Women Growing Up in the Late 1960s and the Early 1970s (the <i>Shôwa</i> 40s)—The <i>Sally</i> and <i>Akko</i> Generation.....	208
Section 2: Women Growing Up in the Late 1970s and the Early 1980s (the <i>Shôwa</i> 50s)—The <i>Meg</i> and <i>Mami</i> Generation.....	229
Section 3: Girls Born in 1997 or 1998 —The <i>Sailor Moon</i> and <i>Doremi</i> Generation.....	250
Conclusion.....	276
Appendix A: Pilot Study Questionnaire.....	284
Appendix B: Transcript Conventions.....	288
Appendix C: Data (confidential).....	289
Appendix D: Interview Questions.....	290
Bibliography.....	291
Teleography and Filmography.....	316

List of Illustrations

(Illustrations of Toei Animation Co. will be removed upon the company's request when this thesis is filed. I apologise to readers for the inconvenience.)

Chapter Two

1. Junichi Nakahara's illustrated instruction in *Shôjo no Tomo* (Jitsugyônonihonsha, 2009: 45 and 47).
2. Katsuji Matsumoto's illustration for *The Little Mermaid* (Jitsugyônonihonsha, 2009: 38).
3. Hello Kitty, Patty and Jimmy and Little Twin Stars, popular characters of Sanrio's 'fancy goods' (Sanrio Co.).
4. The Queen/witch in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (Disney).
5. The Wicked Witch of the West in *The Wizard of Oz* (MGM).
6. The Good Witch of the North in *The Wizard of Oz* (MGM).
7. Three fairies in *Sleeping Beauty* (Disney).
8. Yamauba (Sekien Toriyama, *Sekien Toriyama's The Illustrated Book of Night Parade of One Hundred Demons*, 2005:15), Yukionna and Ubume (Natsuhiko Kyôgoku, *An Illustrated Book on Monsters*, 2000).

Chapter Three

Section 2: *Sally the Witch*

1. Lili in *Rainbow Team Robin* (Toei Animation Co.).
2. Sally and Kabu in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
3. Sally's residence in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
4. Yoshiko's residence in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
5. The clinic of Sumire's father in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
6. The naughty mouse in the opening credit of *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
7. Sumire (left), Sally (centre) and Yoshiko (left) in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
8. Pony in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
9. Pony in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
10. Sally in the rain in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
11. A Cinderella-like carriage in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).

Section 3: *The Secrets of Akko-chan*

1. Akko's house in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (Fujio Pro and Toei Animation Co.).
2. Moko's Japanese-style room in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (Fujio Pro and Toei Animation Co.).
3. Akko (right) and Moko (left) in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (Fujio Pro and Toei Animation Co.).
4. Shippona, a cat, looking at the mirror in the opening credit of *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (Fujio Pro and Toei Animation Co.).

Section 4: *Meg the Little Witch*

1. A model sheet of Meg in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
2. Non and Meg in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
3. Meg who activates her magical power in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
4. Non who activates her magical power in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
5. Meg, Apo and Rabi in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
6. Non in a bikini in *Meg the Little Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).

Section 5: *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*

1. Momoe Yamaguchi, the jacket of her single, *Ai no Arashi* (1979, CBS Sony).
2. Seiko Matsuda, the jacket of her single, *Rock 'n Rouge* (1984, CBS Sony).
3. Tetsuo and Natsumi Morisawa at the dining room in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
4. Morisawa's house with their crêpe vehicle in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
5. Yû Morisawa in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
6. Creamy Mami, transformed Yû, in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
7. Toshio Otomo, Yû's boyfriend, in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
8. Midori Kisaragi, Toshio's classmate, in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
9. Yû in a mirror maze in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
10. Pseudo-Mami in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).
11. Mami (front) and pseudo-Mami in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (Studio Pierrot).

Section 6: The *Sailor Moon* series

1. Makoto Kino in *Sailor Moon* (Toei Animation Co.).
2. Makoto's earring in *Sailor Moon* (Toei Animation Co.).

3. Makoto's lunch box in *Sailor Moon* (Toei Animation Co.).
4. Usagi's fingernails in the magical transformation in *Sailor Moon R* (Toei Animation Co.).
5. Usagi in the magical transformation in *Sailor Moon R* (Toei Animation Co.).
6. Usagi in the magical transformation in *Sailor Moon R* (Toei Animation Co.).

Section 7: The *Magical Doremi* series

1. Doremi and Momoko in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).
2. Doremi and her teammates before the magical transformation in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).
3. Doremi and her teammates after the magical transformation in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).
4. Doremi's fingernails in the magical transformation in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).
5. Doremi in the magical transformation in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).
6. Doremi and her teammates make the 'Magical Stage' in *More! Magical Doremi* (Toei Animation Co.).

Chapter Four

Section 1: Women Growing Up in the Late 1960s and the Early 1970s (the *Shōwa* 40s) —The *Sally* and *Akko* Generation

1. Polon (left) and Kabu (right) in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).
2. Yoshiko's family in *Sally the Witch* (Toei Animation Co.).

Section 3: Girls Born in 1997 or 1998---The *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* Generation

1. Chiharu in Momoko's *pâtissier* uniform ©Miwako Mori.
2. Momoko (front left), Doremi (centre), Onpu (front right), Hazuki (back left) and Aiko (back right) in *More! Magical Doremi*, (Toei Animation Co.).

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank the examiners who generously agreed to examine this thesis. I am also grateful to the staff at the University of Warwick Library, Aoyama Gakuin University Library, Keio University Media Centre, Video Research Ltd. and Toei Animation Archive, who gave me great opportunities and helped me to achieve this project. Special thanks go to Mr. Osamu Yoshioka, the executive director of Toei Animation Co., for his interest in my international research on animation culture. I would like to thank the Japan Foundation, London Office, for offering me a study grant to travel to Japan and conduct interviews with Japanese audiences and the producers and directors of the animation programmes discussed in this thesis. Without this research, my thesis could not have been completed. I would like to thank Mr. Yuji Nunokawa, the president of Studio Pierrot, for his generous agreement to be interviewed. Also, I extend thanks to numerous Japanese women and girls of the Nakahara Elementary School for their participation in my project as informants.

This project received support from the Postgraduate Research Travel Fund of the University of Warwick, providing me a great opportunity to get part of my research presented at the EAJS conference. I especially appreciate the audience members who gave me comments and feedback at that conference.

I owe thanks to Dr. Rachel Moseley and Dr. Alastair Phillips for their accurate suggestions and advice on my project. It took longer than scheduled to complete this project; however, Dr. Moseley always encouraged me and guided the research. I appreciate Dr. Phillips' generous offer to supervise my thesis after Dr. Moseley was unable to do so due to her maternity leave.

I would like to express my gratitude to the members of the Midland TV Research Group. Their critical insights and opinions always inspired my project. I am thankful to them for allowing me to participate in this research group.

Thanks also go to my precious friends, Chris Meir, Laura Ortiz-Garret, Duncan Wright, Ellen Kuwana, Nelli Ferenczi, Brian McVeigh, Deborah Shamoan, Sonoko Ichinose, Puay Miao Lim, Miwako Mori and her daughter, Chiharu, for their friendship and encouragement.

Finally, I would like to thank Tomotaka Shimada for his patience and emotional support for more than three years of my study. Without his understanding and encouragement, I could not have survived this incredibly tough situation. This thesis is dedicated to him with my sincere gratitude.

Declaration

Hereby I declare that this thesis is my own and has not been submitted for a degree at another university. Parts of my ideas and data as presented in this thesis have been published in a Japanese university journal, *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University*, in the Japanese language before the beginning of the period of my thesis study (“Mahô Shôjo” Animêshon niokeru Jendâ Aidenthithi Kouchiku: 1960 Nendai “Mahôtsukai Sari” wo Chûshin ni’ [‘Constructions of Gender Identity in “Magical Girl” Animations: *Sally the Witch* and Culture in the 1960s’], *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University* 5 (2006), pp.143-160; and “Mahô Shôjo” Animêshon niokeru Jendâ Aidenthithi Kouchiku: 1970 Nendai Zenhan *Himitsu no Akko-chan* nimiru Shôjo Hyôshô’ [‘Constructions of Gender Identity in Japanese Magic Girl TV Animation Programmes: *The Secrets of Akko-chan* and Japanese Culture in the 1970s’], *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University* 8 (2008), pp.195-210).

Interviews and focus group discussions used in this thesis were conducted by following the University of Warwick Guideline on Ethical Practice.

Abstract

As a Japanese cultural genre, animated works for girls serve as sociocultural texts which articulate hegemonic social norms and ideologies regarding gender in Japanese society. This thesis aims to critically examine representations of ‘magical girl’ protagonists in Japanese Magical Girl TV animation programmes (*anime*) for girls from 1966 to 2003, and to analyse female audiences’ viewing experiences and understanding of those programmes in relation to the context of sociocultural and feminist movements in Japan. By using a combined methodology of close textual analysis of six Magical Girl TV *anime* and of qualitative research, in which individual interviews with female audiences and a focus group discussion among girl audiences were conducted, this thesis explores how representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in the Magical Girl TV *anime* facilitated constructions of female gender identity and idealised ‘self’ and how actual female audiences in three different age cohorts understood, took pleasure in, consumed, negotiated, resonated with and/or reconciled with those representations.

Although Japanese witch animation texts articulated Japanese normative moral values and hegemonic femininity as well as ideal gender equality, they served as sites in which female audiences took pleasure in constructing an ideal ‘self’ and self-assertion through negotiating, resonating and reconciling with Western-oriented fashionable female protagonists and their lifestyle, and attaining self-expression through ‘textual poaching’ or exercising imagined magical transformations in an all-female or solitary environment. This thesis attempts to contribute to uncovering little-explored but important Japanese cultural texts of Magical Girl TV *anime* and explicate the way in which actual Japanese audiences responded to this gender-segregated genre of Japanese TV *anime*.

Introduction

In 1966, a new Japanese TV *anime* market was cultivated with the advent of a 30-minute serial TV animation (*anime*) programme called *Sally the Witch*: this was the first domestic TV *anime* targeting girls and featuring a Western-oriented witch girl who practiced witchcraft.¹ This genre was later named ‘*Mahô Shôjo* (Magical Girl) *anime*’ and quickly captured the attention of young girls in Japan. Images of *shôjo* (girl) were historically constructed to convey several meanings in Japanese culture. The term *shôjo* is often associated with femininity, cuteness, purity, innocence, ephemera, humbleness and romance. In the Japanese language, *shôjo* is always addressed by a third party, and hence girls do not address themselves as *shôjo* (Yokokawa, 1991; Murase, 2000). In other words, images of *shôjo* are often constructed not by *shôjo* themselves, but by a third party in male-dominated narratives. In a manner similar to Projansky’s account about American girl figures in mass-distributed magazines (2007: 42), *shôjo* is often used as a cultural sign to represent female subjectivity that conforms Japanese gender norms. Representations of *shôjo* thus serve as sites through which the construction of girls’ femininity can be traced. In this sense, Magical Girl (*mahô shôjo*) *anime* for girls is an important genre to examine in order to explore how *shôjo* is represented and idealised in relation to Western representations of supernatural power, and how representations of such magical girls are understood by female audiences.

Prior to *Sally the Witch*, domestic TV *anime* cast men as principal characters, whilst positioning women as secondary characters. Within this male-dominated milieu of TV *anime*, female protagonists in this emerging genre provided a powerful impact on young girls. Magical Girl *anime* featured ‘girl heroes’ who were more powerful than boys and

¹ The Japanese term *anime* (the short form of animation) has been acknowledged to signify Japanese-style, two-dimensional animation films and TV programmes (Napier, 2001: 3; Denison, 2007: 308; Lamarre, 2009: xiii). In this thesis, *anime* will be used to refer to this type of animated programme. For additional details, see Section 2 of Chapter One. For the original titles of TV *anime* programmes and films in their transliterated forms in Japanese, see Teleography and Filmography.

often became more elegant and fashionable in appearance through their magical transformations. Although an increasing number of TV *anime* programmes has featured young girls—targeting not only girls but also a larger audience—since then, Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes for girls have been consistently produced with the same motif (girls with supernatural power) for over 40 years, with various aspects added to characterisations of magical girls such as being a hereditary witch, a non-hereditary witch, or a magical girl warrior. Although magical girls (*mahô shôjo*) have no sacrilegious connotations, unlike witches, representations of witches and magical girls are similar in terms of their abilities to use magical powers (*mahô*), which often represent female power. More importantly, in a manner similar to those of witch heroines in American teen witch televisual texts (e.g. *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* and *Charmed*), representations of magical girls often serve to reproduce idealised femininity, while simultaneously interrogate it.² Examining these two elements (*shôjo* and *mahô*) in Magical Girl *anime* together offers opportunities to explore how Japanese girls' femininity is constructed and deconstructed in relation to gender identity and female power. Magical Girl *anime* is filled with representations of Western-oriented fashionable lifestyles and supernatural female power, which have profoundly influenced preschool aged and preteen girls and their subsequent construction of femininity and subjectivity. Thus, in this thesis, I focus on Magical Girl *anime* that primarily targets preteen girls and define it as an audience and reception-led term.

Even though research in sociology, psychology and media studies has attempted to investigate the (mostly negative) media effects of *anime* on children, no textual and audience analysis has fully elucidated how Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in this girls' *anime* are represented, and how Japanese preteen girl audiences understand these representations. Such a textual analysis of a gender-specific genre and research on gender-, ethnicity- and age-specific audiences has been conducted in the field of Cultural Studies.

² For instance, Moseley (2002a), Projansky and Berg (2005) and Sanders (2007) examine how the witch heroines of *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* and/or *Charmed* represent postfeminist femininity. I will revisit this issue in Chapter Two.

However, little academic attention has been paid to *anime* and children or, more specifically, to girl audiences and female *anime* characters. This thesis aims to argue firstly how young witch girl protagonists in Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* are represented. My argument addresses not only how Western representations are used to configure Japanese magical girls, but also how the representations serve to construct a 'new' femininity and subjectivity of Japanese girls and to reinforce and subvert Japanese hegemonic femininity and female gender identity. Secondly, I will investigate how Japanese preteen girl audiences understand, take pleasure in, consume, negotiate, resonate with and/or reconcile with such representations. More specifically, by comparing the discourses of femininity and self-expression inscribed in the selected programmes with those obtained in the empirical data, I will examine those issues from postfeminist perspectives.

Takemura (2003) suggests that the term 'post'-feminism may be misinterpreted as 'after' feminism (implying that feminism ended), or may allow anti-feminists to eliminate feminism (1). However, by using this term instead of the alternative terms of third-wave feminism and gender studies, the power relations exercised between women and men, the minority and the majority, and the public and the private can be observed (Takemura, 2003: 2). Similarly, Tasker and Negra (2007) argue that 'postfeminism suggests a more complex relationship between culture, politics, and feminism than the more familiar framing concept of "backlash" allows' (1). Following these ideas, 'postfeminism' in this thesis will be used to connote issues surrounding gender and power relations. My research on Japanese TV *anime* for girls and girl audiences is within the framework of this postfeminist perspective.

In Western postfeminist television studies, constructions of femininity and/or subjectivity through representations of women or girls in American or British televisual texts, and female viewers' understandings of these representations are considered as major topics of concern (Press, 1991; Walkerdine, 1997; Moseley, 2002a; Moseley and Read, 2002; Rivero, 2003; Projansky and Berg, 2005; Hermes, 2006; Hollows, 2006; Sanders,

2007). These postfeminist television studies focus on 'women's texts' such as soap operas and dramas with female leads, and individual women's TV viewing experiences; these subjects had received less academic attention before the late 1970s and the early 1980s. This field of study also addresses the ways in which female viewers of different backgrounds make sense of representations in the women's texts, and the ways in which these texts and audiences are intertwined.

In my research, audience studies are a central field because it is vital to investigate the interplay between text and context. The relationship between young women and media is often discussed in relation to representations and discourses within texts and to the reading of the representations created by young female audiences. Ang and Hermes (1996) argue that a different approach is required because studies of audience reception analysis tend to underestimate and 'decontextualize the reception process from the ongoing flow of everyday life' (340). As such, they propose the development of a new form of 'consumption analysis', in which media consumption is conceptualised 'as an ever proliferating set of heterogeneous and dispersed, intersecting and contradicting cultural practices' (1996: 340). The precise nature of the heterogeneity of this process is attributed to differences in gender, age, class and ethnicity. Studies of how empirical audiences understand media became activated in the framework of Cultural Studies, especially concerning television studies.

The aims of discussions about televisual texts shifted more to audiences and the relationship between the images conveyed by media and audiences, especially female audiences, in the 1980s. Brunsdon (1981) suggests that '[t]he relation of the audience to the text will not be determined solely by that text, but also by positional ties in relation to a whole range of other discourses' (32). This is one of the issues that have obviously remained uninvestigated in other fields, such as psychoanalytic feminist film theories.

In postfeminist television/film studies, various qualitative methods are employed to examine young female audiences and children. Qualitative research—conducted through

correspondence by writing letters and questionnaires (Ang, 1990; Stacey, 1994); online postings (Hermes, 2006; Sanders, 2007); individual interviews (Hobson, 1982; Press, 1991; Walkerdine, 1997; Moseley, 2002b); and focus group discussions (Buckingham, 1993; Messenger-Davies, 2001)—crystallise how individual audiences understand audiovisual texts. By conducting individual interviews with British women of different generations who admired Audrey Hepburn, Moseley (2002b) suggests that Hepburn as a star icon resonated with them, not that these women simply imitated or identified themselves with Hepburn. Walkerdine (1997) employed an ethnographic method and observed a 6-year-old girl with her working-class parents at home watching the film *Annie*. Her research shows how the working-class girl creates a personal fantasy by relating the story of Annie (the working-class protagonist) to her own circumstances and her concern about her mother. By analysing comments from British teen viewers of *Charmed* posted on her Web site, Sanders (2007) reveals how these participants took pleasure in using representations of magic, sisterhood and fashion in the show for their empowerment. Such context inquiries, along with textual analyses, are vital when considering how media texts are consumed and used by actual audiences.

In postfeminist television studies, instead of predominantly Western white middle-class-oriented criticism, not only gender but also ethnicity and class were introduced as the points of criticism (Press, 1991; Bobo, 1995; Gillespie, 1995; Mankekar, 1999; Kim, 2010). These perspectives problematise a monolithic view of gender and open discussions about differences within women. However, when researching Japanese female audiences, ethnicity and class differences are not in the centre of discussions because the Japanese are hardly conscious about ethnic and class differences (Tsurumi, 1987; Oguma, 1995; Clammer, 1995; McVeigh, 2004; Sudo, 2010). It does not mean, however, that Japan has no class differences. For instance, Clammer (1995) contends that the choice of magazines functions as ‘an indicator of class in its simplest definition as “socio-economic status” of Japanese women’ (213). Sudo (2010) suggests that Japanese peoples’

consciousness about their socio-economic positions does not correspond to actual changes that occurred in the socio-economic strata in the 2000s (64). In other words, more people with lower income actually consider themselves as members of the middle or upper-middle stratum. Regarding American class consciousness, Gilbert (2011) uses the term ‘social classes’ to signify ‘groups of families, more or less equal in rank and differentiated from other families above or below them with regard to characteristics such as occupation, income, wealth, and prestige’ (11). The Japanese socio-economic strata that I use in this thesis are similar to this American social class system.

Placing the research at hand within the framework of postfeminist television studies but critically examining different cultural contexts, in the first chapter of this thesis, I will consider existing literature on relationships between media and women, animation studies and methodology in order to discuss problems that arise in studies about representations of women and girls in visual texts, female audiences in psychoanalytic film studies and feminist television studies in Cultural Studies, and the qualitative methods employed in these studies. As mentioned above, because *anime* for girls and young girl audiences have not been fully investigated in the academic context, I firstly examine how images of women in films and female spectatorship have been analysed by psychoanalytic approaches in film studies. Women are often represented as ‘the Other’, producing fear in men and therefore causing women to be punished or marginalised in film narrative structures. Discourses of psychoanalytic approaches towards representations of women and female spectatorship rely on the assumption that a heterosexual gender binary exists. These studies criticise the patriarchal social system. However, this criticism conversely enhances essentialist views of men and women.

This problematic limitation led my research project to the paradigm of Cultural Studies, which has investigated representations of women in audiovisual texts and the viewing experiences of actual female audiences. I will particularly explore Cultural Studies literature on the relationships of female viewers with female stars on TV or in films, based

on empirical data such as individual interviews with actual female audiences. The points of discussion on televisual texts shifted more to audiences and to the relationship between images conveyed by media and audiences, especially female audiences. These studies, based on qualitative research, suggest that female audiences do not simply engage in identification with female stars, but they negotiate and find resonances with them.

In the next section, textual and audience analyses in current animation studies in Japan are critically evaluated. Many feminist critics agree that young heroines in *anime* tend to be hyper-sexualised, represented as men's sexual objects or victims of sexual desire. Televisual *anime* texts targeting girls are also criticised because of the heroines' consistent interests in love, the attention of boys, and beauty, through which hegemonic notions of femininity are reproduced and reinforced. These text-based arguments, however, are unable to explicate how actual girl viewers interpret young female characters and why they are absorbed by Magical Girl *anime*. By considering animation studies based on empirical data, I examine discourse analyses conducted from a socio-psychological perspective. One study indicates that the powerful femininity represented by female characters is a contested site, in which girls counterattack hegemonic femininity. This interpretation is based on the conception of young women as oppressed by societal pressure in relation to femininity. The other study highlights young children's awareness of gender identity. This, however, relies on simplified expressions of children about *anime* characters (i.e. likes and dislikes), which hinders further investigation into their understanding of the *anime* programmes they view.

The chapter finally explores the methodology of qualitative research employed in postfeminist film and television studies. I will explain the useful combined approaches to TV animation studies utilised in this thesis: one approach is a textual analysis of Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes I have selected, and the other approach is a discourse analysis of female audiences by conducting individual interviews with women who spent their childhoods from the late 1960s to the 1980s, and a focus group discussion with girls

born in 1997 or 1998. This comparative study between texts and empirical research serves to fill the gap between arguments that rely on text-based analyses and arguments based on studies of actual audiences.

Chapter Two considers the Japanese cultural context, focusing on girls' culture, feminist movements, and representations of witches and witchcraft in Japan. An overview of Japanese girls' culture is provided to outline the historical development of representations of *shôjo* (girl) and girls' culture in relation to images of 'the West' (such as Western fashion, lifestyle and ideology) from the 1920s and the 1930s, when Japanese girls' culture proliferated through representations of girls in girls' magazines and young female readers' participation in an all-female community. Then, I discuss the Japanese aesthetic notion of *kawaii* (childlike cuteness) in the 1980s, which developed with the help of a growing number of merchandised toys and products such as 'fancy goods' and which was powerfully connected to girls as consumers within a heady consumerist society.

The next section explores the characteristics of Japanese feminist movements, focusing on the use of motherhood and the discrepancy between elite-led feminist movements and 'feminist-like' movements exercised by ordinary women. I will examine firstly how motherhood—or the positionality of motherhood—served to encourage ordinary, apolitical women to participate in feminist movements on the grounds of child protection. Then, young women's expression of brand-conscious desires in the 1980s is investigated, illuminating differences and similarities in their discourses compared with the discourses of Japanese elite feminists. Although most young women were politically uninterested in feminist movements, the ways in which they expressed their desires challenged hegemonic norms of female attributes (such as demureness and submissiveness) and attested to their financial and psychological independence.

The final section examines the development of imported Western images of witches and witchcraft in Japan, demonstrating how non-Christian representations of witches and witchcraft with positive connotations were associated with femininity and female power in

children's literature, films, TV dramas, and *anime*, compared to these images in Western audiovisual texts.

Chapter Three engages in a textual analysis of six Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes for girls in relation to the social changes taking place during the time in which they were televised. The selection of these programmes resulted primarily from their profound popularity among female viewers in the three age cohorts, as indicated by the outcome of my pilot questionnaire. The rationale, however, is that these selected witch texts serve as a site through which significant aspects of the construction of femininity in Japanese young children are articulated. After providing an introductory argument covering the definitions used in this thesis and characteristics of the *mahô shôjo*, the first section analyses *Sally the Witch* (1966-68) and *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (1969-70), both domestically well-known programmes in this genre in the late 1960s and the early 1970s (the *Shôwa* 40s)³, with a focus on the traditional moral values associated with women (such as self-sacrifice, studiousness, and femininity as power) apparent through Sally's witchcraft and Akko's magical transformation. The idealised, 'modern' Western lifestyle and housing are positively represented by non-Japanese girls or heroines, who are juxtaposed with traditional 'old-fashioned' Japanese girls and heroines. In these texts, feminine traits are represented as power in order to challenge social norms about gender. However, the character of Sally ultimately serves to reproduce normative Japanese moral values through her self-sacrificial behaviour in *Sally the Witch*. In *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, a non-hereditary witch protagonist who also represents a Western lifestyle is juxtaposed with her close friend, who represents the traditional Japanese lifestyle. The articulation of the text, however, focuses on the malleable female body through magical transformation, which is associated with femininity. Although representations of the West also facilitate the construction of an idealised female model, the magical transformation

³ *Shôwa* is the name for the period of time between 1926 and 1989 in the Japanese calendar, based on the reign of the Emperor *Shôwa* (Hirohito). The fifth decade of the *Shôwa* era (i.e. the *Shôwa* 40s) in the Japanese calendar corresponds to the years 1965 to 1974. In turn, the sixth decade of the *Shôwa* era is equivalent to the years 1975 to 1984. For a more detailed explanation of this periodisation, see Chapter Three.

serves as a site through which control of the body and self-assertion are practiced.

In the following section, *Meg the Little Witch* (1974-75) and *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (1983-84) are examined, and I offer an in-depth analysis of representations of girls' coquettishness as 'appropriate' female sexual allure, when combined with childlike cuteness and heterosexual love and romance inscribed in the texts. The coquettish witch protagonists and female rivalry in *Meg the Little Witch* are positively represented. Concomitantly, women's liberation movements in the 1970s were expanding and young female sexuality was represented as powerful in mass media in the 1980s, or 'the era of women' (the era in which women's power was highlighted) in Japan. Heterosexual romance in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* has often been denounced in dominant discourses of feminist criticism. However, I will argue that this heterosexual desire does not always serve to valorise femininity in this *anime* programme.

The chapter concludes with a textual analysis of the internationally-acclaimed *Sailor Moon* series (1992-96 and 1999-2000) and the *Magical Doremi* series (1999-2003) within the context of Japanese 'postfeminism' or 'gender equality'. Both texts address a contradictory display of femininity. The superficiality of femininity, concentrating on fashion and beauty, is more emphasised in this time period than that of the witch texts in the late 1970s and the early 1980s (the *Shōwa* 50s). It serves, however, to construct a female homosocial community, in which female solidarity is represented as a source of power, whilst individual diversity is simultaneously valued. Nevertheless, hegemonic femininity and female gender roles—such as mothering, caring and domesticity—are discursively addressed in the texts. This presentation was concomitant with the backlash towards emerging 'gender-free (gender equality)' movements in Japanese society in the 1990s. Within these discursive struggles between powerful femininity and hegemonic feminine ideal, the texts articulate 'reconciliation'—girls' power is socially accepted to the extent that femininity is appropriately retained.

Corresponding to the textual analysis in the previous chapter, Chapter Four examines

the discourse arising from my interviews with women and focus group discussions with girls. My research subjects are divided into three age groups: women who spent their childhoods in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and the late 1970s and the early 1980s, respectively, and girls born in 1997 and 1998. A group of women who spent their childhoods from 1985 to 1994 was not gathered due to insufficient data collection. In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, some remakes of the previously popular Magical Girl *anime* (e.g. *The Secrets of Akko-chan* and *Sally the Witch*) and some new Magical Girl *anime* (e.g. *Magical Idol Pastel Yûmi* (1986)) were broadcast.⁴ However, few respondents to my questionnaire mentioned these programmes, resulting in an inadequate amount of data collected.⁵ However, almost all the girls born in 1997 and 1998 referred to the *Sailor Moon* series in my pilot questionnaires. They watched this series on reruns from 2000 to 2003 and offered their interesting viewing experiences. Therefore, instead of a group of women growing up from 1985 to 1994, I organised a group of girls growing up in the early 2000s who showed great interest in the *Sailor Moon* series and also the *Magical Doremi* series.

In the cross-section of their discourses, female audiences in these cohorts expressed struggles between self-control and self-expression. On the one hand, the women in the first age cohort—the *Sally* and *Akko* generation—appreciated the normative moral values of self-sacrifice and studiousness addressed in the texts, values that served to reinforce hegemonic social norms about femininity and group conformity. On the other hand, the women took pleasure in having a secret identity through the performance of fantasised magical transformations, expressing the ‘self’ as differing from others. The women in the second cohort, however, focused on self-expression to escape the pressure to conform to groups in school by wearing dresses of their favourite heroines of Magical Girl *anime*, having a secret identity in a small-sized all-female or solitary environment, and practicing

⁴ *Magical Idol Pastel Yûmi* features a 10-year-old girl, Yûmi, who is given a magical power by a fairy of flowers.

⁵ Fujitsu (2010) suggests that ‘the first *anime* boom’ in Japan ended in 1985 because the total number of TV *anime* drastically decreased after 1984 (14).

‘textual poaching’ (or creating their own stories) with their favourite female characters.

The girls in the third cohort embraced self-expression through fashion, dress, and merchandised toy products in all-female cliques. They did not choose to accept the reproductions of motherhood and caring, which the texts articulated. Instead, they selected positive representations of female solidarity in a female homosocial community. This manner of displaying female power symbolises that the girls aggressively chose to do what they wish to do, although the societal pressures of gender expectations on girls became more powerful in the backlash observed during the 2000s.

My original research questions about representations of girls in Magical Girl TV *anime* and understandings of female audiences are relatively local. However, when studying both Japanese women and a feminist perspective, these questions are significant.

Chapter One: Review of Literature and Methodology

Introduction

In the first chapter of this thesis, I will attempt to critically explicate three issues. The first issue concerns how feminist works of scholarship have discussed representations of women in audiovisual texts and female audiences. I will elucidate how my foci on gender (female), age (pre-teenage), ethnicity (Japanese), and little-studied media (TV animation) are positioned within this framework. The second issue deals with the way in which an important but rarely investigated field of animation studies has been characterised and biased, particularly due to academic inattention towards TV animation as an analysis-worthy text and towards children as autonomous audiences. The final issue explores the way in which my methodology is modified from current Cultural Studies approaches of analysing the local but significant texts of selected Japanese ‘Magical Girl’ TV *anime* for girls.

Section 1: Young Women and Media—Images of Girls and Female Audiences

Women are closely related to media (magazines, films, television programmes, the Internet, etc.) in at least two senses: first, women are often represented as objects ‘to be looked at’ (Mulvey, 1999a: 63), especially in films and television; and second, women are often active audience members, particularly of television. Thus, discourses on film and television studies have involved objectification, subjectification (‘the production of “the subject” in discursive practices’) and subjectivity (‘the lived experience of being a subject’) of or for women (Walkerdine et al., 2001: 176).

However, investigating the relationship between women and media unearths a series of controversial issues. A number of critical approaches have been employed to study women in film and television in the fields of sociology, psychology (or psychoanalysis), and Cultural Studies. Representations of women in film and female

spectatorship are particularly problematic and profoundly debated by feminist film theorists, who draw upon psychoanalytic methods to analyse images of women in film (Mulvey, 1999a; Doane, 1982 and 1991; de Lauretis, 1984; Silverman, 1988; Creed, 1993). Their theoretical model of the relationship between female spectatorship inscribed within the texts and representations of women on screen was later critically elaborated and counter-argued by feminist television/film scholars, who focused on the interplay between social viewers and social text (Brunsdon, 1981; Hobson, 1982; Kuhn, 1984; Press, 1991; Stacey, 1994; Walkerdine, 1997; Moseley 2002b; Moseley and Read, 2002; Rivero, 2003; Projansky and Berg, 2005; Hermes, 2006; Hollows, 2006; Sanders, 2007).

As Sharon Smith wrote in the first issue of *Women and Film* in 1972, '[w]omen, in any fully human form, have almost completely been left out of film' (1999: 14). In fact, images of women in film and television have offered numerous female stereotypes such as the bimbo, dumb blonde, *femme fatale*, vamp, bitch, witch, spinster, whore, self-sacrificing mother, virgin, tomboy and daddy's girl. They consist of dichotomies between positive and negative representations of women, the latter of which, in a psychoanalytic sense, are regarded as 'the Other', men's 'fear' or threats that should be excluded and punished (Creed, 1993: 9).

These tendencies towards dichotomous contrasts are typified by images of girls in animated films and TV *anime*. In most cases, 'beautiful' girl protagonists (with white skin and fair hair) are represented positively; they are innocent, docile and vulnerable princesses, as seen in many of Disney's 'princess' animated films, such as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Cinderella* (1950). In contrast, demonic and female monsters or 'the monstrous feminine' (Creed, 1993: 1) roles are given to 'ugly' older women (with dark skin and hair), who are ultimately punished and eliminated as villains. Indeed, this is partly true in Japanese *anime* for children. In boys' *anime*, preteen and teenage female characters are assigned to traditional gender roles. However, female

characters in girls' *anime* are not always represented as simplified, stereotypical princess-like protagonists. Multi-dimensional characterisations are frequently featured, offering viewers a diversity of gender positions, a subject that will be revisited in Section 2.

It is worth explaining here that Japanese TV *anime* for girls has been highly influential for girl audiences, which was the primary rationale for my selection of *anime* as texts and of girls as research subjects to be discussed. In Japan, television is prominent in everyday life because it is one of the most easily accessible forms of media. According to a 1979 newspaper survey on television viewing, 94.1% of Japanese TV viewers thought that television was a necessity in their lives. This is a relatively high ratio compared to American viewers (79.3%), Canadian viewers (74.9%) and British viewers (67.1%) (Tsurumi, 1987: 64). A 2002 survey by NHK states that television is a more important commodity to the Japanese than a refrigerator, car, mobile phone, newspaper or personal computer (Makita, 2005; Ogawa, 2005). A 2005 survey by MIPTV Media Market shows that Japan remains the country in which people spend more time watching television than in any other country (CNN, 2005). Therefore, television is closely tied to daily Japanese life.

Women are even more frequent television viewers than men, partly because women often have more opportunities to spend time watching television at home than men (Muramatsu, 1999; Ogawa, 2005). In Japan, several sources of data indicate that the television viewing time of women outnumbers that of men on average (NHK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute, 2006; Honkawa, 2008). A survey of Japanese people's viewing time of media in 2005 suggests that girls spend more time viewing television than boys (NHK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute, 2006). Teenage girls watch television on weekdays for approximately 2.11 hours in 1995, 2.17 hours in 2000, and 2.12 hours in 2005. In contrast, teenage boys spent approximately

2.12, 2.02, and 2.06 hours in 1995, 2000, and 2005, respectively.¹ Girls generally have slightly more exposure to television than boys in Japan. Although children's preference for television has gradually decreased since the 1980s (due to the prominence of alternative media such as the Internet and video games), television still functions as one of the most influential vehicles for conveying images of women/girls. The most popular TV genre among Japanese elementary pupils is 'animation'. To be precise, approximately 80% of children preferred *anime* to other genres in 1979 (Ministry of Welfare, 1979). It remains true that most child viewers in Japan tend to watch *anime* (Macromill Co., 2004).

Nonetheless, representations of girls in *anime* do not necessarily serve to imprint certain images of women on girl audiences' minds. Likewise, they do not always read these images of women directly. Ang and Hermes (1996) suggest that 'how gender—along with other major social axes such as class and ethnicity—is articulated in concrete practice of media consumption' (334) should be investigated. Shifting their focus to gender *in* media consumption rather than gender *and* media consumption, they argue that 'an individual's gendered subjectivity is constantly in process of reproduction and transformation' (334). It is in no way conclusive that the representations of girls in *anime* unfalteringly determine the subjectivity of girl viewers.

Rather, my emphasis is on how representations of girls and girls' *anime* viewing are interrelated in terms of diversified understanding and consumption. My study explores the representation of girls in TV *anime* (the most influential medium to Japanese girl viewers) and how girl audiences make sense of them. In fact, few feminist critics have expressed much interest in these factors. This examination also aims to explore sociocultural and geopolitical issues, as well as concepts that have surrounded and sustained a unique notion of girlhood in Japan in relation to TV *anime* that have been

¹ On weekends, girls spent 3.06 hours watching television in 1995, 3.36 hours in 2000 and 3.05 hours in 2005, and boys spent approximately 3.34, 3.28 and 2.52 hours in 1995, 2000 and 2005, respectively. These figures are from a 2005 survey conducted by The NHK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute. The original figures were broken down into seven age groups, although here they are combined.

largely ignored in Cultural Studies. The next section will focus on how girls and young women have been represented in films and children's programmes since the 1930s, in order to verify the close relationship between young women and media. Representations of women/girls in films and television programmes with problems of female subjectivity will be explored. 'Woman' as a collective category in psychoanalytic methodology in feminist film criticism will be also investigated and reconsidered.

1-1. Representations of Girls and Girl Subjects

Issues about women's images on screen have been debated within the frameworks of feminist cinema studies and Cultural Studies. Representations of adult women are inevitably at the centre of these arguments, partly because only a limited number of teenage girls played leads in Western live-action films and TV dramas and partly because adult women tend to be selected as major research subjects. Generally, few teenage girl protagonists have been featured in animated works until recently, and hence these works have attracted less academic attention, with the exception of girl protagonists in Disney 'princess' films. Studies on representations of preteen girls are few. However, scholarship on representations of adolescent girls may provide direction for examining such representations of preteen girls.

Here, I will explicate how Western perceptions of 'girls' differ from Japanese ones, and likewise how the term *shôjo* (girl) may convey different meanings in the Japanese context by mapping the field of study on representations of girls in cinema studies and Cultural Studies.

McRobbie and Garber (1975) addressed adolescent girls and established 'girls' studies' as one of the academic fields in Cultural Studies. Representations of girls (not in film and TV but in magazines) along with British working-class girls' readership are central to their arguments, and their work highlights girls as an autonomous subject worthy of critical attention. However, these scholars examine older-teen girls, paying

less attention to preteen girls. Driscoll (2002) suggests that girls, whom she calls feminine adolescents, ‘encompassing no specific age group but rather an idea of mobility preceding the fixity of womanhood and implying an unfinished process of personal development, are produced at a nexus of late modern ways of being in and knowing the world’ (47). She overtly distinguishes adolescents from preteen girls on the basis of physiological differences. Girls’ studies in Cultural Studies place their focus on teenage ‘adolescent’ girls, not on preteen girls, relatively speaking.

Similarly, Japanese scholarship on *shôjo* mainly focuses on adolescent girls (see Ohtsuka, 1997; Imada, 2007; and Watanabe, 2007). Pointing out a lack of argument on historical and sociocultural developments of representations of *shôjo* in magazines for the young, Imada (2007) argues that ‘*shôjo*’ started to be separated from *shônen*—which means literally young age, and now, a boy—in discussions around 1898, and that from the 1930s, the discourse on girls shifted from *shôjo* as a subject that devoted herself to her family, to *shôjo* as an object expected to be taken care of by her family (99). Watanabe (2007) also investigates emerging conceptions of ‘*shôjo*’ in the late 19th century, when the school system for women was established, arguing that the notion of *shôjo* was configured and institutionalised through the norms of romantic love, chastity and beauty. Then, the Japanese terms for ‘virginity’ and ‘chastity’ came to entail women’s sexual inexperience and ignorance of sexual desire, both characteristics that were highly valued. These functioned as devices that controlled their sexuality before and after marriage (62). Their insights into how societal expectations formed the ‘*shôjo*’ are significant; however, Imada and Watanabe only examine representations of girls in the pre-war era, ignoring those in film or on TV, and pay even less attention to the age range from 5 to 12.

Another study on Japanese *shôjo* focuses on ‘girls’ culture’. Girls’ culture developed in the 1920s and 1930s within segregated spaces, such as girls’ schools and through communication via the bulletin boards of girls’ magazines, which constructed a

private homosocial world (e.g. Kawamura, 1993; Sato-Sakuma, 1996). As Shamoon (2009) explains, '*shôjo*, therefore, is not as general as the English word "girl" but refers specifically to this private world' (133). The televisual texts which I selected partly encompass this trait of homosociality of the *shôjo* culture—they are primarily aimed at and consumed by preteen girls, their locus is a domestic and private sphere, and characters construct the homosocial world by sharing secrets.

Next, I will examine representations of pre-pubescent and adolescent girls in feminist scholarship, which depend on textual analysis. On the one hand, girls are innocent, vulnerable and sacred virgins represented by girl stars such as Shirley Temple (a pre-pubescent girl), Judy Garland (an adolescent girl), and Audrey Hepburn (a young woman).² Jackson (1995) suggests that images of children in American films have shifted, depicting them as being innocent before World War II and showing them to be troublesome and fearful after the War. Regarding Temple in *Bright Eyes* (1934) and Garland in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), she argues that each is simultaneously represented as a healing saviour and as a vulnerable child to be protected in these pre-war films. Haskell (1973) suggests that '[t]he whore-virgin dichotomy took hold with a vengeance in the uptight fifties, in the dialectical caricatures of the "sexpot" and the "nice girl"' (vii). Positive representations of the virgin, whose role Audrey Hepburn and Grace Kelly often played, invited admiration and positive acceptance. These scholars' chronological and sociocultural analysis of images of girls provides changing images of girls in relation to adults. However, the accounts by Jackson and Haskell are relatively generalised because they do not particularly explore gender or age differences within the collective categorisation of 'children' or 'women'.

On the other hand, teenage girls in live-action films are represented as sexual objects, such as Lolita (Sue Lyon) of *Lolita* (1962), or as fearful monsters in horror

² Hepburn was 24 when *Roman Holiday* was first released. Princess Ann, played by Hepburn, is not a teenage girl, either. However, Hepburn was often represented as de-sexualised. Thus, representations of Hepburn are worth being examined in this section regarding representations of girls.

films, such as Rhoda (Patty McCormack) in *The Bad Seed* (1954), Regan (Linda Blair) in *The Exorcist* (1973), and Carrie (Sissy Spacek) in *Carrie* (1976). Girls in horror films are typically represented as an inherent threat to be feared. Drawing upon Kristeva's notion (1982) of 'abjection', Creed (1993) argues that women in horror films are represented as 'female monster[s]' such as the 'witch, vampire, creature, abject mother, castrator, [and] psychotic' who ruin men (1; 154-5). Girls such as Carrie and Regan are involved with 'abjection', which rises from visible materials such as menstrual blood and public anxiety caused by the transgressions between the self and the other, or between the child and the adult (32, 74 and 78). The 'abject' state is too intolerable to look at and too frightening to approach. It is thus marginalised and excluded. Regan is initially portrayed as pure, at least outwardly, but has the seed of corruption that allows her to become possessed. The 'whore-virgin' dichotomy is expressed here and interrelated as two parts of one whole. Creed suggests that in those films, 'the young girls who develop supernatural powers are at the threshold of puberty' (77), highlighting the importance of age in relation to the female biological cycle. She further argues that representations of girls as monstrous are articulated in relation to dysfunctional familial relationships, especially between mothers and daughters.

Creed's accounts of teens in horror films are positioned in relation to these physical changes and the dysfunctional family. This is distinguished from the girl protagonists featured in my selection of Magical Girl *anime*. They are positively represented as innocent and vulnerable and have well-functioning relationships with adults. Japanese witch girl protagonists are not fully explained by the above-mentioned Western feminist studies. Moreover, despite my citation here, well-functioning familial relationships in Magical Girl *anime* are not a crucial factor of positive representations of girls; they are one of the preconditions of witch heroines' characterisations.³

Finally, as contemporary images, powerful, beautiful and even sexually attractive

³ This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

girl characters with both negative and positive representations in recent TV series can be observed: Sabrina (Melissa Joan Hart) in *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (1996-2003); Buffy (Sarah Michelle Gellar) in *Buffy, the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003); and Max (Jessica Alba) in *Dark Angel* (2000-2003). The heroines are older teenagers in the phase of adolescence. In particular, *Buffy* inspired growing numbers of studies that employed various feminist approaches employed (see Owen, 1999; Buttworth, 2002; Karras, 2002; and Kaveney, 2003). Karras (2002), for instance, suggests that Buffy represents femininity as a source of power, which typifies the 'third wave feminism' where 'men and women are equally capable of intense evil and goodness without sacrificing their sexuality' (6).⁴ Femininity as power is not exclusively Western in the context of postfeminism; however, one should note Karras' argument that the conflicts between Buffy and her mother symbolise the tenuous relationship between second-wave feminism and postfeminism. Here, again, the dysfunctional familial relationship is associated with the way in which girls are represented. Mother-daughter conflicts are often depicted in Japanese novels or *manga* comics (Saitô, 2008).⁵ Nonetheless, such conflict is not represented by heroines and their mothers, but rather by heroines and their female enemies in Magical Girl *anime*. The position of the mother in relation to heroines is treated differently in the American films and TV dramas and Japanese Magical Girl *anime*. Mothers in Magical Girl *anime* are positively represented and always support their daughters and their causes.

These text-based arguments regarding the representation of girls and young women, however, commonly ignore the question of how female spectators make sense of such representations (Stacey, 1994: 9-10). Stacey (1994) examines the interactions between representations of Hollywood female stars in films from the 1930s and 1940s,

⁴ Karras uses this term to signify feminism emerging in the late 1990s after second-wave feminism. However, I will not refer to third-wave feminism in this thesis, which will be explicated in Chapter Two.

⁵ *Manga* is the general term for Japanese comics, which are similar to graphic novels. Hereafter, *manga* in Italics will be used to mean Japanese-style comics in this thesis.

and the female spectator. The way in which British female spectators understood stars filled a gap between the psychoanalytic approach to representations of women in film and television and issues of empirical female 'social audiences' (Kuhn, 1984).

The next part of this chapter will firstly consider the psychoanalytic approaches to female representations; there are arguments about how images of woman are constructed in relation to textually-inscribed female spectatorship and about how the spectator identifies herself with these images in relation to gender positioning. Secondly, analyses of female stars and female spectatorship in the frameworks of psychoanalysis and Cultural Studies will be presented in pursuit of a connection to my analysis of animated female characters and girl audiences.

1-2. Issues of Identification and Gender Positioning

During the 1970s and the 1980s, feminist film theory was established in the field of psychoanalysis, stimulated by second-wave feminism from the mid-1960s in the United Kingdom and the United States. Feminist film critics (Mulvey, 1975 and 1981; Kaplan, 1983; Doane, 1991 and 1999; Creed, 1993) discuss how women are represented in film and how spectators are gendered by undertaking psychoanalytically informed close textual examinations. It is assumed that stereotypical female images in film serve to reproduce, construct and/or reinforce patriarchal notions of gender roles, femininity and sexuality, and that they therefore circulate notions of social oppression against women in patriarchal society. The focal points of these psychoanalysts include visual pleasure, desire, the male gaze, female subjectivity, and identification.

In her provocative essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975), Mulvey develops the notion of 'spectators' who are masculinised while viewing women in films. In her argument, women on the screen are objectified to be looked at, whereas the spectators are positioned as the (masculine) subject looking at women as a spectacle by adopting a voyeuristic-scopophilic gaze. Adopting Sigmund Freud's Oedipus complex

model, Mulvey argues that voyeurism is one solution to avoid men's fear of castration; women are under the control of men, whose gaze is identified by the camera's perspective. Female sexuality—which threatens men—should be controlled and punished. The other solution is fetishism: female bodies are fragmented by the use of camera movements such as point-of-view shots from a predominantly male viewpoint and close-ups of female body parts. Thus, female sexuality must be controlled by men, whilst male sexuality is not considered to be problematic.

Kaplan (1983) speculates about Mulvey's original argument on female spectatorship. She suggests that Mulvey's argument about gendered spectatorship is based on the simplified male/female dichotomy, which makes the potential pleasure of the non-male or non-heterosexual audience invisible and hence may conversely reinforce the essentialist determinism of the male and the female.⁶ Mulvey (1989) later re-argues that 'any, male or female, gay or straight, negotiates his or her own way into the pleasures of spectatorship, at face value, against the grain, or not at all' (73). Despite these essentialist views and dichotomy, these psychoanalytic arguments suggest that the interaction of female identification processes should be surveyed to reveal the mechanism of visual media.

This psychoanalytic approach to film in the late 1980s and the 1990s broadened the question of the identification process of female spectators with female images in film. Creed (1993) challenges the presumption that female spectators are forced to identify themselves in the masochistic/passive position, whereas male spectators are always in power and in control through the sadistic/active position. She argues that this binary opposition of the male/female, masochistic/sadistic, masculine/feminine is not essentially fixed, so that even male spectators can be placed in the masochistic position; thus it allows both genders to take either side. The spectators' oscillation—between the

⁶ Mulvey revised this point in her essay 'Afterthoughts on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema"' (1981), inspired by King Vidor's film *Duel in the Sun* (1946).

male and the female, being masochistic and being sadistic, being in the masculine viewing position and being in the feminine viewing position, which she posits—enables both genders to identify with both male and female images despite their gender differences. Despite the limits caused by Freud's notion of the castration complex on which it is based, Creed's discussion of the cross-gender identification processes is effective when the girls' identifying positioning is considered, as will be discussed in greater detail later.

In considering spectators' and TV viewers' positioning of gender as in flux, de Lauretis' account of the technologies of gender (1987) offers an alternative to the investigation of female spectatorship. Drawing upon Foucault's idea, she argues that the concept of 'gender' serves to construct and reinforce differences which allow individuals to police and regulate their conduct, their bodies and their ideologies, representing the masculine and the feminine. De Lauretis contends that social subjects are considered to be:

a subject constituted in gender [...] though not by sexual difference alone, but rather across languages and cultural representations; a subject en-gendered in the experiencing of race and class, as well as sexual, relations; a subject, therefore, not unified but rather multiple, and not so much divided as contradicted. (2)

De Lauretis' articulation of socially constructed gender in power relationships working in multiple directions highlights a limit of psychoanalytic views to the gender positioning of female spectators. She advocates for the acknowledgement of differences among women. I take this position in this thesis; that is, 'differences' among girl audiences and 'different' ways of their understanding of representations of girls in Magical Girl *anime* are to be analysed. However, before shifting my focus to girl audiences, I will review literature on identification, its process, and meanings of gender and femininity for female audiences.

Mulvey (1999b) argues that 'for women (from childhood onwards) trans-sex identification is a *habit* that very easily becomes *second nature*. However, this Nature does not sit easily and shifts restlessly in its borrowed transvestite clothes' (125; original emphasis). As Doane (1982) suggests, the term 'transvestite clothes' connotes that the female spectator cannot avoid gender positioning based on sexual and biological specifications. However, Mulvey's concept of trans-sex identification provides an idea of a theoretical space for women viewers to choose to take multiple gender positions, or sometimes, to dare not to take any position.

The notion of the 'transvestism' of the female spectator is challenged and elaborated by Doane, who draws upon Rivière's account of womanliness as a masquerade (1986). Doane (1982) develops the concept of disguising gender or playing with gender by applying the term 'masquerade', extending Rivière's argument about the use of the masquerade of womanliness as a 'guise' (35). 'Masquerade is not as recuperable as transvestism', Doane proposes, 'precisely because it constitutes an acknowledgement that it is femininity itself which is constructed as mask—as the decorative layer which conceals a non-identity' (81). She argues that the female spectator can disguise her gender identity by wearing a 'mask'. Through the adoption of a masculine guise, the female spectator can objectify the female image without forcefully identifying with the masochistic female image. Doane further extends her concern about female spectatorship 'with the dilemma of the female subject and her positioning within a system and logic of differentiation which seems to exclude her' (1991: 11). Although her argument highlights the power of masquerading oneself in terms of feminine flirtation, it also suggests that femininity and masculinity are not determined by sexual specificities, but they can be performed, or constructed through performing. Doane notes that '[w]omanliness is a mask which can be worn or removed' (1982: 81) and '[f]emininity is produced very precisely as a position within a network of power relations' (87).

A further investigation of femininity as a social construct—and, in complementary terms, of masculinity too—is carried out by Butler (1990) with her theorisation of gender and femininity/masculinity being constructed performatively. Butler (1999) critically analyses the functions of historically formulated categories of sex and gender, arguing that ‘gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which “sexed nature” or “a natural sex” is produced and established as “prediscursive”’ (7). She noticeably contributes to the argument that femininity is not an innate female attribute, but a socially constructed practice, by suggesting that gender is ‘intentional and performative where “performative” suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning’ (139). The theorisation of performatively constructing femininity/masculinity—not determined by sex—serves to create a space for a ‘fantasy’ role. In this space female audiences enjoy cross-gender identification with characters (or fantasising of another self) in animation programmes that are full of fantasy, which is the entry into the fictional and supernatural world.

Cowie (1997), who elaborately reconsiders the Freudian idea of fantasy by its re-interpretation by Laplanche and Pontalis (1986), argues that ‘[f]antasy involves, is characterised by, not the achievement of desired objects, but the arranging of, a setting out of, desire’, which cannot be satisfied (133). It should be noted that the pleasure of fantasy, regardless of whether it is conscious or unconscious, can be achieved not as a result of possessing, but in the network of experiencing or performing. When applied to the context of Magical Girl TV *anime*, fantasy works on two levels. On the textual level, narratives offer audiences a sufficient amount of fantasy through supernatural powers that can never be experienced in real life, thus providing a high level of entertainment. The other is the level where psychological reactions of the audiences occur. On this level, those who are fascinated by what they view on the programmes would identify themselves with them or fantasise that they themselves can become their desirable selves or have the ability to create ideal relationships. Cowie (1997) provides an account

of the link between fantasy and audiences' identification through fantasy films and novels, stating:

Films and stories offer us a contingent world for their events and outcomes, and just as we draw on the events of the day to produce our own fantasies, so too we can adopt and adapt the ready-made scenarios of fiction, as if their contingent material had been our own. (140)

Her interpretation of the Freudian fantasy or fantasising is premised on the collective desires of men and women. Accordingly, it is limited to the extent that it disregards individual differences among audiences. The Freudian theory of fantasy will not be employed in this thesis. However, Cowie's account of the function of fantasy in relation to the identification process in audiences suggests how the fantasy text allows audiences to form a space in which they create desires and fantasise over them. This topic will be revisited later, following a discussion of the relationship between female audiences and female stars.

1-3. Text and Context—Female Audiences and Female Stars

In order to relate the problems of the objectification of young women (representations) with issues of audiences' consumption, this section will explore female viewership among young women and television in postfeminist television studies, with a review of the way in which female spectatorship has been argued about feminist film criticism. Empirical research on female spectatorship and female stars will be also investigated in order to link such studies to my research on girls' viewership and *anime* heroines.

Doane (1982) argues for 'an opposition between proximity and distance' (77) to explore how female spectatorship is constructed through discourses. She suggests that in psychoanalytic discourse, female spectators keep little distance from the image on the screen, so that they cannot be in the fetishist position. Doane's re-conceptualisation of

the female spectator allows for the reconsideration of the identification process of female spectators with the images of female stars on screen. Her proximity and distance argument suggests a mechanism of female spectators' positioning towards female stars on screen. However, again, it is limited in that the spectators are assumed to be gendered monolithically. There is a subtle interplay between proximity and distance among women and even within individuals (Iwabuchi, 2002). Thus, psychoanalytic feminist film criticism overlooks the 'social subject', or the culturally active consumer (Brunsdon, 1981: 32). Accordingly, feminist television criticism focused on female 'social audiences' and their readings of texts within the social contexts, as conceptualised by Kuhn (1984), in comparison with textually constructed positions of spectators (23).

As Kuhn (1984) argues, 'textual analysis and contextual inquiry' is vital to feminist television criticism (21). Influenced by Radway's study on female readership of romance novels (1987), in the 1980s, the focus of research in feminist television studies was on audiences of soap operas, melodramas, sitcoms and detective stories, which were often categorised and disregarded as 'women's genres'. Hobson (1982) investigated the active participation of female viewers of *Crossroads* (the popular British soap opera) through the use of ethnographic interviews, exploring its relation to their daily housework. Audience responses differ depending upon what, when and how they view television programmes, and upon different geopolitical backgrounds and human relations. At the intersection between images delivered by television programmes and the consumption process by female audiences, they would experience not only pleasure, identification and fantasy, but also struggles, resistance, negotiations, resonance and every other possible interaction.

Gledhill (1988) provides various processes of audiences' understandings of representations in films. She posits three levels as sites where negotiations take place: institutions, texts and audiences. Ideologies are not one-sidedly imposed to be fixed;

rather, they are produced by the processes of continuous negotiations 'where power is maintained and contested' (68). Gledhill articulates that 'audiences may shift subject positions as they interact with the text' (73) and negotiate in their socio-cultural experience outside the text with the textual negotiations in which various representations of women are continuously constructed and deconstructed.

The diverse backgrounds of audiences in investigations as well as the positionality of researchers were called upon because research subjects tended to be white middle-class adult women. In the late 1980s to the 1990s, non-white, working-class, and/or non-heterosexual critics employed different approaches to study audiences by disputing existing hegemonic discourses in terms of class, race, ethnicity and sexuality. Bobo (1995) argues that female spectators in prevailing audience studies are assumed to be white middle-class women. She conducted two group interviews with African-American female audiences while they viewed *The Color Purple* and *Daughters of the Dust*, featuring black women. Her attempt reveals that the existing discourses about female spectators imagined as white middle-class women serve to reconstruct the perception of black women as residing in a disparaged position within patriarchal society. It also shows that those interviewees' various backgrounds (such as age, marital status, having children, occupation, religion and place of residence) affect how the images of black women on screen are understood and consumed. As Bobo's research demonstrates, differences caused by the social contexts of the viewing experience of female spectators should be fully examined in studies on empirical audiences.

Female spectators in the East were also made invisible in the Western discourse of feminist film and television criticisms, although in the 1990s, studies on women of ethnic minorities in films and television programmes became more common in the context of postcolonialism (Gillespie, 1995; Mankekar, 1999). More recently, Kim (2010) investigates Asian women studying or having studied in London and examines

female transnational mobility and these women's readings of representations of Western women in TV dramas, in relation to poor working conditions for women in their native countries. For these women, Western countries serve as a site where they reconfigure their identities and exercise self-fulfilment. Although her research is not directly connected to my research, Kim's focus on Asian ethnicities and the West as a fantasised site for women highlights the demographic and geo-political significance of research about Asian perceptions of the West. Lately, Asian scholars have employed a similar approach to Kim's (see Iwabuchi, 2003 and 2004; Endô, 2008). However, Asian girls consuming Asian *anime* texts have not yet been considerably studied.

Scholars who engage in audience studies that particularly focus on Western adolescent girls include McRobbie (1978), Walkerdine (1997) and Skeggs (1997). Their approaches, however, are class-oriented, and they focus on class differences in their discussions of the self, femininity, respectability and sexuality of British girls. McRobbie (1978) investigates working-class girls aged 14 to 16 and their behaviours concerning sexuality and femininity. She suggests that, for these girls, loyalty and solidarity with female friends and the enthusiasm for romantic ideology serve to develop their class and sexual identities (98). Solidarity among working girls is constructed by sharing their fascination, especially the 'dominant code of romance' (98), for reading the popular British magazine for girls, *Jackie* and *Honey*, targeted at teenage girls (99); by properly behaving as expected at school and at home (106); and by realising that they cannot afford to purchase high-quality dresses and accessories, unlike their middle-class counterparts (100). McRobbie's class-oriented approach to examining adolescent girls as research subjects and girls' magazines as an associated medium are not applicable to my analysis. Nonetheless, the issues she explores and the questions she poses—female solidarity through sharing fascination and pleasure, notions of “proper” sexuality associated with femininity for girls in relation to education in schools and the home, and romantic love ideology—serve to highlight how Japanese girl audiences

interact with Magical Girl TV *anime*.

Walkerdine (1997) also employs a class-oriented and ethnographic approach. She argues that the narratives of little girls as heroines and stars in the 1950s films *Cinderella* (1950), *Gigi* (1958) and *My Fair Lady* (1964) depict the girl protagonists as poor orphans or as poor girls, who ultimately become rich by overcoming all possible hardships inflicted on them by the world and live happily ever after. This is typified by the pre-war narratives of *Annie* (in which Shirley Temple played an orphan girl) and by Judy Garland in *The Wizard of Oz* (1935).⁷ For working-class girls, the narratives in these films can provide 'a moment at which certain paths and fantasies are open to poor women' (Walkerdine, 1997: 98) because of the mobility of the heroines from the poor to the rich. However, it simultaneously denotes the negation of their class consciousness, temporarily at least, as working-class girls. Fantasising about another self for working-class girls is made possible by disavowing their own class status and by projecting their ideals on the successful heroines, who are transformed to become glamorous bourgeois ladies.

In order to investigate the understanding of *Annie* for working-class girls, Walkerdine conducts ethnographic research on how an actual girl audience member, Eliana, 6, from a working-class family makes sense of the narratives of *Annie*, by analysing the discourses of the girl watching the video of *Annie*, and those of Eliana's family (her mother and sisters) at home. After observing Eliana and listening to her mother complain about family matters, Walkerdine argues that Eliana is likely to respond by creating her own fantasies, wherein the fantasy inscribed within the text (that Annie leaves her drunken mother and is accepted by a wealthy man) correlates with Eliana's own life history. Walkerdine observes that Eliana, whose own mother had an alcohol problem, 'finds solace in a narrative [of *Annie*]' (116) because Annie (who has a terrible mother figure) eventually finds happiness with a rich man who is a father

⁷ *Annie* was based on Harold Gray's comic strip, *Little Orphan Annie* (1924).

figure. Therefore, *Annie* serves to provide ‘a relay point’ for Eliana and her mother by allowing them ‘to dream, understand and face conflicts over what is happening to them’ (119). Despite her concentration on a highly limited number of research subjects, Walkerdine’s suggestion highlights meanings of the contexts of audiences; in the case of girl audiences, parental relations are as considerably influential as relationships with their friends at school, as mentioned by McRobbie (1978). The construction of subjectivity through the fictional heroine, which Walkerdine poses, is affected by geopolitical factors—British class struggles, locality and Western codes of masculinity/femininity. The mechanism by which girls seek something superior in fantasy is profoundly similar between Japanese and British girls. However, British geopolitical factors differ from Japanese ones; for instance, Japanese girls lack these class struggles, and they have had strong preferences for Western culture since the 19th century. Therefore, careful attention should be paid to the geopolitical backgrounds of audiences.

Meanings of femininity for working-class girls are explored by Skeggs (1997). Defining femininity as ‘the process through which women are gendered and become specific sorts of women’ (98), she argues that femininity has historically been constructed—and associated—with decent and proper conduct and appearance supposedly attributed to white middle-class women in opposition to the representations of the ‘out of control’ femininity of working women. Displaying femininity signifies ‘to become respectable’, which must be practiced ‘through appearance and conduct’ (102). Therefore, femininity is linked to and interacts with respectability, appropriate behaviour and beauty, or ‘looking good’ (105). In addition, Skeggs suggests that displaying femininity has to be validated by ‘heterosexual desirability’ (112). In order to become legitimately respectable, working-class girls are required to publicly perform femininity, which is desired and validated by heterosexual others. The salient points here are, on the one hand, that the production of respectability is made visible through

the practice of clothing, hairstyles, ornaments, conduct and speech, which as a result is recognised as femininity. On the other hand, external validation leads to the establishment of autonomous subjectivity, which is what Skeggs calls 'self-monitoring' or a 'surveillance' system in constructing subjectivity (109). Her approach, which is based on classed identity, is not applicable to Japanese girls. In Skeggs' account, heterosexual desirability functions primarily as a form of validation. This validation can be also exercised through female 'homosocial' desirability (Sedgwick, 1985). However, Skeggs' accounts of the necessity of the 'other', which validates femininity, are significant because although otherness is constructed by the awareness of working-class girls about class differences, Japanese girls wish to construct the otherness by using non-Japanese representations.⁸

In postfeminist television studies, different approaches are often taken to investigate girl audiences (Murray, 1999; Sanders, 2007). Employing a non-class-oriented approach, Sanders (2007) analyses correspondence through her Web site with British female teen viewers (aged from 11 to 18) of *Charmed* (1998-2006), who fashioned themselves like witches. She argues that:

The privileging and politicizing of the domestic space and female essentialism and the use of feminine linguistic idioms that establish community, validating a shared sense of sublimation yet challenging those who seek to oppress, consuming the self as a magical being, are [. . .] apparent in the online dialogues. (76)

The girl audiences in her research relate the frustrations experienced by the protagonists, who want to spend 'normal' lives but must accept their destinies as witches, to their own frustrations that they are not understood by the people around them (87). Sanders also states that the audiences take pleasure in viewing the characteristics of a female-centred community, such as shopping, dressing and exchanging clothes and shoes, among the

⁸ This will be discussed in depth in Chapter Three.

sisters in *Charmed*. A construction of female solidarity among the audiences through representations of power and femininity is significant and applicable to my research with regard to text-mediated communication among girl audiences.

Some studies regarding British female spectatorship and female stars, conducted through interviews, are also based on class differences, but they focus on the relationship between women and same-sex stars and articulate the construction of femininity. Stacey (1994) focuses on various forms of negotiation and pleasure arising from female audiences' actual viewing experiences concerning female stars. Taking two streams of theoretical frameworks regarding the cinematic identification of female spectatorship, Stacey (1999) contests that the psychoanalytical approach to identification induces the reproduction of 'sameness, fixity and the confirmation of existing identities', whereas empowerment and resistance through individual, distinct identification processes (posed by Walkerdine's 1986 study on a reading of *Rocky II* for a working-class family) also offer limited investment by drawing on psychoanalytic accounts (198).

Stacey (1994) further elaborates on her investigation of the relationship between stars, spectators, identificatory processes and media consumption, which provides different meanings to the study on female spectatorship and audiences' cinematic experiences of female stars. Through correspondence with female British fans of female stars in 1940s and 1950s films, in the form of letters and questionnaires, Stacey discovers that escapism (a trait from the 1940s) and identification and commodity consumption (traits from the 1950s) provide three major discourses. Escapism allows fantasy to function as a mediator for female spectators to temporarily disavow their current situations or their identities and to find pleasure in the fictional world of the stars they admire.

Furthermore, Stacey explores the definition of identification, signifying the negotiation between the self and the other, in which the recognition of similarities and

differences between spectators and ideals represented by stars occurs (1994: 128). In identification processes related to female stars and female spectators, various types are reported: devotion, adoration, worship, transcendence, pretending, resembling, imitation and copying. Through these practices, female spectators negotiate the self with their ideal star images and imagine themselves as another idealised self and/or technically attempt to transform themselves to become their ideal selves, maintaining a subtle distance from the ideals. She suggests that 'the difference between the star and the spectator is transformable into similarity through the typical work of femininity', or through the 'cultural ideals of femininity' (1999: 205; 1994:168). Here, femininity involves physical beauty and respectable conduct. Stacey links this transformative practice to spectators' engagement in cultural production and consumption, which is significant to analysing how media consumption of female audiences serves to construct femininity. She argues that the purchase of clothes and cosmetics to copy female stars associates stars-as-icon with 'particular commodities which are part of the reproduction of feminine identities' (206). The connection between identification and consumption, cooperating to construct and reproduce femininity, facilitates an analysis of female audiences to be situated in sociocultural contexts.

However, Stacey's arguments mostly disregard how female audiences make sense of their fascination towards the 'feminine masculinity' of stars, how they produce pleasurable moments at which they fantasise about the interrelationships between stars and other characters in narratives, and how they consider their own positions when copying stars. Her very local and specific study is not applicable to my research. However, the way in which intimacy and differences between audiences and stars are perceived is approximate to Japanese notions of the insider versus the outsider, rather than to notions of class. Takahashi (2007) suggests that Japanese notions of *uchi* (inside, us) and *soto* (outside, them) are not equivalent to the English private and public. '*Uchi* necessarily implies a sense of community, and thus social relations between members of

a neighbourhood, school or company can be described in terms of *uchi*', which part of the 'public' entails (331); and *soto* is not public, but again, it implies out-of-*uchi* groups or communities, which are not always equivalent to the public. A sense of homogeneity among Japanese girls (sameness) serves to create a level of '*soto*' to be admired and simultaneously avoided. That is, on the one hand, Japanese girls want a community to which they belong, in order to share the feeling of sameness or of 'inclusion'. On the other hand, they have the desire to be different—that is, 'differentiation'. I will use these concepts—*uchi* as the desire for inclusion and *out of uchi* as the desire for differentiation—to discuss group conformity (a desire to be the same) and admiration for a witch (a desire to become different and superior) in my research.

In the identificatory process, 'performing to be like stars' is a significant action. Issues arising from the relation between commodity consumption and identification with stars for female audiences are explored by Moseley's analysis of Audrey Hepburn in terms of fashion and female stars (2002b and 2005). Moseley suggests that:

[F]ashion and dress, in relation to stars, can become the supreme marker of their identity [...] At the same time, however, dress and fashion are also part of the connective tissue of the social, allowing us to make judgements—and even sartorial choices—based upon our ability to read their articulations in relation to that identity. (2005: 6-7)

Hepburn herself can be read as an embodiment of Cinderella, who faced hardship as a child and transformed from a poor commoner into a rich aristocrat. In addition to this image of Hepburn and her attire in films, Moseley suggests that Hepburn's patronisation of a particular brand (Givenchy) in her off-stage life serves not only to identify Hepburn as a star icon, but also to convey images of transformation. This fascinated female audiences growing up in the 1950s and 1960s (115-6). It is relevant to arguments on how costumes in Magical Girl *anime* for girls—where fashion and magic items function as considerably significant devices for girl protagonists to turn into powerful and

elegant heroines—allow girl audiences to fantasise about themselves as ideal selves and to perform ‘femininity’, through the purchase, production and dressing in costumes, or through the adaptation of their heroines’ styles to their own daily outfits. As Moseley (2005) suggests, ‘clothes are profoundly tied to the acquisition of subjectivity, and of a classed subjectivity’ (118).

1-4. Japanese Preteen Girls’ Understanding of TV *Anime* Programmes

The debates about text and context that I have examined above mainly concern cases of Western adult women and adolescent girls in relation to class, ethnicity, race and gender. My research aims to rectify a lack of consideration of preteen girls in a non-Western context (Japan) and their tenuous relations to class struggles by modifying and applying a class-oriented approach in audience research within relevant Western scholarship. A struggle between the desire to be the same as others and to be different from others within a homogeneous community exemplifies a distinctive Japanese case. Although few studies are particularly concerned with pre-pubescence in British Cultural Studies, the study of girls’ culture does address the significance of age. I will therefore examine Western scholarship of Cultural Studies on ‘child’ audiences.

Although ‘cultural studies scholars have paid comparatively little attention to children—particularly children under 12’ (Messenger-Davies, 2001: 8), audience studies of children, containing prepubescent girls, have been conducted in various areas (Kinder, 1991; Buckingham, 1993; Bazalgette and Buckingham, 1995; Seiter, 1995 and 1999; Messenger-Davies, 2001). For instance, Messenger-Davies (2001) conducted an empirical study, asking 1332 British children between the ages of 5 and 13 to answer a multiple-choice questionnaire, and interviewing a selected number of respondents in groups. Although she does not particularly concentrate on preteen girls, her quantitative data crystallises how girls tend to see children’s programmes as ‘babyish’ and hence watch programmes aimed at teenagers (182-3). These findings are significant in

analysing the understandings of children based on gender differences, but the quantitative data cannot speak to why or how they perceive the matter in that way. In Messenger-Davies' qualitative data, based on a focus group discussion consisting of boys and girls, they held traditional preferences based on gender in order to judge the TV drama *Soldier Soldier*—girls do not like violence, but boys do. Messenger-Davies' methodology of using both quantitative and qualitative data concerning several televisual texts is useful for grasping the overall tendencies of children's media consumption. However, as she herself indicates, there are several cases in which children could not choose single answers from the given choices, and mixed-gender group discussions sometimes reinforced children's awareness of their normative gender positions. I have therefore avoided forming mixed-gender groups for Japanese girls in my research because gender pressure caused by societal expectations in Japan noticeably hinders girls from talking comfortably.⁹

By critically reviewing feminist film criticism based on psychoanalysis and television audience studies focusing on 'women's genres', issues of female subjectivity in relation to the identification and performance of femininity highlight the limits of discussions within dichotomous theoretical frameworks. Television audience studies are, however, attentive to the diversity of audiences' positions in sociocultural contexts. My theoretical approach is largely attributed to a combined method of textual analysis and qualitative audience research, similarly applied to Stacey's analysis of female stars and female spectators, Walkerdine's argument about working with girls' subjectivity in terms of the narrative of *Annie*, Sanders' analysis of witch protagonists and preteen and teen girl audiences, Moseley's sociocultural accounts of the relationship between Hepburn and her female admirers, and Messenger-Davies' child studies analysing discourses of children's discussions.

⁹ This will be addressed in the methodology section.

My interest is in these issues; however, I will further explore how other factors, almost untouched by Western film and television studies, function in the intersection of negotiation, performance, resonance and consumption: 1) how audiences practice imagined transformations into magical girls; 2) how feminine and/or feminine masculinity are constructed through the transformation plays; 3) how audiences construct female solidarity by using representations of female solidarity in Magical Girl TV *anime*; and 4) how costumes and magical items function in audiences' imagined transformations.

However, certain questions remain unanswered. Why should *anime* for girls be studied through a Cultural Studies methodology primarily engaged in live-action films and dramas, and adult women? What distinguishes Japanese *anime* from its Western counterparts? The next section will examine the Japanese literature of 'animation studies'.

Section 2: Animation Studies

This section will analyse characteristics of *anime*, which I selected for this thesis, and its reception in Japan, after which I will map the field of 'animation studies' in relation to the gender dimension.

Anime is currently one of the most well-known products of Japan, and it has become a highly lucrative industry, replacing the cars and electronic appliances that were formerly major Japanese products for export (Iwabuchi, 1998a and 2002; Yoshida, 2008). Despite its growing popularity and cultural impact, studies on animated works and child audiences have not fully been discussed within the academic agenda, although there have been many discourses on the potentially deleterious effects of violent and sexual depictions in animation programmes on children (Mischel, 1966; Shiraishi, 1987, 2002; Ikeyama and Sakamoto, 1996; Sado and Iwao, 1999; Fujimura and Itô, 2003; Fujita, 2005 and 2008). In the United Kingdom as well, Messenger-Davies (2001) notes

that scholars of British Cultural Studies pay little critical attention to animation, although Cultural Studies experts have established an academic sphere in which we assess all forms of popular culture, such as soap opera and TV dramas (8).

However, concomitant with recent high levels of appreciation for Japanese culture overseas, the cultural values that Japanese *anime* represents have begun to be debated as 'soft power' (Nye, 1990). Soft power, Nye (2004) suggests, 'is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies' (5-6). Based on Nye's account, McGray (2002) coined 'Gross National Cool (GNC)' to evaluate countries' power by not economic or military power, but by cultural power. He notes that *anime* is one of the most powerful means by which to demonstrate the high GNC of Japan (46).¹⁰ Therefore, in political, economic and cultural terms, *anime* has begun to be academically assessed since approximately 2000.

2-1. Characteristics of Japanese *Anime* and Its Reception in Japan

Among numerous types of animation, the animated works that are discussed here are series of commercial TV 'cel animation' programmes, which are manufactured with cel(luloid) sheets (traditional hand-drawings), or cel-style drawings operated by computerised digital technologies in order to move two-dimensional figures or inanimate objects. In Japan, a series of a weekly TV *anime* programme consists of approximately twelve episodes as a common minimum unit, broadcast over three months, with each episode clocking in at approximately 25 minutes to fit a 30-minute time slot. This type of Japanese commercial TV animation in particular is called *anime* and is distinct from 'art animation' (relatively short, primarily non-commercial animated works). The term *anime* as an apocopation of animation appeared in the

¹⁰ He lists J-pop, fashion and TV games as well as *anime* and *manga* as components of Japanese cool culture.

Japanese-language discourse in the early 1960s. However, *anime* started to exclusively signify a Japanese type of commercial animated works in the early 1970s in Japan and in the 1980s overseas (Fujitsu, 2008 and 2009).

Through its unique development and its appeal to a wide range of audiences, *anime* is distinguished from Western animated works, especially American TV animation in terms of its styles and themes (Tomono et al., 1986: 226 and 328). Five- to ten-minute-long televised cel-animations are often called ‘TV cartoons’ designed for little children, who are assumed to be incapable of watching longer TV programmes. Alternatively, ‘cartoons’ often signify particularly American or British animated works and TV programmes in Japan.¹¹ However, Japanese TV *anime* is differentiated from such cartoon products, insofar as they generally contain complicated theatrical narratives, constituting serial stories (Drazen, 2003: 6; Ladd and Deneroff, 2008). Concerning the development of *anime*, Napier (2005) states that ‘the weekly format of most series gave rise to certain narrative structures, most notably serial plots, which allowed for longer, more episodic story lines than a cinematic format would have done’ (17).¹² The Japanese *manga* critic Hiroto Miyamoto (2003) proposes six characteristics of Japanese *manga*: 1) uniqueness, 2) autonomy and substantiality (where readers can readily imagine the background or daily lives of the characters), 3) possible development (as seen in *Bildungsroman*), 4) multiplicity in character, 5) possession of a past, and 6) multilayered characterisations (the possession of factors which the characters themselves are incapable of controlling) (2003: 48). Miyamoto suggests that these six characteristics enable fictional characters to be perceived as real. Due to animated motion and the voices added to these characteristics, fictional characters in

¹¹ The meaning of the use of ‘cartoon’ in Japan has gradually altered. Recently, animated films have been called ‘animation’ rather than ‘cartoon’, whilst animated TV programmes tend to be called ‘cartoons’.

¹² Napier also mentioned that traits of Japanese TV animation programmes stemmed from their connection with *manga* comics. ‘*Manga* (literally, funny pictures) is a generic term that covers cartoons, comic strips, funnies, and caricatures. *Manga* books and magazines comprise nearly one-third of publications in Japan’ (Sugimoto, 1997: 225). Especially, as an alternative type of literature, *manga* works attract a wide range of readers from the youth to the elderly.

animations can become more realistic for audiences. Denison (2005) makes significant remarks about how voice talents and soundscape in animation impact audiences' perception about characters.¹³ To animate is 'to give life and soul to a design [. . .] through the transformation of reality' (Halloway, 1972: 2, cited in Wells, 1998: 10).

In addition, one of the most significant characteristics of *anime* resulted from the use of the 'limited animation style' at the beginning of the production of domestic TV *anime*, due to tight studio budgets.¹⁴ Due to the deficiency of a fully-animated performance caused by limited animation styles, Japanese TV *anime* necessitated complicated and dramatic narrative structures and plotlines, which would eventually conceal the disadvantages of motion-less pictures on screen.¹⁵ This attribute allows TV *anime* to be almost equivalent to live-action TV dramas, rather than to American or British 'kiddies' cartoons, although the majority of these programmes are primarily targeted at children.

Despite their poor visual and movement qualities, a growing number of domestic TV *anime* programmes continued to be produced, accounting for approximately 40 shows a week being televised on the terrestrial channels in 1983 and 50 in 1998 (Matsuda, 2000). This increase can be attributed to *anime*'s wide range of viewers—not only children but also young adults and the middle-aged.¹⁶ This facilitates the uniqueness of the proliferating *anime* culture, compared to that of Western countries, where the possibility of adult viewers of animation is generally considered remote.¹⁷ Although Western countries have produced many animated films aimed at adult

¹³ Denison discusses the indigenisation of the American version of *Princess Mononoke*, suggesting that the star personas and vocal accents of each actor in the dubbed version profoundly influenced the film's appeal to new local audiences.

¹⁴ In the limited animation style, only parts of images (e.g. a mouth) were animated, while the other features remained unanimated. Hanna-Barbera Studio, an American animation production company, already began utilising the limited animation style for TV cartoons in 1957. The company's works soon grew very popular, but were simultaneously taunted for being 'illustrated radio' (Maltin, 1987: 343-344).

¹⁵ Leonard (2005) points out that the fact that there were fewer strict rules to censor violence and sexual content than those of the United States contributed to the development of Japanese animation stories (285).

¹⁶ The majority of them were also readers of numerous *manga* magazines or *manga* books, on which many *anime* programmes were based.

¹⁷ Although high-quality animated works have been accepted by adults, animation is still often regarded as a children's medium, which is a hindrance to drawing critical attention (Pilling, 1999; Messenger-Davies, 2001).

audiences,¹⁸ in general, Western TV cartoons are not as commonly acknowledged as attracting adults as these films might be (Messenger-Davies, 2001).

The proliferation of TV *anime* produced for targeted viewers in different gender and age groups conveys various representations of women and girls, giving rise to controversial issues. In Japan, after the introduction of American cartoon programmes,¹⁹ animation programmes kept children enthralled, yet they were simultaneously criticised for their negative influence on child viewers. Especially since 1963 (when the first domestic *anime*, *Astro Boy*, was broadcast), *anime* has been one of the most popular genres for both boys and girls. For instance, in a 1964 survey of TV's influence on Japanese children, children between the ages of three and twelve watched television for 1.5 to 2 hours a day on weekdays and for slightly more hours on weekends. The genre they viewed most frequently was *anime*, which accounted for 61-79% of all the TV programmes viewed (Yoda, 1964: 211-213). No drastic change appeared in a 2008 survey—the average television viewing time of children aged two to seven years was approximately two hours a day, and the most popular genre for these respondents was *anime* (NHK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute, 2008). However, thorough studies on animation and child viewers have not been conducted.

2-2. 'Animation Studies' and Its Problems

Due to the lack of an institutionalised academic paradigm for animation studies in Japan, as well as in the West, overall studies of animation have been conducted interdisciplinarily within the fields of literature, mass communication study, sociology, psychology and art, or more recently, Cultural Studies. The Japanese Association of Animation Studies was founded in 1999, promoting critical approaches to animation. Within this academic terrain, approaches to studies on (Japanese) animated works in

¹⁸ Examples are the 1920s-30s' *Betty Boop* series by Fleischer in the United States, Bachelor and Halas's *Animal Farm* (1954) in the United Kingdom and Grimault's *La Bergère et Le Ramoneur* (1953) in France.

¹⁹ For instance, *Popeye* and *Bugs Bunny* were televised in 1953.

relation to issues surrounding women and children are classified into four types: 1) feminist literary approaches to analyse animated films and TV programmes as texts (Saitô, 1998; Murase, 2000; Napier, 2002; Wakakuwa, 2005; Sugawa 2005); 2) (harmful) influences of *anime* on child viewers, including studies conducted mainly based on psychological experiments (Shiraishi, 1987 and 2002; Sawatari and Iwao, 1991; Ikeyama and Sakamoto, 1999; Fujimura and Itô, 2003); 3) sociocultural approaches to investigate fandom of *anime* (Newitz, 1995; Kobayashi, 1999); and 4) sociological studies of the relationships between children and animation (not exclusively *anime*), focusing particularly on the influence of television and animation on child viewers' behaviours and attitudes (Davidson et al., 1979; Durkin, 1985; Morgan, 1987; Wilson, 2008). As Messenger-Davies (2001) suggests, 'the field of empirically studying children themselves and their responses to media has been almost entirely left to the social scientists who are part of this entrepreneurial "laboratory" tradition, and they have dominated debates about media "effects"' (8).

Lately, psychoanalytical approaches to animations and children using clinical data (Saitô, [2000] 2006; Nishimura, 2004) have been undertaken. In Cultural Studies, qualitative research was conducted to investigate animation or children's TV and child or female viewers (Buckingham, 1993; Seiter, [1993] 1995b and 1999; Kline, 1995; Messenger-Davies, 2001; Wakakuwa, 2002; Fujita, 2008). Jenkins' 1992 study on fandom also offered a new perspective of popular culture audience research, despite its lack of analysis of children's fandom.

In the next part, by mapping the scholarship of the four primary types of critical approaches (literary, psychoanalytical and socio-cultural approaches, and Cultural Studies) to analyse representations of women and girls in *anime* and audience research, I will explore the characteristics of animation studies conducted in Japan and the West. I will also examine how a combined method of textual analysis and qualitative research, used in Television Studies, is applicable for investigating the relationship between

representations of girls in TV *anime* and female viewership.

2-3. Representations of Girls in Animation—Textual Analysis

In content-based analysis, the dominant discourses on heroines of TV *anime* for girls were based on a monolithic view of girls as a collective category. Saitô (1998) states that, until the 1990s, heroines in girls' *anime* were bound by romantic love ideology and domesticity (as in Disney's *Cinderella*) and set in the private sphere, compared to heroes in boys' *anime*. She suggests that until the 1990s at least, *anime* for children was undoubtedly gendered, which reinforced stereotypical images of boys and girls (12). According to Saitô's simplified classification of *anime* and live-action hero dramas for children, boys' TV programmes (called 'the world of boys') are based on science and technology. Heroes belong to teams supported by national or global organisations, which provide them with high-tech armaments. The boy protagonists fight against their enemies in order to protect the earth with their teammates. The team, in most cases, consists of males of different age groups (Saitô, 1998: 15-20). This materialistic worldview of 'the world of boys' greatly contrasts that of 'the world of girls', which is based on supernatural power. The heroines' interests are in fashion and romantic love, followed by marriage and reproduction. Heroines battle their opponents or sacrifice themselves in order to protect something valuable to them—namely, their boyfriends (Saitô, 1998: 23-30).

In order to depict witch heroines of Magical Girl TV *anime*, Saitô coins the term 'Butterfly Syndrome'. She suggests that 'heroines of the world of girls' are girls 'who intend to successfully obtain their social positions by applying traditional sex roles' without rebelling against a male-dominated society (Saitô, 1998: 209; translation mine). Like butterflies, witch girls grow up to become adults, dressing themselves in beautiful clothes. Saitô also criticises the characterisations of witch heroines because they are explicitly 'daddy's girls' who never destroy the idealised daughter figures desired by

fathers; they do so by means of engaging in self-sacrificial fighting and of defending their virginity until they are married at the proper age (Saitô, 1998: 43-44). Saitô concludes that witch heroines in Magical Girl *anime* should be modified to be more independent and powerful girls with high self-esteem. However, Saitô's account is not persuasive owing to the following reasons. She roughly categorises and generalised female characters of TV live-action hero dramas, TV *anime* and animated films, ignoring the individual differences and traits of these distinct media and products. Therefore, her radical feminist arguments, based on a structuralist dichotomy, produce the overall impression that heroines of Magical Girl TV *anime* can be characterised as simplified and shallow girls who are destined to be dependent on male characters or father figures. She further links her arguments to the deteriorating working conditions for women in Japanese society, as reflected by negative representations of girls in children's *anime* products and biography. Yet, any analysis of representations of girls without considering the Western background has a limit insofar as actual audiences' viewing experiences and pleasure are not involved in her arguments.

Murase (2000) criticises stereotypical images and idealisations of female characters in Japanese blockbuster *anime* since the 1980s, arguing that these programmes symbolise male sexual desires. However, it should be noted that she suggests that young heroines struggle with sexuality and the feminine—both of which are associated with mothering—in two ways: by being forced to become indifferent to sexual desire (e.g. Lana and Nausicaä of Hayao Miyazaki's works), and by simultaneously negating and accepting gendered bodies (e.g. Asuka and Rei of *Neon Genesis Evangelion*).²⁰ This opposes Saitô's argument that fashion and romantic ideology are central factors of witch-type heroines.

According to Murase, Lana and Nausicaä are innocent towards sexuality and

²⁰ Lana is the heroine of the TV series, *Future Boy Conan* (1978). *Nausicaä* is the protagonist of the film, *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1984). *Neon Genesis Evangelion* was directed by Hideaki Anno. It first aired on TV (1995-96) and was adapted into two films in 1997. Two of four newly adapted films were released in 2007 and 2009.

indifferent to male sexual desire, so they are unrealistic to girl audiences (50), but for heterosexual men, their innocence and ignorance of sexuality are loci where men's (paedophilic) sexual desires are stirred (56). Although Murase's careless distinction of audiences by biological sexual differences is misleading, it is important to articulate that girl heroines in *anime* tend to be characterised as innocent and indifferent to their own sexuality and to the paedophilic heterosexual desire their gendered bodies can cause. Murase suggests that 'for girls it is proper to be ignorant of how their bodies are sexually interpreted by the opposite sex and that girls have been effectively instructed by a modern ideology implemented by men' (2000: 60; translation mine). She calls such girls' understanding of their own sexuality 'the darkness of sexuality', signifying that they are forced to become unaware of sexuality (60). Murase criticises Miyazaki because he characterises his heroines as unfamiliar with this darkness of sexuality, which negates that girls' sexuality.

Indeed, Murase's argument about the darkness of girls' sexuality is adaptable to my analysis of Magical Girl TV *anime*. The darkness of sexuality, or the 'de-sexualisation' of witch heroines inscribed in texts, however, has a positive function as well. It serves not only to establish female homosocial communities within texts, but also to offer a site where girl audiences may fantasise about their ideal selves and/or take pleasure in homosocial relationships in texts without being aware of their own gendered bodies. These gendered bodies often remind girls of mothering, a biological function of reproduction, child-rearing and caring for the family. In the previous section, I mentioned Skeggs' argument (1997) that, for British working-class girls, becoming respectable by acquiring femininity requires validation by others, which often involves heterosexual desirability as well (112). In Magical Girl *anime* settings, however, heterosexual desirability is almost absent. Heterosexual desirability is excluded to allow for the establishment of female homosocial relationships between heroines and their

friends. The display of femininity is thus differently performed in *anime*.²¹

Another literary approach to Magical Girl *anime* is put forth by Napier (2001 and 2005). She uses the term ‘magical girls’ to refer to young female characters in *anime* with superhuman powers in a more general sense, which is distinguished from ‘magical girls’ in Magical Girl *anime* discussed here. However, she makes two significant remarks about heroines with supernatural powers: one is the function of magical power, and one is the association of the magical power with these girls’ confidence. Within the frameworks of romantic comedy *anime*, Napier suggests that the magical powers of heroines serves to subvert the stability of hegemonic norms—the normative social customs involved in social order and social positions. This subversion by the magical powers of heroines—which represents the changing social situations of Japanese women—is not fully persuasive due to inadequate supporting references. Nevertheless, the supernatural abilities given to the heroines, who are generally inferior to heroes, may offer a possibility for subverting the social norms.

Napier also argues that the 13-year-old witch heroine in *Kiki’s Delivery Service* (1989) loses her magical power when she faces an identity crisis. The association of the loss of supernatural power with the loss of her self-confidence represents typical female adolescent instability. In fact, this remark is useful for analysing magical girl themes, insofar as the magical powers of witch girl heroines in Magical Girl *anime* ensure their confidence, which may lead to the establishment of the ‘self’. However, Napier does not elaborate on the connection between magical powers and constructions of heroines’ identity. Besides, her overall approaches are based on textual analyses of the major plots of *anime*. Napier’s analyses ignore how moving images in *anime* produce meanings and how audiences make sense of these meanings.

Therefore, even if *anime* programmes offer new role models as alternatives, they still retain the possibility of creating another ‘stereotype’. As Ishita (2000) suggests, a

²¹ Displays of femininity will be elaborated further in Chapter Three.

simplified idea that audiences directly understand what media texts show only serves to reveal that audiences are to be controlled by images of women offered by media, obscuring how audiences possibly make alternative interpretations (114). In order to avoid a vicious circle, it is necessary to shift the theoretical paradigm from *what* images and implied spectators are provided within the texts to *how* women and girls are represented in animated works, and *how* the discourses and subjectivity of audiences are constructed through these representations in sociocultural and geopolitical contexts.

2-4. Animation Viewers and Fandom—Audience Research

Research on female audiences of animation programmes has developed mainly in the fields of psychology, psychoanalysis and Cultural Studies: experimental psychological approaches to analysing influences of TV animation programmes on child psychology and socialisation, psychoanalysis of fans of *anime* which feature little girls and young women in pathological perspectives, and sociocultural research on *anime* fandom. Cultural Studies research often conducts a combined method of textual analysis and qualitative research on audiences. Here, I will firstly focus on research regarding fandom and psychoanalysis of female *anime* fans, and then on Cultural Studies' scholarship on child viewers in television studies.

Jenkins (1992) has examined media fandom, which was paid little academic attention previously. He investigates fan fiction modes, such as novels and drawings, which were 'poached' from given visual texts, and interviewed creators of such fan fiction to analyse how they consumed, circulated and understood the texts. He suggests that fans' consumption of popular cultural texts such as TV dramas and films, and their recreation of fan fiction to fulfil their desires (or to simply enjoy their own fantasy) can be a contested site through which their 'cultural practices' and 'troubled relationship to the mass media and consumer capitalism' are observed (1).

Drawing upon Jenkins's theoretical practice, Kobayashi (1999) has analysed the

meanings of the structures of Magical Girl *anime* and the phenomenon of *dôjinshi*.²² He firstly argues that Magical Girl *anime* serves to reinforce hegemonic femininity. He suggests that the structure of typical Magical Girl stories symbolises a rite of passage for girls because heroines grow up by experiencing unfamiliar situations and supernatural power, while going back and forth between two different spheres: the ‘human world’ where their daily lives take place, and the ‘other world’, where extraordinary lives occur (202). His account that most Magical Girl *anime* are structured just as in *Bildungsroman* is acceptable because, to some extent, their protagonists grow up and learn more by repeatedly facing troubles and acquiring skills for trouble-shooting. Although they experience subversive events, witch protagonists eventually return to the human world in which patriarchal norms remain unchanged.

Kobayashi then shifts his focus to Japanese female *anime* fandom, especially how female audiences of Magical Girl *anime* establish their communities (such as the Comic Market), consume such ‘conservative’ witch texts, and re-create them to fulfil their desires by circulating their *dôjinshi*.²³ Although male-male relationships in the *yaoi* style are dominant in female *dôjinshi* communities, Kobayashi argues that some (heterosexual) female fans choose to depict imagined lesbian relationships between the female characters of *Sailor Moon* (208).²⁴ This new type of ‘textual poaching’ (Jenkins, 1992) articulates women’s self-emancipation from hegemonic femininity and the pleasure of femininity. ‘The *yaoi* style has provided women a site where they negate their own gender by expressing male homosexual relationships; however, through *yaoi*, they now acknowledged that they could take pleasure in playing with the opposite sex within them’ (209-210; translation mine). Kobayashi’s account of women’s pleasure in

²² *Dôjinshi* is fans’ self-published *manga* and novels. They are fan-made parodies based on films, TV programmes, living celebrities, and fans’ original stories, many of which, if not most, are based on *manga* and *anime*. A large number of *dôjinshi* communities exist, and they have huge markets inside and outside Japan.

²³ The Comic Market is a biannual convention, where animation fans sell and buy *dôjinshi* and their related offerings and communicate with other fans. The largest Comic Market in Japan is annually held in Tokyo in August and January.

²⁴ The ‘*yaoi*’ is a style that female fans often employ, in which they commonly use male *anime*, *manga* and computer games’ characters to create imagined homosexual relationships between them.

‘playing with femininity’ is quite significant and relevant to discussions of femininity in the postfeminist context. However, the lack of empirical audience data in his argument only proves the causes and outcomes of the fan phenomena, resulting in ignorance about the varied processes of individual audiences’ consumptions and circulation.

Similarly, Newitz (1995) and Leonard (2005) elaborately discuss American *anime* fandom; however, they focus less on the individual viewing and consuming experiences of TV *anime*. Such studies of the animation audiences and fans as monolithic categories fail to acknowledge diversity among fans. In order to explore diversity in audiences and their readings, in-depth interviews or focus group discussions are required.

However, early empirical research on individual children was dominated by laboratory-based psychological experiments. Approaches for investigating child TV viewers tended to concentrate on the negative influences of sex roles and character representations in animation programmes. Through the use of experiments and quantitative research, most studies since the 1960s have concluded that sex-role stereotypes in TV animation programmes affect constructions of children’s perceptions of male and female sex-roles (Davidson, 1979; Sawatari and Iwao, 1991). Some studies have countered that television does not correlate with actual sex-role behaviours of child viewers (Morgan, 1987). The theorisations in both cases seem to employ the same logic. That is, their theories not only oversimplify arguments on representations of characters in animation programmes, but also underestimate the autonomous power of child viewers. It is more significant to closely examine how child viewers understand representations in animation programmes.

Audience studies of *anime* are often conducted from the perspective of clinical psychology in Japan because *anime* heroines, which young patients with psychological disorders often find enthralling, become valuable texts to be analysed in order to cure their diseases. In proliferating pathological discourses, adult male fans of girl characters in *anime*—disdainfully called *otaku*, or nerds—tend to be investigated (Saitô, 2006;

Yoshimoto, 2009).²⁵

Nishimura (2004), a Jungian counsellor, however, conducted a study focused on young Japanese female audiences and Magical Girl protagonists. He points out that young girl clients tend to feel antipathy towards doll-like, obedient girl characters who embody male sexual desire because sensual bodies of beautiful girls in *anime* force them to face the 'male gaze' towards the female body, stirring their anxiety about sexuality (24). According to Nishimura, by identifying with powerful and autonomous magical heroines as their 'animus',²⁶ and sometimes engaging in pleasurable activities by role playing with their counsellors and friends (pretending to be the protagonists of their favourite TV *anime*), his clients practice self-reflection, whilst establishing their 'selves' in order to overcome their anxieties about sexuality. A 13-year-old girl client, for instance, identified herself with Lina, the magical fighting heroine of *Slayers* (1995) and felt catharsis through Lina's triumph over strong male enemies. In a comedy drama format, the storyline highlights how Lina fails to become a stereotypically powerless and vulnerable girl because of her incredibly strong power, which is greater than that of her male companion Gurry, who is originally her volunteer knight until she reaches the destination of her journey. Nishimura diagnosed that the girl client saw her animus in Lina, who defeats social expectations of girls' appropriate sexuality, appearances and conducts—expectations the girl client encountered in her real life (66-67; 70).

Nonetheless, the drawing of a Jungian dichotomy between anima and animus reproduces an essentialist view of gender representations and audiences' interpretations, because attributes of anima and animus are based on the normative heterosexual distinction between stereotypical masculinities and femininities. The concept ensures that biological women are born to have an animus, longing for the masculine parts, which ultimately enhances sex determinism. Therefore, subtler ways in which audiences

²⁵ *Otaku* generally signifies male *anime* fans, although there are a number of female *otaku* in Japan.

²⁶ Animus is a Jungian concept of the masculine part of women's personality. The feminine part of men's personality is called anima.

understand gender representations have to be investigated.

Studies on *anime* audiences in Japan have overwhelmingly focused on male adult fans in relation to girl characters. In this sense, Nishimura's approach to investigating girl audiences and protagonists is useful in crystallising how gender- and age-specific audiences understand *anime* for gender- and age-specific targets. However, his insufficient qualitative research, intended for pathological purposes, does not enable a full understanding of female audiences, whose fascinations may not exclusively be focused on sexuality. Thus, the next section will explore how Cultural Studies scholars have approached animation and child audiences.

2-5. Research on Child or Girl Audiences in Cultural Studies

Since the 1990s, Cultural Studies research on children has focused on individual viewing experiences and children's cultural practices. Buckingham (1993) questioned the dominant discourse of children as passive victims who could be readily influenced by television (10). Although Cultural Studies is concerned with actual audiences and how they understand television, Buckingham argues that research on children remains insufficient to the extent that a converse view of children as 'active' and 'wise' viewers or monolithic categorisations of child viewers would serve to construct new perceptions of childhood and of child viewers as an imaginary unified entity.

Kline (1995) attempts to analyse an external factor: how marketers produce animation-linked products to fit prerequisite demands of young audiences in different gendered genres. He points out that 'licensing functions as a new form of programme subsidy' (155), which led to the emergence of a 'Female Heroes' animation genre aimed at girls. As girl viewers of action adventure programmes for boys have less demand for purchasing hero-related products, the Female Heroes animation—whose protagonists are strong females—is designed to construct girls' desire. A characterisation of female protagonists in Female Heroes stories as suffering from 'a lack of confidence' (161) is

also programmed, distinguishing itself from that of heroes in action adventure programmes. This characterisation is useful for investigating characterisations of Japanese witch heroines because the lack of confidence inevitably correlates with a characterisation of girls' magical power in these programmes. However, how actual audiences of Female Heroes animation react is neglected in Kline's account, suspending the issue of audiences' readings of new types of protagonists in this emerging new genre of animation.

Seiter (1995b) argues that American commercialism and gender politics were implicated in the emergence of a new genre of TV animation programmes for girls in the 1980s, such as *My Little Pony* (1986-87). Her interest lies in how girl audiences consume and circulate images of ponies and purchase toy ponies, which are linked to self-confidence. She argues that 'what was new about them [licensed character shows] was that it was girls—and very young girls at that—who were being approached as a separate audience' (172). Purchasing toy ponies enabled girl audiences to build communities where they demonstrated their own tastes through the selection of different coloured ponies and spoke of *My Little Pony*, constructing a gendered sphere. Plotlines are also gendered; one of the characteristics exclusive to girls' animations is that:

The girls' programmes take cognisance of work behind the scenes [. . .]; and sometimes express an admiration for the discipline, order and hard work that is constantly going on. (177)

In contrast to boys' animations, where the fighting of heroes often produces positive results, girls' animations offer a site in which repetitive and boring labour leads to a certain solution. Seiter criticises that girls' programmes are constituted in a conservative manner; however, it is noted that her research shows how girls' cultural practices—through purchasing merchandised toys—articulate the reproduction of femininity. This is relevant to my research on girls' consumption of *anime* in various

ways, such as through the wearing of costumes and the purchase of merchandised 'magical items'.

Another significant trait of girl's animations indicated by Seiter is 'an unambiguous, segregated world of the feminine' (183) and its association with physical appearance. In *My Little Pony*, Seiter argues that hair care is traumatically used to depict female socialisation when the villain (the pig queen) kidnaps ponies to steal their beautiful hair and to produce a fabric. Female solidarity is expressed when the ponies come together to rescue their kidnapped friends. Distress about beauty and physical appearance is common among girl audiences, and this distress is often caused by advertisements of beauty care products for girls, such as shampoos. Instead of individual solutions, the construction of a female community by sharing distress attributed to women is emphasised in *My Little Pony*. Seiter's approach to audiences and textual analysis that places texts and audiences in the domestic social and cultural contexts is adaptable to my study of girl audiences and of narrative structures of *anime* for girls.

Wakakuwa (2003) has conducted qualitative research on young female audiences combined with textual analysis of Disney's animated features by using a Cultural Studies methodology. In her lectures on gender studies at a women's college in Japan, she had female students aged 18 to 23 years watch *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Cinderella* (1950) and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959), after which she collected their comments in the form of reaction papers. Roughly three critical codes are acknowledged in their comments: beauty, conventional sex roles and dependence on men.

In *Snow White*, the code of beauty dominates the female protagonists; Snow White's youth and beauty, validated by the Queen's mirror, leads to the Queen's motivation to murder her. The Queen's subordinates hesitate to kill Snow White because 'she is beautiful' (she has standardised Western Caucasian whiteness) (Wakakuwa,

2003: 85-86). Both the Queen and Snow White are valued on the basis of their appearances. Similarly, in *Cinderella*, the prince desperately seeks Cinderella after the ball, and in *Sleeping Beauty*, the prince kisses Princess Aurora to awaken her—both actions by the male characters are motivated by the beauty of the female characters. Without beauty, the princes would never fall in love with the princesses at the first sight (115, 120 and 147). One respondent comments that even ‘the seven dwarfs fear an intruder, Snow White, at first, but eventually accept her simply because she is beautiful’ (86; translation mine). The beauty code dominant in these three films determines the destinies of all female characters, which the students recognised as their obsession. The beauty code, applied only to women, is imprinted by oral messages from their parents and teachers in disciplining them and tacit assumptions from representations inscribed in media, such as TV and fashion magazines.

Female beauty codes are reinforced by proper female conduct in Disney ‘princess’ films. When female characters properly engage in their sex roles, especially domestic work, they ultimately deserve to receive happiness, which is represented by marriage to a rich man. Conversely, even women with ‘beautiful’ appearances but no interest in housework (e.g. the Queen in *Snow White* and the step-sisters in *Cinderella*) are decoded as ‘ugly’ females who deserve death. A student calls Cinderella a ‘beautiful servant’, which represents what men generally expect women to be (118). Snow White, who cooks for and cleans the home of the seven dwarfs, and Cinderella, who endures hardships as a servant, are both characterised as beautiful, for which they are rewarded with happiness at the end of their respective stories. Associations of domesticity with women ensure the external beauty of heroines in these princess stories. Drawing upon Kolbenschlag’s analysis of Cinderella and female labour (1988), Wakakuwa argues that the hard domestic labour assigned to the heroine in *Cinderella* also represents women’s incapacity in solving problems on their own (130). Women endure their given situations of hardship, waiting for others to save them.

Female dependence on external factors—and, more precisely, on male assistance—is represented by the long sleep of Princess Aurora in *Sleeping Beauty*. Her passivity symbolises women's lack of confidence for solving problems by themselves, which leads to locating women in an inferior social position to men (161). This is inscribed in *Snow White* as the titular character is saved by a prince's kiss and in *Cinderella*, as Cinderella intentionally leaves her glass shoe in the court to enable the prince to locate her. Wakakuwa displays a student's interpretation of the failure of Cinderella's glass shoe to disappear after midnight, as it represents female chastity and virginity, which result in ultimately female success or in social mobility by marriage to a rich member of the patriarchal society (126-7).

Wakakuwa's analysis of the understandings of young female audiences based on qualitative data is adaptable to my research on textual analysis and girl audiences of Magical Girl TV *anime*. However, since the data were collected in her lectures on gender studies, her gender-sensitive students might be induced to have 'preferable' readings on media texts.²⁷ In order to guarantee less biased data to analyse how general girl audiences understand Magical Girl TV *anime*, more audience backgrounds are required.

By conducting individual interviews with a small number of children, Fujita (2005; 2008) demonstrates that children's media such as *anime* and children's literature feature stereotypical sex roles, and that children as an active audience judge inscribed normative masculinity and femininity by their own knowledge of gender differences (84-85). Her qualitative method highlights the individual opinions of children. However, Fujita's research subjects were preschoolers, who were only capable of expressing themselves in simple vocabulary such as likes and dislikes, thus rendering her discourse analysis unpersuasive. Although she is right that individual interviews are effective for

²⁷ In fact, she notes that 'most critical comments are from second- and third-year students, since an introductory course to gender studies is compulsory to first-year students at this college' (85; translation mine).

obtaining direct access to children's perceptions of *anime*, I chose research subjects aged older than 6 to 7 years (the average first-grade student in elementary school) for my qualitative research because of their higher communication abilities in comparison to preschoolers.

Messenger-Davies (2001) employed quantitative and qualitative research methods to investigate British children's understanding of British and American children's cartoons. In order to study animation and child culture, she claims that 'in the area of animation', there are 'tensions between text/market/audience/use' (229). Therefore, considering the relations between them, Messenger-Davies regards children as the primary informants. Her quantitative research outcome, which was based on a questionnaire, shows that their preferences for animation programmes vary depending on their age. This finding is significant because it shifts scholarly focus away from children as a collective category and towards the diversity of children. Age difference is a vital factor for children to determine how to perceive their 'selves'. Messenger-Davies suggests that 'they [cartoons] were used by children as a way of categorising themselves as "young" or "old" in their tastes' (235), which is exemplified by the discourses of her research subjects. Although she organised mixed-gender discussion groups, it should be noted that attention was paid to age differences in her qualitative research. I will essentially employ the same methodology of quantitative and qualitative researches to investigate Japanese children and female audiences, but modify it to match the Japanese cultural contexts. Various factors such as gender, age, venue and the position of the researcher will be considered in my empirical research.

Thus, various interdisciplinary approaches to animation have been adopted; however, the lack of more detailed analyses on animation texts and the inadequacy of qualitative research in animation studies produce an overall impression that animation texts are generally biased, leading to the conclusion that alternative role models should be introduced. This is typified by the text-based analyses of Saitô, Murase and Napier.

Research on fandom conducted by Kobayashi, Newitz and Leonard and the pathological study of Nishimura have displayed female fans' active approaches to *anime*. However, these researchers utilise a conventional analysis in which female audiences are assumed to be influenced by representations of female characters that reinforce a hegemonic norm about gender roles. Research on children and girl animation audiences conducted by Kline, Seiter, Messenger-Davies, Wakakuwa and Fujita has allowed us to shift the foci to how audiences understand animation from what they perceive in animation. My research aims to fill in the gap left by existing studies, which neglect the sociocultural and geopolitical contexts of texts and audiences, and to explore how female audiences make sense of Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime*.

Section 3: Methodology

This section will explicate the rationale for selecting Magical Girl TV *anime* that target girls for my textual analysis and female/girl audiences for my empirical research, and how I have chosen and developed qualitative research methods for my research subjects, focusing on ethnicity, gender, age and tacit Japanese assumptions.

3-1. TV Animation, Children and Japanese Society

In my work, I have engaged in previously published close textual analyses to detect how representations of girls in Japanese *anime* offer an alternative femininity, which fervently challenges the conservative Japanese gender bias against women (Sugawa, 2005a; 2005b; 2006). Each case of textual analysis, however, has ignored actual female viewers' responses, so that my arguments naturally raise the following underlying question. How do actual Japanese female audiences experientially understand the representations in the *anime* that they viewed as children? In fact, as Ang and Hermes (1996) suggest, '[t]extual generalizations about "the female spectator" turn

out to foreclose prematurely the possibility of empirical variations and heterogeneity within actual women's responses' (329). In order to respond to this question, a study of audience reception is unequivocally necessary.

This thesis will explore how Japanese female audiences, who grew up in the 1970s, the 1980s, the 1990s and the 2000s, understand and respond to Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* from 1966 to 2003, particularly in relation to gender issues. The reasons for selecting this specific genre (Magical Girl) are that the continuous production of programmes in this genre offers a wealth of texts to be investigated in each generation. Furthermore, and more significantly, these programmes offer fascinating and complex representations of femininity and feminine conduct. It is difficult to investigate female protagonists in *anime* for boys because few female characters occupy leading roles. In contrast to gender disparities in *anime* for boys, fascinating magical actions and fantasy stories in Magical Girl *anime* never seem to wear out their welcome with girl audiences growing up in each time period. The contents of the Magical Girl *anime* are also relatively consistent, which facilitates a successful audience study (Nishizawa, 1998: 20; 52-53).

As child audiences are examined, the matter of the accessibility of this medium to them must be carefully considered. In Japan, the number of households with black-and-white television licence contracts numbered more than 10 million in 1962 (NHK Service Centre, 2005: 78), followed by the rapidly growing prevalence of colour television in the 1970s.²⁸ As the family structure shifted to nuclear families in the 1960s and 1970s, more children spent time alone at home whilst their mothers worked part-time outside the home. Therefore, television served as a 'child-minding device' for these children from that period on.²⁹ Television as a medium is almost free from parental supervision, in comparison to the cinema or rental videos (Bazalgette and

²⁸ For instance, 11.79 million households had new colour television contracts in 1972 (NHK, 2002).

²⁹ Such children were called *kagikko*, (latch kids) because they needed keys to unlock their house doors while nobody was at home when they returned from school. This was acknowledged to be a social problem in 1970 (Inoue and Ehara, 2005).

Buckingham, 1995: 5), so research on television programmes for children can crystallise issues of children's viewing experience in the long term with less influence and pressure from guardians.

My concentration on the particular resonance of arguments about Japanese female preschoolers and young teenagers stems from insufficient qualitative research on younger female audiences of TV *anime* being done in Japan, as examined in Section 2 of this chapter. The periodisation (from 1966 to 2003) of my research was based on the history of Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime*, which began in 1966.³⁰ The overall structure and leitmotif of the Magical Girl *anime* remained almost identical until hybridisation with other genres occurred after in the 2000s, blurring the notion of the 'magical girl'.³¹ Therefore, a different method is needed to survey programmes with magical girl characters after 2004.

3-2. Qualitative Research and Female Audience

As mentioned in the previous section, in the field of Cultural Studies, textual analysis and textual spectatorship are considered insufficient to reveal how empirical audiences consume and negotiate images displayed in films and TV dramas. In order to focus upon 'social audiences' (Kuhn, 1984: 23) and how they consume TV programmes as texts, qualitative research methods must be used, especially in television studies.

Two basic methods are often applied in sociocultural research: quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods include the use of statistical analysis on quantifiable data obtained from questionnaires, polls, etc., which enable the detection of generalised trends and tendencies that the majority of the population is presumed to

³⁰ The history of Japanese Magical Girl *anime* will be elaborated in Chapter Three.

³¹ An action hero type of animation programme, starring elementary or junior high school girls with magical powers (*Magical Girl Lyrical Nanoha* (2004) and the *Pretty Cure* series (2004-)), a romance among wizards and witches, or psychic boys and girls (*School Alice* (2004-2005) and *Absolute Elegant Children* (2008-)) appealed to older teenagers and adults of both sexes. *Magical Girl Lyrical Nanoha* is partly based on a R18 video game, the *Triangle Heart* Series. *School Alice* is based on Tachibana Higuchi's *manga* of the same title (2002-), televised on NHK BS2, Japan's national satellite station. *Absolute Elegant Children* is based on Takashi Shiina's *manga* of the same title (2005-). It was published not in a girl's magazine, but in a weekly boy's *manga* magazine, *Shōnen Sunday*, although the majority of magical girl works is still perceived as constituting a girls' genre.

exhibit. However, the quantitative methodology is unsatisfactory where the identificatory processes of audiences are concerned because it inevitably overlooks the individual experiences of audiences (Silverman, 2000: 5). As Alasuutari (1995) states, '[d]ifferences between people or observation units are important in qualitative research' (15). Therefore, qualitative research emphasises on the diversity of each audience member, which is difficult to observe in reduction or in generalisation.

Postfeminist television/film studies often use qualitative methods which include individual interviews and focus group discussions. As their analysis focuses on the close relations of women with television programmes—namely, soap operas and melodramas—which used to be a minor concern in other fields of study, feminist television critics have employed various qualitative methods to examine the viewing experiences of adult audiences. Hobson (1982) tape-recorded interviews with housewives to ask how they enjoyed *Crossroads*. Ang (1990) corresponded via letters with Dutch viewers of *Dallas* (1978-91), and analysed how they interpreted and constructed their identity *vis-a-vis* the show. Press (1991) conducted interviews with American women from different generations to examine their viewing experiences of *Cagney and Lacey* and *Charlie's Angels*.

Different methodological approaches can be integrated and useful for exploration. An ethnographic method by Walkerdine (1986; 1997) contains an interview with one British working-class family. Bobo (1995) conducted a focus group discussion and an interview with black women about films on black women. In addition, the combination of textual analysis with individual interviews with female fans of Audrey Hepburn was used by Moseley (2002b). Hermes (2006) investigates anonymous comments from viewers of *Ally McBeal* and *Sex and the City*, posted on 'Jump-the-Shark', a Web site about TV shows. Similarly, Sanders (2007) analyses dialogues of British female preteen/teen viewers of *Charmed* posted on her Web site. These studies disclose the more detailed processes and interactions of audiences' experiences with regard to their

viewing and consumption of television programmes as texts. Although the foci of these studies vary, these researchers' shared interest is not only in how female audiences interpret images and/or stories articulated in audiovisual texts, but also in the overall view of how, when, where, in what situation, and with whom they read, consume, circulate, and negotiate with those images and narratives.³²

In Japanese culture, age difference is one of the most crucial factors in the construction of people's viewpoints. A method of data analysis which categorises research subjects by age differences has been employed widely in the field of sociology, specifically in life course studies. Iwai (2006) suggests that one of the methodologies of life course researchers is 'based on standardized life history surveys that allow us to compare birth cohorts', and that 'the influence of contemporary social changes on life course' is displayed differently by birth cohort (32 and 14). Likewise, in the field of television studies, qualitative research for analysing audiences of different generations has been conducted (Press, 1991; Messenger-Davies, 2001; Moseley, 2002b; Kim, 2006). Press (1991) suggests that class- and age-differences play decisive roles to show generational differences in American women's perceptions about realism on television (174-5). Kim (2006) argues that Western media studies pay less attention to 'generations', whilst her intergenerational approach was effectively applied to South Korean women's viewing experiences and their relationships with their husbands (131). The context of age cohorts thus facilitates an intergenerational comparative study, especially on Asian subjects, because age rather than class is socioculturally crucial to perceive their societal positions and human relationships in Asia.

These scholars conducted individual interviews for intergenerational examinations of female audiences. For child viewers, however, group-oriented methods are often used. Buckingham (1993) conducted group interviews with five groups of children aged from

³² Brunson (1997) points out the problematic issues of typologies and of relationships between feminist researchers and female audiences caused by authors' different positionings (192-6).

seven to twelve to examine how they view television. After surveying over a thousand British children between the ages of 5 and 13 with a questionnaire as a quantitative research method, Messenger-Davies (2001) organised focus groups of children and mediated their discussions in classrooms.

Focus groups are defined as:

group discussions exploring a specific set of issues. The group is “focused” in that it involves some kind of collective activity—such as viewing a video, examining a single health promotion message, or simply debating a set of questions. [. . .] [F]ocus group researchers encourage participants to talk to one another. (Barbour and Kitzinger, 4)

In the Japanese context, however, the involvement of researchers in discussions and participants’ flow of communication differ, depending on age groups. In my research, when an adult researcher (me) questioned children in a group, the children sometimes suddenly became too shy to talk, or only answered in the form of yes/no gestures.³³ This can be contrasted with how women in my pilot study talked to one another as if they already shared trusted relationships or similar enthusiasm about what they liked, although they were more relaxed in individual interviews. Therefore, cultural context should be taken into account when a focus group discussion is conducted, an idea to which I will return later.

Gibbs (1997) highlights the effectiveness of focus group methods as follows:

Focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic. [. . .] The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people’s shared understandings of everyday life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation. (1; see also Morgan, 1998: 12)

Topics or digressions brought up in a focus group discussion are sometimes

³³ In Japanese nonverbal communication, nodding the head means yes and shaking the head means no. Tilting the head connotes ‘I’m not sure’.

unpredictable. This might give the researcher important hints, since the topics and digressions that seem irrelevant to the main topic might lead to a crystallisation of the patterns of interaction on how their associations work. In other words, how the participants associate one image with others, or choose/exclude one image from the others, gives researchers clues to their patchwork of images. These associations, preoccupations, fantasies and even misunderstandings are often unrelated to the focus topics which researchers would have prepared and designed, but are nonetheless significant. Focus group discussions are important in emphasising the interrelation of participants, which would not be given in individual interviews. Therefore, focus group discussions can offer an opportunity to discover diverse aspects which researchers would probably overlook otherwise.

Personal interviews are also beneficial to exploring the detailed experiences of audiences. 'Ethnographic interviewing' or personal interviews in particular 'elicit the cognitive structures guiding participants' world views' (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 81). Individual interviews based on trust between an interviewer and an interviewee allow the interviewee to feel intimacy to the interviewer, so that it becomes possible for the interviewee to freely discuss subjects that s/he would not talk about with other participants present. Anonymity also enables the interviewee to feel relaxed when responding to the interviewer's questions.

In my research, I used focus group discussions with the girls and individual interviews with the women. In order to efficiently employ Western television studies methodologies to my investigation of Japanese audiences, however, some modification was required, especially in relation to differences of cultural, ideological and institutional frameworks between the West and Japan, and the attention paid to child audiences.

Firstly, Western television scholars often focus on gender as well as class and ethnicity in their analyses of audiovisual texts and discourses in interviews and

discussions of audiences. For instance, in order to shed light on non-white, non-middle-class immigrant women, Gillespie (1995) conducted interviews with young Punjabi women living in a London suburb to analyse how they construct their identity through television programmes. By interviewing child caregivers and teachers, Seiter (1999) detected that patterns of children's television viewing vary, depending on their parents' ethnic and class differences. Class and ethnic diversity are thus granted attention in postfeminist television research. In order to study Japanese audiences, however, class and race/ethnicity are not considered to be major issues. To draw upon Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' (1983), most Japanese are convinced that they reside in a homogeneously united society.³⁴ Oguma (1995) argues that although there are several ethnic groups in Japan, the Japanese still assume that the Japanese state consists of 'one single ethnic group'.³⁵ Hence, ethnicity does not matter to the same extent that it does in other countries (McVeigh, 2004). Thus, for Japanese audience research, the ethnicity issue may not be at the centre of research, in contrast to its importance where studies of British television researchers are concerned.

In addition, the Japanese are not class conscious either, whereas Western television studies underline the class-conscious perspective. Hobson (1978) investigates the isolation of young working-class housewives in relation to a construction of their subjectivity. Walkerdine (1997) argues that fantasy is important for working-class girls to analyse their working-class subjectivity (173). Skeggs (1997) suggests that the femininity of working-class girls is constructed through 'respectable' behaviour. In these arguments, class difference is vital for working-class women to construct the feminine subject. Although a similar mechanism can be seen in constructing femininity and subjectivity for Japanese women, it is attributed to differences in age and

³⁴ According to public opinion polls conducted by the Cabinet office of the Japanese government in 2006, 60-70% of people identify their standard of living within the middle level. The ratio has not drastically changed since the 1977 polls.

³⁵ Japanese ethnic groups include the Ainu, the Okinawan, and Korean residents in Japan. For an overview of the theoretical controversy between homogeneity and multiculturalism in Japan, see Burgess (2007 and 2010).

socio-economical status rather than in class.

It cannot be said, however, that class difference does not exist in Japan.³⁶ Most Japanese are convinced that they belong to the middle class. The term 'class' is not used in the same way that the British think of class. Tsurumi (1987), drawing upon Tominaga's view of Japanese class structures (1979), comments that 'an awareness of belonging to the working class or the middle class is lacking in Japanese class structure' (144). After the abolition of the hierarchical class system (*samurai* soldiers, farmers, craftsmen, merchants and others) in 1867, the flux between people of different classes brought about a sense of 'unity'.³⁷ A sense of 'common culture', resulting from the sharing of information, effectively enabled the Japanese to identify themselves as belonging to the middle class. Hence, it is more productive to study Japanese audiences in terms of their stratified economic differences and their consciousness about standard of living. Whether people have an academic history of higher education, privileged occupations, and home ownership in upscale residential areas can be used as indexes, by which people evaluate their social status to determine whether they belong to the upper-middle or the lower-middle level of household income. In recent years, the polarisation between the rich and the poor has expanded in Japan (Miura, 2005); however, again, most Japanese assume that they belong to the middle class regardless of their actual income. This stems from changes in social, political and economic structures during rapid economical growth, which started with the nation's economic recovery due to the Korean War in 1955 and lasted until the early 1970s. In the early 1970s, approximately 35% of people engaged in the secondary industry (manufacturing sector), 50% in the tertiary industry (service sector), and approximately 10% of people engaged in the primary industry (agriculture and fishing sector) (Tsurumi, 1987: 32). Therefore, Japan's industrial, institutional, educational, and family structures changed

³⁶ McVeigh (2000) suggests that school uniforms hide 'class differences' between Japanese students (85).

³⁷ Tsurumi also suggests that the same journals and newspapers were read by people of high social status (such as presidents) and lower social status (such as janitors) in the 1920s, the 1930s and the 1940s (Tsurumi, 1987:43).

considerably. Along with the shift towards the nuclear family and having fewer children, more people were employed by companies, commuting to central urban areas in which their workplaces were located away from their own houses in the suburbs.³⁸ This transgression allowed most people to identify themselves as members of middle-level income households. Class differences therefore should not be an area overly focused upon when examining Japanese audiences.

Instead, authority, gender and age differences are central matters for Japanese women.³⁹ In the Japanese cultural framework, people generally value 'reserve'—that is, refraining from the expression of their feelings in front of others. Japanese children are generally trained to respect their elders, which is apparent in the multiple levels of formality within the Japanese language. The Japanese language utilises humble and honorific forms, which are used to address people in formal occasions or to address elders.⁴⁰ Japanese children are also expected to give 'right' and appropriate answers in school. It is therefore quite natural that they may be nervous about expressing their feelings in front of authority figures such as adults, parents, and teachers. Furthermore, in current communities of children, they can easily become a target of bullying once they are seen to act differently from their peers. Therefore, their fear of being bullied leads to them relinquishing the ability to safely articulate their true feelings. This affected my research design in terms of applying a focus group discussion to girls.

A sense of gender inequality is partly attributed to the Japanese educational system, which is different to that of most Western countries. Although co-education was introduced to Japanese higher educational institutions in 1947, there are still a certain number of boy-only or girl-only high schools and colleges in Japan. Even in Japan's co-ed schools, gender differences remain relevant. On the homeroom roster in

³⁸ Whereas men worked outside the home, most women became housewives, engaging in domestic duties and child-rearing. Thus, the gender role started to solidify (Miura, 1999: 131). This will be further discussed in Chapter Two.

³⁹ McRobbie (1978) also sees age difference as an important factor for investigating British working-class girls' culture. However, she ultimately analyses it in relation to their class differences rather than their age differences (99).

⁴⁰ Clerks addressing their customers exemplify this.

compulsory education, for instance, students' names are traditionally listed in an alphabetical and a gendered order—that is, boys' names are alphabetically placed in the top section of the roster, followed by the names of the girls (in alphabetical order). This was criticised as gender discrimination in that the boy-first order nurtured a sense of male superiority to women among children.⁴¹ In 1962, home economics classes including cooking, sewing, and household duties were offered only to female students, while craft and technical practice classes were offered only to male students. However, this gender discrimination was later amended when male students were also granted the right to receive home economics education in 1993 and 1994 (in junior high schools and high schools, respectively). These institutional modifications have helped the Japanese acquire a sense of gender equality, although the majority of women are still discriminated against in classrooms, workplaces, and at home.

Age difference is also a major factor within Japanese society. Hierarchical manners based on age differences are indicated by speech levels and a respectful attitude towards the elderly. The Japanese are, in most cases, careful in selecting the appropriate style of speech depending on the age differences between themselves and others to ensure that the correct level of distance is maintained; that is, they use honorific and humble modes of speech to address the elderly. These variations in verbal communication affect non-verbal communication accordingly. Behaviour and manner habitually change, depending on the age difference between the individual articulating and the individual receiving the message.

Therefore, authority, gender and age differences are crucial factors to account for when investigating Japanese female audiences. Taking these factors into consideration, I will demonstrate how I developed and formulated my research design.

⁴¹ Abolishment of this system has been encouraged since 1999, when the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society was issued. A mixed roster, which is based on a unisex alphabetical order, was introduced to most junior high and high schools at the time (though not to all).

3-3. My Research Design

I have applied qualitative individual interviews and group discussions to my empirical research and will compare a discourse analysis of these data with a close textual analysis of the televisual texts. The combined method is effective for my research for three reasons. Firstly, with the qualitative method, I can focus on 'the heterogeneity of experiences' (Seiter, 1995a: 140) of female viewers, rather than on generalised audience experiences. Secondly, this methodology generally suits female audiences, the members of which are influenced by a Japanese cultural background that tacitly expects them to hide their true feelings, especially in the presence of authority figures. Finally, with a close analysis of the presentations of girls in TV *anime* as a text, the interactive mechanism between texts and audiences can be crystallised as representations, and interactions between the characters in the texts and actual audience responses are compared. The use of this methodology contributes to uncovering how Japanese female audiences, in their pre-pubescence, perceive representations of witch girl heroines and their settings. Their understandings of the heroines' verbal and nonverbal demeanour (behaviour, conventions, fashions and discourses) can be discovered through qualitative methods: individual interviews with adult women and a focus group discussion between girl audience members.

These qualitative methods, however, have both strengths and limitations. I will assess how my selection of participants influenced my research.

a) Selection of Interviewees and Focus Group Participants

My selection of this study's interviewees and focus group participants was based on the results of my pilot study questionnaire and focus group discussions. In my first pilot study of women, I posted an announcement about my questionnaire on three different e-mail lists distributed to Japanese gender and pop culture study groups in

April of 2006.⁴² I also used connections from these lists and individually asked those who were interested in Magical Girl *anime* to complete the questionnaire in April of 2008. Ultimately, 35 women contacted me through the mailing lists, and 27 women contacted me directly via e-mail by August of 2006 and August of 2008, respectively. In total, I received 62 samples.

Out of the 62 women who answered my questionnaire, I selected six women in their late 20s and 30s and six women in their late 30s and 40s because they showed great interest in Magical Girl TV *anime* and offered their viewing experiences on the questionnaires. In 2007 and 2008, I conducted different focus groups on Magical Girl TV *anime*. The focus groups were, however, unsuccessful for the reason that I will revisit later. After the focus group discussions, I conducted 12 individual interviews with women who were housewives and office workers.

I avoided choosing those women who were familiar with gender studies due to my intention to make my research sensitive to the viewing experiences of 'ordinary' women, who might have less academic knowledge about gender studies. It is impossible to completely eliminate any bias because memories are constructed and sometimes falsified. However, the selection of ordinary women at least helped to avoid collecting data with overt any academic bias. My selection of housewives and office workers as interviewees thus enabled my data to be relatively sensitive to the viewpoints of ordinary women, although the participants were limited in terms of demographic diversity.

Similar influences on my research can be observed among the contemporary Japanese girl audiences chosen for my pilot focus groups. For this study, I selected girls of a specific age group, 9 to 10 years of age (or fourth-grade students), because children of this age are still in the process of developing their 'selves'. According to Holloway

⁴² The study groups that allowed me to post the questionnaire are the Gender Communication Network (GCN) which is a NGO, the Society of New English and American Literature Study (NEAL), and the Japanese Association of Manga History. The members are primarily academic researchers, but female members of the Japanese Association of Manga History have diverse backgrounds. Most participants from this group have non-academic backgrounds.

and LeCompte (2001):

In North American culture, the ages from 10 to 15 are those in which children still are conceived of as malleable and during which the process of developing a sense of self as a sexual and gendered person and one's life chances as an adult are beginning to flower. (389)

This also holds true for Japanese girls. In fact, girls from five to ten years of age are the core viewers of Magical Girl *anime*. The introduction of sex education to fourth graders in most Japanese public elementary schools also renders 9- or 10-year-old girls as consequential agents with regard to exploring their understanding of gender representations in the programmes.

In order to collect qualitative data, individual interviews were used for adult female audiences, while the method of a focus group discussion was engaged for girl audiences aged between 9 and 10. The introduction of different methodologies for girls and adult women audiences resulted from their different backgrounds constructed by their age differences in Japanese society. The reason for selecting this age group in children is that the protagonists of the programmes are close to their age. However, more importantly, these girls are more capable of expressing themselves than are younger pupils, and are also approaching the age at which they will completely stop watching Magical Girl TV *anime*. They acknowledge that they are no longer children (Messenger-Davies, 2001).⁴³

In my pilot research, I distributed a paper questionnaire to approximately 60 nine- and ten-year-old girls attending a public elementary school in Nishi-Tokyo in July of 2006.⁴⁴ 21 girls fully completed the questionnaire. Most residents in this area belong to middle-class households. Since parents or caretakers with a relatively higher income tend to send their children to private elementary schools, the participants' parents and

⁴³ The women and girls whom I interviewed expressed their awareness of the end of childhood as 'graduating from Magical Girl *anime*'.

⁴⁴ I am grateful for the generous offer of the Nakahara Elementary School located in Nishi-Tokyo city, the western area of Tokyo.

caretakers could be regarded as being in 'average households'. Out of the 21 respondents, six girls voluntarily participated in a focus group discussion at their school in July of 2006, which was, however, eventually unsuccessful. With the same group of girls, therefore, another focus group discussion was conducted in August 2007, in a different venue—the home.

The selection of these participants from average households made my empirical data relatively sensitive to the viewpoints of ordinary girls, although the collected data showed limited local characteristics and demographic differences. Despite these limitations, however, both positive and negative findings were observed in discourses of the participants, which led to the development of my original research questions (see Chapter Four).

b) Development and Planning of Research Methods

As mentioned above, due to the results of my pilot study questionnaires and focus group discussions, I used different types of qualitative methods to engage women and girls. For data regarding adult female audiences, I used the following methods: a pilot questionnaire, pilot focus groups and final individual interviews.

In order to create the questionnaire, I referred to a sample questionnaire by Messenger-Davies and Mosdell (2006), which offers more closed-ended questions than open-ended questions to facilitate a quantitative analysis (78-91). However, I included more open-ended questions than closed-ended questions to encourage audiences to explore their viewing experiences (see Appendix A). The closed-ended question about the *anime* programmes these participants watched (Question 1) was useful for the selection of *anime* texts to analyse. Most unexpected comments, however, were provided in response to the open-ended questions, which motivated me to explore these participants' answers further via group discussions.

I then conducted two pilot focus group discussions in 2007 and 2008: one with

six women in their late 20s and 30s, and the other with six women in their late 30s and 40s, who were fascinated by the Magical Girl *anime* programmes viewed in their childhoods. While most women met their group members for the first time at the focus group discussion, some knew one another already. The women soon created intimacy due to the memories they shared based on viewing the same *anime* programmes, which prompted them to talk about their childhoods. However, focus group discussions failed to function for this particular audience because they hesitated to speak about their negative private matters.

Therefore, I selected six women from the focus group participants (three each from the two age cohorts) and another six questionnaire respondents who had positive interest in my project, and I conducted individual interviews with them for approximately two hours each. All of the women discussed more personal matters in these individual interviews. One of the women told me after the interview, ‘Don’t tell anybody about this [my private story]’. Her reluctance to share her childhood memories with the focus group can perhaps be attributed to the Japanese sense of ‘shame’. Japanese adults tend to hesitate to reveal ‘shameful’ and private events of *uchi* (Masamura, 1995: 37), such as divorce, academic history, domestic violence and childlike preferences, compared to those who belong to *out of uchi*. Therefore, I selected individual interviews for adult women. I interviewed these women in cafés or restaurants. I intentionally kept moving images of the Magical Girl *anime* away from these participants to avoid influencing their recollections of viewing these programmes as children. I let them talk voluntarily, although I prepared some questions prior to the interviews (see Appendix D). In order to develop those questions, I drew from an example of Moseley’s (2002b) transcriptions of interviews with female audiences about Audrey Hepburn. In her research, the questions are open-ended (e.g. ‘What do you think about...?’) but related to her research interests (e.g. fashion, lifestyle, and demeanour); and Mosley’s interruptions in the interviews are few, which prompt her interviewees to

talk voluntarily. Although my interviews proceeded with pre-set questions, some questions were skipped when the interviewees virtually answered questions before being asked such questions in the actual interviews. Towards the end of the interviews, I showed some pictures of the Magical Girl *anime* and books on related fancy goods and toys to see whether the women had any additional comments, which I will discuss later.

The venues where I interviewed adult women were outside their home (cafés, restaurants, etc.) based on their requests. Hobson (1978) suggests that an ideal venue to interview housewives is the home because ‘the situation in the home is never as tense as an “interview” may sound because the “setting” is informal’ (80). However, these Japanese women preferred to conduct interviews outside the home. It is a significant finding that the women asked me to interview them not in their homes, but in public venues. These spaces remote from their private spheres served to separate them from their household responsibilities (cleaning, childcare, etc.), which may have been important in order for them to feel relaxed. Even working women preferred to speak with me outside their homes, although I scheduled their interviews on holidays.

For girl audiences, I employed different approaches: a pilot study questionnaire, a pilot focus group discussion and a final focus group discussion. My pilot questionnaire was designed in a similar way as that created for the women (see Appendix A). However, as Messenger-Davies and Mosdell (2006) emphasise, I plotted short, simple and feasible questions (120-121). In a similar manner to the questionnaire designed for the women, there were more open-ended questions than closed-ended ones. Although most girls offered a few comments to the open-ended questions, their comments were useful in selecting participants for a pilot group discussion at school.

In 2006 and 2007, I organised two focus group discussions, with the same children taking part in each. The first pilot group discussion was conducted in their homeroom classroom at school for one hour, but I changed the venue to the home of one of the participants in the final group discussion, which lasted for two hours. After

gaining the consent of the participants, their parents, the school president and their class teacher (all in the form of written documents), the first focus group discussion among six girls was conducted in their classroom after school because 'the optimum group size is five to six' (Hill et al., 1996: 133; see also Morgan, 1998) for a children's focus group. Some participants were somewhat nervous because their (male) class teacher supervised them before the discussion, and their mothers planned to pick up their daughters from school in the middle of the discussion.

The presence of authority often functions as a powerful oppressor to control pupils' discourse (Messenger-Davies and Mosdell, 2006: 130); this applies even more strongly to Japanese pupils than it does for children in Western countries. In my 2006 pilot study, most girls were nervous when they talked in front of their male teacher. Parental attendance also pressured the girls; one of the girl participants started to become noticeably tense as soon as her mother entered the classroom to pick her up. Self-conscious students are extremely afraid of making mistakes in public because they may feel ashamed of failing to provide the correct response.

Accordingly, the power of authority figures should be considered when any audiences are examined. In order to avoid making the same mistake as that in the pilot study at the school, I chose to interview the girls in this study in the home setting on the second occasion (rather than in the school setting). In classrooms, Japanese pupils are expected to give proper answers, and they are afraid of making mistakes, partly because of the tacit assumption that seeking a right answer is required of them, and partly because they hate to risk becoming targets for bullying. However, the private space of a participant's familiar home was a more appropriate venue for the girls because there were no authority figures around them except me (an adult female interviewer who was not a total stranger to them) and the owner of the home (the mother of one of the participants). However, since the mother did not join in the discussion and always ensured that her daughter's friends could play in a relaxing atmosphere, parental

pressure did not control her daughter's discourse or that of the other participants. In fact, it was observed that the girls were noticeably more relaxed and talked about more private matters than they did in the classroom. When Hill et al. (1996) conducted a qualitative group discussion and individual interviews with children aged five to twelve years, they discovered that the children were more relaxed in the school setting than at home (141). However, it is difficult to adopt this theory with Japan. A certain level of ethnographic consideration is required when conducting qualitative research, which is an issue brought to light by my pilot studies.

'[T]he focus group method is good for giving confidence to individuals within the group' (Greig and Taylor, 1999: 132). Girls especially seem more confident in single-sex groups because they feel less pressure from authority when the venue is carefully selected and outside of school. The girls I interviewed relaxed noticeably at their friend's house in comparison to how they felt in their classroom. The question of power relations between children and authority always induces debates. To avoid constructing fantasised subjectivity of children by adult women (Castaneda, 2001) and building the privileged position of female researchers over 'practitioners' (McRobbie, 2000: 123; Rivero, 2003), the power relations of authority with child informants inevitably require careful treatment.

Individual interviews, however, did not function well with girl participants. When I asked each of them some individualised questions towards the end of the discussion, even those who confided their honest feelings in the discussion became passive and quiet. Peer pressure prevents them from articulating their individual thoughts. In the focus group, consensual comments and agreements were frequently observed. It is profoundly important for Japanese girls to seek answers in a consensual way in order to avoid antagonising the opinions held by others. Therefore, it can be concluded that a focus group discussion conducted in the home is ideal for Japanese girls.

All interviews were recorded by a digital IC recorder with the participants'

permission. Visual recording by a video camera was used for the group discussion, solely for the sake of evaluating their non-verbal expressions such as gestures and behaviour. After completing the final interviews and discussions, I first formulated transcriptions in Japanese, and then translated them into English with transcription conventions (see Appendix B). Referring to the post-coding technique that Messenger-Davies and Mosdell (2006) utilise, I coded units of passages in the transcriptions by setting several 'variable labels' (48), such as Western-oriented representations, gender, sexuality, fashion, family, and values, which were related to my research questions. Based on this coding, I conducted discourse analysis. In order to respect the privacy of both adult female and girl audiences, I received their consent (and for the children, their guardian's consent as well) in advance to use their interview transcripts in my thesis and their names. For those who indicated to the desire to remain anonymous, I used fictitious names to indicate the participants' responses in the discourse analysis presented in Chapter Four.

Finally, the selection of materials used at the interviews and focus groups will be examined. Towards the end of the interviews, I provided my interviewees with still colour images of protagonists of Magical Girl *anime* (e.g. Sally, Akko, Meg, Lunlun, Yû, the *Sailor Moon* team and the *Magical Doremi* team), which were image-captured and printed on pieces of paper, and illustrated books containing still images and pictures of merchandised products related to Magical Girl *anime*. These visuals prompted the participants to make additional comments about the fashion and bodies of their favourite protagonists, related merchandised products and their childhood memories.

Moving images were not used in my interviews with women partly because the venue did not allow me to use them, and partly because most interviewees had good memories about their favourite episodes. However, in order to refresh the girl participants' memories and facilitate their discussions, I showed three episodes of *More! Magical Doremi* (the third season of the *Magical Doremi* series) during the focus group

discussion. I used this DVD because the moving images noticeably prompted the participants to speak more about their viewing experiences in the pilot group discussion.

I selected the third season because in this season, a team of five girls (Doremi, Hazuki, Aiko and Onpu, joined by Momoko) is established, which focuses on female solidarity and on offering serious insights into the social and cultural problems of contemporary children (globalisation, racism, divorce, truancy and difficult relationships with friends, parents and teachers), none of which have been fully investigated in other televisual witch texts before.⁴⁵ *Sailor Moon* texts were not shown because the girls in this generation had vivid memories about the series based on viewing reruns from 2000 to 2003 and on their viewing experiences of *Sailor Moon* musicals.⁴⁶ The live musical performances (1993-2005), plotted using a 'media mix' strategy, retained former fans and drew younger girl audiences, including the girls in my research, to theatres. The musicals embodied an inter-textual site, where the girl audiences perceived fictional characters as real ones.⁴⁷ Therefore, instead of showing actual episodes of the *Sailor Moon* series, I offered the girls the still colour images used at my interviews with the women in order to investigate their beauty aesthetics and general perceptions of how characterisations of witch heroines appeal to girls, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

These visuals were useful in enabling my research subjects to remember vivid images of magical girl protagonists and related merchandised products they described. Some interviewees noticed their falsified memories, which also prompted them to talk more about their childhoods. Images and episodes, however, were carefully selected because they could induce interviewees and participants of discussions to have

⁴⁵ Truancy (*futôkô*) is generally caused by traumatic experiences of bullying and anthropophobia, etc.

⁴⁶ The first, second and third seasons of the *Sailor Moon* series were rebroadcast on TV Asahi, in the 6:00-6:30am time slot on Sundays. The participants clearly remembered these episodes.

⁴⁷ In her study on the intertextuality of *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (TMNT), Kinder (1991) suggests that 'the perception of the transmedia tie-in was part of the appeal' to child audiences (205). TMNT's network consisted of a TV show, comic books, a movie, video games, etc., all of which provided children with various entry points into this network.

preferable answers to researchers' research questions. In order to alleviate this disadvantage, it was important not to use visuals from the beginning of my interviews. I argue that showing still and moving images is crucial to Japanese preteen audiences because with the help of such images, they could comment on aesthetic values, childcare, motherhood and familial relationships—all topics that are relevant to my research questions. The particular episodes I selected contain magical transformations, motherhood, childcare, familial relationships between fathers and sons/daughters, and female solidarity, which provided my participants greater opportunities to relate these to their own circumstances and to voluntarily speak about them.

Therefore, modifying different qualitative methods in postfeminist television/film studies, I developed and refined my qualitative methods based on the results of a pilot study questionnaire and focus group discussions. Open-ended questions in my questionnaire and individual interviews allowed the participants to offer multiple responses, which provided adequate data to examine. Paying much attention to gender and age differences, and avoiding pressure from peers, parents or teachers, I designed the final individual interviews with women, conducted outside their homes, and the final focus group discussion among girls, conducted outside the school.

This chapter has critically examined the limitations of Western scholarship about representations of women and inscribed female spectatorship in films engaged by psychoanalytical approaches, and it has explored interrelations between audiovisual texts and social audiences in Western television/film studies within the framework of Cultural Studies, as well as Japanese and Western scholarship about animation studies. After examining various class- and ethnicity-oriented qualitative approaches to audience research in Western postfeminist television studies, the final section explained the way in which my qualitative methods to investigate Japanese female audiences were developed and designed in relation to Japanese cultural contexts.

In my audience research, it is notable that Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* prompted women and girls to talk more about themselves than about the programmes. However, prior to these analyses, the next chapter will discuss Japanese cultural contexts from the 1960s to the early 2000s, focusing on girls' culture, feminist movements and representations of witches and witchcraft in Japan.

Chapter Two: Cultural Context

This chapter focuses on three aspects of Japanese cultural contexts in relation to representations in Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* and Japanese female audiences: girls' culture, focusing on representations of the West, feminist movements from the 1960s to the early 2000s, and representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Japan. The unique characterisations of the heroines of Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes selected for this thesis are embedded in these crucial cultural backgrounds.

Section 1: Japanese Girl (*Shôjo*) Culture

This first section will explore how the *shôjo* (girl) was historically constructed in Japan to be given specific meanings in sociocultural contexts from the late 1900s (when the term was reconceptualised) in comparison to the English 'girl', by investigating discourses and representations of the *shôjo* in girls' magazines, *manga*, novels and *anime*. In relation to the first factor, the second section will examine how representations of 'the West' are interrelated with the development of girls' culture. The final section will discuss how *kawaii* (childlike cuteness) and the ephemerality of girlhood in girls' culture have been developed and have functioned in Japanese society. This investigation will clarify the significance of representations of *shôjo* and the West, and define the aesthetic values of *kawaii* in relation to Magical Girl TV *anime* and how they are inscribed in those programmes.

1-1. The Japanese '*Shôjo*' and Its Implications

What is a 'girl'? In physical human development, a girl is biologically a female in the stages of pre-puberty through adolescence, in between a child and an adult.

However, as Driscoll (2002) states, the definition of girlhood is always obscure (2; see also Shamoon, 2009: 132). The term 'girl' is often translated into Japanese as *shôjo* and

occasionally as *onna-no-ko*. The term *onna-no-ko* literally signifies female child; however, it is sometimes used to refer to young women in relation to men as a verbal taunt or with a connotation of intimacy, since *ko* (child) implies immaturity and inferiority. The usage of *onna-no-ko* in the Japanese language differs from *shôjo* as well. Girls address themselves as an *onna-no-ko*, but almost never as a *shôjo*.¹ Thus, *shôjo* serves as an agent who is constructed and addressed by a third party (Yokokawa, 1991; Murase, 2000); *shôjo* serves as an object, on which negative and positive images can be projected. Due to the nature of *shôjo*, *shôjo* as a term will be used in this thesis to discuss both girls as objects represented in several forms of visual media and actual girls as subjects who consume these representations.

‘*Shôjo*’ is a disturbing term. Japanese girls’ culture has different ways of development and evaluation from those of most Western countries. I shall explore Japanese girlhood by investigating transitions in the meanings of ‘*shôjo*’ in three different *kanji* (Chinese characters) of *shôjo* in a historical context. According to *Kôjien*, one of the most reliable Japanese dictionaries, in modern Japanese usage, *shôjo* signifies girls aged between approximately six (the age at which compulsory education begins) and 20 (the age of adulthood in Japan) years.² Many Western critics assume the central agents who employ girls’ culture are roughly older teenage girls, focusing on ‘*kawaii*’ as one of the important factors that shape Japanese girls’ culture (Kinsella, 1995; Driscoll 2002: 296, Napier 2005: 148); this excludes preteen girls who are often categorised as ‘children’. These researchers seemingly pay less attention to preteen girls in the study of girls’ culture.

The meanings that the term *shôjo* conveys are slightly different from what ‘girl’ signifies in English. Furthermore, *shôjo* as a category has been repeatedly constructed to represent ‘appropriate’ femininity and/or the feminine. In this thesis, the term

¹ For instance, an English sentence, ‘I am a girl’, should be translated into ‘I am an *onna no ko*’ in Japanese. Usually, girls do not address themselves as ‘I am a *shôjo*’. However, it is natural to say ‘She is a *shôjo*’. Therefore, *shôjo* in Japanese usage is addressed by a third party.

² Pre-school girls are specifically called *yôjo* (immature female), which is distinct from *shôjo*.

‘appropriate’ femininity describes feminine behaviour and conduct that are socially expected and acceptable to hegemonic femininity. Besides cuteness, the term *shôjo* has been associated with purity, innocence, ephemera, humbleness and romance. *Shôjo* in Japanese girls’ culture has been expressed in three different forms of *kanji* (in chronological order): *otome* (乙女), *shojo* (処女) and *shôjo* (少女) (Kawamura, 1996; Yamanashi, 2007). *Otome* (read as *shôjo*) emphasised sensitivity, purity and innocence from the late 19th century to the end of the 1920s.³ The introduction of the German film *Mädchen in Uniform* to Japanese female audiences in the 1930s familiarised *shojo* as *shôjo*, underlining virginal purity. In the 1940s, the current *kanji* of *shôjo* was standardised to signify ‘girls’. Therefore, *shôjo* symbolises not simply young females but also the favourable characteristics of girls: sensitivity, pureness, innocence, virginity and propensity towards romantic humbleness. *Shôjo* is also essentially desexualised (Watanabe, 2007), so that every sexual connotation is excluded in the discourse of girls’ culture until at least the 1960s, when feminist movements and mass consumerism profoundly changed its meanings. Therefore, the three expressions of *shôjo* homonymically suggest various meanings to describe girls.

Japanese ‘*shôjo* culture proliferated in the 1920s and 1930s “within the private world of girls’ schools”’ (Shamoon, 2009: 133), segregating girls from the male-dominated society and enclosing them in a female homosocial space. Girls’ magazines noticeably helped to develop *shôjo* culture in two ways. They provided representations of Western culture through illustrations, novels and articles. Girl readers created their own original networks by exchanging their opinions on the communication boards of magazines and at fan conventions (Sato-Sakuma, 1996). The next section will discuss how early Japanese girls’ culture developed in relation to representations of the West.

³ In modern Japanese, *otome* is often used in the idiomatic expression, *otome-tic* (*otome-chikku*), signifying the complex romantic, sensitive and adolescent feelings of girls about love.

1-2. Japanese Girlhood and Admiration for Western Culture

In order to investigate the Japanese cultural background within which the witch, a Western icon, is widely accepted as a heroine in girls' *anime*, it is necessary to focus on how Western culture was historically related to the development of Japanese girls' culture. In Japan, 'the West' is often used as a relatively ambiguous, monolithic term with connotations of the 'non-Asian' in contrast to 'the East' or to 'Asia' (Iwabuchi, 2002). However, 'the West' essentially conveys two images: the Anglo-American and the European. Despite the current permeative globalisation, the notion of 'the West' reminds the Japanese majority of English-speaking countries (namely the United States and Britain) and, in a slightly different sense, Western European countries.⁴ Although America has politically and culturally influenced Japan, this tacit assumption was constructed specifically after World War II, when American ideological practices—including democracy, education, equal rights for men and women, the American lifestyle, clothes and romance—forcibly started to become the ideal model for the Japanese in 1945 (Tsurumi, 1987: 11-12; Shimamori, 1998:11-12; Shindô, 2004: 168).

Early girls' culture developed especially in relation to representations of Western culture. In 1868, the *Meiji* government inaugurated the policy of modernisation equivalent to 'Westernisation'.⁵ Because offering higher education for girls was one of the government's new political practices, girls' schools mushroomed in urban areas of Tokyo and Yokohama after 1870. Those schools for girls, which were almost wholly established by Christian organisations primarily aimed for sacred missions, served to introduce Western culture to girls.⁶ After the enactment of the Law for Girls' Schools in 1899,⁷ a growing number of girls entered girls' schools. This facilitated the production

⁴ In the late 19th century, when the Japanese government encouragingly introduced Western culture, the West referred to 'Western Europe such as Britain, Germany and France' (Masuda, 1970).

⁵ *Meiji* was the name of the time period (1868-1911), based on the reign of Emperor Meiji.

⁶ Permission to enter those schools was limited to girls from wealthy families. Admission to these schools for girls was not broadened until the *Taishô* era (1912-25) (Yayoi Museum and Uchida 2005: 18, 77).

⁷ By the amendment implemented in 1920, public girls' schools were accredited.

of a notion of 'girlhood', the adolescent period before marriage (Saitô, 2000; Sakamoto, 2001). Adolescent girls' sexuality, however, needed to be controlled through the introduction of a norm of chastity, in which girls' virginity was highly valued (Watanabe, 2007: 62). However, the segregated girl-only milieu was profoundly influenced by Western modern culture and liberalist ideology, which were embraced by girls who had limited employment opportunities after graduating from school.⁸ The educational policy did not overtly antagonise Japanese traditional education for women 'to become a good wife and a wise mother (*ryosai kenbo*)'⁹; however, this served to prevent the authority from intervening in girls' culture, and hence girls' culture was maintained (Inagaki, 2007).

French culture was consistently introduced with positive connotations in magazines for girls during the 1920s. As a site where early girls' culture was embedded, girls' magazines in the 1910s served to offer young women information on Western fashion, modern lifestyle, arts and ideologies until the 1940s, when other media assumed this role. The four major girls' magazines were *Friends of Girls* (1908-1955), *Girl's Illustrated Magazine* (1912-1942), *Girl's Club* (1923-1962) and *The World of Ladies* (1922-1950).¹⁰ *The World of Ladies*, which specifically targeted older teen girls, featured a special column about France reported by Kôji Fukiya, a popular illustrator, who studied art in Paris during the art deco period of the 1920s (Yayoi Museum and Uchida, 2005: 7). Kashô Takabatake and Jun'ichi Nakahara played leading roles to provide alluring illustrations of girls, through which Western fashion was also introduced. An article with illustrated instructions by Nakahara, for instance, introduced ways of wearing Western clothes as ideal modern girls' fashion (Figure 1). Katsuji

⁸ Barbara Sato (1994; 2003) explains how young women as '*moga*' (modern girls) were constructed in the 1920s in relation to Western culture.

⁹ One exceptional case is that of Bunka Gakuin, a private girls' school in Tokyo, which was overtly opposed to the good-wife-good-mother education (Mizutani, 2009: 619).

¹⁰ Their Japanese titles are *Shôjo no Tomo* (*Friends of Girls*), *Shôjo Gahô* (*Girl's Picture Magazine*), *Shôjo Kurabu* (*Girl's Club*) and *Reijokai* (*The World of Ladies*), respectively. *Shôjo Gahô* was merged into *Shôjo no Tomo* in 1942 (Yayoi Museum and Uchida, 2005: 6-7). Except *Shôjo Kurabu*, they stopped publishing during wartime.

Matsumoto, one of the top illustrators and comic artists working for *Friends of Girls*, introduced a colourful Disney-like Western illustration style (Figure 2; Yayoi Museum and Uchida, 2006: 32). His motifs, which featured items such as Western castles, sea landscapes, and exotic skies in the background, were decorated with fantastic images that enchanted many girl readers in the 1930s (Endô, 2004: 53-54). Kyoko Inagaki (2007) suggests that the girls' books by female novelist Nobuko Yoshiya, which were published in magazines such as *Friends of Girls* and *Girls' Club*, became popular among girls.¹¹ Although girls' novels were underestimated due to their sentimentality and romanticism, girl readers took pleasure in reading and appreciating the European illustrations inscribed in them (Inagaki, 2007: 76).



Fig. 1 Jun'ichi Nakahara's illustrations in 'A Guidebook of Girls' Summer Dress', which details how to make and wear Western clothes fashionably.



Fig. 2 Katsuji Matsumoto's illustration for H. C. Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*.

The active importation of European films by Nagamasa Kawakita also served to positively introduce European culture to young women in the 1930s and 1940s. The German film *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931) was a box office success. Japanese female audiences understood that girlhood was connected to 'purity', resulting from the absence of men.¹² Images of West European culture positively implied the fashionable, romantic, urban, modern, respectable and sophisticated. Thus, images of Europe as modern Western culture were disseminated by girls' magazines and films, through which 'fashion, hairstyle, bags and "girls' language" were created and shared among girls' (Inagaki, 2007: 213; translation mine). In 1922, Masaru Mizutani published *How*

¹¹ The cover of her novel, *Hana Monogatari* (*Flower Story*) (1916) in *Girl's Illustrated Magazine*, for instance, is filled with Art Nouveau illustrations (Inagaki, 2007:69).

¹² In the same manner, the absence of women in the Japanese male homosexual/homosocial space served to construct boyhood/manhood until the 1940s (Furukawa, 1994: 29-30).

to *Make Shôjo Poetry*, in which he comments on the specificity of girls' language by noting that 'girls [had] a unique life of mind. [...] In other words, girls [had] special sensitivity' (2009[1922]: 14; translation mine).

European imagery has been employed as the setting in Japanese *manga* and *anime* for girls since the 1960s.¹³ As the Japanese economy grew rapidly in the 1960s, representations of the West were associated with prosperity, superior status, and fashionableness, all of which were emulated by Japanese girls. Due to the lack of overt class differences in Japanese society (at least in urban areas), 'the West' denoted upper-class status in girls' *manga* and *anime*.

In 1963, *Shôjo Friend* and *Margaret* (weekly *manga* magazines for girls) were founded and began to publish the *manga* of young female artists.¹⁴ They were full of Western images; foreign blonde girls were featured in the front pages of these magazines, and along with *manga*, 'reports on journeys in Western countries and lifestyle of Western girls were overwhelmingly introduced' (Yonezawa, 2007: 148; translation mine). Magical Girl TV *anime* has, since 1966, likewise introduced Western representations of witches, witchcraft, Western-style houses and lifestyle. *Meg the Little Witch* (1974-75), for instance, is set in an imaginary European city, and the hometown of the heroine of *Lulu the Flower Angel* (1979-80) is located in southern France. Images of the high-born, upright, and fashionable are inscribed in narratives of printed and audiovisual works targeting girls.

Those representations associated with modernity enabled girls to admire Western culture and lifestyle. Furthermore, in the 1960s and 1970s, authors of novels for girls often utilised imaginary Western settings, which provided a theatrical site where

¹³ The world-famous Japanese animation director Hayao Miyazaki often uses European imagery in such films as *Lupin III: The Castle of Cagliostro*, *Laputa: The Castle in the Sky*, *Kiki's Delivery Service* and *Howl's Moving Castle*. The significance of the Western settings presented in *anime* for girls in constructing female subjectivity will be examined in Chapter Three.

¹⁴ Although monthly *manga* magazines for girls were also the locus of publication of their works, what distinguished them from weekly *manga* magazines was that target readers of the weekly magazines were older teen girls. Female *manga* artists such as Eiko Mizuno, Masako Watanabe and Miyako Maki took the lead, introducing Western images and lifestyle (Yonezawa, 2007: 149-154; Futagami, 2005: 28-44).

conflicts, struggles and intricate romance caused by class differences in Western societies could be depicted dramatically. Takahara (1999) argues that although class struggles existed in pre-war Japan, Japanese settings were difficult to use in the narratives of novels. Hence, 'by borrowing the structure of bourgeois novels in Europe, Japanese writers reconfigured and appropriated them to create a story in Japan' (206; translation mine). Takahara suggests that the works of Yumiko Kurahashi, a popular female novelist, contain 'very Romanesque but profane sensationalism', articulating that she deftly depicts everyday life and reality through the use of imaginary sovereignty and aristocracy (207).¹⁵ It should be noted that representations of imaginary West European class struggles offered a site through which girl readers might associate imaginary 'upper-class' people with the West.

In addition to representations of Western Europe in magazines, novels, *manga* and *anime* for girls, the English language also served as a device for the Japanese to gain admiration. Since Japan was 'restructured' by American-led institutionalisation after World War II, the Japanese public appreciated American and British cultural forms, such as political systems, ideologies, and art works (including films, TV, music and food) (Tsurumi, 1987: 11). English language education became compulsory, and English was offered as the primary foreign language in courses at public junior high schools in the 1950s.¹⁶ Yet there were still a number of people who did not speak English fluently, which led to them developing an inferiority complex. In other words, the Japanese tended to see themselves as inferior to America and Britain in terms of their English-speaking abilities. This characteristic allowed for those who could speak English to evoke admiration and respectability (Tsurumi, 1987: 60). Additionally, the ability to speak English provided more opportunities to gain better jobs in Japan.

¹⁵ Kurahashi's novel entitled *Sacred Girl* (1965) exemplifies this, exposing conflicts between the heroine's mother and her maids as well as devastated familial relationships (Takahara, 1999: 207).

¹⁶ In 2006, an English course was introduced to approximately 80% of Japanese public elementary schools (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2006). In 2011, the English language course in Japanese public elementary schools became compulsory (*Sankei Newspaper*, 2011).

Therefore, English proficiency was not only metaphysically associated with positive images, but it also practically ensured people a better and more successful life. In my audience research, in fact, the admiration and respectability acquired through the practice and adoption of Western ways (such as English proficiency and fashion) were significant for girls, in terms of their acquisition of femininity and subjectivity.¹⁷

There are two different levels of representations of 'the West': proximity and distance. The close, intimate and 'cool' (e.g. English-proficient) cultures of English-speaking countries, the United States and the United Kingdom, have been embraced by the Japanese, but they are often inscribed with a traumatic war experience (Yoshimi, 2003). Distanced, idealised and sophisticated European culture has been sublimated by the frequent use of 'France and Germany' as metaphors, meaning the whole of a mythical Europe onto which romantic and fashionable allusions are inclined to be projected. The dual-layered representations of the West are crucial to analysing characterisations of heroines featured in Japanese Magical Girl *anime*.

In the 1980s, however, representations of the West did not considerably function to create admiration due to their indigenisation into Japanese girls' culture. Based on the power of representations of the West, the Japanese aesthetic value of *kawaii* noticeably became the central interest in Japanese girls' culture. The next section will explicate how the aesthetic value of *kawaii* functioned in the development of girls' culture, which is closely related to Japanese girls' mental map.

1-3. An Aesthetic Notion of Cuteness (*kawaii*)

Kawaii is one of the key aesthetics for understanding the characteristics of Japanese girls' culture. In my research on female audiences of Magical Girl *anime*, *kawaii* predominantly served as a measure to evaluate aesthetics. *Kawaii* is somewhat equivalent to 'cute', 'pretty' and 'adorable' in the English language. However, as

¹⁷ This will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

McVeigh (2000) argues, although cuteness is not unique to Japan, ‘cuteness is a much more powerful theme than in North America’ and ‘more of a “standard” aesthetic of everyday life’ (135). In the English usage, when children or objects that require adult support are depicted, such adjectives as ‘cute, pretty and adorable’ tend to be used in order to emphasise immaturity and dependence. Therefore, when those adjectives are incorrectly used to describe women, they may be interpreted as an insult, containing negative connotations of disrespect women by not recognising them as autonomous persons.

In Japan, however, *kawaii* does not usually carry a negative meaning. It is used to refer to small and immature objects and certain imperfect behaviours, conditions and attitudes in people, regardless of gender and age.¹⁸ Yomota (2006) argues that *kawaii* ‘stands on the borderline between beauty and the grotesque and evokes images of little things, immaturity and nostalgia’ (190; translation mine). Kinsella (1995) contends that *kawaii* ‘essentially means childlike [and] it celebrates sweet, adorable, innocent, pure, simple, genuine, gentle, vulnerable, weak, and inexperienced social behaviour and physical appearances’ (220). Thus, *kawaii* functions as not only an adjective but also a force to control people’s demeanour and consumption (Skov and Moeran, 1995).

Kawaii also serves to exercise power between speakers (persons who portray someone by using *kawaii*) and receivers (persons who are portrayed as *kawaii*). By addressing someone as *kawaii*, the speakers locate themselves on a superior level to the receiver.¹⁹ When one finds an imperfection or some attitude of a superior—such as a boss—and depicts the boss as *kawaii*, it implies that the one who uses the word does not feel tension towards the superior (i.e. the boss is viewed as a ‘cuddly’ person). In this sense, *kawaii* can be used to express something adorable that can be managed, handled,

¹⁸ There are some cases in which both men and women take *kawaii* as an insult and refuse to be seen as *kawaii*, but the term itself is normally used as a compliment.

¹⁹ Ohtsuka (1997) and Yomota (2006) mention that *kawaii* came to bother them when they knew that high school girls depicted the Emperor Shōwa—who had been sick in bed—as ‘*kawaii*.’ (Yomota 2006: 10). The girls were interpreted to be caretakers with nurturing feelings towards the Emperor, who was considered a sacred figure for the generations raised before the 1940s.

or controlled, which, in Japanese aesthetics, is highly valued.

This value of being *kawaii* and ephemeral enabled the formation of a unique girls' culture associated with girlhood and consumerism in the late 1970s and 1980s. An important development in products for girls in the late 1970s was the marketing of so-called 'fancy goods' produced by Sanrio Co., for instance, Hello Kitty, Patty & Jimmy, and the Little Twin Stars known as Kiki and Lala (Figure 3). These products experienced a surge in popularity among teenagers and elementary school girls.²⁰ Stationery, school bags, accessories and ornaments were produced with these logos.



Fig. 3 Hello Kitty (left), Patty & Jimmy (centre) and Kiki & Lala (right)

This character-oriented business promoted *kawaii* girls' culture and peaked in the 1980s (Kinsella, 1995).²¹ The emerging fashion magazines for girls also focused on *kawaii* fashion, facilitating the construction of *kawaii* culture.

For preteen girls, *kawaii* ideology is practiced and reproduced through the consumption of not only fancy goods, but also merchandised toys and costumes. Besides pastel colours, Victorian-type Western clothes with frills also typify *kawaii* fashion. Referring to graphic images in *an-an*, a girls' fashion magazine, Kinsella (1995) explains that 'the clothes were often fluffy and frilly with puffed sleeves and lots of ribbons—a style known as "fancy"—or alternatively were cut slightly small or tight and came decorated with cartoon characters and slogans' (229).²² These types of dresses were often visualised in *anime* for girls, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

²⁰ *Hello Kitty* was adapted into TV *anime*. The first TV *anime* of Hello Kitty, *Hello Kitty's Funny Tale Theatre*, was produced by CBS in the United States in 1989. In the same year, the animated film *Hello Kitty's Cinderella* was produced in Japan. This is quite similar to *My Little Pony* (see Seiter, 1995b).

²¹ Kinsella (1995) also argues that 1980s Japanese *kawaii* culture for girls emerged in the form of 'the fancy goods', cute handwriting and slang, clothes, food, pop star idols and ideological practices (222-240).

²² The Japanese popular culture critic, Kazuko Nimiya (1993), notes that such fluffy and frilly *kawaii* dresses were represented by Pink House, one of the most popular fashion brands that led *kawaii* fashion (18).

In the 1970s, as the licensing industry proliferated, *anime*-related merchandised toys for preteen girls appeared. From the 1980s onward, these mass-produced toys were alternatively called ‘character goods’, promoting *kawaii* culture among preteen girls and younger teen girls. By the late 1970s, a mass consumer society had been established in Japan. Accordingly, girls came to be considered good consumers, which led to many toy companies producing merchandise designed to meet their needs. Toy stores sold merchandised wands, pendants and bracelets featured in Magical Girl *anime* and associated with the heroines. For instance, a toy compact with a magic mirror, which Akko in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* used for her magical transformation, was the first popular ‘magic item’ that became a commodity. In addition to ‘magic item’ toys, accessories, vanity cases, cooking toys, first-aid kits, sewing machines and stationery sets with protagonists’ logos were marketed as mass-produced items and associated with domesticity and femininity (*Toei Animation Anthology* 3, 2004; Takemura, 2009).

Therefore, Japanese girls’ culture has embraced many Western cultural practices, but indigenised and modified them to suit the Japanese aesthetic that appreciated incompleteness or immaturity in terms of *kawaii*. Scott (1992) argues ‘the evidence of experience [. . .] reproduces [. . .] given ideological systems’ and individuals are ‘constituted through experience’ (25-26). ‘The West’ served as a site through which modern, romantic, fashionable and adult-like femininity was constructed in Japanese girls’ culture. Simultaneously, however, representations of ‘the West’ were indigenised into the Japanese aesthetic value of childlike cuteness. This ambivalence was inscribed in Magical Girl *anime*, a topic to which I will return in Chapter Three.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when *kawaii* girls’ culture proliferated, the second-wave feminist movements likewise developed. The next section will explore how Japanese feminist movements were interrelated with girls’ and young women’s awareness about sexuality and femininity. Despite the fact that Japanese Magical Girl *anime* programmes were primarily designed for preteen girls, they serve as sites where Japanese feminist

thought and ideology can be traced.

Section 2: Japanese Feminism from the 1960s to the 2000s

In the previous section, I attempted to argue that Japanese girls' culture developed through admiration for and appropriation of representations of the West within the private female homosocial world through the consumption of *kawaii* (childlike and cute) fashion and 'fancy goods', and through the performance of *kawaii* demeanour. Such a cultural development in this segregated space, however, may provide the overall impression that Japanese women have been oppressed and have never resisted hegemonic femininity. Although the sociocultural and political position of Japanese women remains relatively low, Japanese feminist movements have been active. A notable characteristic is the major emphasis that Japanese feminists place on a gradual improvement (and not a radical change) in society through the use of motherhood to protect children (Kanô, 2004[1997]; Nishikawa, 2004a [1997]; Etô, 2005).

This section traces Japanese second-wave feminist movements from the late 1960s to the 1980s and postfeminist movements in the 1990s and the early 2000s in relation to articulations of motherhood, femininity and gender equality. My focus is primarily on ordinary women's 'feminist' activities because this research aims to elucidate how ordinary female audiences have understood Magical Girl *anime* for girls from a feminist perspective. By detailing young women's responses to feminist movements, this analysis will be linked to arguments in the next chapter on how issues regarding girls and women are articulated through Japanese witch *anime* texts and how female audiences made meanings through those programmes.

2-1. 'Second-Wave' Feminism from the 1960s to the 1980s—Motherhood and Consumption

According to the Human Development Report (2007/2008), despite the fact that Japan's rank is relatively high in the Human Development Indexes (eighth from the top),

its rank in the Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM) is 54th out of 93 countries (330; 333).²³ Essentially, the low ratio of women's participation in policy making has lowered Japan's GEM.²⁴ What has hindered women's participation?

Etô (2005) argues that the women's movements in Japan were exercised by elite-initiated groups, feminist groups and non-feminist groups, which focused on 'motherhood' and linked motherhood to women's demands in politics (316-318). However, she suggests that these attempts by feminists as well as elites to rally the masses 'did not mobilize many women and their causes attracted little public support' (316). In contrast, the political activities of ordinary women were based on 'mothers' concern'; that is, 'mothers' fear of the fatal effect of nuclear power on their children provoked [women] into direct action' (Etô, 2005: 317).²⁵ The objective of protecting children did not damage hegemonic femininity; therefore, the participation of non-activist women who possessed 'mothers' concern' in socio-political movements was not criticised (Etô, 2005: 317-8).

This tendency stemmed partly from the Japanese virtue of altruism and partly from the negative connotations of the *feminisuto* (feminist). The abovementioned mothers' activities (protecting children) were regarded as altruistic, but their demands for the emancipation of women and the liberation of female sexuality were considered to be anti-altruistic and 'inappropriate' feminine behaviour, causing an immediate backlash and severe public criticism. As a result, from the 1970s to the 1990s, a *feminisuto* was represented with negative connotations as a woman who radically criticised male-dominated systems and norms. Therefore, *feminisutos* and their activities were not fully accepted by men or by ordinary women.

²³ The Gender Empowerment Measures are calculated by economic and political inequalities between men and women in a country.

²⁴ In the 2009 national election for the House of Representatives, however, 54 women gained seats. The percentage of female representatives is 11.3%, which is the highest the figure has been since World War II.

²⁵ These political movements resulting from mothers' affection towards their children were typified by the foundation of the Life Club in 1968, a society aiming to offer children uncontaminated food. This was the same year that a number of food products stored in hermetically-sealed pouches became available, causing anxiety about artificial food additives (Inoue and Ehara, 2005).

The association of altruism with motherhood is probably universal and was typified by the self-sacrificing mother in several media platforms, such as novels, children's literature, films, and TV dramas. For instance, *East Lynne* (1931) and *Stella Dallas* (1937) overtly articulated the altruism of mothers (Kaplan, 1992). These American maternal melodramas influenced Japanese maternal melodramas called *haha-mono*. *Haha-mono* was one of the most popular genres in novels, films, *manga* and TV dramas in the pre-war and post-war eras (Sakamoto, 1997; Futagami, 2005; Ishiko, 2006; Itakura, 2007; Yonezawa, 2007; etc.). Sakamoto (1997) suggests that, through the abovementioned American maternal melodramas, motherhood became noticeably associated with self-sacrifice and altruism, and that these notions were then enhanced and reproduced in Japan (155 and 158).²⁶

Since 1961, young women have been featured in serial morning dramas, collectively entitled *The Serial Morning TV Novel*, produced by NHK.²⁷ They consistently articulate not only the self-sacrifice of motherhood and 'wifedom'—along with a virtue of industriousness—but they also represent women as powerful and independent individuals who display high self-esteem. Thus, self-sacrificing motherhood and its high appreciation in Japan reinforced hegemonic Japanese motherhood. However, they also provided alternative female models. The association of motherhood with altruism therefore enabled the public to more readily accept Japanese 'feminist' movements as political movements.

Negative connotations of the '*feminisuto*' led ordinary Japanese women to take a maternal position in political activities, especially from the 1970s to the early 1990s. Although Japanese feminist movements aimed to improve women's social status, reproductive health and working conditions, they were misunderstood and

²⁶ Sakamoto (1997) argues that although self-sacrificing fatherhood and negative representations of motherhood were already observed in plays in the 18th century (151; 157), Japanese motherhood was often represented in novels and films due to the influence of translated European literature in the 19th century.

²⁷ NHK is Japan's nation-wide public broadcasting corporation. Formatted as a 15-minute six-month serial drama, this NHK programme is broadcast every weekday morning (NHK Online, 2011). As of 2011, 84 titles have been broadcast.

misrepresented as radical feminist activities that ultimately negated motherhood and hegemonic femininity. One such criticism against feminists is typified by Michiyoshi Hayashi's arguments regarding motherhood in relation to feminism. He suggests that Japanese radical *feminisuto*'s disrespect towards motherhood indirectly caused a loss of motherhood (women's inattention to childcare and domestic chores) in young Japanese women (1999a; 1999b).²⁸ Such an essentialist assumption was attributed to a deep-rooted notion that the Japanese hold about the division of labour along traditional gender roles. Thus, *feminisuto* functioned as a destructive threat to hegemonic norms.

Ordinary women hardly accepted elite-led feminist movements, either. Nimiya (2004) argues that elite-led feminist ideology did not speak to ordinary women's demands in the 1980s, which distinguished elite-led feminism from 'something like feminism' that ordinary women supported (111, 169 and 205). In order to explain the gaps between elite-led feminism and ordinary women's feminist-like actions, she notes that:

Whilst young women in the 1980s demanded 'I want to do such and such!', exemplified by Mariko Hayashi and Non Oyamada, what elite-feminists such as Chizuko Ueno claimed was that 'I don't want to do such and such!' (254; translation mine)²⁹

Ordinary women faced a dilemma; they wished for the improvement of working conditions and fixed division of labour, but they also wished to take pleasure in being feminine and consuming fancy goods or fashion.

Young women's growing interests in expressing their femininity through fashion were observed through representations of new role models and a new lifestyle for girls

²⁸ These were exemplified by a number of child abuse and child murder cases committed by the victims' own mothers in the 1990s. However, this criticism lacks adequate data to prove the direct relationship between feminist movements and the 'loss of motherhood'.

²⁹ Mariko Hayashi (1954-) is a well-known novelist and essayist. Non Oyamada is the heroine of Yutsuko Chûsonji's *manga*, *Sweet Spot* (1989), which was published in the weekly photo magazine *SPA!*. Non is characterised as a new woman who does not hesitate to enter male domains and enjoys golf, alcohol, *karaoke* and horse racing. The vogue word, *Oyaji Gal* (a gal who behaves like a middle-aged man), was coined due to her character. Chizuko Ueno (1948-), a professor at Tokyo University, is one of the most renowned Japanese feminists.

in Japanese popular young women's magazines that were founded in the 1970s and the 1980s, such as *An-an*, *Non-no*, *JJ* and *Hanako* (Skov and Moeran, 1995; Sakamoto, 1999 and 2001; Saitô, 2000). Saitô (2000) argues that '*An-an* and *Non-no* were more influential than women's liberation movements in the 1970s. [These magazines] represented sewing, cooking and housekeeping in the home as vogue and fashionable, eating out and designing a room with fashionable interior furniture; that is, women's obligatory duties were represented as their hobbies' (234-235).³⁰ Unmarried women who financially supported themselves established their new identities through the consumption of goods in order to gratify their desires—purchasing brand-name clothes, jewellery, interior decorations, and travelling—in pursuit of their own happiness. Sakamoto (2001) suggests that '[*An-an* and *Non-no*] helped women to be emancipated from discrimination against women's lifestyle and tacit assumptions which regulated women's conduct' (157). Therefore, 'something like feminism' in the 1980s was characterised by an apolitical attitude in order to avoid making women seem 'radical' or to avoid directly condemning hegemonic norms. Despite this fact, however, their new lifestyle and consumption patterns served to challenge social norms of femininity and 'appropriate' female conducts in a political way. The struggle between social demand for maternal altruism and women's reconciliation with 'appropriate' femininity is typically represented in Magical Girl *anime*.³¹

2-2. 'Postfeminism' in Japan in the 1990s and the 2000s and Gender Equality

From the late 1980s to the late 1990s, Japan experienced drastic social and economic changes. The *Shôwa* era ended with the Emperor's demise in 1989, enabling the Japanese to recognise the end of one era and to anticipate the beginning of a new era. However, the economic growth (or 'the economic bubble') that started in the late 1980s

³⁰ These magazines featured not only fashion but also new lifestyle choices such as women travelling by themselves, which were rarely practiced before the 1970s.

³¹ This will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

ended in the early 1990s and was followed by a long recession. In 1990, Japan's birth rate dropped to 1.57, which was sensationally reported as 'the 1.57 shock' in mass media.³² Women who had not experienced childbirth were often publicly blamed for the low birth rate.³³ In 1995, the Great Hanshin Earthquake and the terrorist attack by a cult group in Tokyo brought social anxiety and instability. These incidents caused social pessimism and induced a desire for societal change. In these contexts, the term 'gender problems' began to gain currency, as opposed to 'feminism', based on the gender neutrality that the term 'gender' connoted.³⁴

Gender equality in a Japanese postfeminist context is probably symbolised by the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society enforced in 2000. Ratios of public awareness about gender equality were reported as 63.4% in schools and educational institutions, 42% in the home, and 23.9% in the workplace (Cabinet Office, 2007). This partially resulted from renovated 'gender-free (or gender equal)' education. 'Gender-free' education has been exercised primarily through the innovation of curriculums and the change of conventions. Masculinity and femininity were nurtured through school curricula (Miura, 1999: 128).³⁵ Besides the introduction of a 'mixed name list', as discussed in Chapter One, one noticeable 'gender-free' educational movement was that home economics class became compulsory for both boys and girls in public junior high and high schools in 1993 and 1994, respectively (Inoue and Ehara, 2005).³⁶

This 'gender-free' education, however, has suffered from a terrible backlash since

³² This was the lowest birth rate since 1947; however, the birth rate dropped further to 1.26 in 2005 (Cabinet Office Director-General for Policies on Cohesive Society, 2009). From 2006, the birth rate has been gradually increasing.

³³ This was typified by the unreasonable remark of the then former prime minister, Yoshiro Mori, that 'women who do not give birth to children should not be supported by national pension when they are retired because they embrace freedom [without doing their duty of childbirth]' (Anon., 'Aitsugu Kanryo', 2003).

³⁴ A well-known Japanese journal called *Gendai Shisô* (*The Current Thoughts*) featured 'Gender Studies' in the January issue in 1999.

³⁵ In 1969, 79.5% of girls entered high schools, and thus the ratio increased continuously.

³⁶ In 1973, additional credits in home economics were required for female students in high schools, whilst the same number of credits was added to physical education for male students. In the curricula of the lower grades of public elementary schools, the new course 'Life Environment Studies' started in 1992 to replace sociology and science, with the goal that both boys and girls should learn general issues of life including aspects of the environment, communication, science, technology and home economics. Concomitantly, home economics has been offered to students in higher grades.

2000. Essentially, the term ‘gender-free’ was misinterpreted to be a negation of gender differences, allowing its opponents to claim that gender-free education would cause the downfall of masculinity and femininity and lead to societal instabilities (Ueno, 2006). In 2004, the Cabinet Office decided not to use the term ‘gender-free’ because it was misleading. This policy further led to abstaining from the use of the term ‘gender-free’ in Tokyo, as well as to closing a public facility for women in Chiba (Anon., ‘*Jendâ furi “Fushiyô”*’, 2006). Therefore, whilst gender equality has improved in schools and workplaces, the backlash against the ‘gender-free’ movements has caused a recurrence of conservative perspectives of gender roles, femininity and masculinity in the 2000s.

In Japanese feminist movements, motherhood (or an altruistic attitude) has been frequently used as a strategy for ordinary women and feminists to participate in social and political movements. Although the women’s liberation movements of the 1970s were not fully supported by ordinary women, ordinary women challenged social norms about femininity in the pursuit of a new lifestyle. Moreover, they challenged society through their consumption, enabling the following decade to be referred to as ‘the era of women’. The women I interviewed spent their girlhoods during this period of time. This sociocultural milieu will help to understand how they made sense of Magical Girl TV *anime*. As gender-crossing and gender-blurring became normalised, however, traditional gender roles, and a sense of femininity and masculinity, recurred in the 1990s and the 2000s. The girls in my focus group encountered both gender equality movements and the subsequent backlash against them during this period.

Within these interplays, witch *anime* texts for girls have been produced, articulating these feminist perspectives. The next section will discuss the history and politics of representations of witches and witchcraft in the West and Japan in order to relate the issues of girls’ culture and Japanese feminist movements to my selection of witch *anime* texts.

Section 3: Witches and Witchcraft: A History and Politics of Representations of Girls' Magical Power

[My mother told me that] witches could fly with their 'blood'.

(Kiki, in *Kiki's Delivery Service* (1989))³⁷

I quit being a witch.

(Mirai Sakura, in *Magical Doremi Explosion!* (2000))

In Japanese children's literature, *manga* and *anime*, Western-oriented witch heroines are considerably popular. Little witches in Magical Girl TV *anime* have been role models for many preteen girls. In a 1972 survey about children's desires for transforming into other individuals, approximately 40% of female second- and fourth-graders showed a strong desire to become a witch heroine (Kodomo Chôsa Kenkyûjo, 1972: 683-685).³⁸ In recent years, a growing number of merchandised toys and costumes and *anime*-related theatrical musicals and films enabled girl audiences to identify themselves with the witch protagonists and to play-act as the protagonists.

Representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Japanese popular culture are often associated with girlhood, serving as a site through which complicated issues such as women's struggles, negotiations, reconciliation and empowerment are observed. For instance, in the first epigraph, the 13-year-old witch apprentice Kiki in *Kiki's Delivery Service* (1989) suddenly loses her magical powers when she is affected by a loss of self-confidence,³⁹ but she ultimately realises that her magical powers are attributed to her self-confidence. Here, faith in women's own power—rather than financial and psychological independence—is represented by witchcraft.

As stated in the second epigraph by the witch who quit being a witch in the serial 'Doremi and a Witch who Quit Being a Witch' of *Magical Doremi, Explosion!*, being a

³⁷ In the US version of the DVD, this line is translated as 'We fly with our spirit' (*Kiki's Delivery Service*, 2001). However, in the Japanese language, this line indicates that magical power is hereditary and privileged to only women who inherit it from their mothers. Magical power is often associated with female power in popular cultural forms.

³⁸ This survey was conducted with 600 second- and fifth-graders and second-year junior high school students in Tokyo (100 boys and 100 girls in each group). 12% of female second graders and 15% of female fifth graders wanted to become a witch. 26% of female second graders named specific little girl witch protagonists of Magical Girl *anime* programmes.

³⁹ *Kiki's Delivery Service* (*Majo no Takkyûbin*) (1989) is an animated film directed by Hayao Miyazaki. It was adapted from part of the first volume of Eiko Kadono's children's book of the same title (1985-2009).

witch does not always offer pleasure to girls. Her reason for quitting is that she cannot endure the fact that her immortal life inevitably forces her to face the deaths of people who are beloved to her. Being a witch offers a privileged and superior status, but it simultaneously ostracises her on the basis of her extraordinary nature.

Therefore, several gender issues in relation to girls are discursively traced within representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Japan. In order to investigate representation mechanisms associated with girlhood, one should examine how representations of witches and witchcraft in the West have changed historically in relation to girlhood, and how they have been adapted and modified in Japanese popular culture and have reconfigured representations of girls.

This section elucidates, firstly, how representations of witches and witchcraft have been used in popular culture and their historical meanings in relation to girlhood. Next, I will discuss how the term ‘witch’ was configured when translated into Japanese, and how images of witches and witchcraft in Japanese popular culture have been represented and made meaningful in association with girlhood. These investigations will lead to a discussion of the way in which Western-oriented witches and witchcraft have been represented in the Magical Girl *anime* I selected, serving as a site through which Japanese hegemonic femininity is politically interrogated, challenged and reproduced.

3-1. Representations of the Witch and Witchcraft in the West and Girlhood

The witch in Western culture has two opposed conventional images. The first is portrayed as a Christian demonic, ‘old’ and ugly female, who ruins innocent humans with her wicked magical strength.⁴⁰ Witches are stereotypically depicted to have a sharp nose and chin with a large mole, wearing a black pixie hat and cloak. In films for children in the 1930s, the Queen/witch in Walt Disney’s *Snow White and the Seven*

⁴⁰ It is generally said that especially during the Inquisition, a number of mostly innocent women were falsely prosecuted for their witchcraft and ultimately killed by burning, although in England, for instance, ‘witches were hanged rather than burned’ (Purkiss, 1996: 8). This myth provided negative connotations to witches.

Dwarfs (1937) (Figure 4) and the Wicked Witch of the West in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) (Figure 5) typically represent this stereotype.



Fig. 4
The
Queen/
Witch
in
*Snow
White*



Fig. 5
The
Wicked
Witch of
the West
in *The
Wizard
of Oz*

The other way of portraying the witch (as seen mainly in recent films and television programmes) is as an active, powerful and fashionable ‘young’ woman, who rescues human beings by solving problems with her magical power. The Good Witch of the North in *The Wizard of Oz* is a typical example (Figure 6). In animated films, the witch in *Cinderella* (1950) and the fairies in *Sleeping Beauty* (1959) fit this type of representation as well, although they are not particularly young (Figure 7). However, the



Fig. 6 The
Good
Witch of
the North
in *The
Wizard
of Oz*.



Fig. 7 The
three
fairies in
*Sleeping
Beauty*.

two extremely contrasting images are closely interrelated. ‘Good’ witches typically represent traditional and hegemonic femininity, which fully functions in patriarchal societies, while ‘bad’ witches are associated with negative or inappropriate femininity, which may subvert social and sexual norms.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Western TV dramas and films offered new types of witches—both a young housewife type of witch and a series of fearful teenage witch girls. The former are exemplified by Samantha (Elizabeth Montgomery) in *Bewitched* (1964-72)⁴¹ and the titular character (Barbara Eden) of *I Dream of Jeannie* (1965-70). The latter are represented as women with fearful superpowers: for instance, Regan

⁴¹ *Bewitched* is an American TV sitcom that aired from 1966 to 1974 in Japan, where it was an instant success.

(Linda Blair), a girl possessed by the devil, of *The Exorcist* (1973), and the titular character (Sissy Spacek) of *Carrie* (1976). Samantha and Jeannie are young middle-class Caucasian blondes, whose magical powers are essentially restricted by their male partners (Samantha's husband and Jeannie's master, respectively). Along with the representation of Western hegemonic norms of beauty, domesticity is closely associated with positive representations of witches and witchcraft in these texts. However, Helford (2000) argues that 'both can be read as symbolic articulations of women's [. . .] aspirations for respect in roles other than wife and mother' (2). In fact, women's empowerment is highlighted through witch texts in the context of second-wave feminism.

Witches and witchcraft (or supernatural power) are also associated specifically with girls rather than adult women in *The Exorcist* (1973) and *Carrie* (1976). The adolescent instability of girls and their physical transformation from children to adult women can induce various allusions of inscrutability. This seemingly irreconcilable (but actually interrelated) association of vulnerability and power can be effortlessly illustrated through representations of girls in horror films featuring a witch or witchcraft (Creed, 1993: 77).

In the postfeminist context of the 1990s and 2000s, teenage witches can often be seen in TV dramas and cartoons, as exemplified by *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (1996-2003), *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003) and *W.I.T.C.H* (2004-2006).⁴² The titular characters in *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* and *Buffy, the Vampire Slayer* are both sixteen-year-old high school girls.⁴³ Sabrina (Melissa Joan Hart), a Caucasian blonde girl, is a hereditary witch who is suddenly informed of her witch identity by her aunts on her sixteenth birthday. Buffy (Sarah Michelle Gellar), also a Caucasian blonde girl, is informed that she is 'the chosen one' and destined to kill vampires, although she is not

⁴² *W.I.T.C.H* is a French TV animation programme based on Elisabetta Gnone's Italian comic series of the same title (2001-).

⁴³ *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* is based on the *Archie* comics of the same title created by George Gladir and Dan DeCarlo (1971-83).

precisely a witch but a Carrie-type superhuman. Sabrina and Buffy are cute, fashionable and feminine as well as powerful.⁴⁴ It is notable that girls' articulation of desires to be attractive and to draw men's attention are overtly approved of as female power, although such desires were formerly criticised and socially sanctioned as excessive 'inappropriate' sexuality. In televisual witch texts of the 1990s, witchcraft serves to positively represent the need for girls' potential to be powerful and feminine.

Ethnic diversities are inscribed in the series *W.I.T.C.H.*, featuring five 13- or 14-year-old girls: Will (with short red hair and brown eyes), Irma (with short curly brown hair and blue eyes), Teranee (with short blue hair, dark skin and glasses), Cornelia (with long blond hair and blue eyes), and Hay (a Chinese girl with long blue hair). Their mission is declared when Hay's grandmother suddenly tells them that they are 'chosen Guardians' and they are provided with power. This *Sailor Moon*-like witch text positively portrays younger teen girls' solidarity and the possibility of 'changing the world' by saving it from villains.⁴⁵

Witchcraft therefore represents girls' power to subvert hegemonic gender politics. Recent postfeminist criticisms suggest that these attempts to take images of the witch and her power serve as sites to offer female audiences pleasure and to empower them (Krywinska, 2000; Moseley, 2002a; Projansky and Berg, 2005),⁴⁶ although simultaneously, hegemonic femininity is reproduced through the images. For instance:

[*Sabrina, the Teenage Witch*] offers empowering representations of independent girls who have access to equality and engage in cross-gender behaviour *and* that it simultaneously contains those representations within narratives that emphasize beauty, male attention, and taking responsibility for others. (Projansky and Berg, 2005:16; original emphasis)

In the Western postfeminist context, beauty norms are still predominantly symbolised

⁴⁴ Elyce Helford (2005) criticises Buffy in that 'women's intellectual, technical, and/or physical skills may pale in comparison to the way they wear their costumes' (6).

⁴⁵ The 'save-the-world' theme was formerly dominant in comics, animation and science fiction for boys. Superheroes of American comics such as Superman, Batman and Spiderman exemplify this.

⁴⁶ I shall further explore these movements and the shifts of images later in this chapter.

by middle-class, white, young and blonde women. However, the multiple meanings of femininity and gender representations of girls are also inscribed in teen witch texts.

Although the positive meaning of female youth facilitates a construction of positive images of witches and witchcraft, a vexed question remains unanswered: How does girlhood make meanings when it is associated with representations of witches and witchcraft in visual images? In order to answer this question, I will discuss how the witch as a metaphor has often been associated with women, girlhood and feminism in the West.

Originally, the term 'witch' was applied to both men and women in the 12th century. However, the 'witch' came to refer to women performing witchcraft in the 17th century, whereas 'wizard' and 'warlock' were created for their male counterparts (Hamabayashi, 1978; Hill, 1997). Thus, 'witch' was gendered and induced numerous allusions to femininity. Despite such historical facts, a myth about witches and female power was created and subsequently established as 'fact' through circulation among people for a long time (Purkiss, 1996). The myth notes that a number of innocent young women were falsely accused of witchcraft and burnt as victims of a witch-hunt craze between the 17th and 19th centuries. Purkiss (1996) proficiently explores how the witch, witchcraft and femininity were interconnected in women's stories of the early modern period (91-118). According to Purkiss, reproduction and the provision of food were considered to be women's most important roles. By practicing these roles, women could establish their identity. Therefore, any conduct that destabilised their identity or disrupted their gender roles was associated with witchcraft. Here, it is noted that the witch as a metaphorical form represents women's concern about the instability of their identities and social norms.

In 19th century spiritualism of the United States and the United Kingdom, magical power was connected with girls' adolescence. For instance, in 1848, the Fox sisters (12-year-old Kate and 13-year-old Margaret) in New York became sensationally famous

for their abilities to contact the spirit of their home's previous owner, who had been murdered.⁴⁷ Along with this *cause célèbre*, girls and 'mediumship' (or the ability to mediate with the otherworldly) became closely connected at the time of the emergence of American and British spiritualism in the late 19th century (Owen 1985: 45). Although Kate and Margaret later confessed that they had been playing a trick, there were still many cases that reported poltergeist phenomena related to the existences of adolescent children.⁴⁸ Some cases proved to be hoaxes, but many cases were assumed to be indirectly caused by adolescent girls' unstable emotions.

Besides this psychological cause, the social status of working-class young women—namely, the class-oriented employment structures—led to an association between girls and mediumship. Young women as mediums were widely accepted in both public and private spheres in the 19th century. Owen (1985) suggests that, in the United Kingdom in particular, mediumship allowed working-class girls to break free from social immobility (45). When hired by upper-class clients, these girls could use mediumship as a good excuse to leave their rural homes for urban areas to make their living and to acquire a higher social position. In addition, girls as messengers were permitted to make claims, without taking any personal responsibility, about matters that they otherwise were not permitted to discuss plainly (39). Therefore, the association of spirituality with girls can be seen as a result of female passivity and the lower social status of women.

The empowerment that representations of witches and witchcraft entail was often articulated in feminist movements. Interestingly, their use of the witch represented as an innocent young female victim of the patriarchal social system was always combined with a monstrous witch power that indicated the potential to subvert the social system.

⁴⁷ This is known as the Hydesvill Events. Hani (2005) comments that this led to the inception of modern American spiritualism (71). It is important to note that teenage girls were accepted as the first mediums in constructing a notion of the link between girls and supernatural power.

⁴⁸ In Washington in 1949, a girl and an exorcist were involved in a poltergeist case. The film *The Exorcist* (1973), was based upon this case.

Moseley (2002a) suggests that witchcraft was used in radical feminism as a power against the oppression of women in patriarchal society; simultaneously, however, it was 'the essentialist figuring of femaleness in relation to magic and nature' (410; see also Sanders, 2007: 99).

Thus, the threatening powers of Western witches and witchcraft are closely associated with adolescent girls' unstable emotions. However, the power of witches and witchcraft was used positively as a feminist strategy to subvert the patriarchal hegemony. These twofold images were appropriated and positively modified as they were imported to Japan.

3-2. Representations of the Western-Oriented Witch and Witchcraft in Japan

The early concepts of the Western witch and witchcraft were introduced to Japan in the early 1890s by *Encyclopaedia* and *The Amazing Stories of Western Monsters*.⁴⁹ Western witch figures were first imported in the form of illustrated images in translated literature in the early 19th century: namely, *Macbeth* of Charles Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807) and *The Brothers Grimm's Fairy Tales* in 1885 (Ohno et al., 2009: 86-87).⁵⁰ The witches in *Macbeth* and Grimm's fairy tales are characterised as demonic and frightening old women. In the 20th century, films contributed to the introduction of vivid images of the Western witches and witchcraft; it should be noted that *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), and *Cinderella* (1950) were all released in the 1950s.

Although a similar term to the witch (*manyō*) had already appeared in the 13th century Japanese Buddhist text *Sasekishū*, it did not carry connotations of being the Devil's subordinate in the Christian sense (Ohno et al., 2009: 81). Currently, and especially in popular cultural forms such as films and TV dramas, the *majo* (witch;

⁴⁹ Their Japanese titles are *Hyakka Zensho* and *Seiyō Yōkai Kidan*, respectively.

⁵⁰ The first translation of a work of *Grimm's Fairy Tales* was published in 1881, but no witch figure appeared until 1885 because of its modification.

literally, demon woman) represents female aberrant behaviour as being unfeminine or excessively sexual, when the term is associated with adult women.

In Japanese folktales, some witch-like characters do exist, such as *Yamamba*, *Yuki Onna* and *Ubume* (Figure 8). However, unlike witches, they possess no magical powers and are thereby categorised as monsters. *Yamamba* is generally depicted



Fig. 8 Yamamba (or Yamauba) (left), Yuki Onna (centre) and Ubume (right)

as an old woman who usually hides herself in deep forests and sometimes descends from the mountain to assault young men.⁵¹ However, the image of *Yamamba* was used as a symbol of the strong mother in another folktale, where she was characterised as the mother of the legendary Herculean hero of the tenth century, Kintoki Sakata (also known as Kintarô). *Yuki Onna*, often depicted as a pale, beautiful young woman, functions as a *femme fatale* (Kyôgoku, 2000: 157 and 168-9). Finally, a collective fear of the grudge of dead pregnant women is represented by *Ubume*.⁵² In order to prevent dead pregnant women from transforming into the *Ubume* monster, this superstition led to a custom in ancient times where dead babies had to be removed from their mothers' bodies and buried with their dead mothers (Kyôgoku, 2000). Therefore, although Japanese witch-like characters were similar to evil and old witches of the West, Japanese witches and their supernatural powers were associated with negative representations regarding grudges, sexuality and mothering.

In Japan, women and supernatural power are inextricably connected, especially in

⁵¹ On the changes of its images and representations in Japan, see Noriko T. Reider's 'Yamauba: Representation of the Japanese Mountain Witch in Muromachi and Edo Period' (2005, 2: 239-264).

⁵² A folktale about *Ubume* appears in *Anthology of Tales from the Past (Konjaku Monogatarishû)* in the 12th century.

Shinto, the Japanese religious ideology that worships nature, multiple gods, ancestors, spirits and so on. Shamans and *miko* (Shinto mediums) have predominantly been unmarried women or girls since the pre-modern periods. *Miko* (巫女) originally means *miko* (御子, or god's child), mediating between gods and humans; thus, *miko* mediators are considered to be half-human (Yamakami, 1994: 10). Despite the existence of both male and female *miko*, more female *miko* than male *miko* have been engaged in channelling gods' voices or prophecies (Yamakami, 1994: 64; Katsuura, 1994: 360). This leads to a strong association of women with *miko*; however, more significantly, the association between 'girls' and a *miko* results from her task of receiving and channelling gods' prophecies. During shamanistic rituals, a *miko* is possessed by a god, a process that is regarded as her sacred marriage to the god. Therefore, the secular marriage of a *miko* to a man is essentially taboo (Yamakami, 1994: 205-6). This has led to girls being chosen for *miko* roles, due to their liminal position between childhood and adulthood, as well as due to their virginity. Although modern Shinto's *miko* differs from the pre-modern *miko*, girls are still closely associated with supernatural powers because of the permeative image of the female *miko*.⁵³

This association of girls with supernatural power is often articulated in popular cultural forms for children. It is typified by heroines of the animation by Hayao Miyazaki.⁵⁴ Kiki in *Kiki's Delivery Service* (1989) is a girl witch. Lana in *Future Boy Conan* (1978), Nausicaä in *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1984), Satsuki and Mei in *My Neighbour Totoro* (1988) and San in *Princess Mononoke* (1997) all have the ability to communicate with animals, while Sheeta in *Laputa: Castle in the Sky* (1986), Chihiro in *Spirited Away* (2001), and Sophie in *Howl's Moving Castle* (2004) possess a flair for attracting non-humans. The association of girls with supernatural powers reflects the Japanese mythological and philosophical representations of girls as sacred

⁵³ Images of female *miko* are typified in Japanese *anime* by Sakura in *Lum (Urusei Yatsura)* (1981-86) and Rei in *Sailor Moon* (1992-97).

⁵⁴ Hayao Miyazaki (1941 -) is one of the most renowned Japanese animation directors.

objects.

Wakakuwa (2005) argues that the sacredness of girls, as portrayed by Miyazaki, is similar to representations of the Virgin Mary in the West (96). However, she suggests that through representations of 'large breasts and a white neck of a pure and sacred virgin, sexual illusion and desire of men have been produced' (96-97). Her criticism is focused on representations of girls with mysterious magical powers in Miyazaki's animated films—representations which served to produce men's sexual fantasies and paedophilic desires (97). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the association of girls with magical power is often used in *anime*, reproducing and enhancing the purity and sacredness of girls.

I will further discuss how Japanese popular televisual culture has represented girls who possess supernatural powers. Girls with magical powers also represent fear, horror and excessive female sexuality caused by women's 'inappropriate' conduct. In films and television programmes in the Japanese cultural context in particular, positive connotations were associated with young beautiful Western (Caucasian) witches and their magical powers. Female white skin and youth are stereotypical, hegemonic norms of beauty, which have often been represented, for instance, in Japanese advertisements for cosmetics (Shimamori, 1998).⁵⁵ However, the popularity of images of Western witches drastically changed through *Bewitched*. Although works such as *The Wizard of Oz* and *Snow White and Seven Dwarfs* introduced these types, positive representations of witches are associated with young beautiful Caucasian heroines, especially Samantha (of *Bewitched*) and Jeannie (of *I Dream of Jeannie*) in Japan.⁵⁶ In both cases, the 'witch' was highlighted by the programmes' Japanese titles: *Wife (She) is a Witch* for *Bewitched*,⁵⁷ and *'Jeannie, the Cute Witch'*, for *I Dream of Jeannie*, respectively.

⁵⁵ Young and white Western women were often used in magazine and newspaper advertisements as ideal models of beauty in 'a new era' of the 1920s and 1930s. After the use of Western models was prohibited during wartime, this trend notably changed from the 1960s onward, when various types of Japanese women tended to appear on advertisements (Shimamori, 1998: 19).

⁵⁶ *I Dream of Jeannie* aired in Japan from 1966 to 1968.

⁵⁷ Its precise Japanese title means 'Okusama (the title for the position of married women) *Is a Witch*', which is

Although the protagonists of these programmes are women, what the English titles connote is that they are objects viewed from the perspective of men—‘[I am] Bewitched’ and ‘I Dream of Jeannie’; that is, the subjects who address the heroines are the programmes’ male protagonists. However, in their adapted Japanese titles, the heroines become direct titular protagonists of the dramas. The change of the centre of the titles is significant because this tendency became clichéd after these American live-action witch texts were reconfigured in Japanese Magical Girl *anime*, which are often titled after their heroines’ names. Positive images of young Caucasian witches in these TV dramas enabled the characterisation of girl protagonists as autonomous subjects.

In contrast, female characters based on Japanese traditional monsters with supernatural powers are represented as monstrous or sexual objects. Among TV *anime* for families, the series *Kitarô* (1968-69; 71-72; 85-88; 96-98; 2007-09) and *Dororon En’ma* (1974-75; 2011) feature girl characters based on Japanese monsters.⁵⁸ In *Kitarô*, *Nekomusume* (Cat girl) is a half-human monster and a childhood friend of the protagonist, Kitarô. Although she is usually indistinguishable from a human girl, she transforms into a dreadful cat with sharp claws and fangs when she is emotional. In *Dororon En’ma*, En’ma’s girlfriend, Yukiko, is based on the Snow Woman. However, she wears a white kimono with a mini-skirt, thus becoming an object for sexual teasing by En’ma. Thus, these characters based on Japanese monsters are associated with fear or male sexual fantasies.

Young Western witches have almost always been represented positively in Japan, whereas negative connotations are often expressed by the use of Japanese monster images. Due to Japan’s lack of a Christian background, demonic factors associated with Western witches are often overlooked. Therefore, Japanese witches based upon Western

equivalent to ‘*She Is a Witch*.’

⁵⁸ *Kitarô* (*Gegege no Kitarô*) was adapted from Shigeru Mizuki’s *manga*, *Hakaba Kitarô* (*Kitarô of the Cemetery*) (1967), which was later renamed as *Gegege no Kitarô* (1968-). *Dororon En’ma* (*Dororon En’ma-kun*) was adapted from Go Nagai’s *manga* of the same title (1974-75). The story and settings are based on the Buddhist perspective of Hell, which is ruled by the Great King En’ma.

representations in popular cultural forms (such as children's literature, films and television) are generally characterised as respectable and admirable women or girls, with an emphasis on their amazing magical powers rather than their threatening aspects.

Drawing on this milieu of representations of girls with magical powers, and particularly influenced by American witch texts, a witch girl heroine based on Western witch figures was created as a protagonist of a Japanese TV *anime* for girls: Sally of *Sally the Witch*. Western representations of women are connected to female beauty and youth and generate positive connotations in the Japanese cultural context. Therefore, presenting Western-oriented witches to little girls in TV *anime* resulted in the reinforcement of these positive images.

Witches and witchcraft have been portrayed in diverse forms by means of various media platforms such as girls' magazines, *manga*, films, television programmes and the Internet. The image of the witch as an old, ugly and wicked woman who entraps a young, beautiful and innocent woman has permeated Japanese culture in a non-religious context. Their unique outfits (a black pixie hat and a black cloak) and accessories (a broom and familiar spirits) allow Western witches to be easily pictured and reconfigured. In other words, since the Japanese are unfamiliar with religious meanings that witches convey (Ohno et al., 2009: 123), they could change this iconography and reconfigure a new type of witch to fit Japanese tastes. It was not difficult to turn these images into new female ideals, emphasising their charms and power by borrowing non-Japanese factors. These visual features significantly help Japanese people to visualise and embody their positive images of women. Western-oriented witches represent women of a superior status, who are sophisticated and admirable for Japanese girls.

Thus, representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft serve several functions in the Japanese context. Despite the fact that some Japanese female folktale demons (and their supernatural powers) are similar to Western witches and witchcraft, Western-oriented representations of witches and witchcraft are often used in children's

media and associated with powerful femininity.

This chapter has discussed how Japanese *shôjo* culture developed within the private homosocial space of girls and through their consumerism. *Shôjo* was represented in associations with ‘the West’, which Japanese girls admired and adapted to their own culture. On the one hand, this segregated space based on gender differences served to reproduce and reinforce hegemonic femininity. On the other hand, however, it functioned as a site in which hegemonic femininity was interrogated by new types of female role models—such as witch protagonists—through which women’s empowerment was articulated.

Referring to this cultural context, the next chapter will textually analyse six Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes televised from 1966 to 2003, and explore how these representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft have served as a vehicle for conveying an idealised and Western-fashioned femininity. The textual analysis of the next chapter will be linked to the final chapter of audience research.

Introduction

Rachel Moseley (2002a) argues that ‘the representation of the teen witch is a significant site through which the articulation in popular culture of the shifting relationship between 1970s second-wave feminism, postfeminism in the 1990s and femininity can be traced’ (403). She suggests that ‘the glamour makeover as generic trope and as ideological operation’ is important to British and American teen witch programmes, through which ‘the significance of glamour as a concept in relation to gender and power is most clearly illuminated’ (406). Moseley’s focus is on ‘glamorous’ and ‘appropriate’ femininity of adolescent girls, who are placed in the transition from child to woman and suffer ‘anxiety’ and ‘instability’ (406), which are represented and constructed in teen witch texts.

Moseley’s arguments raise some theoretical issues as follows. Do representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* serve as a significant site in which the interplay between Japanese feminism, postfeminism and femininity can be traced in a similar manner to the representation of the American and the British teen witch? If both texts function similarly, what does that signify socioculturally and geopolitically? Or if they function differently, what and how do the Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in the Magical Girl TV *anime* represent and what function do they fulfil for us?

It is true enough that in recent Western popular cultural forms, such as television dramas and films, demonic Christian elements of the witch and witchcraft have vanished or, at least, are diminished (Moseley, 2002a). Especially when a comedy format is utilised, such as in *Bewitched* (1964) and *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* (1996), extraordinary female power can effectively function as a theatrical device to break with conventions in order to generate laughter, diminishing serious antipathy against the witch as an embodiment of

the demonic.¹ Yet, criticisms come from some conservative Christians, who do not accept the idea of the use of witches as heroines, particularly in Christian countries (Setogawa, 2005: 146; Pilato, 1996: 21-23).

As argued in Chapter Two, Japanese witches and witchcraft in the Magical Girl genre are often based on negative Western representations. However, some totally lack those elements, featuring only fashionable and admirable female magical power. Such Western-oriented witches and witchcraft without religious connotations readily provide a new girl identity as a superior, respectful and powerful, but cute female subject. This enables every positive connotation to be emphasised in Japanese-adapted versions of witches and witchcraft in popular culture, particularly in Magical Girl *anime* programmes for girls.

This genre attracts not only little girls but also adult men; however, the majority of the viewers are girls aged 3 to 10 years, as my pilot studies indicate, and thus Magical Girl *anime* can be classified as a 'girls' genre'.² Due to its long history (1966-present), its consistent themes (little girl witches as protagonists), and girl audiences as its primary targets, Magical Girl *anime* and the viewing experiences of their female audiences are worth analysing in relation to feminist and sociocultural perspectives. As Takahashi (2004) suggests, through fantasy novels, films and TV *anime* for children, 'seemingly hegemonic norms, including ideology and gender' can be 'differentiated' and 'positively reconceptualised' (13-14).

In order to answer the abovementioned research questions and to explore further what these questions mean, I will conduct textual analyses of six Japanese Magical Girl *anime* from 1966 to 2003: namely *Sally the Witch*, *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, *Meg the*

¹ Row (1995) suggests that '[r]omantic comedies that mock male heroism through gender inversion and female unruliness retain a strong element of antiauthoritarianism' (102). This empowerment aspect of representations of unruly women in comedy may explain that Japanese Magical Girl *anime* programmes often take the comedy format. Also see Hermes (2006).

² The term 'girls' genre' is not established in Western countries, where gender-segregated television programmes are few within 'children's TV'. However, in Japan, although it never outnumbers boys' genre programming, girls' genre programming has been fully established because of numerous publications of *manga* and *raito noboru* (teen novels with *manga* illustrations), categorised by gender, age and marital status, upon which many TV *anime* and live-action programmes are based.

Little Witch, *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, the *Sailor Moon* series and the *Magical Doremi* series.³ These well-known works have been selected for analysis due to their profound influence on female audiences, who replied to my pilot study questionnaires conducted in 2006, and due to the significant feminist and sociocultural perspectives that these texts articulate.

Why have girl audiences over generations been drawn to these particular Magical Girl programmes? This chapter will explore, firstly, Japanese Magical Girl *anime* in order to elucidate why it is significant to Japanese girl audiences. Then, the six texts will be analysed in relation to Japanese feminism and postfeminism. This particular area of focus will be closely connected to the audience analysis presented in the next chapter, which aims to crystallise how actual female audiences have understood and interpreted representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Magical Girl *anime*.

Section 1: Magical Girl *Anime*—Definition, History and Traits

The Magical Girl has been a very popular heroine character of Japanese *anime* for girls since 1966, when the first domestic serial Magical Girl TV *anime* programme, *Sally the Witch*, was televised. Magical Girl *anime* is categorised as an established genre in Japanese animated works; however, this categorisation is often misleading and misunderstood overseas. Some Western critics roughly classify young female characters with magical power as ‘magical girls’ (Newitz, 1995: 4; Cooper-Chen, 1999: 305), and some name all female characters with power beyond human ability as ‘magical’ girls (Napier, 2005: 147-212). This confusion results partly from the impact of the globally-acclaimed *Sailor Moon* series, which allowed non-Japanese audiences to acknowledge Japanese magical girls as fighting girls, partly because of poor accessibility overseas to other Japanese Magical Girl programmes produced prior to *Sailor Moon*. It

³ ‘Chan’ is a Japanese diminutive form, which is often added to little children’s or girls’ names. Their Japanese titles are *Himitsu no Akko-chan*, *Majokko Megu-chan*, *Mahô no Tenshi Kurimî Mami*, *Bishôjo Senshi Sairâ Mûn* and *Ojamajo Doremi*, respectively.

likewise stems from categorising *anime* by its content or by the types of protagonists without considering the Japanese television environment and cultural context, although it is quite typical to sort characters by archetypes to analyse generic identity. In Japanese TV *anime*, girl protagonists, who have the ability to cast spells, usually with magic items such as wands or sticks, are categorised as *mahô shôjo*.⁴ However, despite several interpretations, in this thesis, I define Magical Girl *anime* as TV *anime* made for girls which feature a prepubescent girl or girls with magical powers and which are primarily designed for girl audiences.

Historically, Toei Dôga (presently Toei Animation Co.), the pioneering Japanese animation company established in 1956, created the archetype of magical girls, followed by other newly-established animation production companies, such as Studio Pierrot.⁵ While the growing number of animation companies attempted to improve new types of Magical Girl *anime*, particularly from the 1980s to the early 1990s, Toei Animation continued to consistently produce its products of this genre. Toei Animation first created a witch girl protagonist, Sally of *Sally the Witch*, in 1966 as a primetime programme for girls.⁶ During this time slot, parental supervision was available. Toei Animation therefore continuously provided 'educational and ethical' programming that satisfied parental expectations. This promoted girls' viewing of these programmes.⁷

Whereas several TV *anime* programmes in the 1960s were predominantly directed at boys, *Sally the Witch* was designed for girls and formulated the prototype of Magical Girl *anime*.⁸ There are six thematic codes:

⁴ The general Japanese terms for 'magical girls' are the following: *majokko*, or little witch girls, and *mahô shôjo*. *Mahô shôjo* is a more general term than *majokko*.

⁵ In addition, Ashi Production (renamed as Production Reed), Studio Gallop, Tokyo Movie, Nihon Animation, AIC, etc. have produced Magical Girl *anime* programmes.

⁶ Until 1999, Toei Animation's Magical Girl *anime* programmes almost dominated the Monday 7pm slot and the Friday 6:30pm slot, the so-called 'time for family' in the Kantô Region, including Tokyo.

⁷ Although other programmes aimed at adult men feature girls with magical powers, they can be excluded from my definition of Magical Girl *anime* for girls.

⁸ Seiter (1995b) notes that it was in the 1980s when 'animated series specifically designed for girls were made for the first time' in the United States (166). Animation programmes for girls in the 1960s were thus introduced much earlier in Japan than in the United States.

1	Characterisation (physical and psychological)	Age: approximately 8-12 Body: slim Height: average (neither the tallest nor the smallest) Disposition: cheerful
2	Types of Heroines (based on their birth)	Legitimacy (born as a witch) or Secularity (ordinary human)
3	Family and Primogeniture	Well-functioning, nuclear and heterosexual love-based family ⁹ The firstborn girl with younger siblings ¹⁰
4	Upper-middle-class Wealth	The ownership of a large Western-style and fashionable house in a fashionable urban city
5	Magic Items and Spells	Manipulation of tools called ‘magic items’, ranging from a traditional wand to jewellery, and spells
6	Domesticity	The locale: the domestic sphere (households and schools) ¹¹

Throughout all generations, girl audiences have enjoyed easy access to the Magical Girl genre, which retains long-lasting and consistent themes and formats. Most Japanese girls tend to stop watching this genre because it is for ‘kids’, when they turn 11 or 12, by which time they shift their attention to other genres such as live-action dramas.¹² Therefore, this genre serves as an indicator of which girl audiences acknowledge that they have grown up enough to quit watching Magical Girl *anime*, and to adjust themselves to view genres that are more ‘appropriate’ for them, which will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four.

⁹ Unlike stereotypical Japanese superheroes such as Astro Boy, who is abandoned by his ‘father’, or Western witch heroines such as Sabrina, whose parents are divorced, Magical Girls are not psychologically traumatised, although the issue of the ‘absent father’ is common. Astro Boy is the protagonist of Tezuka Osamu’s *manga*, *Tetsuwan Atomu* (1952-68), upon which the first TV *anime* series of *Astro Boy* (1963-66) was based. He is created as a boy robot by Dr. Temma, who has lost his own son because of a traffic accident. Astro Boy is finally abandoned by Temma, his father/creator, due to his inability to grow up. For more about traumatised heroes in fantasy stories, see Takahashi (2004). Saitō (2000) suggests that ‘fighting pretty girls’ in Japanese anime are not psychologically traumatised (260). Takahashi (2004) argues, in her comparative study of American and Japanese female fantasy, that traumatic backgrounds are not overtly inscribed in Japanese female fantasy novels (132-143).

¹⁰ Primogeniture is important in two ways. As Watanabe (2007) argues, taking care of younger siblings serves as a simulation to play a maternal role for girls (82). It also serves to nurture a sense of responsibility in society, which women are usually not expected to acquire in a male-dominated society.

¹¹ Schools are not generally regarded as domestic. However, in this thesis, I categorise schools as a domestic sphere for magical girls because Japanese *anime* for boys often use the universe as a locale (e.g. *Space Battleship Yamato* (1974-75), *Mobile Suit Gundam* (1979-80), and *Dragon Ball* (1986-89)). Comparing Magical Girl *anime* to these boys’ programmes, I define the locale that the former use as basically domestic.

¹² This is not a nationally-specific phenomenon. American child audiences tend to shift their interests from cartoons to other types of programmes after age 9 (Thompson and Zerbinose, 1997).

Section 2: *Sally the Witch* (1966-68)—A Legitimate Elementary School-Girl Witch Princess¹³

This section discusses, firstly, the significance of TV *anime* for girls in the dawn of Japanese TV *anime*. It then explores how ideal femininity with power is represented by the title protagonist of *Sally the Witch*, as a Westernised outsider with a Western representation, and how this idealised powerful femininity is challenged through negotiations between hegemonic Japanese femininity and Western femininity in the second-wave feminist context.

2-1. The Birth of a Girl Witch Heroine

TV *anime* has definitely been a significantly influential genre for Japanese children. In the early 1960s, the majority of dominant domestic programmes featured male protagonists in the genres of adventure and science fiction, which were based on boys' *manga* comic books by male authors.¹⁴ Although they were designed for 'children', their target audience was predominantly boys. Though *Astro Boy*, for instance, was widely accepted by both boys and girls, the titular protagonist was a boy, as most leads in *anime* were during this period of time: *anime* focused on adventure, fighting, or operating huge robots.¹⁵ Female characters were almost always placed in subordinate positions, given a role as supporters to the heroes, at best.

Many girl audiences were, however, fascinated by a female character that played an important role in those programmes. Before *Sally the Witch*, many girl audiences were absorbed by Lili, a female nurse robot of *Rainbow Team Robin* (1966-1967) (Anon., 'Joji

¹³ This section is partially a modified version of my article in Japanese, "'Mahô shôjo" Animêshon ni okeru Jendâ Aidentiti Kouchiku: 1960 nendai "Mahôtsukai Sarî" wo Chûshin ni' (Sugawa, 2006), with some additions. *Sally the Witch* was based on Mitsuteru Yokoyama's *manga* (1966-67) of the same title. The original title was *Mahôtsukai Sarî* (*Sunny the Witch*).

¹⁴ Examples are *Astro Boy* (1963-66), *Gigantor* (1963-66), *The Eighth Man* (1963-64) and *Zoran, Space Boy* (1965-67). For detailed information, see Teleography. Most comic books aimed at boys were published on major weekly boys' *manga* magazines, including *Shônen Magajin* (*Boys' Magazine*) (1959-) and *Shônen Sandê* (*Weekly Shônen Sunday*) (1959-).

¹⁵ According to a 1965 survey, 23.2% of elementary school children in Tokyo answered that their most favourite comic book was *Astro Boy* (*Kodomo Chôsa Kenkyûjo*, 1974: 120). This popularity obviously resulted from the broadcasting of its animation programme.

ni Ninki no "Onna Robotto", 1966) (Figure 1).¹⁶ Therefore, the introduction of Sally as the first 'female' lead was a monumental event in the male-dominated TV *anime* terrain (Shirakawa, 2006: 3). Toei Animation perceived that 'the witch protagonist,

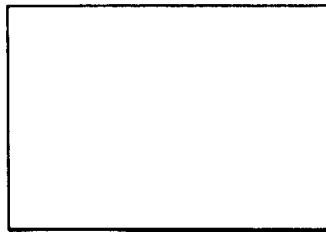


Fig. 1 Flying Lili of Rainbow Team Robin

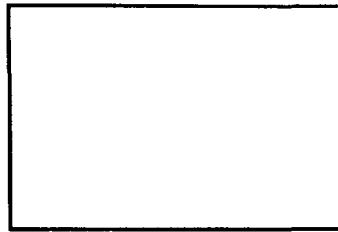


Fig. 2 Sally (right) and Kabu (upper left).

Sally as a cute girl, [would] be different from boy protagonists with super power, who were *ninja* or super humans' (Toei Dôga Co., 1966: 4; translation mine).¹⁷ *Sally the Witch* was an instant success and could overtly impact girl audiences,¹⁸ who had longed for a female lead, in terms of perceiving gender roles and girl's potentiality (Anon., '*Joji ni Ninki no "Onna Robotto"*', 1966).¹⁹

The consistent key factors of *Sally the Witch* are: 1) Sally is a fourth grader of average height in comparison to her human friends, Yoshiko and Sumire; 2) she is a legitimate witch princess of the Magic Kingdom; 3) her royal parents are so concerned about their only daughter/crown princess living separately from them in the human world that the king sends Sally a little wizard, Kabu, as her valet, who also functions as her younger brother (Figure 2); 4) she creates a huge Western-style house materialised by her witchcraft; 5) she winks when using her magical power, and occasionally learns spells to activate a specific magical ability; and 6) the story takes place in school, the neighbourhood and her house (Figure 3).

Furthermore, representations of the West abound. Sally—as her name indicates—is characterised as a charming, Western-looking girl with blonde hair, wearing a red one-piece dress with a miniskirt. Her characterisation as a curious but determined tomboy

¹⁶ The Japanese title is *Reinbô Sentai Robin*.

¹⁷ *Ninja* refers to Japanese covert agents in the 19th century.

¹⁸ The average viewing rate was offered by Video Research Ltd. See Appendix C. However, this data will be removed upon request when this thesis is filed. I apologise to readers for the inconvenience.

¹⁹ Cooper-Chen (1999) suggests that Japanese animation programmes for girls, in particular *Sailor Moon*, have affected girls in developing countries in Asia, where male-oriented programmes were predominant. Regarding the influence of female-oriented cartoon programmes on girl audiences in the United States, see Thompson and Zerbinose, 1997.

is represented by her leaving home without her father's permission and the direct way she articulates her ideas in school, which often causes cultural conflicts. Her happy, well-functioning family and her Western-style house and lifestyle serve to label Sally as an outsider. The way in which Western-oriented representations were intended to be framed in *Sally the Witch* can be detected by the change of settings from its *manga*. Sally's parents in the *manga* version are the 'Demon King and Queen' (Yokoyama, 2004: 26-27). In the initial plot of *Sally the Witch*, the TV version, this factor was unchanged (Toei Dôga, 1966: 2-5). However, with the exclusion of demonic features in the adaptation into a TV *anime*, Sally was re-characterised as a princess of the 'Magic Kingdom', eliminating the negative connotations of demons.

She also represents the Western lifestyle by addressing her parents in a Western way: Papa and Mama. Colouring also overtly displays Sally's Western-oriented characteristics.²⁰ She has blonde hair, and her huge Western-style house—with a red roof and white walls, furniture that includes a bed, a sofa, a dressing table, other paraphernalia, and a European tea service set—serve to delineate hers from the Japanese traditional lifestyle in the 1960s (Figure 3).

Sally's association with the West is clarified in comparison with the representations of her friends, Yoshiko and Sumire. The conventional lifestyle of an average Japanese family is represented by Yoshiko, and the life of a rich Japanese family is represented by Sumire. Regarding their characterisations, Yoshiki Hane (2006), the character designer, points out his intention to make a clear distinction between the three in an interview:

Because Sumire is a physician's daughter, I designed her to express that atmosphere. [Her design was changed from Yokoyama's original figure to look like a girl from a rich family]. I designed Yoshiko as a girl from an average family, and had Sally look a foreigner. (22; translation mine)

²⁰ Although *Sally the Witch* started as a black-and-white animation in 1966, it started to be televised in colour in the following year.

Their overt differences in colour, hairstyle and dress represent their dispositions as well as their respective socio-economical statuses. Yoshiko's father is a taxi driver. Because her mother is dead, she is given a maternal role to take care of her younger brothers. They rent a small one-storey Japanese-style house, which was a typical residence for the average Japanese family in the 1960s (Figure 4). In contrast, Sumire's father, a medical doctor, runs his own clinic (Figure 5). Sumire is the only daughter of kind-hearted parents, and she is never concerned about her family's financial problems. The different lifestyles of these three social groups enable audiences to find similarities to and differences from

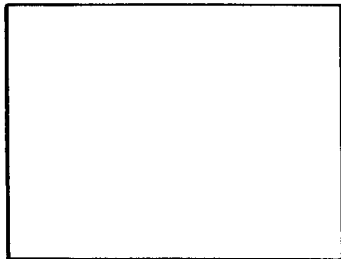


Fig. 3 Sally's Western-style residence

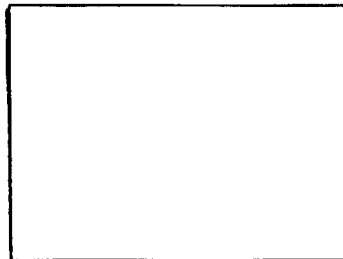


Fig. 4 Yoshiko's old-fashioned Japanese-style residence

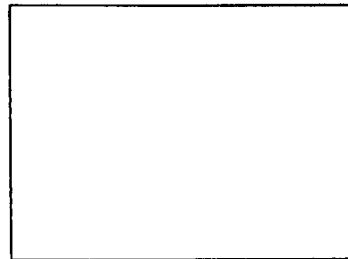


Fig. 5 Sumire's residence with her father's clinic

their own lives. Sumire does not appear as often as Yoshiko does throughout the serials; however, her elegant behaviour, reserved disposition and her appearance (long black hair and big eyes) represent 'a girl from a wealthy family', who was called '*ojô-sama*' (lady) in Japanese culture. In addition, what their names imply is distinctive; Sally is a Western name, and Yoshiko, as a conventional female name, represents normative Japan. '*Ko*', meaning a child, is a typical suffix for Japanese female names.²¹ Although Sumire (violet) is an elegant name for females, it was rare to name baby girls 'Sumire' in the 1960s, and hence it implied a girl from a wealthy family, which tended to positively adopt the Western lifestyle and ideology. Therefore, Sumire was favourably accepted as an ideal girl by average Japanese girls.²²

Sally's stylish Western representation and her legitimacy as a princess emphasise a

²¹ The majority of female names were suffixed with *ko* until the 1980s, when this practice gradually became old-fashioned (Meiji Yasuda Life Insurance Company, 2009).

²² This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

distance from ordinary girl audiences. Structurally, Sally's positioning represents the West (a princess from the non-human world), differentiating the West from Yoshiko's position (an ordinary girl in the human world). Sumire is positioned between the two, occasionally providing alternative aspects of Japanese norms.

2-2. Femininity, Power and Negotiation

Femininity, which Sally and her lifestyle represent, is deftly associated with power. Powerful femininity, however, is 'inappropriate' for Japanese hegemonic femininity. Representations of Sally serve as a site where powerful femininity and hegemonic femininity are negotiated. In fact, Sally behaves as an ordinary human girl by hiding her magical power and negotiating cultural differences that she confronts. In order to be accepted by humans (the Japanese), she attempts to accept the traditional roles that women are expected to play: mothering and self-sacrifice. This section explores how Western representations of Sally and her witchcraft are used to depict femininity and power, and how Sally's negotiation is achieved through mothering and self-sacrifice, by analysing sequences from the opening credits, episodes 4, 9, 2, 60 and the final episode, 109, of *Sally the Witch*. Episodes 60 and 109 were particularly listed as the most memorable episodes by the women who replied to my pilot questionnaire in 2006.

In the opening credits, a large tree in an open field is converted into a Western-style castle-like house by Sally's witchcraft. This is an impressive introduction of the Western lifestyle to Japanese girl viewers. Most Japanese people lived in small Japanese-style residences in the 1960s, so living in a large Western-style house was like a dream for average Japanese families. Since 1956, the Japan Housing Corporation had offered those families with lower incomes the large cluster of public apartment buildings (*danchi*) in suburban areas, which were based on Western-style flats. The Western-style house and Western lifestyle represented by electric home appliances were symbols of an affluent life for the average Japanese person in the 1960s (Nishikawa, 2004b).

During a Tom-and-Jerry-like sequence, a brush, a perfume and a lotion bottle placed on a dressing table with a huge mirror are used to fight with a naughty mouse. All the paraphernalia represents Western-style femininity, which overtly evoked admiration and respectability in 1960s Japan. Here, magical power and femininity are powerfully emphasised in relation to Western representations. Western feminine paraphernalia is symbolically transformed into ‘powerful weapons’ by Sally’s magic (Figure 6). In this sequence, Sally turns a perfume bottle into a weapon to attack a naughty mouse with her magical power. The association of feminine items with power can be seen in the programme’s colouring as well.

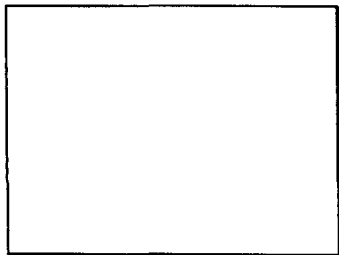


Fig. 6 A naughty mouse is attacked by a perfume bottle.

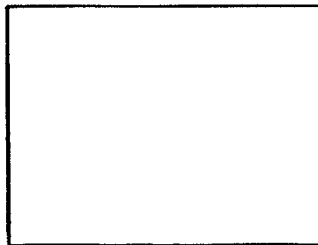


Fig. 7 Sumire (left), Sally (centre) and Yoshiko (right)

Sally’s blonde hair and red dress are impressively differentiated from her friends’ colour settings: Yoshiko in green and Sumire in blue (Figure 7). On the one hand, in colour psychology, red is generally considered to stimulate breathing and a heartbeat (Sharpe, 1974). On the other hand, in the Japanese cultural context, TV *anime* as well as action hero programmes feature red as the key colour of protagonists, especially since the 1960s, to symbolise their leadership and power.²³ However, red also functions as a gendered colour to the extent that red school bags were assigned for female public elementary school pupils and black bags were for male students, from the late 1960s to the 1990s in Japan. Even now, red often represents females and blue often represents males as indicated in toilet signs, diaper packaging, toys and so on. Regarding the relationship of the colour pink with gender identity in 1950s American society, Sparke

²³ Examples are the protagonists of the series of *Ultraman* (1966-), in which they have red and silver bodies, and the lead role of Toei’s suit action hero programmes such as Red Ranger in *Go-Rangers* (1975-77).

(1995) argues that pink as an indicator seen in goods and foods reinforced gender differences, so wearing pink clothes and goods, for instance, served to emphasise femininity and to signify parents' expectation that their daughters would become feminine. Therefore, Sally's red is normatively associated with femininity, and simultaneously, with leadership in the Japanese cultural context.

As another example, femininity as power represented by Sally is shown in episode 4 ('Wonderful School'), which portrays Sally's first day at a new school. Male violence, manifested by a bully, Banchô, and female submission, represented by Yoshiko, are effectively described three times.²⁴ Firstly, when Yoshiko (late for class and running down a hall in the school) bumps into Banchô, he furiously shoves her away. In the previous sequence, her maternal role has been highlighted and offered as the reason for her delay for class; due to the absence of her mother, she must take care of the housework (cooking, seeing off her father, washing dishes, etc.) for her father and brothers at home before leaving for school. Naturally, this juxtaposition emphasises the unreasonableness of his violence. Secondly, when Sally and her friends play on the playground during recess, Banchô and his followers try to usurp Sally's play space. Although Sally accuses him of being unfair, Yoshiko, scared of him, tells Sally to apologise to him for her objection. Yoshiko's attitude, again, represents female powerlessness and submissiveness to male violence. Finally, when Sally plays with a ball on the playground during the students' lunch break, the ball accidentally hits Banchô. Apologising for her mistake, Sally calmly claims:

Sally: I'm so sorry. Did you get hurt?

Banchô: Damn it!

Sally: I'm apologising. Saying such a thing is rude to a lady.

Banchô: You damn *yarô*! (literally, 'This man!')

Sally: I'm not a *yarô* but a girl.

(Translation mine)

²⁴ *Banchô* literally means the leader of a group of juvenile delinquents.

‘*Yarô*’ is used as a curse here. Playing with words, Sally rationally refutes the defiant Banchô, not by being masculinised but by reinforcing her position as the female.

Sally’s way of retaining femininity or ‘using’ the female’s inferior position to the male’s are overtly distinguishes from ways of expressing female powers in the narratives of Western powerful heroines of TV dramas in the 1960s. By the 1960s, masculinisation, or physical strength, of female protagonists was already used as a way to protest hegemonic social norms in Western popular culture, such as in *Wonder Woman* (American comics; 1941-) and *The Avengers* (British TV drama; 1961-69) (Inness, 2004: 2-3). These heroines exercise their super-human physical power to defeat the villains, who are often represented by men. Although the heroines appear quite feminine, they use their physical power to defeat the villains. In contrast, Sally never uses her physical power when confronted by a problem. Retaining her femininity, she deftly employs the feminine position to emphasise the oppressive use of male physical force and authority. This trouble caused by masculine violence is ultimately resolved by Sally’s use of witchcraft. Banchô and his followers try to take revenge upon Sally after school because her attitude is considered ‘inappropriate’ according to the hegemonic norm of femininity that the male characters have. However, she defeats them by using many magic tricks. Her magical power is equivalent to a powerful female ability.

Sally’s harsh way of punishing the boys might be regarded as another form of violence. However, the negative impact of her supernatural power lessens in the following sequence. On the way home, Sally and Yoshiko come across Yoshiko’s brothers on the pavement. Coincidentally, their father, a taxi driver, stops his car on the opposite side of the street, calling them by waving his hand. Rushing to him, the brothers carelessly run across the street, resulting in almost being hit by a lorry. Sally immediately stops the time stream and rescues them with her magical power. This sequence demonstrates that witchcraft can be powerful enough to save people only if ‘properly’ practiced. The proper control of Sally’s magical power represents the control of

‘appropriate’ femininity. Magical power is tightly associated with femininity; however, the proper control of power is repeatedly implied, which allows Sally’s conjuring to be acceptable.

Western-oriented representations of powerful femininity are ‘inappropriate’ to Japanese hegemonic femininity. However, when girls act feminine in a non-Japanese way, their acts are allowed because they are conducted according to Western mannerisms. The use of Western representation is thus a means of escaping from hegemonic values of femininity. In Japanese cultural aesthetics, gender ambivalence is valued, and performing masculine acts attracts girl audiences.²⁵ However, ‘excessive’ masculinisation is not socially accepted. Therefore, the witch girls based on Western representations function as a site where inappropriate Japanese femininity can be displayed but simultaneously excluded as the ‘Other’. Here, the combinations of proximity and distance as well as the feminine and the masculine are well-balanced and effectively used.

The 1960s’ rapid economic development enabled Japanese society to become urbanised. This helped to solidify gender roles (Miura, 1999: 131), leading most married women to engage in domestic chores and child-rearing. The performance of conventional femininity combined with domesticity was encouraged because the division of labour effectively functioned to maintain a high economic growth rate. In this societal milieu, as discussed in the previous chapter, the potential power of Japanese women was gradually articulated in women’s movements in the late 1960s by using motherhood as a strategy (Abe and Satô, 2000: 181). The next section will discuss how representations of Japanese hegemonic female attributes—domesticity, self-sacrifice and motherhood—are articulated in *Sally the Witch*.

²⁵ For instance, the Takarazuka Revue, the Japanese all-female acting theatre troupe, has an established tradition of women playing male parts, thus appealing to female fans (Robertson, 1998).

2-3. Associations between ‘Appropriate’ Japanese Femininity and Domesticity

Domesticity in *Sally the Witch* is closely associated with femininity and power. Sally as a tomboy subverts conventional Japanese ideas about gender power relations through the use of witchcraft, but she also negotiates the differences between her values of liberalism and independence and Japanese traditional values of humbleness and obedience. Within the negotiation processes, the domestic work that women are expected to practice is often portrayed. In episode 4, for example, before Sally’s fight with Banchô and his followers, Sally and her female friends are engaged in cleaning their classroom, while one of the followers (a boy) is off duty.²⁶ This symbolises that women are assigned to engage in domestic duties such as cleaning, whereas men are not. Although Sally cheats at cleaning by using her magic, it is noted that the girls are unquestionably connected to domestic duties. In episode 9 (‘Papa is Moody’), Sally’s father asks his cousin, Mephisto, to return Sally from the human world. Acknowledging Mephisto’s purpose, Sally proposes that if he wins in magic games with her, she will return to the Magic Kingdom. The game that she proposes is to bake a delicious pancake without using witchcraft. Because Mephisto has of course never cooked anything without using magic, he is completely defeated by her and returns to her father in vain. What Sally values is doing housework without using her magical powers. Mephisto’s inability to cook also emphasises the association of domestic chores with the female gender role. Women are associated with domesticity both in the home and at school. In a manner similar to *Bewitched*, domestic duties are given to women, and they should be highly appreciated unless they cheat (or use magic) in *Sally the Witch*.

2-4. Studiousness and Self-Sacrifice

In *Sally the Witch*, femininity is constructed not through heterosexual desirability but through practicing domesticity. This association of domesticity is represented by both

²⁶ In Japanese public schools, students usually take turns daily cleaning their classrooms before returning home.

housework and mothering. Sally experiences mothering when she voluntarily takes care of Yoshiko's brothers at their house, while Yoshiko fetches money for the rent from her father in the office in episode 2 ('Sally's House-Sitting'). She is given the maternal role, through which she asserts the gendered role in the home. As mentioned briefly, Yoshiko represents traditional Japanese femininity, symbolised by conservatism and submissiveness as well as by motherhood. Upon Yoshiko's brothers' request, Sally feeds them and drives the rent collector away from the house to protect them.

Sally as a powerful 'Western' princess criticises this gender role, challenging Japanese hegemonic femininity. This provides a counterpoint to conservative norms of Japanese femininity. Her challenge, however, naturally produces conflicts. In order to resolve the conflicts, she must make considerable effort to understand the humans' (or Japanese) values and to adjust herself to their standards. Therefore, Sally's positioning is important in that she functions as a messenger to introduce modern ideals of liberal Western feminism. She often questions the conservative behaviour of women exemplified by Yoshiko's conduct. However, without solving problems only by her magical power, Sally also negotiates with Yoshiko's traditional attitudes. Witches and witchcraft are sites where femininity as power is constructed, and at the same time, the negotiation of Western liberal views and Japanese conservative views takes place.

The studious attitude depicted in *Sally the Witch* is often associated with self-sacrifice. In the Japanese cultural context, self-sacrifice itself is highly appreciated, and therefore adopted as a popular motif for plays, films and TV dramas. Female self-sacrifice is frequently represented by 'self-sacrificing mothers', as argued in the previous chapter. However, self-sacrifice is also associated with girls. Investigating the cover illustrations of magazines for boys and girls from 1895 to 1945,²⁷ Imada (2007) contends that the image of girls shifted from girls as objects to be protected, to girls as

²⁷ The boy's magazines are *Shōnen Sekai* (Boys' World), *Nihon Shōnen* (Japanese Boys) and *Shōnen Kurabu* (Boys' Club), and the girl's magazines are *Shōjo Kai* (Girls' Space), *Shōjo Sekai* (Girls' World), *Shōjo no Tomo* (Friend of Girls), *Shōjo Gahō* (Girls' Illustrated Magazine) and *Shōjo Kurabu* (Girls' Club).

active athletes. However, during wartime, girls were represented as healthy and active labourers who devoted themselves to the nation state; for instance, a girl wears a white shirt and simple black pants, her hair tied in a band, with a symbol of the national flag while delivering newspapers (78-80). Explicit depictions of female self-sacrifice for the nation state were lauded during the war, but conversely, during post-war occupation, they were criticised as anti-democratic. ‘The way of illustrating self-sacrifice instead of overt ideology, provoking people’s emotions’, was, however, still used as lyricism in such films as those by Keisuke Kinoshita and Tadashi Imai (Izuno, 2009: 125; translation mine).²⁸ Even after the television broadcasting service was established and domestic soap operas and dramas began to air in the 1960s, self-sacrifice was chosen as a popular theme, which facilitated the construction of group conformity.

The guideline of moral education in junior high school, assembled by the Central Council of Education in the 1960s, likewise illustrates the concept of self-sacrifice:

Social intelligence means the practice of cooperating with others to construct the appropriate relationship, by which you embody the real self, maintain the order of the law, pursuing a better social life. *This is a spirit in which you devote yourself to others.* Not that you are forced to, but you voluntarily contribute. (Kaizuka, 2006: 273; translation mine; emphasis added)

The guideline also suggests that ‘the self-assertion is [as] important [as the devotion for somebody else]’; however, self-sacrifice is still highly appreciated as a virtue that junior high school students are encouraged to practice.

In *Sally the Witch*, female studiousness and self-sacrifice are portrayed as respectful conduct, resulting in group conformity and mutual understanding. In particular, episodes 60 and 109 impressively speak to the virtue of this conduct, which several female audiences highly appreciated, as my interviews showed. In episode 60 (‘Pony’s

²⁸ Keisuke Kinoshita (1912-98) is a renowned director and playwright of films and TV drama series. One series of TV dramas, broadcast in TBS’s slot, *Kinoshita Keisuke Hour* (1965-74), was an instant success. Tadashi Imai (1912-91) is the director of *An Enemy of the People* (1946) and *Green Mountains* (1949).

Flower Garden'), Japanese-Indian girl Pony Brion is transferred to Sally's class. However, because she is intelligent, direct and independent—which does not conform to the Japanese hegemonic code of female behaviour—she immediately becomes a target for bullying. In order to resolve the ostracism and cultural conflicts she faces, Pony plants the same number of seeds of chrysanthemum as the number of her classmates in a school garden, believing that the flowers will lead to mutual understanding. The chrysanthemum is the symbolic flower of the Japanese Imperial family, which Pony calls 'the heart of Japan'. Her action reflects a traditional Japanese way of asking people to 'read between the lines', not by directly negotiating but by having them sense what the behaviour means. It is also marked as feminine because planting and growing flowers are readily associated with mothering—that is, nurturing children. Despite her conduct, the male bullies destroy her garden just before the germination of the flowers. Sally, Yoshiko and Sumire try to take revenge on them for her; however, Pony persuades them that they should not have the bullies apologise, and says in Japanese with an English accent that 'I wasn't studious enough. This is my lesson. I believe when these flowers bloom, they will make friends with me'. Studiousness is highlighted as a powerful means of creating mutual understanding. This stereotypically shows a comparison between the male as destructive and the female as creative. Therefore, the studiousness is engendered as appropriate practice for females.

Finally, Pony attempts to reorganise the broken flower garden while it is raining heavily, which causes her to become seriously ill (Figure 8). Realising that Pony has a heart problem, the classmates, including the bullies, change their mind and attempt to grow her flowers, hoping for a successful surgery. The story ends happily with Pony coming back to her flower garden, which is full of blooming chrysanthemums, and all of the students applauding her (Figure 9).

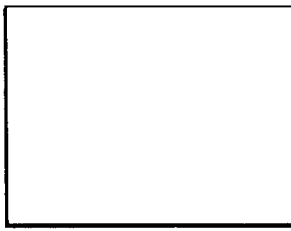


Fig. 8 In the rain, Pony tries to replant the seeds.

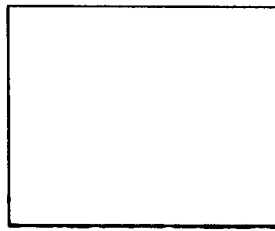


Fig. 9 Pony, who has left the hospital, is surprised to find out that her garden is full of chrysanthemums.

This episode observes that a half-Japanese girl serves to implement the Japanese practice of indirect negotiation as self-sacrifice and the domestication of non-Japanese culture for mutual understanding. The ostracism caused by her behaviour, which is improper for Japanese females, demands the denial of her native culture and her cultural conversion. Pony is ultimately accepted as one of the members of the community by speaking the local language and acquiring Japanese hegemonic cultural codes. These cultural codes (self-sacrifice and studiousness), which are marked as feminine, serve to bring about group conformity. This is symbolised by Pony's embrace of the blooming chrysanthemums.

In the final episode ('Farewell, Sally'), Sally's self-sacrifice serves to produce group conformity, but it highlights cultural blurring between the West and Japan. On the evening when she must eternally return to the Magic Kingdom, Sally's school is being destroyed by a fire. Breaking the rules, she uses her magical power in front of her classmates, standing on top of the school gate, to generate heavy rain that extinguishes the fire and finally restores the school. Raining represents Sally's hardship, just as raining represents Pony's hardship when she reorganises the garden (Figure 10). Exhausting all her energy, Sally passes out at the end. Her self-sacrificial action, however, results in the revelation of her true identity as a witch, which scares her classmates. This is the moment at which, through Sally (a representation of the West), Yoshiko and Sumire (representations of Japan) discover the 'otherness' of Sally, who they believed belonged to their homogeneous community.

Feeling depressed, Sally and Kabu decide to leave the human world; however, at the final moment, Yoshiko, Sumire, Yoshiko's brothers and Ken (a male classmate) come

to see her off, saying, 'I don't mind that you are a witch' and 'You are still our friend.' Ultimately, as the high-pitched background choral music reaches its climax, Sally and Kabu are in a white carriage, which resembles the one in Disney's *Cinderella*, and romantically disappear into the night sky (Figure 11).

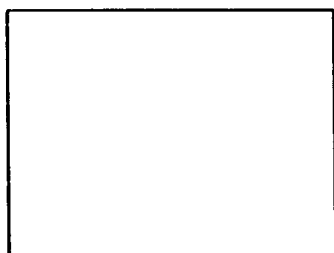


Fig. 10
Sally
attempts to
extinguish
the fire.

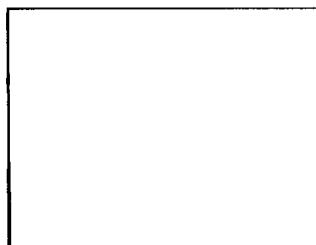


Fig. 11 Sally
and Kabu in a
Western
carriage drawn
by Pegasus.

Throughout the entire serial, Sally initially serves to differentiate the Japanese cultural codes, which are otherwise naturalised and hence invisible. In the second half of the story, Sally indigenises herself by acquiring Japanese virtues (for instance, studious attempts to learn without using her magical power). In episode 60, Sally actually helps Pony without relying on her magical power. In the final episode, however, her action by the use of magical power in order to save the school once threatens ordinary humans (the Japanese), which is the moment at which they discover the 'otherness' in Sally as non-human (Western). However, her self-sacrifice in restoring the locus of the community of children enables mutual understanding. In the climactic scene, on the one hand, the Western representations of Sally are emphasised by the Western carriage, Pegasus and the signs of the Western zodiac in the night sky. On the other hand, as a Western subject with a Japanese mind, Sally becomes the romantic focus.

Therefore, in *Sally the Witch*, femininity is associated with power as seen through Sally. This association, however, always correlates with domesticity, by which masculinisation of the female is deftly avoided. Cultural blurring is also observed; however, group conformity requires self-sacrifice and studiousness only for females.

Section 3: *The Secrets of Akko-chan* (1969-1970)—A Non-Hereditary Witch Girl and the Transformation²⁹

In contrast to *Sally the Witch*, *The Secrets of Akko-chan* introduced a non-hereditary witch girl as the protagonist.³⁰ Its popularity was shown by the top rating and the average rating figures, which were higher than those of *Sally the Witch*.³¹ In *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, Western imagery is continuously used and associated with femininity, which also correlates with power, as seen in *Sally the Witch*. However, unlike Sally's magical power, Akko's magical power is restricted to a specific type of magic: transformations.

The six key features of *The Secrets of Akko-chan* are the following. First, Akko is an ordinary 11-year-old elementary school girl. One day, feeling sorry for her broken mirror, she makes a tiny tomb for it in the backyard of her house. Thanks to this thoughtful attitude, the mirror's fairy suddenly appears and hands her a magical cosmetic compact, by which she can transform into other human beings or animals at will. It is notable that the mirror of a cosmetic compact, which is closely associated with femininity, triggers Akko's supernatural power.

Secondly, Akko's magical power is not predetermined. Special power is awarded through the respectful deed of an ordinary girl. This represents that appropriate caring and attentiveness, associated with femininity, produce an opportunity to upgrade a girl from an ordinary human to a human with special powers. Akko's transformation process by using a magic compact as a 'magic item', along with her spells, caused a surge in the popularity of transformation narratives among little girls and was often copied by them (*Kodomo Chôsa Kenkyûjo*, 1974: 683-685). Although the link between witchcraft and Western feminine items had already been displayed in *Sally the Witch*, their strong

²⁹ This section is partially a modified version of my article in Japanese "'Mahô Shôjo" Animêshon niokeru Jendâ Aidentitî Kouchiku: 1970 nendai Zenhan 'Himitsu no Akko-chan' nimiru Shôjo Hyôshô' (Sugawa-Shimada, 2008), with some substantial additions.

³⁰ This programme was based on Fujio Akatsuka's *manga* of the same title (1962-65; 1968-69).

³¹ The actual data were offered from the database of Video Research Ltd. See Appendix C. However, this data will be removed upon the organisation's request from this thesis.

connection is more emphasised in Akko's case. The magical transformation of the ordinary girl with the cosmetic mirror suggests an association of femininity with a desire to change into a 'secret' identity.

Thirdly, primogeniture is indicated by the fact that Akko is the only daughter in her family. Although she has no human siblings, she owns a white female kitten, Shippona, which enables her to learn how to care for the young and to nurture a sense of responsibility for others.³² Her family functions well; her mother is a housewife and her father is a captain of a passenger ship, which takes voyages overseas.³³ Since most Japanese men in urban areas were 'salary men' (employees of companies) in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, it is obvious that Akko's father is intended to be featured as an ideal. International jobs were desirable due to Japanese admiration of the West. In fact, although he is almost absent from the family, Akko's father is characterised as an ideal father; her mother always suggests that he is a respectable person and loves his daughter even though he is far away. The societal respectability of her father is often inscribed in discourses by Akko's friends; in episode 91, for instance, Moko says to Akko, 'Your father is a captain of a passenger ship, visiting foreign countries. I'm jealous!' Akko's father is compared to Moko's father (an owner/chef of a sushi restaurant) and to their classmate Ishikawa's father (a performer in a picture-story show performed on the streets), both of which are traditional Japanese professions.³⁴ Their children, however, disrespect them.

Fourth, wealth is represented by her large, white two-storey Western-style house, with a balcony decorated with flowers and a large backyard (Figure 1).

³² In Akatsuka's *manga* version, this cat was not cast. Shippona was created by Shunichi Yukimuro, one of the major playwrights of the programme (Yukimuro, 2003). The cat as a younger sibling was intentionally added for the witch protagonist of the TV programme.

³³ Being a passenger ship's captain was one of the ideal professions that Japanese girls wished that their fathers had in the 1960s and 1970s.

³⁴ The picture-story show on the street (*kami shibai*) was considerably popular among children, especially in postwar Japan. However, it gradually disappeared due to the change in children's lifestyle and the introduction of TV in the 1950s and the 1960s.

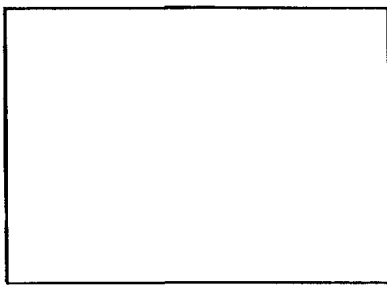


Fig. 1
Akko's
house

She addresses her parents in a Western way (Papa and Mama), which represents sophisticated and rich family circumstances in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. This is in contrast to her best friend, Moko, who lives in a traditional Japanese house and addresses her parents as '*Tô-chan*' (daddy) and '*Kâ-chan*' (mommy), suggesting her coarseness.

Fifth, Akko's magic item is a white cosmetic compact with a star-shaped drawing printed on the top. She has two specific spells (one for transforming into others, '*Tekumaku mayakon*', and one for transforming back into herself, '*Ramipasu ramipasu lululululu*'), which profoundly impacted upon girl audiences. Therefore, as soon as a toy compact, 'Akko-chan's magic compact', was merchandised, it became an instant success (Tano, 1993: 21; *Katei Sôgô Kenkyû Kai*, 1997: 397; Tane, 2011: 46).³⁵ There were also many cases reported in which girls who could not purchase one (because they were out of stock) secretly took out their mothers' cosmetic compacts instead (Takahashi, 1997: 29). The women growing up in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, whom I interviewed, spoke of their experiences engaging in a transformation play with an Akko's magic toy compact and imitating her performance and spells.

Finally, domesticity is inscribed in the locus of school, neighbourhood and the home, where all the events take place. The locus is realistically depicted as a Japanese downtown, commonly seen in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, where open fields with huge drainpipes, narrow unpaved backstreets, and wooden telegraph poles still existed. In the home and at school, domestic chores are still associated with females rather than

³⁵ The sales data of the toy compacts produced by Nakajima Seisakusho were not available. However, their great popularity of the toy compact among girls was visible and phenomenal (*Katei Sôgô Kenkyû Kai*, 1997: 397).

males. However, the settings highlight how Western representations blur into Japaneseness, rather than how Japan is Westernised. In other words, Akko and her characterisation and lifestyle indicate how Western representations are articulated and familiarised in the conventional Japanese circumstances of everyday life.

3-1. Western Representations and Cultural Blurring

In a manner similar to Sally and Yoshiko in *Sally the Witch*, Akko represents the West, while Moko, her best friend, stereotypically represents conservative Japan. Figure 1 shows Akko's huge, white Western-style two-storey house with a balcony and a backyard, which average Japanese households could not easily afford. In contrast, Moko's house is a Japanese-style wooden house with a tiny sushi restaurant on the ground floor and her family's living space on the first floor, which is more realistic to commoners. Moko follows the traditional Japanese lifestyle; in her own room, she studies at the desk, sitting on the *tatami* mat. At night, the desk is put to the side of the room to make space for

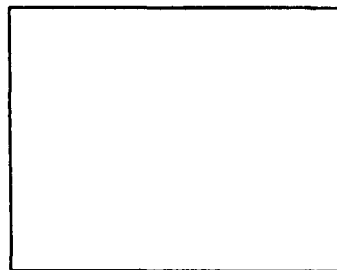


Fig. 2
Moko
sleeps on
the *tatami*
mat.

her to sleep on a Japanese *futon* on the *tatami* mat (Figure 2). Whereas a sliding door is traditionally attached to the entrance of Japanese-style houses, Akko's Western-style house has a door to pull and push at the entrance hall. In the 1960s and 1970s, Western-style doors were uncommon in Japan. The Western-style house, therefore, functions as a symbol of wealth and success (Miura, 1999; Nishikawa, 2004b). In my interview, a woman expressed admiration for a Western-style apartment complex merely because of its Western doors.³⁶

³⁶ This will be explored in Chapter Four.

Contrasts between Japanese and Western lifestyles are typically displayed in the split frame of Figure 3, where Akko and Moko are talking on the phone. Akko's Western lifestyle clearly differs from Moko's traditional Japanese style. Akko wears a pink Western nightgown, and a decorative picture hangs on the wall. Akko's light brown hair is tied up with pink ribbons on the top of her head and near her ears. Feminine *kawaii*

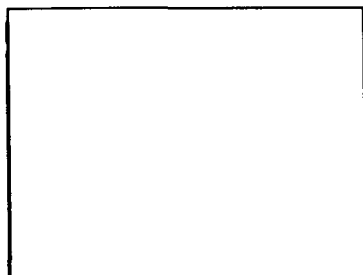


Fig. 3
Moko (left) and
Akko (right).

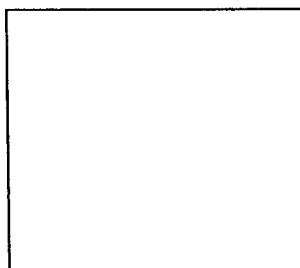


Fig. 4
Shippona's
reflections in
the mirror.

(cuteness), represented by the pink colour and her hairstyle, is associated with Western representations. In contrast, Moko wears a Japanese *yukata*, (a kimono-formed pyjama), with a *noren* (a Japanese-style short curtain) behind her. Her long black hair is braided, a traditional hairstyle of female students in Japan until approximately the 1950s.

Akko's magical power is not genetic but granted to her. This 'somebody-like-you' setting effectively enables girl audiences to cultivate a sense of intimacy and readily relate to her circumstances. Therefore, the Western representations associated with Akko do not highlight the otherness, which generally differentiates the conventions of Japanese society through the Western perspective. Instead, they function as sites in which Japanese female subjectivity can be negotiated to construct a new subjectivity by deftly 'Japanising' Western-ness. Western liberalism and feminist ideas, for instance, were modified to fit Japanese society so that they would not radically damage normative Japaneseness.

In the opening credits of *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, the stereotypical images of Disney's version of *Cinderella* are used. Akko calmly sailing in a boat on the sea in the mountain areas, which remind us of scenery in Europe, is caught in a long shot, followed by a zoom-in on her day-dreaming face. In the next scene, her face is zoomed out, allowing us to see Akko dressed up with a Western-style pink evening gown and a tiara, thereby becoming Cinderella in a Western-style carriage. This implies a conventionally

represented girl's desire to transform into a princess. In the following sequence, Akko and Shippona see themselves in the mirrors on their dressing tables separately. The central reflection of Shippona on the triple mirror independently stands still in an elegant and dignified pose, which surprises her (Figure 4). This articulates multiple personalities that the female can perform. The opening credits end with a zoom-in on Akko's face, reflected again on the mirror of the magic compact. These associations represent girls' potential to transform themselves into dressy, stylish, and cute versions of themselves. Like in *Sally the Witch*'s opening credits, Western feminine commodities, along with the images of Cinderella, are tightly associated to represent femininity. Cinderella's story generally symbolises the potential for social mobility from the lower class to the upper class by means of marriage, which her femininity and beauty induce. Femininity and beauty in this story closely correlate with magical power. Giving power to a magic compact signifies that femininity is performed with strength. Akko becomes powerful, but her power is not associated with masculine strength. Western-ness embodies powerful femininity without masculinisation. In this way, Western factors are indigenised, so that 'Western-ness' is appropriated into Japanese culture.

The articulation of Western (mostly U.S.) feminism is thus 'Japanised' in terms of power associated with femininity. In episode 4 ('What About a Man's Promise?'), Taishô—one of Akko's male classmates and a frequent antagonist—accidentally finds out about Moko's poor performance on a school examination. Akko asks him to keep this information confidential, but his promise is immediately broken by his careless speech. Akko becomes angry, transforms herself into a Japanese princess from a costume drama and tells him that breaking a promise is not manly and 'it is a duty for men to save powerless women' (translation mine). Taishô regrets breaking his promise and ultimately apologises to Akko and Moko.

In *Sally the Witch*, Sally positions herself as a lady when confronting a bully. In a manner similar to Sally, Akko intentionally positions herself on the female side.

Interestingly, it is Akko who obviously has more power than Taishô in this situation because she overtly controls him by stimulating his pride as a male. Although her articulation of highlighting men's superiority to women outwardly seems anti-feminist, her indirect way of manipulating men rather than directly dominating them leads to her psychological triumph over him. Audiences observe through her monologue that Akko acquires narrative authority in the sequences with Taishô. Therefore, superficially, Akko is never masculinised by her remarks of stereotypical gender roles—'men should protect women'. Akko is characterised as a tomboy and actually often challenges the normative ideas of masculinity and femininity. However, she uses 'feminineness' as a strategy to make men aware of chivalry and addresses problems by using her magical power. This is overtly distinguished from radical feminism, which directly criticises hegemonic patriarchal systems.

Akko is not simply characterised as a witch who possesses a supernatural power to solve her troubles. Her challenges to hegemonic gender values as an insider, or as an ordinary human, also offer a political reflection on the 1970s' social and feminist movements. There was a campaign demanding job opportunities and better working conditions by female labour movements. In 1969, the ratio of females enrolled in high schools rose to 79.5%, outnumbering males. Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* (1963) was translated into Japanese in 1970, and in the same year, the first convention of women's liberation was held.³⁷ However, although the ideology of women's liberation gradually permeated Japanese society, gender equality legislation was not passed until the late 1980s. As in *Sally the Witch*, the representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft are sites where Akko negotiates with her masculinity, while holding onto femininity.

Therefore, Akko experiences the difficulties that women face in Japanese society

³⁷ Another feminist issue at this time is that abortion cases increased to 1.1 million per year, according to a 1970 survey, whereas the growing number of unmarried mothers became controversial (Inoue and Ehara, 2005).

and solves them through her magical power of transformation. On the one hand, this means that female magical power favours Japanese feminism. On the other hand, it displays its struggles with conservative and patriarchal ideas. The Western imagery in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* presents the cultural blurring between Western and Japanese representations in order to construct Western-blended Japanese female subjectivity.

Another notable characteristic introduced into this programme is a magical transformation. The transformation is associated with not only femininity and pleasure, but also with self-perception. The next section will argue how female transformation serves to construct femininity and to enable girls to assert their self-esteem, confidence and individualism.

3-2. Transformation for Girls

Akko's magical ability is exclusively limited to transformation, not into her adult self, but into someone else. The introduction of the transformation theme was an instant success, partly because it is a clichéd motif of girls' desire, and partly because toy cosmetic compacts facilitated girl audiences imitating Akko.³⁸ The transformation motif is not uncommon in popular culture, and not for girls exclusively. Analysing representations of transformation in Western teen witch texts, Moseley (2002a) argues that transformation is more powerfully associated with the feminine in the Western context. However, to be more precise, the transformation serves to enhance and reproduce gender specificities; male transformation is associated with the masculine, whilst female transformation is associated with the feminine.

Male transformation is consistently associated with physical strength for fighting. In the United States, renowned male super-action heroes such as Superman, Batman and

³⁸ In other words, the possession of commodities related to the programme enabled girl audiences to play make-believe and to perceive images of their own bodies and selves. In my interviews, a woman in her late 40s answered that she loved *The Secrets of Akko-chan* because it was fascinating to have a secret identity. She often fantasised that she had a potential power when imitating Akko's transformation style with her version of Akko's magic compact. Another in her 40s spoke of how seriously she believed that she was able to transform herself into others and negotiated between fantasy and perceived reality when she was little. This will be further explored in the next chapter.

Spiderman provided the motif of male transformation to become more powerful, which symbolised hegemonic masculinity.³⁹ In Japan, the transformation theme in popular culture is also associated with live-action male heroes, such as the *Ultraman* series (1966-), the *Rider Mask* series (1971-) and *Go-Rangers, The Secret Soldier Team* (1975-77).⁴⁰ Female characters in those programmes are always positioned as weaker figures to be protected by the heroes. Thus, hegemonic femininity became further associated with weakness, which was also enhanced to display masculinity in the light of male transformation.

However, while male action heroes transform to become tougher, larger and sometimes grotesquely monstrous superhumans, Akko and other female witch protagonists in Japanese Magical Girl *anime* transform themselves to become powerful but simultaneously feminine and cute. The female transformation in Magical Girl *anime*, however, does not only reinforce femininity. Hegemonic femininity is simultaneously interrogated through the pleasure and failure of transformation.

In *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, girls' transformations into others as a magical power provide assertive attitudes towards female transformation, representations of the potential of girls' multiple abilities, and also towards the self. Changing oneself is one of the universal desires of both boys and girls, which has often been portrayed in several kinds of art forms. Among the types of transformation in Japanese texts for girls, a transgender or transvestite motif (from the female to the male) was appealing in girls' *manga*, especially in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴¹ However, the transformation of Magical Girl *anime*

³⁹ The first animated cartoon series of *Superman* was televised from 1941 to 1943, produced by Max Fleisher, and based on Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster's comic book of the same title (1938). *The Batman* is Bob Kane's American comic, which first appeared in 1939. *The Amazing Spider-Man* is Stan Lee and Steve Ditko's American comic, which first appeared in 1962.

⁴⁰ *Ultraman*, produced by Tsuburaya Production, first appeared in a TV drama, *Ultra Q*, in 1966. With its great success, it became serialised and the series has continued to the present. *Rider Mask* was based on the manga of Shōtaro Ishinomori (originally Shōtaro Ishimori) (1971-72) of the same title. The first *Rider Mask (Kamen Raidā)* was televised as a live-action hero programme in 1971, and its motif has continued to be used in the series *Rider Mask* to the present. *Go-Rangers, the Secret Soldier Team (Himitsu Sentai Gorenjā)* was created by Shōtaro Ishinomori (originally Shōtaro Ishimori) as a live-action hero TV drama. Produced by Toei, which previously made *Rider Mask* series, this programme first introduced action heroes (with an action heroine) in a team, which caused a surge in the popularity of transformation among boys. The 'heroes in a team' motif was later adapted into the *Sailor Moon* series, which will be discussed below.

⁴¹ For instance, Osamu Tezuka's *Princess Knight* (1963-66) features a female protagonist, Sapphire, who has a

never involves the transgender motif, with the exception of some secondary characters who are given transgender abilities when transforming.⁴² This addresses the retention of ‘appropriate’ femininity, although female protagonists become overwhelmingly powerful.

Investigating the overall tendency of girls’ transformation in Japanese *anime*, Murase (2008) argues that girl protagonists who transform themselves into others never trespass into the field of ‘the masculine’ (140). As she suggests, the female transformation with the retention of hegemonic femininity deftly avoids possible criticism from male chauvinists. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the postfeminist context, the articulation of gender equality was criticised as a radical ideology which might destabilise normative masculinity and femininity. Although the context of second-wave feminism, societal resistance and fear of changing femininity were not addressed in *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, female transformation associated with power avoids criticism because it creates no drastic change in social norms. By not overtly crossing genders, Akko’s magical transformation serves simultaneously as a vicarious fulfilment of the desire to change and to gain self-confidence among girls, and as a site in which Japanese hegemonic femininity (e.g. demure feminine behaviour and cute appearance) is interplayed with powerful femininity.

Regarding the nature of transformation, Japanese sociologist Kôjiro Miyahara (1997) suggests that ‘a desire for transformation is embedded in a desire for searching out the ‘true self’, which is distinctive from others. This represents a desire to become a “different” and “upgraded” person’ (236-7; translation mine). The transformation into a distinctive and upgraded person attracted girl audiences in the late 1970s and the early 1980s in Japan, where group conformity and harmony were greatly demanded. The rapid economic growth experienced during that period also induced a mass-consuming society, where people’s desire to possess mass-produced products was stimulated. In urban areas,

secret identity as a knight. The female protagonist of Riyoko Ikeda’s *Berusaikyô no Bara* (*Roses of Versailles*) (1972-73), Oscar, transvests herself as a guardsman for Queen Marie Antoinette. See Oshiyama (2007).

⁴² In *Sailor Stars*, the fifth season of the *Sailor Moon* series, for instance, male characters transform themselves into females to fight against villains.

the uniformity of people was evident. Simultaneously, the transformation serves as pleasure because 'the transformation itself fulfils an unconscious desire for "entering the taboo"' (Miyahara, 1999: 32; translation mine). Since Japanese society of the late 1970s and the early 1980s generally expected Japanese people to oppress their individuality and to adjust themselves harmoniously, becoming a 'distinctive' and 'upgraded' person offered a psychological asylum for escaping societal pressure.

The theme of transformation in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* offers girl audiences an escape route from hegemonic femininity while simultaneously providing pleasurable opportunities to gain different identities and eventually to assert 'the feminine self'. Magical transformation takes place by means of the mirror of the cosmetic compact, which is associated with femininity. Japanese sociologist Masahiro Oginô (1997) defines three general characteristics of transformation: the change of the body, the change of space and the creation of a different time (18-19). The temporality of transformation and the different settings that the transformation creates can generate pleasure. However, the change in the body is more significant in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* than other factors, because it correlates not only with the pleasure of having a secret identity, but also the assertion of 'the self'. Since it is a taboo, Akko takes pleasure in transformation; however, more significantly, the moment at which she fails to transform back to herself or loses her magical power is the noticeable point when she asserts her 'self'. Transformation offers a site where she de-familiarises or de-naturalises her 'self', deconstructing her body image.

In the first episode ('With an Amazing Mirror, Lululu...'), Akko mischievously transforms herself into Ms. Moriyama, her music teacher, who is noted for her beauty and benevolence. Using Moriyama's authentic power, Akko as Moriyama defeats the chauvinistic attitude of Taishô, who admires Ms. Moriyama, and successfully prevents Mr. Satô (her homeroom teacher) from giving a pop quiz to Akko's class. Akko exercises this transformation power on her own terms, becoming a beautiful adult woman admired by her students; however, she discovers her subjectivity when the accidental loss of her

magic compact prevents her from transforming back into herself. Depressed by the fact that nobody identifies her as Akko, she says to herself, 'Nobody notices I am here.

Without experiencing junior high and high school lives, I suddenly became an adult. I don't know what to do'. In this sequence, her clothes become dirty while she searches for her compact. This action represents her psychological instability because of her lost identity. Akko has enjoyed being superior to her male classmate and homeroom teacher by exercising the authenticity and power of Ms. Moriyama; however, losing her own identity enables her to appreciate her original self.

Episode 8 ('Compact SOS') is profoundly engaged in girls' self-assertion through struggles with hegemonic female beauty. Akko suddenly cannot use her magical power due to her classmate Takako's strong antipathy towards her mirror. Takako, who is from a rich family, hates mirrors because they project her face, which her male classmates often disparage as a 'cold' face. While she is transformed into Ms. Moriyama, Akko tries to persuade Takako that she should think of herself positively. However, her suggestion only worsens Takako's depression, which negatively affects Akko's power of transformation. As a result, her clothes are worn to shreds after her transformation because of the magical mirror's weakening power. Hegemonic aesthetic value for women matters in two ways: Takako negates herself, based on the value of female beauty validated by men, and Akko loses her magical power of transformation when someone around her hates mirrors (that is, refuses the true self). Transforming into the 'upgraded' person for women is often associated with a makeover or beauty in Japan (Tanimoto, 2008; Ishida, 2009). A mirror reflects such a female desire for becoming more beautiful or cuter (*kawaii*). However, Takako finally accepts herself when she and Akko visit a nursery for handicapped children to give them toy gifts, at which point a deaf boy tells Takako in sign language, 'You have very tender face. I like you.' His appreciation of her face—based on Takako's kind-heartedness—enables Takako to accept her 'true' self. Her self-assertion is symbolised by the restoration of Akko's magical power.

Therefore, the transformation through a mirror in *The Secrets of Akko-chan* addresses the conjunction of femininity and beauty. It represents girls' desire to transform into an 'upgraded' person, who should be beautiful or cute, while simultaneously addressing questions about the superficiality of hegemonic femininity and aesthetic value of beauty through the continuous theme of transformation. Through pleasure and failure of transformation, this text places a greater emphasis on self-assertion, self-esteem and confidence.

In this section, I have attempted to argue that witch *anime* texts in the late 1960s and the early 1970s articulate struggles and negotiations within hegemonic femininity, the aesthetic value of beauty and cuteness and feminine behaviour. Representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft, however, served as a site for interrogating this hegemonic femininity by subtly challenging the social norms of femininity. On the one hand, the narrative structures of such shows articulate motherhood, self-sacrifice, studiousness and the domesticity associated with femininity. On the other hand, they provide a space for the pleasure of performing powerful femininity, which is represented by self-esteem, confidence and self-assertion. In the context of women's liberation movements and mass consumerism in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, however, representations of powerful femininity were more greatly emphasised, which the next section will explore.

Section 4: *Meg the Little Witch* (1974-75)—Changing Notions of Girls' Sexuality

The previous section attempted to analyse how Western-oriented representations of witches and witchcraft in *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan* served to conceptualise a Japanese notion of 'modern' femininity. Both texts articulate a fashionable, powerful and idealised Western femininity; however, these programmes serve as sites through which negotiations are exercised between fashionable transformations into an ideal Westernised feminine self and self-acceptance as a Japanese

subject in relation to Japanese hegemonic femininity.

In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, representations of girls in witch texts are associated with what these texts did not formerly treat: adolescent female sexuality (*koketisshu*) and cuteness (*kawaii*). Female sexuality and the body were explicitly represented in Magical Girl TV *anime*, as well as in several media platforms, such as women's magazines and TV advertisements. At the time, the higher percentages of young women receiving higher education, having longer careers and delaying marriage elevated women's socio-economic status (Sakamoto, 1999). Thus, 'women's consumption and sexuality', as Skov and Moeran (1995) argue, profoundly '[threw] light on Japanese women's perceived increase in power' (38). Young women's financial independence accelerated consumption to improve their lifestyle and '[went] hand in hand with their increasing sexualisation' (41), raising their consciousness of 'sexual liberation'.

Until the early 1980s, 'the proliferation of consumer goods had tended to be seen in terms of improvement of life in the Japanese household' (Skov and Moeran, 1995). However, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, adolescent girls and unmarried young women were regarded as major consumers of products that were not strictly necessities, such as Sanrio's 'fancy goods'. Concomitant with those changes, female sexuality began to be used to represent women's emancipation and emerging female power in society. It was only accepted by the public if it was 'appropriate'. On the one hand, the loan-words '*koketisshu*' (coquettish) and '*adaruto-na*' (adult) were often used or implied in women's magazines, *anime* and *manga* to appropriately express positive girls' sexuality.⁴³ On the other hand, *kawaii* was reconceptualised to emphasise immaturity and childlike cuteness of young women, and this reconceptualisation flourished in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, associated with mass consumerism.

The term 'coquettish' in English originated in French and is readily associated with

⁴³ Adult-like girls (*adaruto-na onna*) were displayed as an ideal model of girls, who were cute but sexy, for instance, in young women's fashion magazines *An-an* (1978, 20 Sep.: 119) and *Non-no* (1973, 20 Apr.: 9; 5 Oct.: 21).

female sexuality, meaning ‘behaviour in a way that is intended to attract men’ (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2000). This conveys negative connotations (i.e. a flirt). However, since most Japanese loan words eliminate their original meanings, in the Japanese cultural context, *koketisshu* loses the overt sexual meaning that the original English word entails. It is often collocated with young women or girls and used to articulate the concept of cute and slightly sexy girls. The intention of sexually seducing men is conceptually diluted. Although the excessive sexuality of girls is often censored in visual media platforms (e.g. magazines, television, and films), *koketisshu* is seen as a moderate form of adolescent sexuality. Thus, ‘coquettishness’ is positively introduced to characterise witch girls in Magical Girl *anime*.

A coquettish girl in the Japanese context entails the ambivalent factors of childlike cuteness and adult-like sexual allure. Momoe Yamaguchi (one of the most prominent young female popular singers of the 1970s) and Lisa Akiyama (a fashion model from the young women’s magazine *An-an*) might best exemplify the *koketisshu* girl. Yamaguchi played the lead role of young female dancer Kaoru in the film *The Izu Dancer* (1974), where she represented a conservative and submissive ‘good girl’ of the 1970s. In reality, however, as a promising singer, she sang songs laden with connotations of teenage girls’ sexuality (Shamoon, 2009: 151). As an actress, Yamaguchi also played both a naughty teenage girl and an innocent girl in the TV drama series, *Red* (TBS, 1974-80).⁴⁴ She appealed to the public due to ‘the juxtaposition of a childish appearance with sexually mature lyrics’ (Shamoon, 2009: 151). Akiyama, who had a childlike round face and adult-like long and slender legs and spoke in a tongue-tied manner, symbolised emerging *koketisshu* girls (Shimamori, 1998: 50; *An-an*, 1971: 168).

In this sociocultural milieu, how was girls’ sexuality in the popular Magical Girl *anime* in the 1970s *Meg the Little Witch* represented? The protagonist, Meg, is

⁴⁴ Because each work was entitled with the adjective *akai* (red), this series was called the Red Series (*akai shirīzu*). Yamaguchi played the lead in *Akai Giwaku* (*Red Suspicion*) (1975-76), *Akai Unmei* (*Red Destiny*) (1976), *Akai Shōgeki* (*Red Sensation*) (1976-77) and *Akai Kizuna* (*Red Bond*) (1977-78).

characterised as a non-Japanese witch, living in a non-Japanese city, marking her as an outsider. What do representations of this non-Japaneseness signify? This section will explore how *Meg the Little Witch* provided a new type of girls' identity, one that entails appropriate girls' sexuality (*koketisshu* and *kawaii*) in a manner similar to Yamaguchi and Akiyama.

4-1. Fashion, Dress and Female Solidarity

Meg the Little Witch introduced a distinctive characterisation and narrative style to the history of the Japanese Magical Girl genre. Meg is a witch girl heroine and a tomboy—yet still *kawaii* and *koketisshu*. Her rival Non is a *kakkoi* (cool) witch girl. They serve their apprenticeship with their mentors/witches in exotic European-inspired settings. Characterisations of this text are based on Toei's thematic codes. First, Meg, 15, is sent from the Magical World to the human world for training to become the next queen under the supervision of her mentor, Mami. Meg has light brown curly hair, large round blue eyes, an elongated body, and wears an orange flared miniskirt. The model sheet instructs the visibility of her sexuality. 'Note the length and thickness of her legs', and 'Her underwear may be exposed [from this angle]' (Figure 1). Second, Meg is a legitimate witch, yet she is a candidate—not an heir—to the next queen. This symbolises that social mobility is enabled by one's effort and skills. Third, witches have no kinship. Thus, in order to learn 'human relationships', Meg is given a well-functioning human family: a father, Mr. Kanzaki (a Japanese Christian businessman); a mother, Mami (a housewife who hides her witch identity); and younger siblings (Rabi, an eight-year-old mischievous brother and Apo, a little sister). Familial relationships function as a training base for this witch and promote the construction of her identity through role-playing in a family. Fourth, they have a fashionable Western-style house with a wide backyard, symbolising wealth. Fifth, Meg activates her magical power with her pink heart-shaped pendant. Thus, jewellery, which highlights feminine beauty, is closely associated with

girls' magical power. Finally, the story takes place in her school and in her neighbourhood. Domesticity is emphasised by Meg's assignment to help Mami with traditional female domestic chores, such as cooking and looking after her younger siblings.

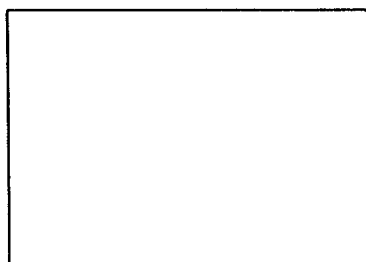


Fig. 1 Model sheet of Meg. Her physical traits are detailed in handwritten notes.

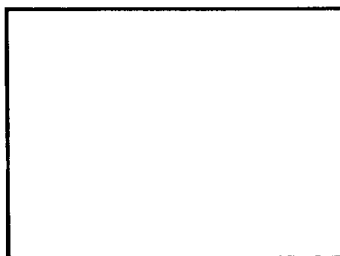


Fig. 2 Non (left) with blue eye-shadow and a diamond-shaped accessory and Meg (right).

According to *A Project Plan of Meg the Little Witch*, 'statelessness', 'rivalry' and 'fashionableness' are key concepts of this programme (Takami, 2004: 25).

[. . .] (2) The protagonists should be more than two witches. (3) Comical and romantic elements should be inserted in episodes, thereby reconstructing the preceding Magical Girl animation formats. (4) The heroines' ages should be set as older than that of other witch heroines in order to appeal to a larger audience and to make greater theatrical effects. (5) Fashionable elements should be added to the characterisation. [. . .] The protagonists should be beautiful. [. . .] Each of them has something inferior to others.

(Toei Co., 1974: ii-iii, 8, 10-11; translation mine)

Prior to this programme, most witch girl heroines were set to be preteen girls (aged approximately 6 to 12).⁴⁵ However, for the first time, adolescent witches were introduced in an anonymous European city with Japanese girls' everyday lives as a locus in *Meg the Little Witch*, enabling the realisation of comical but romantic story developments. Statelessness or space with a vague national identity is a typical 'animated space' which 'has the potential to be context-free' (Napier, 2005: 24). It is capable of containing mixed characteristics of Japan and other Western countries, which would not be readily depicted in pre-existing spaces. In addition to this technical reason, the exotic European setting in this programme serves to reinforce Western-oriented fashionableness inscribed in the narrative and introduces female sexuality, which deviates from Japanese hegemonic

⁴⁵ Mako in *Mahô no Mako-chan (Mako the Mermaid)* (1970-71) is an exception. Mako is a 13-year-old junior high school girl.

femininity.⁴⁶

The witch as the heroine's rival was first introduced in the Magical Girl genre. Non is a reserved, intelligent and snobbish fifteen-year-old witch who is a candidate for the queen. She has pale blue straight long hair, black eyes with blue eye make-up, a slim body, and wears a blue miniskirt dress with long leather boots and a blue diamond-shaped necklace (Figure 2). She often rides on a motorcycle wearing a leather jacket, representing female masculinity. Her attempts to defeat Meg in magical powers and scholastic achievements signify female competition, which is often represented negatively as bullying in popular TV *anime* and drama about sports, such as *Attack No. 1* (1969-71) and *The Sign Is V* (1969-70).⁴⁷

Rivalry and competition are usually represented as male traits in Japanese popular culture. Confrontations between women are considered to be 'unfeminine' and often carry negative connotations, whereas male rivalry in TV dramas and *anime* is necessary for male protagonists to become tougher and fulfil their desire for conquest. However, female rivalry (shown as fighting with fashionably illustrated magical power) is used positively to improve mental toughness in *Meg the Little Witch*. Because she is her friend, Non sometimes rescues Meg from perils with her magical power (e.g. episodes 2, 3 and 72), by which positive female solidarity through competition and friendship is successfully depicted.

Female rivalry through competition thus results in positive female solidarity, which articulates an emerging, positive value in female aggressiveness. However, the female rivalry is simultaneously associated with femininity and sexuality. In their magical combat scenes (in episodes 9, 13 and 72, for instance), Meg touches her lip and emits pink sparkles from her fingers by increasing the power received from her pink

⁴⁶ This will be further discussed later.

⁴⁷ *Attack No. 1* is a TV *anime* programme, based on Chikako Urano's *manga* of the same title. *The Sign Is V* is a TV drama, based on Shiro Jinbo's and Akira Mochizuki's *manga* of the same title. Both deal with female volleyball and were influenced by the triumph of Japan's national women's volleyball team at the 1964 Olympic Games held in Tokyo.

heart-shaped pendant (Figure 3). She occasionally activates her magical power by winking as well. Non activates her magical power, which emits yellow sparkles, by making a V sign with her forefinger and middle finger at her eye (Figure 4).

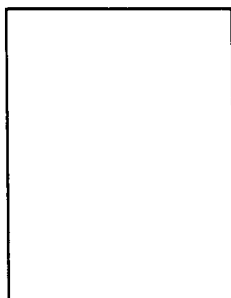


Fig. 3 Meg, touching her lip with her fingers, activates her magical power.

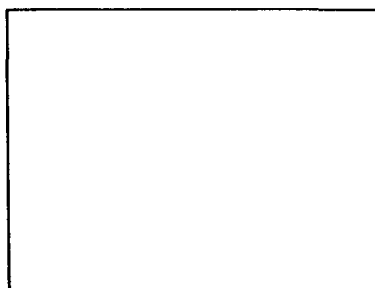


Fig. 4 Non, putting her fingers at her eyes, activates her magical power.

The lips and eyes are important body parts on which women use makeup and often symbolise sexual allure. Fighting with magical power displays female power and is a performance of feminine demeanour. It is represented by their fluttering miniskirts and the segmentation of their body parts in close-ups.

The depiction of girls as rivals and friends implies the representation of female solidarity as female power, against a backdrop in which more women were competing against one another in education and the workplace in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. In the young women's fashion magazine *Non-no*, for instance, a feature story indicates how "career girls" should make themselves more attractive in the workplace. According to the article:

Working women, who highly value their jobs, are called "career girls" in English. [. . .] Fashion is not a trivial matter for working women. Dress and makeup represent how efficiently they work. (1974: 11, 29; translation mine)

In this discourse, working women's abilities are associated with their fashionableness. This signifies that women could showcase their abilities not only through the outcomes of their labour, but through their feminine beauty. Similarly, in *Meg the Little Witch*, positive female solidarity through competition and power is accepted only when Meg and Non remain 'feminine'. However, this simultaneously implies that as long as girls manifest their femininity in 'an acceptable manner', they are allowed to display their power in

society.

Therefore, fashion and femininity are conceptualised as female power. Performing the 'feminine' entails dress, fashion and sexuality. Female solidarity is represented as an emerging female power, which also promotes female self-assertion. However, the sexuality of girls in *Meg the Little Witch* is a controversial issue because representations of female sexuality are often punished and marginalised in visual culture due to their threat to prevailing patriarchal norms. To what extent can a girl's sexuality be 'acceptable'? How is a girl's acceptable sexuality represented, and how does it function in relation to girls' self-assertion of their female bodies?

4-2. Femininity and Sexuality: 'Coquettish', Cute or Cool Girls

As mentioned above, female sexuality in the late 1970s and the early 1980s was explicitly visualised in terms of female allure in advertisements, TV and films. Female sexuality also facilitated the demonstration of women's liberation and emancipation from patriarchal norms. In *Meg the Little Witch*, Meg is sexually teased by her younger brother Rabi and her male classmates. Although she is harassed in the typical way that boys harass girls in school, Meg is always represented as a male sexual object because her nudity, underwear and bathing are often explicitly depicted. However, due to her tomboyish behaviour, she is not portrayed as a sexual victim, at least superficially. Moreover, this attitude enables her *koketisshu* sexuality to be positively inscribed in the text as an 'acceptable' and 'appropriate' form of girls' sexuality.

The acceptance of girls' *koketisshu* behaviour is overt in comparison to girls' excessive sexuality. In episode 8, Meg takes Rabi and Apo to a municipal swimming pool in the summer. While Meg and Apo change their clothes in the female dressing room, mischievous Rabi tries to sneak into it and photograph Meg while she is nude, but he does not succeed (Figure 5). Meg moderately exposes her skin, emphasising *kawaii*. In contrast, Non appears in a provocative scarlet bikini (Figure 6) in order to seduce a

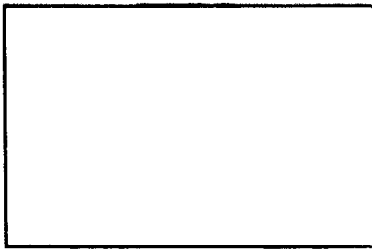


Fig. 5 Rabi (front) fails to take a photo of Meg's nudity. Meg (back left) and Apo (right) are already in their swimsuits.

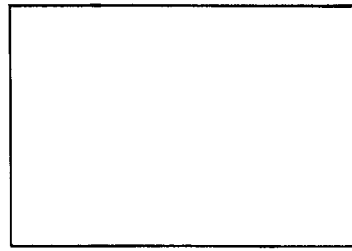


Fig. 6 Non wears a provocative bikini.

blonde-haired, blue-eyed boy, Danny. She thereby represents excessive sexuality.

However, because Danny has fallen in love with Meg, not Non, he ignores Non's attempt at seduction and asks Meg for a date. Meg's chastity and sexual innocence are highlighted when Danny's attempt to hold her in the park at sunset enrages her and makes her leave him. After Meg leaves, Non approaches him, using her magical power and decorating the area around them with romantic lightning. Danny, however, refuses Non's aggressive seduction, whilst valuing Meg's humble attitude. This typifies that aggressive female sexuality is denied by Japanese hegemonic female virtues. It shows that while girls may be sexualised, they are nonetheless expected to be unaware of their sexual allure, which is 'the darkness of sexuality' (Murase, 2000), as argued in Chapter Two (see also Napier, 2001: 121-138).

This unawareness of their own sexuality is quite significant to girls' sexual expressions in *Meg the Little Witch*. This has a two-way function. Since Meg is unaware of her sexual allure and fights back against sexual teasing, she is not portrayed as a sexual victim, although she is technically victimised as a sexual object. Here, the ambivalent factors of childlike innocence and adult-like sexuality are well-represented. In this respect, her sexual depiction is acceptably *koketisshu* and avoids being sanctioned by patriarchal norms about female sexuality, which validate passivity and humbleness as female virtues. At the same time, *koketisshu* as a validated symbol of female sexuality, however, displays female power, emancipating women from patriarchal norms. Setting Meg as a non-Japanese girl in non-Japanese circumstances also facilitates detachment from Japanese norms. Her 'foreign' traits allow her to be objectified as an outsider, providing distance from 'Japanese girls.' However, in a fantasy that is considerably proximate to the

Japanese context, her female body is acknowledged not to be that of a sexual victim. In my audience research, the women accepted Meg's sexual depictions as female attractiveness and even took pleasure in seeing her sexualised body without fully identifying themselves with her.⁴⁸ Although excessive female sexuality is still punished, *koketisshu* factors are associated with *kawaii* to articulate positive power for adolescent girls, who are on the border between childhood and adulthood.

Therefore, in *Meg the Little Witch*, 'appropriate' femininity through the performance of *koketisshu* is always required, which hinders a complete emancipation of women from patriarchal norms. However, through the representations of dress, fashion, power and sexuality, female sexual allure and self-assertion are positively articulated. Meg and Non represent the bipolarised femininities of cuteness and coolness and symbolise positive female solidarity through their rivalry and friendship.

Kawaii in fashion and sexuality became more important for the construction of girls' identity in the 1980s, proliferating *kawaii* culture. In Magical Girl *anime*, this was explicit through the magical transformation of Yû, the protagonist in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. How was the performance of *kawaii* represented in a different manner to Meg, who suggested coquettish sexuality, power and femininity? What did magical transformation signify in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, which saw a changing family structure and shifting gender roles? In order to clarify these enquiries, the next section will explore how representations of *kawaii* are linked to female sexuality and girls' self-assertion in the post-'women's liberation' context.

Section 5: *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* (1983-84) —Emerging *Kawaii* Girls' Culture and Transformation

In *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, fashion and sexuality are more closely associated through representations of women's work and a magical transformation to change into an

⁴⁸ This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four.

ideal self. The transformation of the self, however, serves to re-conceive the self, as discussed in *The Secrets of Akko-chan*. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, how did the magical transformation differ from that in the late 1960s and the early 1970s? This section explores how the shift in young women's lives and paid labour in the context of emerging gender equality are represented and how they are associated with femininity, sexuality, self-assertion and self-expression.

Magical Angel Creamy Mami, one of the most popular Magical Girl *anime* programmes among girls, was produced by Studio Pierrot. Fundamentally following six traits of the Toei model, this show features an ordinary ten-year-old tomboy, Yû Morisawa, who is given a magical power by Pino Pino (a fairy-like extra-terrestrial creature) under the condition of a limited one-year validity for the magical power.⁴⁹ Yû uses the magical power—out of curiosity—to transform herself into a beautiful and mature vision of herself, aged sixteen, who happens to be scouted by the president of Parthenon Production (a talent production company) to sing a song for a TV show. After this unexpected debut, Yû's struggle and guilty consumption begin, caused by her forced double life as herself and as her secret identity Creamy Mami, whom the president cultivates into a top star. This doppelganger theme induces a strangely twisted love triangle relationship between Yû, Mami and Toshio (Yû's childhood male friend), who falls in love with Mami. The visibility of paid work engaged in not only by the protagonist but also by her parents obviously distinguishes itself from all of the previous Magical Girl *anime* programmes.

Her father (Tetsuo) and mother (Natsume) call each other by diminutive variations of their first names (Tec-chan and Nac-chan), representing typical traits of the 'New Family', which had already emerged in the late 1960s but which grew considerably more prevalent in the late 1970s in Japan (Miura, 1999: 14-16; Morikawa, 2006: 26-27).

⁴⁹ The accurate average and the highest audience ratings were offered by Video Research Ltd. See Appendix C. However, this data will be removed upon the organisation's request when this thesis is filed.

Japanese couples with children conventionally address their family members by their positions in the family, in relation to the youngest of the family, for instance, Mother, Father, Elder Brother, Elder Sister and so on.⁵⁰ Therefore, the ‘New Family’ such as Yû’s was a new type of nuclear family, fleeing from Japanese conservative ideas and preferring a Western lifestyle and customs. They owned a Western-style house in the suburbs, embraced mass consumption and spent disposable income on fashion, leisure and interior design (Miura, 1999: 142-3).

The themes of the love triangle relationship and the visibility of labour of the ‘New Family’ were considerably discussed in the production meetings regarding the programme from the beginning. Yûji Nunokawa, the president of Studio Pierrot and the chief producer of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, recalls:

The same staff [of *Creamy Mami*] produced [*Kimagure*] *Orange Road* after *Creamy Mami*. [...] If you watch *Urusei Yatsura* (Lum), *Creamy Mami* and *Orange Road* consecutively, you may find these works quite alike.⁵¹ [...] In *Lum*, Lum is in love with Ataru [...] just as Yû is [with Toshio] in *Creamy Mami*. In *Orange Road*, there is the very same triangle relationship, although the protagonist is a boy. [...] As for the setting [that Yû’s parents own a crêpe restaurant], at that time, fathers tended to be salary men and mothers worked part-time, so children could not have a chance to see their parents working actually. So, I wanted to depict parents’ working visibly [to children].
(Nunokawa, 2007; translation mine)

After the great success of his previous work, *Lum*, Nunokawa realised that a love triangle in a comedic romance story could effectively serve to enrich the storylines. In *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, however, two girls—two corners of a love triangle—are played by a single character, Yû/Mami. Unlike simple triangle relationships in the other works Nunokawa indicated, their triangle relationship represents three elements that construct

⁵⁰ The youngest of the family has no title, merely being called by his/her given name conventionally.

⁵¹ *Kimagure Orange Road* (1987-88), based on Izumi Matsumoto’s *manga* comic of the same title, is a comedic love story, in which the male protagonist, Kyosuke, is involved in a love triangle with Madoka and Hikaru, opposite types of high school girls. The first half of *Urusei Yatsura* (also known as *Lum*) was produced by Studio Pierrot (and the second half by Studio Deen) (1981-86), based on Rumiko Takahashi’s *manga* of the same title.

Yû's subjectivity and gender identity as a kind of triad by utilising a doppelganger theme. This will be further explored below in this section.

These two characteristics, the triangle relationship and the visibility of labour, were partly attributed to the changing working style in Japanese society in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. During this period, representations of and discourses about the sexuality of young women also changed. As discussed in Chapter Two, the lives of young women in the 1970s drastically changed due to the increase of women who entered universities, the delay of marriage and longer working careers. Representations of independent women served to encourage young women to take pleasure in their daily lives and to realise self-fulfilment in their workplaces.⁵²

In 1983, the proportion of part-time workers/housewives surpassed that of housewives without paid work. Consequently, the labour participation rates of married women increased, although it virtually meant capitalist and patriarchal exploitation of married women as low-waged part-timers (Sugimoto, 1997: 145). With management positions dominated only by male full-time employees in almost all Japanese companies, female full-time employees generally were allowed to engage in only clerical work without any chance of promotion. The expansion of the female full-time workforce and their consciousness-raising through feminist movements, however, led to the introduction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1986.⁵³

In the middle of the second-wave feminist movements, actions aimed at female consciousness-raising resulted in improved working conditions and reproductive health, as well as the liberation of sexuality for women. For instance, feminists' condemnation of a food company's TV advertisement, 'I (woman) cook, I (man) eat', which articulated the traditional gender roles, forced it to be taken off the air (Inoue and Ehara, 2005). A few universities began to offer lectures in women's studies, educating young students to be

⁵² *An-an*, for instance, often featured women travelling alone and living alone, decorated with colourful eye-catching photos and encouraging articles and essays, and offering young female readers an affirmative role model of 'a new woman' (Sakamoto, 1999).

⁵³ It was partially amended in 1997, 1999 and 2007.

gender sensitive. The divorce rate increased, signifying that a divorce record was not a fatal stigma for women and that they were capable of making their own living, although women's re-employment remained difficult.

Discourses about the liberated sexuality of young women, however, were considerably presented as jeopardised by female sexuality in the mass media. This culminated in 1983, when the highest recorded abortion rate of teenage girls and the arrest of a young woman who had organised a prostitution company (consisting of female college students, clerical workers and nurses as part-time prostitutes) were sensationally reported as evidence of the ruin of female morality and chastity.⁵⁴ In 1984, criticism in the Diet (the Japanese parliament) of explicit depictions of sex in girls' *manga* also highlighted the jeopardy of liberated female sexuality and the deterioration of young women's morality (Inoue and Ehara, 2005). Thus, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, on the one hand, the improvement of working conditions for women and liberalist attitudes about female sexuality ensured women's economic and psychological independence. On the other hand, representations and criticism of the female body in the mass media reproduced the notion that female sexuality and the body should be carefully controlled, although uncontrolled male sexuality was hardly condemned.

There were two role models for young women appearing in show business in the late 1970s and the early 1980s: Momoe Yamaguchi (1952-) (Figure 1) and Seiko Matsuda (1962-) (Figure 2), the most popular female idol stars/actresses/singers.



Fig. 1 Momoe Yamaguchi started her career as an idol singer in 1972 and played the leads in fifteen films.



Fig. 2 Seiko Matsuda started her career as an idol singer in 1980 when Yamaguchi left show business.

As mentioned above, Yamaguchi launched her career with tremendous success as a singer

⁵⁴ This illegal group was called the Bank of Lovers (*aijin banku*). While criticising this case, TV news programmes and magazines provided a growing number of explicit images of young women.

and actress. However, at the peak of her career, she ‘retired’ permanently from the entertainment business at the age of 21 to marry the actor Tomokazu Miura, who often co-starred in her films. Her sudden decision to choose marriage, despite her successful career, symbolised the conventional Japanese idea of marriage as providing the ‘absolute happiness of women (*onna no saikô no shiawase*)’. It also signified the difficult circumstances faced by single working women, who had to choose between either continuing their careers or abandoning them to get married.

The other role model, Matsuda, however, never quit her career after marriage and child-rearing. In a similar manner to Yamaguchi, she became an idolised star in the 1980s with hit songs and films. At the peak of her career in 1985, at the age of 23, she married the famous actor Masaki Kanda and gave birth to a daughter, and was later divorced. Although she remarried—and her second marriage also ended in divorce—her case typified the privilege of celebrity, and her actions and choices encouraged working women by offering an alternative way of life for women: to have both a career and marriage (Ueda, 2007: 39). In these changing circumstances for young women in the 1980s, *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, which features an idol singer, articulates young women’s conflicts between career and heterosexual romance in a different way from those of Yamaguchi and Matsuda.

5-1. Gender Equality in the New Family and the Visualised Paid Labour

After the emergence of the ‘New Family’, paid labour and gender equality are typified by Yû’s parents. Although Mami is engaged in paid labour, depictions of remuneration are never foregrounded. Instead, her labour is used as a site where the protagonist acquires a sense of responsibility for tasks, which nurtures her sense of accomplishment and self-assertion. However, a number of sequences in which Yû’s mother and father are equally involved in physical labour are often inserted as subplots. Simultaneously, scenes where her father is cooking at home are often depicted,

representing idealised gender equality in the household (Figure 3).

As briefly mentioned, Yû's parents represent a 'New Family', which became increasingly familiar in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. They married after dating for a long time during their student years, exemplifying what was called 'love-based marriage (*ren'ai kekkon*)'. Love-based marriages focused on individual relationships, compared with the distinctive feature of arranged marriage as a Japanese traditional custom (*miai kekkon*), in which the inheritance of family homes was of central importance. Therefore, love-based marriage symbolised the liberation of young people from traditional Japanese ideas about protecting family-based inheritance. Yû's parents still address themselves by their first names even after the birth of their child. This represents a liberal and individual-oriented relationship between husband and wife, which exemplifies the New Family. They own a mobile, small but fancy crêpe restaurant maintained next to their western-style house (Figure 4). During business hours, they cook and serve crêpes



Fig. 3 Tetsuo (left) in an apron and Natsume (right) cooking together.



Fig. 4 The Morisawas' house with their crêpe car at the front.

together, and after work, they take turns cooking for their daughter, although there are more scenes where Natsume is engaged in domestic chores. Due to their profoundly equal positions in their workplace and household, Tetsuo and Natsume represent an ideal partnership of married couples in the late 1970s and the early 1980s.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Law was unable to have an immediate effect on the resolution of gender discrimination in the workplace. However, in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, the articulation of gender equality is deftly associated with representations of the West, namely a Western-style house called a 'shortcake house' and crêpes, reifying women's liberation from the conservative gender roles created by Japanese traditional family and social structure.

In Japan, 'shortcake' is a sponge cake covered with whipped cream and decorated with strawberries.⁵⁵ The 'shortcake house' was thus named for being a cute-looking Western-style house with white exterior walls, having characteristic oriel windows and resembling shortcake. It reinforced young women's preference and admiration for the West. Morikawa (2006) argues that [Japanese] women favour the Western-style house design because 'they associated it with a married-couple-based [nuclear] family structure', whilst the Japanese style was strongly associated with the conventional ideology that women registered to join as a family member of their husbands' parents (67; translation mine). He suggests that the Western-style house was shrewdly chosen as a politically contested site where married women aimed to win independence from the conventions of the traditional family structure (67). The Western-style house, in which the living/dining and bedrooms are separated, signifies the shift from husband-dominated space to wife-dominated space (Nishikawa, 2004b: 186). Thus, the Morisawas' shortcake house represents the emancipation of women from patriarchal norms.

Crêpes, a representation of Western (French) food culture, are also associated with gender equality. When introduced to Japan in the 1970s, crêpes (thin pancakes made from buckwheat flour) were served with white whipped cream, melted chocolate and various fruits such as strawberries and bananas.⁵⁶ In a manner similar to the shortcake houses, the colourful eye-catching fast food with European heritage attracted young females. Because they were first served in 1977 in Harajuku (the fashion centre for the young), Harajuku-style crêpes immediately conjured images of the cosmopolitan, fashion modes and youth culture. Therefore, the Morisawa crêpe restaurant represents an ideal site, particularly for young women, where Western liberal ideology enables gender equality to be realised and emancipates Japanese women from discrimination.

⁵⁵ Shortcake is one of the most typical sweets served at birthday celebrations and Christmas in Japan.

⁵⁶ *Galette* (*galette du Sarrasin*), made from buckwheat flour served with hams, eggs, cheese, etc., is not as popular as *kurêpu* in Japan. It is noted that the pretty colour combination (white colour of wheat flour with red, yellow and green fruits) is appealing to Japanese young women.

Such signifiers of representations of the West serve to articulate young Japanese women's collective desire for the indigenisation of Western cultural and ideological products. In other words, by using the framework of the cultural and ideological presence of foreign origins, *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* offered an ideal role model of partnership between husbands and wives, the significance of labour for women, and gender equality in the workplace and household.

5-2. Tripartite Features of Female Subjectivity, Fashion and Femininity

Such idealised representations of gender equality in the workplace and household are associated with the transformation of an idealised self in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. Just as in *Cinderella*, a boy-meets-girl type of heterosexual romantic discourse often enables girls' social mobility by marriage and their self-assertion. They assert their 'self' by acknowledging that they are loved and validated by boys. This theme was dominant in the Japanese girls' *manga* discourses of the 1970s and the 1980s (Hashimoto, 1984; Fujimoto, 1995 and 1998; Shamoon, 2007; Iizawa, 2009). However, although the triangular love relationship and transformation of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* seem to suggest this style, Western-oriented representations of fashion, body and romantic love construct the ideal and assertive self.

Yû loves Toshio (Figure 7), a childhood friend, who is four years her senior and who accidentally falls in love with Mami, the transformed Yû. As her transformation into a beautiful, glamorous and powerful older teenage girl indicates, Mami embodies her idealised self image, normatively desired by Toshio. Yû has short pastel blue hair, large round eyes, and wears a pastel yellow miniskirt and a jacket with a yellow hood. The colouring of her outfit was considerably popular, observed in the 'fancy items' in the 1980s' *kawaii* girls' culture (Figure 5). When she transforms into Mami, her hair turns pale violet and becomes longer and curly, and frilled sleeves are coordinated with her skirt and the fringes of her socks, which symbolise cute and fashionable clothes for girls

(Figure 6). Her body becomes mature, especially her long slender legs



Fig. 5 When Yû Morisawa transforms herself into Mami, magical sparkles cover her.



Fig. 6 Dress changes when Yû transforms herself into Mami, the idol singer.

(which are highlighted by her frilled miniskirt). Mami's huge eyes, emphasised with eye shadow, and her small, lipstick-painted mouth also allow her to be an ideal senior girl.

Because Toshio's heterosexual male gaze serves to validate the idealised femininity represented by Mami, it seems that discursive heterosexual desirability is crucial for girls' assertion, as the clichéd Cinderella story indicates. However, there is another heterosexual gaze: Midori, Toshio's friend, who admires Yû, not Mami (Figure 8).



Fig. 7 Toshio has large round eyes and a slim body and is characterised as a handsome boy.



Fig. 8 Midori is a dull, heavy boy with unattractive male traits.

Although Midori insists that Yû is more attractive than Mami, she is not satisfied by his compliment. Thus, heterosexual desirability offering validation to femininity is not monolithic. Skeggs (1997) argues that '[the practice of looking good] is central to the women's sense of self: their interpretations, labour, display and performance' (104). She suggests that femininity is validated by 'heterosexual desirability', a sense of security in women that they are desirable by heterosexual others (112).

However, whilst idealised femininity is validated by heterosexual desirability, it is also validated by the agents themselves who perform the idealised femininity. It is constructed within mutual interactions. Yû realises that Mami embodies an idealised femininity, which is legitimately desired by Toshio. However, Toshio is also 'wanted' or legitimated by Yû. Midori, who is neither desired nor recognised as heterosexually desirable by her, is thereby illegitimated, validating the idealisation of both masculinity and femininity. Ideal femininity is thus not one-sidedly constructed by the validation

obtained through heterosexual desirability. Instead, ideal femininity emerges in the interplay between genders—between the agent performing that femininity and her male object of affection. In fact, it is a judgement by Toshio, rather than Midori, that ultimately determines the validity of Yû's femininity in this story. Midori is used for comic effect and is never accepted as a participant in the love relationship. Actually, Midori is typically characterised as an overweight and unintelligent boy, symbolising an unqualified masculinity that heterosexual females would not desire (Grogan, 1999: 8). Toshio, in turn, can function as a 'wanted' man who confirms Yû's heterosexual desirability. His heterosexual desirability is thus constructed by her. Therefore, there are stratifications in heterosexual desirability: hegemonic male desire, which—for heterosexual females—is highly esteemed enough to judge 'appropriate' femininity, and the character that is not validated by the female gaze. It is important for femininity to be validated by 'qualified' desirable male characters.

The validation by heterosexual desirability indeed serves to construct femininity, especially in relation to sexuality; however, is it the only way for women to assert the self? Skeggs (1997) further suggests that the awareness of being desirable is internalised and functions as self-monitoring and surveillance (109). Toshio symbolises 'the heterosexual other' within Yû, by which she can measure and regulate herself through her body. Yû develops a sense of being watched and judged when she becomes Mami due to Toshio's frequent remarks on Mami's sophisticated demeanour. Toshio's gaze, the standard by which 'appropriate' femininity is judged, is internalised within Yû, which leads to her performance of femininity. Even when Yû is not in company with Toshio, she transforms herself to be Mami, performing in order to be appropriately feminine. In other words, the heterosexual desirability that validates the 'appropriate' femininity as a performed femininity does not come from the outside. It is rather constructed in the process of Yû's recognition that she ought to perform an appropriate (older, more sexual) femininity. Consequently, the heterosexual 'other' is internalised as an ideological device,

a notion of heterosexual desire. In this sense, Toshio, Yû and Mami each becomes the heterosexual other who judges Yû's performances of femininity—her self, her internalisations of Toshio's judgements and the idealised self that she performs—which constitutes a triad within the protagonist and constructs her subjectivity.

The stereotypically opposed representations of female sexuality, the clichéd 'sacred virgin or a whore', are often presented, such as in episodes 13 and 24. Episodes 25, 26 and 52 depict the protagonist's acceptance of the unadulterated self, after the struggle between the idealised and desired female identity, and the subjectivity of the protagonist or 'I am what I am'. In these episodes, Toshio—as Yû's heterosexual alter-ego—validates and values female sexuality and femininity.

In episode 24 ('An Audition and a Bear'), Mami criticises the conventional way of evaluating the female body. She and other female candidates in an audition for a film are forced to wear a swimsuit (as often seen in beauty contests) and are evaluated on their appearances, although the intended film is about the heart-warming story of a wild bear and a girl. This episode typically suggests that the abilities of women are submerged within sexuality.

An idealised body and excessive female sexuality constructed by heterosexual desirability are, in contrast, negated by Toshio in episode 13 ('Mami beyond the Mirror'). Yû accidentally activates her magical power to transform herself into Mami in a dysfunctional mirror maze attraction of the amusement park where Mami's concert is held, unknowingly producing Mami's double as a by-product. Figure 9 symbolises



Fig. 9 Yû in a mirror maze



Fig. 10 Pseudo-Mami poses provocatively for photos.



Fig. 11 Mami (front) and pseudo-Mami (back) confront each other.

multiple characters of Yû. As her familiar spirit, Nega, indicates in this scene, it is

difficult to identify the real Yû in the mirrored reflections. The mirror is effectively used as a cinematic device to destabilise Yû's identity. The duplicated pseudo-Mami pretends to be the real Mami, emphasising the excessive sexuality exposed by mass media. In Figure 10, almost naked pseudo-Mami appears in a tabloid picture; she eagerly accepts work that requires her to wear a bikini, which the real Mami would never do. In Figure 11, the real Mami finally identifies the pseudo-Mami as another self mistakenly produced in the mirror maze. However, the pseudo-Mami uncovers the truth that she was produced because the real Mami never recognised her. In confronting the original Mami, the pseudo-Mami's intention to replace the original with herself fails when the real Mami accepts her.

Pseudo-Mami: I've been living as your shadow for a long time. [...] You always think of only yourself, paying no attention to me. This is my first time being acknowledged by somebody else.

Mami: [...] Then, why don't you become the real Mami? I will quit being Mami. (Translation mine)

Their conversation is conducted on the top of a building, while Toshio, watching them from the upper floor of another building, is positioned as the judge to evaluate the two. In the previous scene, he has criticised pseudo-Mami for her excessive sexuality, identifying her as a 'fake'. She complains about his remark, saying 'I am not a doll. I do what I want to do'. Her reaction, however, typically represents a new type of strong and assertive women found in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. (The 1980s, in particular, was called the 'era of women' because the mass media emphasised representations of women who were positive about their careers and sexuality).

Representations of excessive female sexuality were utilised as a symbol of the self-assertion of women and the liberation of female sexuality in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. However, women were still expected to maintain 'appropriate' feminine conduct, which demanded chastity and modesty. Therefore, Mami and pseudo-Mami

typically represent the struggles between the liberated sexuality of women and ideally desired femininity. Pseudo-Mami eventually returns to 'the world of the mirror' after being accepted by Mami (another self). It superficially signifies that hegemonic femininity desired by the 'qualified' heterosexual other overweighs liberated female sexuality, marked as inappropriate femininity. This in turn suggests that the two aspects of femininity reconcile with each other in order to conceptualise female subjectivity and also adapt to the social demands of 1980s Japan.

In her analysis of double—or multiple selves in the modern fantastic narrative of literature—Jackson (1981) suggests two types of doubles: Frankenstein's type and Dracula's type. In Frankenstein's type, 'the source of otherness, of threat, is in the self' (58), and the 'self becomes other through a self-generated metamorphosis, through the subject's alienation from himself and consequent splitting or multiplying of identities' (59). By contrast, in Dracula's type, 'the self suffers an attack of some sort which makes it part of the other' (58). The case of Mami and pseudo-Mami typifies the Frankenstein type. Jackson argues that in Frankenstein's type, excessive human knowledge poses a danger. In a similar manner, pseudo-Mami is produced through the fear of excessive female sexuality. However, unlike Frankenstein and his monster, pseudo-Mami ultimately gives way to Mami and disappears into the mirror, symbolising that women's excessive sexuality can and should be concealed within them.

Therefore, heterosexual desirability in relation to girls' sexuality is profoundly dominant in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. The latter half of the story line, however, suggests contradictory messages. Episodes 25, 26 and 52 explain how idealised femininity—validated by qualified heterosexual desirability—is negated and marginalised, and instead, the 'original' self is asserted. The assertion of the *un*-idealised self is symbolised by the disappearance or invalidation of Yû's magical power. In episodes 25 and 26, Toshio accidentally witnesses Yû transforming into Mami. As a rule, magical power must be activated in secret; once the rule is violated, the agent who breaks

the rule is punished. Due to the violation, she loses her power to turn back into Yû. Although Toshio prefers Mami as his ideal girl, he implores Pino Pino to restore her magical power to transform back into Yû. Due to Pino Pino's mercy, Toshio takes Yû back. However, her magical power disappears. This episode seems to articulate the acceptance of the real and *un*-idealised self as heterosexually desirable.

However, in the following episode, Toshio asks Pino Pino to give the magical power back to Yû after understanding a condition he has offered Toshio in exchange—'to erase his memory of what he knows about Yû's secret magical power'. This complicated process of losing and regaining her magical power, in exchange for Toshio's gain and loss of his memory, is closely related to episode 13. Yû and Toshio fall into a water pond, which leads to Feather Star, a fantastic space that Pino Pino controls. The water pond functions as a mirror, reflecting Yû's other self here. In a similar manner to pseudo-Mami, Toshio, the judge of Yû's 'appropriate' femininity, allows his memory about Yû's double to be deleted. Returning from the Feather Star through the path to the water pond, the triangle—Yû, Mami and Toshio—resumes.

Nonetheless, in the final episode, Toshio remembers that he accidentally witnessed Yû's secret. He completely recovers his memory on the very day when Yû carries out her promise to Pino Pino to void her magical power. On the same day, Yû as Mami tries to perform a final open air concert in heavy rain. The rain, another water image that causes reflections, is used metaphorically as a mirror. The rain accesses a path to the Feather Star again. Pino Pino approaches Yû to remove her magical power. However, because she wants to complete her concert successfully by singing the final song, Pino Pino waits until she accomplishes this. Returning to the concert, Mami, the idealised Yû, successfully ends her concert and informs her audience that she will permanently retire from the entertainment business, and then Mami disappears. Simultaneously, Toshio realises that Yû, not Mami, is the one whom he should accept. When Yû ultimately finds Toshio, who has been searching for her during Mami's concert, she exclaims, 'I am what

I am'. Her articulation represents a declaration of independence from hegemonic views about Japanese femininity.

In these episodes, Toshio discovers Mami as Yû's double. Toshio, or the judge of female heterosexual desirability, eventually chooses Yû instead of Mami, negating idealised femininity and accepting the unvarnished (younger and inner) self. Due to her great achievement as a professional artist and the self-confidence this gives her, Yû's tripartite factors—the unadulterated self, idealised female identity and legitimated desirable self—are ultimately integrated into a single subjectivity. This also signifies that validation by a desirable heterosexual other and the performance of an ideal femininity ultimately should not be required to construct and assert the self. When Yû's heterosexual alter-ego accepts Yû, the unadulterated self represented by the enactment of ideal femininity (Mami) is not deployed, meaning that Toshio's role is eradicated. The importance of self-assertion through self-confidence produced by the successful achievements of young women is underscored in the denouement of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*.

Thus, *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* makes explicit references to a feminist perspective, gender equality and self-assertion. The Morisawas' New Family lifestyle, their 'shortcake house' and crêpe restaurant represent idealised gender equality for young women in the context of a drastic social shift in the pre-Equal Employment Opportunity Law era. The motif of a magical transformation is more powerfully associated with children's femininity than it is in *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, focusing on childlike and appropriate sexuality. Yû's magical transformation serves as a site in which 'the self' is constructed, not through validation by heterosexual desirability but through self-assertion and self-confidence. Although the narrative structure suggests that an ideally constructed and 'appropriate' femininity (Mami) is negotiated within the unvarnished self (Yû), the text ultimately articulates reconciliation between the two and the attainment of the assertive self. The disappearance of Yû's magical power symbolises emancipation from

social norms of (adult) femininity.

Japanese Magical Girl *anime* programmes in the late 1970s and the early 1980s articulate conflicts, negotiation and reconciliation in an altering femininity. *Kawaii* and coquettishness are especially emphasised in relation to fashion and the body, serving to display ‘appropriate’ girls’ sexuality. After the end of the *Shôwa* period in 1989, however, whilst permeative gender equality in the workplace and the home destabilised hegemonic femininity and motherhood, a strong backlash against gender equality was simultaneously demonstrated. The next two sections will discuss the continuous issue of female solidarity and the recurrence of motherhood in the *Sailor Moon* and the *Magical Doremi* series.

Section 6: The *Sailor Moon* series (1992-2000)—Fighting Girls in a Team and Female Solidarity

The internationally acclaimed *Sailor Moon* series premiered in 1992, followed by four serial seasons: *Sailor Moon R* (1993-94), *Sailor Moon S* (1994-95), *Sailor Moon Super S* (1995-96) and *Sailor Stars* (1999-2000).⁵⁷ This continuum of products has been adapted into several different media platforms, including films, video games, musicals and a live-action TV drama (2003-04) as a ‘media-mix’ strategy or cross-media promotion.⁵⁸ Although related items, products and performances are significant in linking fantastic imagination to reality, my analysis in this section focuses on the content of the TV *anime* programmes. I have selected the first three seasons in particular, primarily because this analysis will be related to the discourse of my research subjects who have had viewing experiences of these programmes, because the heterosexual

⁵⁷ The *Sailor Moon* series is based on Naoko Takeuchi’s *manga*, *Code Name is Sailor V* (1991; 1993-97) and *Beautiful Girl Warriors Sailor Moon* (1991-97). Takeuchi (1992) says in an interview that she expanded her complete short story, *Code Name is Sailor V* (1991), into *Beautiful Girl Warriors Sailor Moon* because ‘Toei asked [her] for a permission to adapt [her] work into a TV serial animation programme after it was published’ (34). ‘R’ of *Sailor Moon R* stands for ‘romance’, and ‘S’ of *Sailor Moon S* stands for ‘super’. For the average viewership ratings, see Appendix C. However, this data will be removed upon request when this thesis is filed. I apologise to readers for the inconvenience.

⁵⁸ Three feature films—*Beautiful Girl Warriors Sailor Moon R* (1993), *Beautiful Girl Warriors Sailor Moon S* (1994) and *Beautiful Girl Warriors Sailor Moon Super S* (1995)—and two short spinoff films, *Make Up! Sailor Warriors* (1993) and *Ami-chan’s First Love* (1995), were produced. Several versions of video games were produced to run on different video game players, such as Game Boy and Super Fami-Con (family computer), etc., from 1992 onwards. Thirty versions of the musicals were performed from 1993 to 2005. This is the first case of the image of a Magical Girl TV *anime* programme developed in both fictional two-dimensional media and live-action three-dimensional media platforms.

romances of the five protagonists and a metaphorical maternal role are articulated in the first season, and because an overt maternal role is portrayed in the second and third seasons.

The *Sailor Moon* series partly follows the six codes of the Toei model. First, Usagi Tsukino, 14, is an ordinary second-year junior high school student who is weepy, unintelligent, funny, and a born optimist. She has long blonde hair with blue eyes and a slim body, but she regards herself as neither beautiful nor slim, which causes her to become obsessed with her weight. Second, Usagi has both secularity and legitimacy. She is a non-hereditary witch at first, but later turns out to be a legitimate crown princess of the Moon Kingdom who has been reincarnated on earth. Third, she has a well-functioning family, consisting of a father (a magazine writer), a mother (a housewife) and a younger brother, Shingo. Fourth, they live in a large Western-style house in Azabu, central Tokyo, representing their higher socio-economic status. Fifth, Usagi is given supernatural powers to transform herself into a warrior (Sailor Moon) who utilises two types of weapons: a tiara (Moon Tiara), which is a lethal weapon to destroy enemies, and a stick or rod (Moon Stick), with which she removes evil energy from her enemies. Although her weapons increase in power as the series proceeds, her tasks are concentrated on 'purifying' the negative aura of enemies and 'healing' them with the Moon Stick. Her 'healing' (as opposed to killing) ability is associated with mothering and caring.⁵⁹ Finally, domesticity is represented by the locale; the major stories take place in Usagi's house, her school and her neighbourhood.

This series, however, introduces multiple protagonists who form a team, thus emphasising female solidarity. However, how is female solidarity represented, and of what does it make sense? The all-female team members possess weapons to fight villains. Usagi, however, is the only one allowed to possess a silver crystal, which is capable of

⁵⁹ Allison (2001) and Driscoll (2002) argue that violent acts are important to the identity and appeal of main characters in *Sailor Moon*, in particular, for Western audiences. However, it seems that Usagi's acts of purification, probably based on purification in *Shinto*, are more significant in relation to maternity in the *Sailor Moon* series.

purifying sullied spirits. Usagi is characterised as being incompetent at managing chores such as cooking and cleaning. Nevertheless, she plays a maternal role, caring not only for her teammates and future daughter, but also for villains. How does this maternal role function in the series?

This section will explore representations and functions of female solidarity and motherhood. In relation to these themes, I will focus on a two-fold portrait of femininity: one is about the self-reflexive and superficial presentations of the self through fashion, dress and the female body, while the other is an inscribed recurring hegemonic femininity in terms of mothering and caring.

6-1. Diversity and Unification of Multiple Protagonists

The *Sailor Moon* series introduces three distinctive qualities into the Magical Girl genre: multiple protagonists in a team, the sailor uniform, and a theme of fighting to ‘save the earth’.⁶⁰ Although multiple protagonists were first introduced to this genre by *Meg the Little Witch* (1974), in the *Sailor Moon* series, the five protagonists represent more diverse characteristics. This diversity produces a dramatic effect when they form a clique.

Sailor Moon/Usagi is suddenly informed that she is the ‘chosen one’, who is destined to search for a princess of the Moon Kingdom and to fight Beryl, the queen of the Dark Kingdom who attempts to destroy the earth in the first season. Usagi is joined by four other girls to form a clique of sailor warriors: intelligent Ami Mizuno (Sailor Mercury), who is from the same school; strong and tomboyish Makoto Kino (Sailor Jupiter), who is transferred to Usagi’s school; psychic Rei Hino (Sailor Mars), a Shinto *miko*⁶¹; and Minako Aino (Sailor Venus). Both Rei and Minako belong to different schools. Although their temperaments vary considerably, they become united in the fight against the Dark Kingdom once they transform into sailor warriors.⁶²

⁶⁰ The first three qualities have become formulaic and are developed in subsequent Magical Girl TV *anime*, such as the *Magical Doremi* series and the *Pretty Cure* series.

⁶¹ *Miko* is a spiritual medium. See Chapter Two.

⁶² In each season, different enemies are introduced: the Black Moon in *Sailor Moon R*, the Death Busters in

The diversity of their characterisations indeed appealed to girl audiences. In my audience research, Makoto and Ami were found to be the most popular figures in the *Sailor Moon* series. Whilst Ami was stereotypically characterised as a cute, intelligent and thoughtful girl and she received much popularity among male audiences,⁶³ Makoto's characterisation in particular fascinated girl audiences.

Makoto's popularity is attributed to her hairstyle and a feminine look, which do not suit her tomboyish demeanour. She weaves her dark brown hair into a ponytail, which signifies *kawaii*, and she is adept at household tasks including cooking and cleaning, despite being characterised as relatively tall and brawny and speaking in a masculine way (Figure 1).⁶⁴ Makoto's femininity, which is at odds with her appearance, enables Usagi



Fig. 1 Makoto, a herculean girl with pony-tailed hair, frightens men because of her height, brawny power and mannish speech.

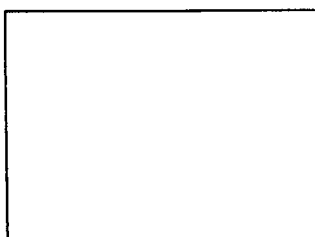


Fig. 2 Makoto wears rose-shaped pierced earrings, seen up close from Usagi's viewpoint.

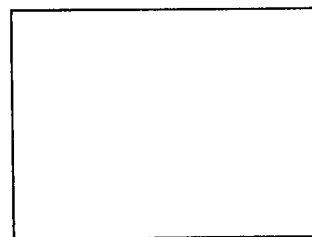


Fig.3 Makoto's pink fancy lunch box, seen from Usagi's viewpoint.

to accept Makoto as an insider. In episode 25 of the first season, when Makoto rescues Usagi—who is about to be assaulted by a street gang on her way to school—Usagi first admires her physical strength. However, what impresses her most are Makoto's rose-shaped earrings (Figure 2). At school, Usagi is fascinated by Makoto's gorgeous lunch in her cute lunch box when Makoto is left alone during lunchtime (Figure 3). Usagi eventually realises that Makoto has actually made her lunch herself, which leads to Usagi's acceptance of Makoto as her comrade. In contrast, Umino (Usagi's male classmate) and Arashi (the guest male character) negatively assess her because of her 'unfeminine' appearance and Herculean power. Although boys see Makoto as an outcast

Sailor Moon S, the Dead Moon in *Sailor Moon Super S*, and the Galaxia in *Sailor Stars*, respectively.

⁶³ According to the annual popularity poll of animation characters of *Animage*, one of the most popular animation magazines, Ami won first prize in the 1990s (*Animage*, 1993: 35).

⁶⁴ This hybrid of feminine and masculine traits attracted girl audiences, offering an alternative girl's identity to being cute (*kawaii*) and cool (*kakkoi*). This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

due to her masculine traits—which deviate from hegemonic femininity—Usagi allows her into her clique due to her feminine traits such as wearing jewellery, her cooking ability, and her profoundly thoughtful attitude towards Usagi. Therefore, Makoto’s fashion sense and femininity enable her to enter a female homosocial community.

Such diverse characters are, however, unified by wearing uniforms. In Japan, the uniform is one of the vital cultural devices for conceptualising group conformity. Although differences signify positive images of the superior and powerful self or of individuality, extreme differences may cause ostracism in Japanese society. McVeigh (2000) suggests that:

[elementary school girls are] more receptive and less resistant *in general* to the wearing of uniforms; [however, junior high girls are less receptive and more resistant than younger girls] due to a keener sense of fashion among young women who are accordingly more apt to notice how school regulations and culture limit feminine forms of self-expression. (91; original emphasis)

His account represents girls’ desire for self-expression by negotiating between being conformist and being different. In the 1990s, education aimed to ensure gender equality, typified by home economics courses offered equally to boys and girls and the introduction of the ‘mixed roster’, was connected to education that emphasised ‘individuality’ or ‘self-expression’. However, children’s suicide cases and truancy, presumably caused by bullying in school, concomitantly increased while individuality and different individual abilities were emphasised.⁶⁵ Acknowledgement of differences unfortunately seems to have caused bullying in schools. In this sociocultural context, the unification of five different protagonists—created by the act of changing their clothes into the same uniform in five different colours—signifies the possibility of establishing group conformity without losing diverse characterisations. Representations of fashion, dress and

⁶⁵ Several children’s suicide cases allegedly caused by bullying were sensationally reported in the mass media in 1994. In 1995, approximately 77,000 truant cases were reported, which was the highest record after the war (Inoue and Ehara, 2005).

the female body are closely associated with constructions of powerful female solidarity and positive group conformism, whilst individual diversity is simultaneously appreciated.

The positive representation of powerful female solidarity is emphasised by the 'save the earth' theme. Using fantasy violence to save the universe has been a cliché in Japanese *anime* and action hero programmes for boys since the 1950s, in which a male hero or a mixed-gender team confronts enemies who intend to dominate the earth (Saitô, 1998).⁶⁶ In the *Sailor Moon* series, the collaborative use of a macro-dynamic theme (save the earth) and a micro-domestic theme (mothering and domesticity) enables highly gendered narrative structures in Japanese *anime* to blur. Although the ways in which conflicts are plotted in the stories may differ, it is noted that the macro-dynamic theme, which was formerly dominant in boys' *anime*, was first applied to girls' *anime* (Kobayashi, 1999: 205), blurring gender differences. The protection of public spaces and the pursuit of justice in the *Sailor Moon* series serve to justify powerful female solidarity.

However, at the same time, mothering and domesticity prevent powerful girls from being masculinised. Beauty codes are likewise inscribed to assuage public anxiety and fear over the loss of femininity in girls. Ultimately, this collaborative usage serves to deftly avoid the backlash against gender equality movements promoted by the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society in 2000. This shift was accepted partly due to improving gender equality in the workplace after 1986, when the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was enforced, and partly due to the changing gender images in visual media concomitant with a growing sense of gender equality during the recession which occurred after the collapse of the 'bubble economy'.⁶⁷ In contrast to worn-out business men, young women represented public hope to change this deteriorated situation. In the proposal of the first season of *Sailor Moon*, the concept of a new role model for girls is

⁶⁶ For instance, *Secret Squadron Five Rangers* (1975-77), the live-action hero programme, and *Uchû Senkan Yamato* (*Star Blazers*) (1974-75), the TV *anime* programme. The author of *Sailor Moon*, Takeuchi (1992), suggests that she was influenced by action-hero programmes such as *Space Detective Gavan* (1982-85). She adapted action-heroism into the *Sailor Moon* story (Takeuchi, 1994: 34).

⁶⁷ The bubble economy means Japanese inflation of asset prices from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.

indicated:

The world goes around girls! [. . .] Girls always want to 'become more beautiful', 'wiser' and 'cuter'. To be direct, their desire is 'I want to live my life more fashionably!' [. . .] Wise, fashionable and cool girl! This is what girl audiences yearn for in this post-'idol-boom' era.⁶⁸ Although such girls' attitudes might initially dismay boys, they surely will find such a new type of girls very attractive! (Toei Animation Co., 1991: 3; translation mine)

Since the late 1980s, quite a few entertainment TV programmes and talk shows have recruited ordinary girls to become assistants and they have continued to promote auditions, offering many ordinary young girls a chance to go on air.⁶⁹ Therefore, in the post-idol boom in the 1990s, the 'idols' no longer came to signify an object of admiration by girl audiences, but rather someone whom they themselves could become.

As the preceding analysis shows, *Sailor Moon* was plotted to introduce a strong and fashionable role model for girls after the idol booms in Japan. This tendency coincided with emerging 'Girl Power' movements in the United States and the United Kingdom.⁷⁰ They emphasise self-assertive power exercised by girls or young women who express self-confidence, individualism and ambition. In Japan this movement emerged as a new form of girl power in popular culture symbolised by *Sailor Moon*. The self-reliant attitude of girl power was yearned for by Japanese girls in the initial stage of the recession in the early 1990s. Against this sociocultural background, freedom and being carefree tended to be projected on girls and young unmarried women. The diverse characterisations of the five protagonists in *Sailor Moon* positively represent changing notions of Japanese femininity concomitant with girl power movements in the 1990s.

⁶⁸ The 'idol boom' is a craze for young pretty (female) singers in the entertainment business, which flourished in the 1980s when *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* was broadcast. They were called 'idols' because of the distance from consumers, which enabled young audiences to worship them.

⁶⁹ For instance, *All Night Fuji* (1983-91), which features young female students of prestigious universities, and *Yūyake Nyan Nyan* (1985-87), which promotes high school girls to become group singers, solos and actresses, by Fuji Television Network, Inc., one of Japan's commercial television networks.

⁷⁰ The Girl Power movement is originally associated with a radical punk 'Riot Grrrl' movement by US bands, such as Bikini Kill and Le tigre, etc., in the early 1990s, and a British all-women group, The Spice Girls, in the early 2000s.

6-2. Female Solidarity through Transformation in Fashion

The diverse characterisations of the protagonists in *Sailor Moon*, however, are unified by their wearing of the same uniforms, based on Japanese female ‘sailor uniforms’ for junior high and high schools. Because only female students aged 13 to 18 wear these uniforms in Japan, the sailor uniforms have come to symbolise female adolescence in the Japanese sociocultural context. They are naturally associated with educational institutions, a segregated space in which only adolescents are allowed to spend limited periods of time. Generally, school uniforms serve to nurture not only a sense of unity but also a sense of homogeneity by regulating the demeanour of students. These restrictions highlight aspects of Japanese girlhood that are associated with female ephemerality, nostalgia and *kawaii*. Nevertheless, in such Japanese schools, awareness of the self blurs due to forced uniformity. In reality, Japanese school rules strictly prohibit girls from being fashionable (via accessories, manicures, or dyed hair, etc.) at school. The *Sailor Moon* series, however, positively uses the sailor school uniform to depict female solidarity and power, which only girls can exercise. It should be noted that the sailor uniforms are used as a symbol of unity as well as a form of ‘fashion’.

The protagonists usually wear differently designed sailor school uniforms in their own junior high schools. However, once they transform themselves for combat, they wear the same fashionable sailor uniforms in their key character-based colours. Solidarity through attire is tightly associated with fashion, especially through transformation. Unlike in the case of Akko’s and Yû’s transformations, the protagonists of the *Sailor Moon* series essentially change their clothes in a stereotypically feminine and sexual way: extremely short skirts with a large ribbon to emphasise their super-slim long legs, decorative tops with a large ribbon, longer hair, makeup and accessories, all of which are overtly inefficient for fighting. Therefore, whilst the girlhood that the Japanese sociocultural context conveys is maintained, the transformation with the sailor uniforms signifies female solidarity and femininity as an expression of power.

In the transformation scene, the body is segmented, with zooming-in on body parts, such as the fingernails, face and hair, which are essential parts for a female makeover, in the first season and the first few episodes of the second season, *Sailor Moon R* (Figure 4 and 5). Usagi's naked body is portrayed in silhouette, rotating in magical sparkles.

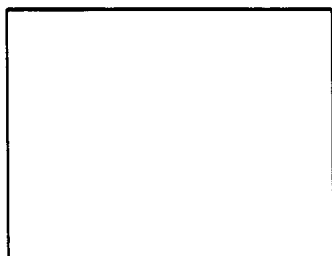


Fig.4 Usagi's finger nails are manicured with magical sparkles in the first season.

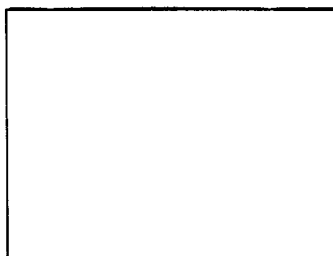


Fig. 5 Earrings and a tiara are put on Usagi. Her hair buns are decorated with the magical sparkles.

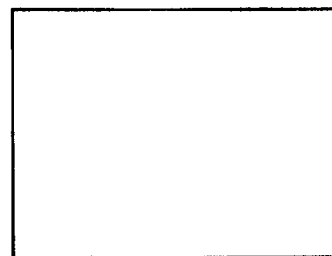


Fig.6 Usagi's naked body in silhouette with her hair growing and large white wings in *Sailor Moon R*.

In *Sailor Moon R*, after Usagi is offered new powers by Queen Serenity, her mother in her previous life, large white wings appear during her transformation, symbolising goddess power attained by the upgraded version of Usagi (Figure 6). The sexuality of Usagi and her teammates in the transformation is ambiguously depicted in at least the first three seasons.⁷¹ Their naked bodies are silhouettes covered in magical sparkles. Rather than emphasising their sexual allure, their nude silhouettes serve as a ritual to draw the line between ordinary human girls and magical warriors, in order to acquire a powerful girl identity.

As Napier (2005) suggests, *Sailor Moon* 'shows images of powerful young women [...] that anticipate genuine, although small, changes in women's empowerment over the last two decades and certainly suggest alternatives to the notion of Japanese women as passive and domesticated' (33). The transformation in the *Sailor Moon* series entails dressing up, makeovers and makeup—that is, becoming feminine signifies power. In her study on *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*, Moseley (2002a) points out that:

[In Sabrina's transformation scene,] the golden sparkle encases Sabrina's body

⁷¹ The depiction of sexuality in a vague way was intended by Junichi Satô, the director of the first season of *Sailor Moon*. He notes: 'I wanted to depict [characters] cutely, not overly-sexualising them. Silhouettes were used in the transformation scene, [enabling various interpretations]' (Ohta et al., 1993: 36).

from head to toe, transforming her clothes, hair and makeup as it descends, and producing her, finally, as an ideal of femininity. [. . .] Glamour is pleasure, it is fascination; it can be also be central [. . .] to the production of a confident and assured self. (409)

In a manner similar to Sabrina, the transformation of the sailor warriors produces a gratifying sense of pleasure and self-confidence, which Usagi typifies. As Yomota (2000) suggests, the *Sailor Moon* series articulates ‘how Usagi transforms herself and re-conceives the world after her transformation’ (275).

Episodes 45 and 46 of the first season typify Usagi’s mental growth. In these episodes, other sailor warriors’ defeats and deaths initially discourage Sailor Moon from continuing to fight Queen Beryl; however, she regains confidence and eventually triumphs over the Dark Kingdom by sacrificing herself. Jun’ichi Satô (1993), the director of the first season of *Sailor Moon*, suggests that the principal theme of *Sailor Moon* is:

Courage to make the first move. The moment at which an ignorant and optimistic girl like Usagi could make the first move is when she gets comrades with whom she shares the same mission, and realises that something has to be done. [. . .] For her comrades, she has to step outside her comfort zone with much courage. (38; translation mine)

The transformative body and same-sex supporters enable girls, who are not confident about their potential, to make the first move. This represents the working environment of Japanese young women in post-feminist sociocultural contexts, where societal pressure still oppresses women, even after equal employment opportunities have been guaranteed by the law and gender differences has gradually blurred. However, the protagonists in *Sailor Moon* superficially ‘use’ hegemonic femininity as a power to conquer societal anxiety and fear against emerging female power, which suppresses patriarchal norms in Japan. In other words, excessive masculinisation of women causes anxiety and fear in men, resulting in women being marginalised and punished. However, when women behave in a feminine way, they are deftly able to avoid criticism.

Therefore, the *Sailor Moon* series articulates that performing in fashionably feminine ways is closely associated with power, which produces a new girl identity. Performing feminine *and* powerful girls also produces a bond between girls. Besides, as Makoto's fashion and cooking abilities, which are commonly perceived as feminine traits, allow Makoto to be recognised as an insider in Usagi's clique, fashion through transformation serves to construct female solidarity and positive group conformity in a clique.

In the *Sailor Moon* series, another aspect of femininity prevents the creation of societal fear towards an emerging, new, and powerful female: mothering and caring. The next section will explore how mothering and caring are represented in the postfeminist context.

6-3. Mothering, Caring and an Idealised Homosocial Community

Representations of powerful and fashionable girls in the postfeminist era are commonly detected in Western teen fantasy television programmes, such as *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. However, in the Japanese postfeminist context, mothering and caring are profoundly emphasised in the *Sailor Moon* series and the following Magical Girl *anime* programmes.⁷² As argued in the previous chapter, motherhood and caring are constructed as an innate part of female nature and reproduce hegemonic femininity. The purpose of this section is to examine how the recurrence of these 'female attributes' functions and what this articulates in the *Sailor Moon* series.

Chodorow (1978) argues that '[w]omen, as mothers, produce daughters with mothering capacities and the desire to mother. These capacities and needs are built into and grow out of the mother-daughter relationship itself' (7). In the second season, Usagi is unexpectedly given a daughter-like little girl for whom she must care. The five-year-old girl Chibi-usa (Little Usagi) turns out to be Usagi's future daughter in the

⁷² This is exemplified especially by the *Magical Doremi* series and *Fresh! Pretty Cure* (2009-2010).

Moon Kingdom, who has leapt through time from the 30th century.⁷³ Although Usagi is represented as a mother-like figure to her teammates in the first season, her maternal role is profoundly highlighted by Chibi-usa's sudden visit in the second season. Here, a mother-daughter relationship is represented, which seems to enhance mothering as an essential female gender role. Chodorow suggests that:

[A girl] learns what it is to be womanlike in the context of this personal identification with her mother and often with other female models (kin, teachers, mother's friends, mothers of friends). Female identification, then, can be based on the gradual learning of a way of being familiar in everyday life, exemplified by the relationship with the person with whom a girl has been most involved. (175-6)

Usagi, however, learns how to 'be womanlike' by playing a maternal role through child-rearing and educating her daughter-like girl, although she initially refuses the maternal role. Indeed, the actual kinship between Usagi and Chibi-usa is weak because Chibi-usa is the daughter of Neo-Queen Serenity (Usagi's reincarnated figure in the future). Why is such a maternal role inscribed in the *Sailor Moon* series?

Regarding sexuality in Japanese *manga* and *anime*, in comparison with these programmes' Western counterparts, Cornog and Perper (2005) argue, 'Sex makes babies. A truism, of course, but offspring rarely appear in Western erotic or romance plots. However, [Japanese] romantic and erotic *manga* and *anime* can end with pregnancy and children' (5). They attribute it to the fact that 'Japan lacks the Eurocentric Christian notion of sex as polluting or dangerous' (4). In the *Sailor Moon* series, a romance between Usagi and Mamoru (Usagi's boyfriend) is based on the Greek myth of Endymion and Selene.⁷⁴ Throughout the series, however, no pregnancy is depicted and children are

⁷³ In the US version of *Sailor Moon*, protagonists were renamed to appeal to American audiences: Serena as Usagi, Amy as Ami, Lita as Makoto, Raye as Rei, and Mina as Minako. Mamoru, Usagi's boyfriend in her previous life, is renamed as Darien. However, in this thesis, I indicate their original names because of the significant implications that their names convey.

⁷⁴ Prince Endymion is characterised as Princess Serenity's boyfriend. According to the Greek myth, Selene, the goddess of the Moon, falls in love with a young and attractive shepherd, Endymion. Selene asks Zeus to grant him an eternal sleep so that he can stay with her forever. Mamoru is reincarnated from Prince Endymion of the earth. His name

not the result of sex, but are granted instead. In addition, the father is almost always absent, highlighting homogenised female bonds in the family. Queen Serenity's husband (Princess Serenity's father) never appears. Characterisations of Mamoru, the husband of neo-Queen Serenity, are also shallow. The absence of the father serves to underestimate male characters. This resulted in the girl audiences in my research having little impression of them.⁷⁵

In episode 15 of *Sailor Moon R*, Usagi—despite being given a maternal role—is desexualised and required to be strong in order to obtain the love of Mamoru, who has refused Usagi 'because [he] cannot love a weak girl'.⁷⁶ Usagi looks after Chibi-usa and disciplines her, although their relationship initially begins like that of female siblings. However, it should be noted here that mothering is closely associated with strength, power and a network of close ties. Indeed, female characters are extremely interested in heterosexual romances, a fact that is often criticised because it represents women's stereotypical commitment to 'romantic love ideology' (Saitô, 1998; Kobayashi, 1999). However, heterosexual romance and mothering in this series serve to enhance female solidarity and construct an idealised female 'homosocial' community, where women relate to one another and assert themselves on their own terms. Fostering and protecting Chibi-usa enable the sailor warriors to be united in a battle, which exemplifies a Japanese feminist strategy of using 'mother's concern'.

Sedgwick (1985) argues that male homosocial desire is constructed by sharing 'intense homophobia, fear and hatred of homosexuality' (1) and a misogynistic view of women and feminineness in men (20). In contrast, when "homosocial" desire is applied to 'women's bonds, [it] need not be pointedly dichotomized as against "homosexual"; it can intelligibly denominate the entire continuum' (3). Sedgwick does not contend further about female homosociality in the absence of the rejection of homosexuality. However, in

Mamoru Chiba in *kanji* (Chinese characters) means 'to protect the earth'.

⁷⁵ This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁷⁶ This remark results from his determination to avoid her in order to prevent a tragedy that he has foreseen will befall her. It is significant, however, that female strength is emphasised in relation to romance.

Japanese girls' culture, female homosocial communities, developed through the participation of the female readers in the communication boards of girls' magazines in the 1920s and 1930s, exemplify the vague border between female homosociality and homosexuality. Thus, it is not surprising that ties among girls are emphasised through homosocial female communities. In the *Sailor Moon* series, representations of mothering and caring crystallise the struggles to attain the autonomous power of post-feminist girls' solidarity in Japan. While being shackled with the expected maternal role, girls use 'motherhood' as a strategy to form female solidarity.

Regarding a construction of a community for girls, Kunihiro Ikuhara (1996), the chief director of the *Sailor Moon* series since episode 60, notes:

In Japan our consciousness of constructing a community is very vague. We somewhat believe a fantasy that 'the society offers us a community'. [. . .] We are given school diaries and school badges when entering schools, [. . .] which act to continually remind us that we are a member of a certain community which has been given to us. [. . .] In that sense, the Sailor Team appears as community, which is not given, *but is created by the protagonists*. (42-3; translation mine; emphasis added)

His account is directly related to the construction of female homosocial community in the *Sailor Moon* series. Sailor warriors 'choose' to construct their clique, in which they are linked to support one another. Here, mothering and caring enhance their ties. As mentioned above, Usagi represents the mother of the sailor warriors in the first season, and she plays a surrogate maternal role in the second season. Furuta (2000) argues that:

'girls' are not merely children who refuse reproduction. In order to be 'girls', they wisely live in a consumerist society, wearing a 'women' mask and showing 'motherhood'; [and hence,] Sailor Moon, who never disciplines us but keeps spoiling us, is an ideal mother for children as well as adults, who hate to grow up. (219-20)

Furuta criticises the use of motherhood and femininity to construct girls as consumers.

However, she does not fully explore how motherhood has a positive function in the construction of an idealised female homosocial community, in which girls assert themselves and expand their networks.

Here, it is worth reconsidering mothering and caring as a means for the construction of a female homosocial community in the *Sailor Moon* series. Although the sailor warriors use magical force to defeat enemies, their fundamental policy is to 'purify' the evil aura of their enemies and to 'normalise' it. This is represented by Sailor Moon's weapons, which are designed for healing and purification purposes. Sailor Moon says in her punch line, 'Under the name of the moon, I'll punish you (*oshioki-yo*)'. *O-shioki* often connotes adults (mothers) disciplining mischievous children in order to 'reform' their inappropriate behaviour. Thus, Sailor Moon's avoidance of murder leads to the eventual reformation of the evil minds of villains and to mutual understanding, ending with the expansion of her clique. In episodes 70-72 of *Sailor Moon R*, four sisters—Petz, Calavares, Berthe and Koan, the soldiers of the Death Phantom—fight against the sailor warriors and are ultimately 'healed' and 'purified' by Sailor Moon and accepted as friends by the sailor warriors. The sisters find their space to live on earth, contributing to human society by opening a cosmetic store, whereas most male villains such as The Big Four of the Dark Kingdom and Rubeus and Wiseman of the Black Moon are eventually killed.⁷⁷ This represents how a hegemonic patriarchal system symbolised by male and masculinised female enemies, who attempt to control women, is eliminated, whilst those who are subjugated to the system are reformed. This is highlighted by the moment when the four sisters and Mamoru (who has been hypnotised and manipulated by the enemy) are invited to join Sailor Moon's clique.⁷⁸

Gilligan (1993) argues that women tend to be concerned about feelings and caring for others' feelings and relationships, which differentiates them from men, who tend to be

⁷⁷ The Big Four consists of male villains: Jadeite, Nephrite, Zoisite and Kunzite.

⁷⁸ Drazen (2003) suggests that '[g]iving the villains scope to exercise their feelings is very common for *anime* and *manga*, just as it's almost unheard of in the West' (284). This exemplifies a Japanese unique way of reconciling with problems by forgiving the evil with 'motherly' love.

concerned about rules, laws and justice (5-17). Although her account might be a misleading and essentialist view of gender difference, it provides a clue as to why Sailor Moon heals and purifies those who antagonise her and allows them to enter her community. Caring for others means connecting to others and gaining mutual support to construct a community, avoiding the production of hierarchical strata within it. This may seem to be overly idealised and segregated. However, a female homosocial community offers an alternative model, a community in which people with diverse backgrounds are harmonised. The male-dominated Japanese society may hardly attain this type of the community.

Therefore, although struggles between ongoing gender equality ideals (positively powerful but cute girls) and recurring conservative femininity (mothering and caring) are featured in the *Sailor Moon* series, these factors are interrelated and complement each other. On the one hand, mothering and caring prevent societal anxiety about a new powerful female identity, despite their function in reproducing hegemonic femininity. On the other hand, and more significantly, they contribute to the construction of an idealised female homosocial community, in which women are connected to one another and interdependent, and escape from a hegemonic economy that places women in a subjugated status.

The foci of female solidarity, mothering and caring, and fashion that the *Sailor Moon* series articulates are further emphasised in the *Magical Doremi* series, where five eight-year-old protagonists in a team are assigned to engage in cooking and raising a witch baby. How did these representations function in Japanese society during the 2000s?

Section 7: The *Magical Doremi* series (1999-2003)—The Recurrence of ‘Mothering’ and Reconciliation

In a manner similar to the *Sailor Moon* series, fashion, mothering and caring are crucial for uniting girls of diverse backgrounds and for constructing an idealised female

homosocial community in the *Magical Doremi* series.⁷⁹ The representation of an idealised female community serves as a significant site through which struggles, negotiation and 'reconciliation' between reproductions of normative gender roles and the construction of a new girl identity take place in post-feminist Japanese society.

The first season of the *Magical Doremi* series started in 1999 and was followed by *Magical Doremi #* (2000-01), *More! Magical Doremi* (2001-02) and *Magical Doremi Explosion!* (2002-03).⁸⁰ *Magical Doremi* was Toei's first Magical Girl anime programme, which was shifted to a Sunday morning time slot. This change provided most fathers with the opportunity to watch children's TV at home with their own children.

By the time the *Magical Doremi* series was televised, Japanese society had suffered from serious social unrest caused by a recession after the collapse of the bubble economy and had experienced tremendous damages from both the Great Hanshin Earthquake and a terrorist attack to Tokyo subways with sarin gas by a religious cult group in 1995. The legislation of the gender equality law in 1999 also caused backlash. Concomitant with these changes and social volatility, family ties, fatherhood and motherhood were frequently represented in mass media and national campaigns. For instance, in 1999, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare started a campaign to increase the birth rate, using television advertisements and posters to encourage fathers' participation in child-rearing. Many of the ads featured SAM, a popular male dancer who married the promising young singing sensation, Namie Amuro. In the campaign poster, SAM holds his own baby, saying, 'A man who does not help in child-rearing cannot be called a father'. The commercial was criticised by those who insisted on conservative gender roles and by working fathers since, as Itô (1996) suggests, 'when societal unease caused anxiety and gender identity was destabilised, people often demanded the restoration of

⁷⁹ The Japanese title is *Ojamajo Doremi*, which literally means *Doremi the Annoying Witch*.

⁸⁰ The Japanese titles are *Ojamajo Doremi Shôpu*, *Motto! Ojamajo Doremi* and *Ojamajo Doremi Dokkan!*, respectively. In a manner similar to *Sailor Moon*, various products of *Magical Doremi* were marketed via the 'media mix' strategy: two short films (2000 and 2001), musicals (2001 and 2002), CDs, and most notably, the debut of a child dance group called *Ojamajo Kids* [*Magical Doremi Kizuzu*].

traditional gender stereotypes' (123; translation mine). However, this campaign obviously symbolised changing gender roles in Japan (Jordan and Sullivan, 1999).

Indeed, in contrast to the representations of the absent father in previous *Magical Girl* programmes, representations of fathers are overtly inscribed in the *Magical Doremi* series. The bond between father and daughter—which has often been underestimated in *Magical Girl anime*—is represented by the divorced family of Aiko, a teammate of Doremi. Although Aiko's father symbolises a new fatherhood because of his desire to take care of his daughter, he also highlights the conventional paternal role within the family, whilst Aiko plays the maternal role. Thus, the reproduction of a traditional paternal role simultaneously reproduces a traditional maternal role. Through the *Magical Doremi* series, such struggles and negotiations in familial relationships can be detected.

The *Magical Doremi* series follows Toei's six thematic codes. First, Doremi Harukaze, 8, is unintelligent and gluttonous but has a sunny disposition. Although she often calls herself 'the unluckiest pretty girl in the world', she is characterised as being neither pretty nor ugly. Second, she is a non-hereditary witch apprentice; because Doremi uncovers the secret identity of the witch Majolica, Majolica turns into a frog and Doremi needs to become a witch to rescue her. Third, Doremi has a well-functioning family consisting of a father (a magazine writer), a mother (a housewife) and a younger sister (a preschool pupil). Fourth, they live in a large Western-style house in a fictional city near Tokyo, signifying their upper-middle socio-economic status. Fifth, Doremi and her teammates use 'magical items' associated with paraphernalia such as wands, brooches, bracelets, and rods in order to activate magical power through various spells. Finally, the locus of the stories is the human world (school, the home and the neighbourhood) and the Witch World, which are connected by a store called Mahô-dô in the human world. At the Mahô-dô, Doremi and her teammates are involved in production and business, primarily in order to purchase magic spheres that contain magical power. It is significant here that domesticity is associated with business and commerce, making their jobs as paid workers

visible.

The characterisation of the same-aged multiple protagonists is culturally diverse. Hazuki, who wears glasses, is a quiet and intelligent but eccentric girl from a rich family. Aiko is a tomboy from Osaka, who lives with her father because of her parents' divorce. She represents growing familial problems, such as a dysfunctional family and an off-centre culture or locality (non-Tokyo). Onpu, a child star in the entertainment business, represents the 'performance' of an ideal femininity for little girls; she is conscious about drawing the attention of boy fans. Finally, Momoko, a returnee from the United States, is an Americanised girl who joins Doremi's magical team from the third season onward. Through Momoko, issues of intercultural conflicts and understanding are debated in a way that mirrors the changing demography of Japanese society in the 2000s. These protagonists' fashion sense and hairstyle are also diverse; however, once they change their dresses in the process of transformation, they wear the same uniforms decorated with different colours, representing female solidarity within a clique (Figures 2 and 3). In my audience research, fashion and unity through transformation were some of the major concerns of my research subjects.⁸¹

The *Magical Doremi* series articulates a feminine but powerful girl identity and female solidarity in a feminist perspective by dealing with fashion, the female body, transformation, mothering and caring. However, a contrast to the *Sailor Moon* series can be noted; although Doremi and her teammates are uninterested in heterosexual romance, the focus on performance of femininity through fashion and motherhood is emphasised. What does this narrative structure represent? The next section will examine how fashion, dress and the body are represented and used to construct an idealised female homosocial community, especially in the second and third seasons of the *Magical Doremi* series.

⁸¹ This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

7-1. Fashion, Dress and the Body

As Church-Gibson (2006) remarks, “‘fashion’ can play a particular role in intergenerational rituals’, for instance, ‘the collective, ritual nature of so much fashion-related behaviour—women shopping together, trying on clothes together, painting each other’s faces and nails, doing each other’s hair’ (360). Fashion serves to represent the diversity of girls’ identities. In the *Magical Doremi* series, fashion-related behaviour is expressed in magical transformations, which enhance the solidarity of the series’ diverse female characters.

Doremi has pink hair tied up to form two balloon buns on each side of her head and wears culottes that mark her as being active (Figure 1). Hazuki has straight brown hair

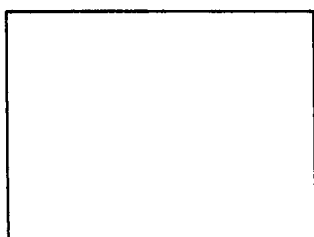


Fig. 1 Doremi (left) and Momoko (right)

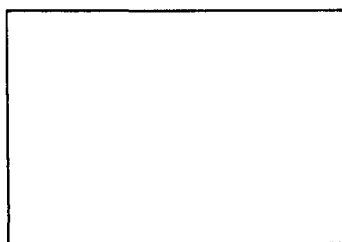


Fig.2 Onpu (left, upper row), Doremi (centre), Hazuki (right, upper row), Momoko (left) and Aiko (right).

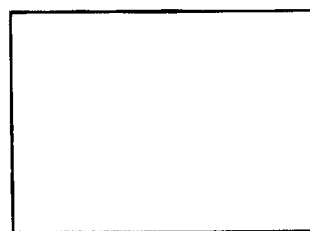


Fig. 3 Despite their diversity, they are united through their magical transformations.

and wears a skirt and glasses, representing frail cuteness. Aiko has short blue hair and wears trousers, representing boyishness. Onpu has short purple hair and wears an overskirt and leggings, representing prepubescent cuteness. Finally, Momoko stylishly wears a short skirt with suspenders and, with her belly button exposed and her ears pierced, she represents the fashion choices of trendy youths (Figure 1). The most popular character among the girls whom I interviewed is Momoko, due to her fashion sense and her English-speaking ability (see Section 3 of Chapter Four). Her English-accented Japanese and pierced ears—which are banned in most Japanese primary schools—denote her outsider status.

In *Magical Girl TV anime* programmes for girls, the way in which an outsider subverts Japanese norms and ultimately adapts these norms is already depicted in *Sally*

the Witch. However, the *Magical Doremi* series underscores demographic diversity among the 'Japanese' 'females', deploying possible reconciliations between them by seeking a consensus. In episode 2 of *More! Magical Doremi*, Momoko is criticised for having pierced ears because any self-adornment (piercing, tattooing, wrist watches and accessories) is prohibited by her school. Due to her inability to speak fluent Japanese and to adjust to the school culture, Momoko refuses to communicate with her teacher and classmates. Her isolation, caused by cultural differences, is also portrayed in episode 3, in which Momoko blames Hazuki and Onpu for their poor attempts at baking cookies at Mahô-dô. The Japanese tend to be indirect, so Hazuki and Onpu are too shocked by her straightforwardness to accept Momoko as an insider.

However, solutions are depicted in ways that differ from Sally's voluntary adjustment to Japanese norms in *Sally the Witch*. In *More! Magical Doremi*, negotiations take place in a consensual way, with the characters seeking reconciliation. Doremi uncovers the reason for Momoko's insistent wearing of her pierced earrings in episodes 2 and 3. Acknowledging that Momoko's earrings are a relic from her beloved old witch in the United States, Doremi persuades her classmates to respect Momoko's memory and to change the restriction. In episode 3, Aiko explains the Japanese indirect way of negotiating with those who make mistakes to Momoko. The reconciliation between Momoko as an outcast and Doremi, Hazuki, Onpu and Aiko is represented by the final cooking scene, in which they bake cookies in the same attire, wearing *pâtissier* uniforms (clothes for cooking).

Cooking together to produce sweets connotes normative gendered labour. On the one hand, the tasks assigned to Doremi's team in Mahô-dô are the production and sale of cute goods in the first and fourth seasons and flowers in the second, which are typically women's jobs. On the other hand, these tasks are used as a metaphor for reconciliation after intercultural and interpersonal conflicts, emphasised by the wearing of the same magical and occupational uniforms. As the school uniform serves to enhance 'the team

spirit' (McVeigh, 2000), wearing the same costumes as well as cooking sweets and eating together represent a notion of unity that enables Momoko, Aiko and Hazuki to reconcile with one another.

Thus, fashion-mediated female solidarity is tightly associated with positive reconciliation through struggles and negotiations between diverse characterisations of girls and the people around them. However, once again, their fashion is always linked to stereotypical representations of 'femininity'. In a similar manner to the *Sailor Moon* series, the bodies of the protagonists are segmented through magical transformation.

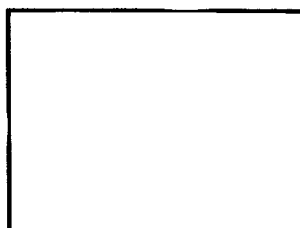


Fig. 4 Doremi's hands in a close-up shot.

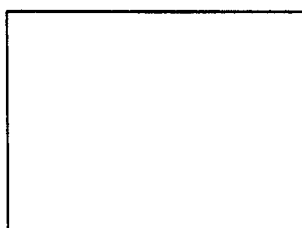


Fig. 5 Magical sparkles cover Doremi's body during her transformation.

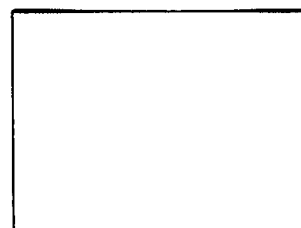


Fig. 6 Doremi and her teammates join forces to magnify their magical power.

Figure 4 shows Doremi's hands with her magical bracelet and twinkling ring in a close-up shot, while she claps in time to rhythmic digital music. While she rotates in magical sparkles, magical gloves, boots and a uniform cover her body (Figure 5). The protagonists take narcissistic pleasure in this fashionable magical transformation. In the third season, 'Magical Stage', the combined magical power in the team is activated, which emphasises female group solidarity as well as the notion of femininity as power. This is likewise depicted as a narcissistic moment, in which the power of beautifully made-over girls is elevated by a pyramidal form from which a spiral chain of flames—symbolising their amplified power—ascends to the sky (Figure 6).

Therefore, fashion serves to connect girls from diverse backgrounds. Although normative female roles are reproduced through representations of the assigned tasks and the transformation, it can be noted that becoming beautiful and powerful leads to reconciliation.

Another factor in the construction of female solidarity in the *Magical Doremi* series is mothering and caring. The next section will explore how motherhood is reproduced through mothering and caring in the *Magical Doremi* series.

7-2. Mothering, Caring and Domesticity

In the first episode of *Magical Doremi* #, Doremi, Aiko, Hazuki and Onpu accidentally enter the Queen's garden in the Witch World and witness a baby witch, Hana, being born from a large blue rose bud. At the queen's request, they are obliged to raise Hana in the human world as part of the tests they must pass in order to become fully-qualified witches.

The question of the girls' child-rearing raises two issues: reproduction without (hetero)sexual intercourse, which offers a mother-daughter relationship without a genetic bond, and the superficiality of motherhood in the post-feminist context. In the *Sailor Moon* series, a 5-year-old girl is characterised as being genetically related to Usagi's reincarnated figure. Despite the discursive motif of the 'absent father' in the text, it is fundamentally based on heterosexuality.

However, in the *Magical Doremi* series, a baby born from a rose symbolises reproduction without the sexual act. Doremi and her teammates are neither hurt nor traumatised by hegemonic heterosexuality, nor are they elevated as Virgin Mary-like, sacred women. Mothering and caring enable these diverse girls to unite into one, constructing an idealised female homosocial community that excludes patriarchal power relations. Mothering and caring are often inscribed in Japanese *anime* for girls. Many feminist scholars often criticise these factors on the grounds that they enable the reproduction and enhancement of normative gender roles (Saitô, 1998; Murase, 2000 and 2008; Furuta, 2000; Wakakuwa, 2003). For instance, an explicit maternal role given to a little girl is portrayed in *Mom Is a Fourth-Grader* (1992), in which 10-year-old Natsumi raises Mirai, a baby girl, who has been sent from the future 25-year-old Natsumi self of

2007.⁸² Structurally, her maternal role results from the sudden visit of her own daughter. Mothering is attributed to the biological relationship between mother and daughter, emphasising motherhood as an innate part of female nature.

In the *Magical Doremi* series, however, Doremi and her teammates play a maternal role to foster a 'genetically unrelated' baby girl. As Badinter (1998) argues, motherhood is 'constructed' and normalised as an innate part of female nature. In Japan, too, motherhood was constructed throughout the modernisation that occurred in the 19th century and was used during the *Shōwa* era as a policy to 'facilitate a transition from a patrilineal household system based on the relationship between father and son [. . .] to a woman-centred nuclear family in which the most important relationship was that between mother and children' (Skov and Moeran, 1995:22; 24). On the one hand, this ideology has marginalised and confined women in the home; on the other hand, motherhood has been deftly 'used' to promote Japanese women's movements (Etô, 2005).

In the *Magical Doremi* series, the relationship between a 'mother' and her biologically unrelated child challenges a seemingly fixed notion of motherhood. Mothering and caring provide a means of reconciliation. In contrast to fatherhood, motherhood enables people to be connected and leads to reconciliation and to the overcoming of conflicts in episode 13 of *More! Magical Doremi*. Doremi and her teammates take 12-month-old Hana to Yokohama, where they plan to sell crêpes. While walking in Chinatown in Yokohama, Hana is too curious about the things she sees to stop using her magical power to play with them, for which Doremi severely scolds her. This representation of a relationship between a strict mother and her daughter is paralleled with that between a strict father (the owner cook of a Chinese restaurant) and his son, Komei. Komei wants to become a professional cook for a passenger boat, although his father does not permit this. Komei—who happens to see Hana getting lost—tries to return Hana to Doremi. Initially reluctant to return to Doremi, Hana realises Doremi's genuine

⁸² The Japanese title of this TV anime is *Mama wa Shōgaku 4-nensei*.

love for her when she sees that Doremi is injured because she has stopped Hana from falling down. Meanwhile, Komei's father finds him talking with Doremi and Hana and forces Komei to return home. Strict fatherhood results in a deterioration of the father-son relationship. Doremi, forming 'Magical Stage' with her teammate, shows Komei the reason why his father disagrees with his dream; his father had the same dream in his youth and his dream ended in failure due to his lack of skills and knowledge, and hence, he does not want Komei to make the same mistake. Aware of his father's love for him, Komei postpones carrying out his dream and is determined to work harder with his father. It thus represents that mothering and caring, rather than fathering or using authoritative power, result in reconciliation.

Mothering and caring serve as powerful tools to indirectly change the evil mind. In the final two episodes of *More! Magical Doremi*, the former Queen curses Hana and manipulates Momoko to kidnap her. Due to her grief and strong hatred against humans, the former Queen assaults Doremi, her teammates and Hana. Although the present Queen and her subordinates attempt to use their magical force to restrain the former Queen, Doremi and her teammates try to heal her grief by serving her favourite cake, which her human husband has invented for her. She ultimately remembers his love for her and releases Hana from her curse. This suggests how Doremi and her teammates' maternal love and caring effectively change negative emotions. Although motherhood as female innate nature may be reinforced through representations of the maternal role given to Doremi and her teammates, mothering and caring are profoundly emphasised as powers for reconciliation. This is not the traditional representation of motherhood. Mothering and caring facilitate the solution of problems and the construction and expansion of female networks.

Therefore, in the *Sailor Moon* and *Magical Doremi* series, fashion as well as mothering and caring facilitate positive female solidarity, leading to the construction of an idealised female homosocial community. They also illustrate its limits because

underprivileged girls in society can only establish an ideal community that excludes men so far as it does not interfere with hegemonic femininity—and its normative aesthetic values and expected female gender roles. However, despite its limits, fashion-mediated female solidarity and the use of mothering and caring as strategies are related to mutual understanding and social interaction to form an ideal community. Self-expression through fashion is closely associated with power, which leads to girls' self-assertion.

This chapter discussed how Western-oriented little witches and witchcraft in Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* serve as significant sites where struggles, negotiations and reconciliations between representations of Japanese and Western femininities and constructions of girls' identity can be traced in second-wave feminist and postfeminist contexts. In a similar manner to Moseley's arguments (2002a) on the representation of Western teen witch texts, the shifting relationships of femininity and power in second-wave feminism and postfeminism are represented in Japanese witch texts. However, witches and witchcraft in Magical Girl *anime* articulate much broader issues: how Japanese girls' femininity is constructed through the indigenisation of Western representations; how Western representations are used to reinforce hegemonic female values such as altruism, motherhood and appropriate sexuality; and simultaneously, how they challenge and subvert the notions of such female values.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Western-oriented witches and witchcraft served to destabilise the normative female gender role and to emancipate women from it. Simultaneously, they were employed to strengthen Japanese hegemonic female values, such as altruism and studiousness. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, indigenised into Japanese girls' culture, Western representations served as a site through which sexuality and flourishing *kawaii* were negotiated to construct 'appropriate' girls' sexuality. In the postfeminist context, powerful female solidarity was emphasised through representations of the witches and witchcraft that challenged dominant femininity. At the same time,

however, the recurrence of mothering and caring was portrayed. Although these depictions outwardly seemed to reinforce hegemonic female attributes of motherhood, mothering and caring served to construct an ideal female homosocial community, leading to girls' self-assertion and self-confidence.

The transformation motif was closely associated with Western-oriented femininity, serving as a site of self-expression and self-assertion. In particular, transformation in the late 1970s and the early 1980s was a way of expressing Western-oriented *kawaii* fashion and also served to assert the female body. In addition to these representations, transformation in the 1990s and the 2000s served to construct powerful female solidarity.

It is a significant finding that 'motherhood' is deeply embedded in representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in relation to girls' 'appropriate' femininity and female values. It represents how Japanese girls were previously shackled by the maternal role; however, as Japanese feminism used the 'mother's concern about children', motherhood was strategically used to induce mutual understandings and to expand female networks in Magical Girl *anime*.

It is important, however, to examine how these texts are actually understood by girl audiences. How do they interpret representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft and the contradictory messages of challenging and reinforcing dominant femininity? How do their readings differ from the textual analysis? Although the ideological enquiries that each programme articulates are interrelated with sociocultural situations, understanding and consumption of audiences may vary. The next chapter will analyse how actual girl audiences across different generations understood and derived meaning from the thematic codes analysed in this chapter: femininity, transformation, the female body, fashion and aesthetic and moral values.

Chapter Four: Japanese Girls and Women Reading Magical Girl TV *Anime* Programmes: Audience Research

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I chronologically analysed the texts of six Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes for girls, in order to examine how hegemonic Japanese values of femininity, sexuality, morality and group conformity are negotiated in relation to emerging ideologies that challenge and subvert them through representations of witch girl protagonists. Western-oriented representations of witches and witchcraft in those texts were adapted and modified to articulate a different ideology that questions and negotiates hegemonic femininity and group conformity in Japanese society in the context of the heady consumerism of the late 1960s and the early 1970s. They also provided a site through which awareness of “self” is asserted. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, witch protagonists were created who combined adult women’s sexuality with the immaturity of young girls in order to construct a powerful new feminine archetype, against a backdrop of late second-wave feminism in what has been often called ‘the era of women (*onna no jidai*)’ (Takeda, 1990: 59; Ogawa, 2005: 96).¹ In the postfeminist context, Magical Girl TV *anime* from 1995 to 2003 offered female solidarity and gender blurring through its representations of multiple girl protagonists in a team. Simultaneously, however, representations of conventional female gender roles such as mothering and caring recurred. Although in Western countries, ‘the new feminine subject is [...] liberated from the confines of the domestic sphere’, in ‘the new girl order’ (Nayak and Kehily, 2008: 52), Japanese girl subjects in witch texts are still shackled to domesticity and mothering. Within these struggles, however, the Japanese girl power inscribed in the texts facilitates ‘having it all’ and ‘doing it all’ in relation to specifically

¹ One example is that 17 out of 33 female candidates were elected for the members of the Metropolitan Assembly in 1989; 146 women stood as candidates for members of the House of Councillors in the same year, and 22 won the seats. This was called ‘the whirlwind of Madonna (*madonna senpū*)’ (Takeda, 1990; Inoue and Ehara, 2005). In show business, the great popularity of a female rock-style band, Princess Princess, also typified ‘the era of women’ (Takeda, 1990: 67-68).

Western theorisations of postfeminism and ‘the new girl order’ (Nayak and Kehily, 2008: 52). These six texts discursively address and interrogate ways of representing traditional Japanese femininity through representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft.

The following sections will discuss how female audiences of Magical Girl TV *anime* in three different age cohorts made meaning from and utilised animated witch texts during their early adolescence. I have used three different birth cohorts: 1) women born in the 1960s (the *Shōwa* 35-44) as the *Sally* and *Akko* generation, 2) women born in the 1970s and the early 1980s (the *Shōwa* 45-54) as the *Meg* and *Mami* generation, and 3) girls born in 1997 or 1998 as the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation. Each cohort is named after the dominant Magical Girl TV *anime* for that generation.² Through these programmes, collective memories and a sense of time have been constructed in association with the perception of age (Yoshimi, 2004: 191). A cohort of women born in the late 1980s and the early 1990s was not organized for two reasons: 1) because the number of TV *anime* programmes declined from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, the so-called “dark age of *anime*”, new Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes for girls produced during this period were few, although remakes of previous hit Magical Girl *anime* were broadcast,³ 2) and since these remakes were not successful, I could not collect enough data from women of this generation.

The next section will display how women in the *Sally* and *Akko* generation interpreted and utilised the witch texts.

Section 1: Women Growing up in the Late 1960s and the Early 1970s (the *Shōwa* 40s) —the *Sally* and *Akko* Generation

Six women in the *Sally* and *Akko* generation—Yoko, Eriko, Sawako, Michiko,

² The *Sailor Moon* series was first televised prior to the birth of the girls in the third cohort. Due to the enduring popularity of TV reruns and related musical performances, however, all girls in the third cohort have been exposed to this cultural phenomenon. Section 3 of this chapter will explore this in greater detail.

³ These remakes include *Secrets of Akko-chan 2* (1988-89) and *Sally the Witch 2* (1989-91). Magical Girl TV *anime* series produced by Studio Pierrot ended in 1986. The numbers of TV *anime* for girls were 7, 8 and 12 in 1987, 1990 and 1993, respectively, which account for approximately 10% of the total number of domestic TV *anime* programmes broadcast in these years (Azuma and Hata, 2009: 12).

Hitomi, and Nanako—were in kindergarten or elementary school when *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan* were televised.⁴ Their backgrounds were alike as of my interview in 2009; these women were married, never divorced, and childless except for Hitomi. They attended public institutions for elementary and junior high school, which was a common educational course for children of middle-level income households in the 1960s and the 1970s. They were all university graduates and they spent their childhoods in the suburbs of metropolitan cities, which allowed them to have a geographic distance from the urban areas. Therefore, the women have similar memories about landscape; their neighbourhoods retained green open spaces and parks, in which children could play. Their fathers were ‘salarymen’ or businessmen, with the exception of Yoko’s father, who ran the family business. Due to their fathers’ occupations, their educational backgrounds and types of residence, these women shared a common identity as members of the ‘middle-level’ in the social stratification. However, their positions within their families (whether or not they had younger siblings) affected how they interpreted *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan*.

1-1. Self-Sacrifice and Self-Assertion

I vividly remember that Sally-chan tried to extinguish the fire at her school. Using her magical power in front of people was prohibited, but she used it before her friends and teacher because their school was being destroyed. I was moved. She sacrificed herself to save the school. (Hitomi, in her late 40s)⁵

Statements about Sally’s self-sacrificing attitude in the final episode, resonant in the above-mentioned extract from the interview with Hitomi, were often observed in my interviews. Eriko, who is in her early 40s, offered that ‘the most impressive scene was that Sally was trying to save her school with her magical power in heavy rain’. Despite her vague memory of the cause of this accident, Michiko, a woman in her late 40s, recalls,

⁴ Upon the participants’ request for high confidentiality, fictitious names have been used in this thesis.

⁵ Interviews were conducted in Japanese. All the extracts from the interviews cited in this thesis are my translation. For transcription conventions, see Appendix B.

‘I sympathised with Sally’s hardship. I don’t remember exactly, but she probably used up all of her magical power to have it rain. I was so impressed by her self-sacrificing conduct’. Likewise, Nanako, a woman in her early 40s, emphasised problems that the protagonists encountered and was fascinated by ‘the way in which they overcame those problems’. As discussed in the previous chapter, the theatrical use of heavy rain in *Sally the Witch* successfully highlights Pony’s and Sally’s hardship. Structurally, after the hardship, mutual understanding is implied in happy endings, just as the sun shines after heavy rain. Moral lessons are offered by utilising the female characters in this text. Self-sacrifice is deftly associated with femininity, especially with motherhood.

McVeigh (2004) explores ideological themes that shape girls’ education in Japanese junior colleges, arguing that:

the moral refinement that should ideally permeate all spheres of daily life and bring out a woman’s innate abilities of “femininity”, “womanly virtues”, and “maternal instinct” are emphasised to reinforce hegemonic ‘good wife-wise mother’ ideology. (220)

In *Sally the Witch*, Pony planted chrysanthemums to represent the fostering of appropriate ‘Japanese femininity’.⁶ The fact that Sally saved her school in the final episode is also symbolic; school provides a vital community for Japanese children. Therefore, this act also symbolises that Sally saves the familial sphere. Both non-Japanese girls (Pony and Sally) dedicate themselves to caring for others to provide images of Japanese self-sacrificing mothers.

Regarding Japanese moral education, McVeigh (1998) suggests that:

Westerners often equate “morality” with a religiously tainted “inner voice”, but in Japan, [moral education] has a more secular flavour, *with an accent on how best to interact with others in a group setting* rather than on individual conscience. (160; emphasis added)

⁶ Chrysanthemum is the symbol of the Japanese Imperial Family.

The women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation appreciate self-sacrifice and studiousness more highly in comparison with the younger participants, although in practice, they were unaware of their appreciation as children. A contradictory attitude was observed, however, when they consumed the moral values inscribed in the text; they did not directly internalise and practice of altruism in the ways that the texts articulated.

Yoko, who is in her late 40s, offered her impression of a self-sacrificing action and understanding of realism.

I remember...there was a scene of fire. Sally kept the secret that she was a witch. She never told anybody about it. She had no choice but to use her magical power in front of people to rescue somebody. But if she used it, she would have to leave her friends for her world. In order to save somebody, she decided to use her power. I cannot forget that scene. [A.S. (interviewer): Why was it so impressive?] Perhaps, as a child, I was convinced that it was not good to think only about myself. [. . .] Even if I lose something, I have to take action to rescue somebody else. I think I learned such lessons from that scene.

As this statement implies, in the final episode of *Sally the Witch* as well as in other episodes, moral lessons are strongly inscribed. A sense of morality, which the Central Council of Education instructed in their guidelines that children ought to acquire (Kaizuka, 2006), was thus successfully imprinted in girls' minds. The lesson that Yoko learned from Sally's attitude was concerned with the culturally proper ethics that she should follow. Nevertheless, even as children, women of this generation already realised that such self-sacrificing behaviour was merely fantasy. Yoko admitted that she has never taken action to sacrifice herself because no such occasion has arisen in her own life. In reality, dramatic occasions where risking one's life to rescue someone else rarely occur.

Moreover, what is significant in her understanding here is that she finds 'self-sacrifice' and 'the right things to do' to be 'embarrassing'. When I asked her whether she had ever discussed self-sacrificing girls in *Sally the Witch* with her friends, she immediately denied this, saying, 'No, never! This is the first time for me to talk about

such things. I was too embarrassed to say that'. From her perspective, the traditional model of Japanese morality is unrealistic. While praising self-sacrificing actions and studiousness as ideals, she does not make use of them in a practical manner in her real life. In other words, scenarios of self-sacrificing behaviour provoke pleasant fantasies for her because they are 'unrealistic', although appreciation for the episode articulates the traditionally nurtured virtue of female self-sacrifice and studiousness being reinforced in young girls through media.

Hitomi's comments were similar to those of Yoko. As seen in the statement cited above, Hitomi remembers the details of the final episode and of 'Pony's Flower Garden'. Self-sacrifice and the rain are strongly linked in her memory:

[In the final episode] Using her magical power, [Sally] shouted 'Wind, blow! Storm, come!' on top of the school, didn't she?⁷ It was also raining when Pony was planting seeds. That caused a high fever. I thought she worked too hard. Even though it was raining, she kept [planting the seeds]. Then the clichéd music came: 'Lala-lalalala'. That soundtrack made me cry. But I thought it was so embarrassing. [A.S.: What made you think it's embarrassing?] Oh, it was so miserable. So pathetic! She tried too hard, but because of that, she got sick. It looked very embarrassing.

Although she unconsciously aspires to do respectable, self-sacrificing deeds, she also realises that it would not always result in positive consequences, and hence she would not dare to take such actions. In Yoko's case, she became embarrassed when she imagined that her friends would have found her extremely serious and old-fashioned if she discussed the theme of self-sacrifice with them. In Hitomi's case, although she kept a certain psychological distance from the characters, she recognised that studious and self-sacrificing actions might enable her to be accepted by others. She claimed that she was reluctant to sacrifice herself to solve problems because 'it would be embarrassing if [she] failed to do so'.

⁷ Actually, Sally stands on top of the school gate, not the rooftop of the school. Hitomi's misplaced memory indicates that she has remembered it as even more impressive.

As Benedict (1996 [1946]) suggests, Japanese culture is understood as a culture of shame (223), in that shame or embarrassment still controls Japanese people's behaviour to a large extent (Tôgi, 1989:14). Though Benedict's simplified account of the patterns of Japanese culture in relation to the Japanese/American binary has been criticised (Sakuda, 1967; Tôgi, 1989), the feelings of embarrassment that my research subjects experienced are related to, but in some respect differ from, Benedict's pattern. The women are profoundly conscious and nervous about how they are perceived by people around them. In other words, since they internalise the gaze of others watching them, they control their behaviour in order not to act inappropriately (McVeigh, 2000:32-33). Comments that taunt them for 'improper' conduct create tremendously embarrassing moments for them. This enables the women in the *Sally* and *Akko* generation to seek a compromise and to conform to *uchi* (internal) units (e.g. school, a neighbourhood community and a society). Here I argue that the women of this generation make 'compromises' rather than 'reconciliations'. Compromising signifies giving up something in order to reach an agreement. It should be noted that they carefully—and masterfully—monitored and controlled their behaviour. Therefore, although altruism is expected to be displayed in order to strengthen a sense of group conformity, the women are reluctant to exercise dramatic self-sacrificing actions in practice.

The women of this generation also vividly remember about their experiences of copying magical transformations. The next section will focus on how they asserted the 'self' by fantasising about 'magical transformations', as demonstrated by Akko's witchcraft in *The Secrets of Akko-chan*.

1-2. Asserting the 'Self' as a Girl through a Transformation

I had a hard time securing my position [in my group], while hindering my classmates from invading my territory. But I had to avoid having them hate me. So, I admire heroines who don't care about such things at all. [. . .] I was jealous of [them]. Because I couldn't even try it. (Sawako, in her early 40s)

Recalling her life in elementary school, Sawako explains that having to act reserved in school led her to admire the characteristics of self-made heroines in Japanese TV *anime* for girls. Sawako's statement quoted above speaks to her dilemma between self-expression and self-control. Although compulsory group conformity among girls made her feel very uncomfortable, she was too timid to act independently and differently from others and to ignore others' gazes towards her. In the 1970s, and perhaps even today, in Japan, solitary girls in schools—who call attention to themselves by actions such as eating lunch alone, going to the toilet alone, travelling to and from school alone and spending breaks between classes alone—tend to be seen as awkward, and hence they are most likely to become the victims of ostracism (Nimiya, 1997: 32).⁸ Sawako's statement cited above exemplifies this pressure of group conformity of Japanese girls in schools.

While being strongly expected to uphold self-control and group conformity, women in the *Sally* and *Akko* generation also took pleasure in having a secret identity and performing an imaginary transformative play with the help of commodities: Akko's magical toy compact and her spells. As argued in the previous chapter, Akko's toy compact significantly prompted girl audiences to copy Akko's transformation.

Nanako was delighted to talk about her impression of Akko's toy compact. She stated, 'I loved the TV *anime* heroines. Their different tools and transformations were attractive to me as a child. [. . .] I got an Akko's toy compact and shouted at the mirror, *tekumaku mayakon!*'⁹ In relation to her memory of playing, she mentioned that because there were few girls to play with in her neighbourhood, she often played handball outside with neighbourhood boys in the local community. Sports activities after school were popular among children in the 1960s and 1970s. This division based on gender difference is commonly observed in school-age activities of play. The interviewees played with

⁸ For instance, in the film *Kamikaze Girls* (2004), which portrays two determined high school girls in the Japanese countryside, the protagonist Momoko eats lunch alone in her classroom, while her classmates rearrange their desks to have lunch together. This segment represents Momoko's independence, although her classmates stigmatise her behaviour as awkward. Another example is *Nageki no Tenshi (The Sorrowful Angels)* by Hanako Yamada's *manga* comic (1999).

⁹ This is Akko's spell to transform herself into somebody she wants to be. It facilitates girls' make-believe play.

children in their neighbourhoods differently from the way they did with classmates in school. Gender division can also be seen in their style of playing; in an all-female or solitary environment at home, they imitated Akko's transformation. However, when they played with boys, they partook in more adventurous activities outside. It can be noted that gender identity is reproduced through imaginary transformative play associated with the private sphere (*uchi*), and the outdoor activities are associated with the public sphere (*out of uchi*).

Eriko provided a similar remark regarding her style of playing. On the one hand, she often copied Akko by saying her spell with a toy replica of Akko's compact by herself at home and occasionally with her female neighbours. On the other hand, she was also involved in outside activities, including climbing trees and playing volleyball, as influenced by *Attack No.1* (1969-71), a TV *anime* programme that portrays a female volleyball club in a Japanese junior high school.¹⁰

I loved volleyball, maybe because of *Attack No.1*. And basically, I loved climbing up trees with my [male] friends. [. . .] At my birthday party, my [female] friends gave me some items on which a character of *Attack No.1* was printed and a colouring book of Akko. [. . .] I had an Akko's toy compact. I played with it alone at home, or sometimes with my female friends.

Interestingly, although Nanako and Eriko were fond of doing adventurous activities with boys, they tended to play alone or with the limited number of girls when they copied Akko's transformation. Eriko remembered, 'I pretended to transform myself into "a beautiful lady", shouting "Let me become a beautiful *onê-san* (elder girl)!"' All the women raised in this generation copied Akko's transformation into a princess, a beautiful lady, a cat, etc., either secretly or with a few female friends. Thus, the imaginary magical transformation served as a site through which the women of this generation asserted their

¹⁰ *Attack No. 1* is based on Chicako Urano's *manga* (1968-70) of the same title. It was influenced by the gold medal-winning Olympic Japanese female volleyball team, called the 'Witches of the East' at the Tokyo Olympics (1964). This TV *anime* programme caused a surge in the popularity of volleyball among girls in the late 1960s.

'selfhood' as girls and perceived hegemonic feminine beauty within an all-female or solitary environment.

Yoko vividly remembers her Akko's toy compact and her experience of imaginary transformative play.

Yoko: I think I [played at transformation] when I got an Akko compact. With my friends in neighbourhood, we shouted her spell, '*Tekumaku mayakon!*' I did things like that.

AS: Did you have your parents buy you a toy compact? Or an ordinary cosmetic compact?

Yoko: A toy cosmetic compact with Akko-chan's logo was available. You can see her face inside when you open it. [AS: Do you remember it well?] Of course, I do. It was my treasure. (*Laughs*) It's something like shiny plastic. The cosmetic compacts that adult women would have were simply designed, but mine was much shinier... and more twinkling. When I opened it, I could see a picture...what do you call this? (*turning her hand up and down*) The picture changes when you move it. So, I always moved that picture. Even when the catch of the compact was broken, I got it fixed with a wire. Then I kept using it. I do remember that.

She comments upon the fact that the toy compact showed not her own reflection, but an image of Akko. This was a 3D hologram, which changed images and colours when viewed at different angles. A normal Akko changes into a made-over Akko, much like Cinderella. Here, a norm of female beauty is noticeably based on a representation of the Western princess. This exemplifies how the merchandise served to construct girls' identities in relation to the programme (Seiter, 1995b; Moseley, 2002a). Moseley (2002a) suggests, in her study on *Sabrina the Teenage Witch*, that its merchandised products such as Sabrina's vanity case that '[make] the link between magic, femininity and cosmetics explicit' (408). However, it should be noted that the girls 'localised' Western norms of beauty and appropriated them to construct their own femininity; that is, they did not simply copy a Western princess.

Through the mimicry of performing Akko's transformation, the women in the *Sally*

and *Akko* generation fantasised about a secret self with the transformative body that becomes a different—or more femininely attractive—self, such as a beautiful lady or a princess. Although *Akko*'s toy compact nurtured awareness of themselves as females, the women asserted their 'selves' in their private or female homosocial space, which could not be attained through adventurous outside activities or in group-oriented and gendered communities in schools.

Statements on the transformation experiences of Sawako and Hitomi account for my abovementioned argument about self-assertion in a different way. Sawako recalls playacting *Akko*'s transformation as a child; through playacting, she acquired new skills for understanding reality. She recounted:

I wanted an *Akko*'s toy compact, so I asked my mom to buy me one. [After I got the compact,] while my mom was out of the home, I entered a closet and whispered, "*Tekumaku mayakon*, let me become a cat!" But I could not change into a cat, which shocked me.

When I asked why she hid from her family while pretending to transform, she replied, 'Because it's embarrassing. If my younger brother saw me seriously trying to transform myself, he might say, "You're stupid!", which would be very embarrassing!' A similar experience is detected in Hitomi's discourse:

Hitomi: [*Akko*'s toy compact] was very simple. It was about 500 yen.¹¹ If you opened it, you could see a mirror with a jagged edge under it. *Akko*'s face was drawn on it, which changed into a princess at different angles of viewing. As a kid, I was convinced that I was able to transform myself, so I bought it. But I was disappointed eventually.

AS: What disappointed you? =

Hitomi: =That I could not transform myself. It was shocking.

AS: [. . .] I see. Did you pretend to transform yourself when you were alone?

Hitomi: Yes, I did by myself, alone in a secret place at home probably because I was embarrassed. I thought it would be embarrassing if my family saw

¹¹ Approximately three pounds sterling, if converted (as of this writing in 2010).

me trying to transform myself.

It is clear that Hitomi took pleasure in having a secret identity by performing Akko's transformation with the merchandised toy, ensuring that nobody would have a chance to see her. This sense of pleasure, however, also provided Sawako and Hitomi with disappointment when they glimpsed reality: that magical transformation is impossible. The gap between reality and fantasy in the attempt to construct an ideal self, however, enables girls to acknowledge that femininity constructed through magical transformation is simply a 'performance'. This is supported by the fact that Sawako and Hitomi continuously play-acted the imaginative magical transformation even after their disappointment.

Another meaningful aspect of having a secret identity in the domestic space can be detected in Hitomi's experience of playing with her friends at home. She recalls imitating a female flight attendant and passengers on an airplane at her friend's home because the TV drama, *Attention Please* (1970-71), drew much attention from girls at that time. She noted:

We arranged chairs in a line and sat on them. My friend, playing the role of the lead stewardess, was speaking something we didn't understand. She was a boss type among us. Probably she pretended to speak English, but actually she couldn't, so she was mumbling. [. . .] [A.S.: Were there only girls?] Sometimes boys came to join us, but basically only girls played together. [. . .] [But at home,] I often played with a doll, Rika-chan, and my Barbie doll, which my female cousin gave to me. But that Barbie looked scary.

Although she preferred to play inside—unlike other women of this generation—she clearly noted the difference between playing in a group and copying Akko's transformation. In a similar manner, Nanako, Eriko, Sawako and Yoko tended to perform Akko's translation play in an all-female or a solitary environment. It is a significant finding that gender distinction and the construction of a private space are associated with

the construction of the feminine self. Hitomi and Sawako, in particular, stressed that they hid themselves when playing at imaginary magical transformations to avoid being taunted by their younger brothers. The introduction of males into the private female sphere may destroy the pleasure of fantasy play for girls. Nanako, Eriko and Yoko had no younger brothers and therefore had no reason to be concerned about the male gaze at home. However, they never invited any male friends or many other friends to perform Akko's transformation, which suggests that gender segregation and a solitary environment facilitate the performance of ideal femininity for these girls.

Therefore, by performing Akko's transformation, women of this generation took pleasure in having a secret identity and in asserting themselves within all-female or solitary environments. Merchandise products facilitated their performance and enhanced hegemonic femininity (for instance, the make-over to be beautiful or *kawaii*). Simultaneously, however, the toy compact ultimately enabled the girls—through play—to perceive reality by acknowledging their inability to transform themselves. Regardless of whether or not it was real, the fantasised change through transformation was crucial for these girls, who ultimately found pleasure in the interplay between fantasy and reality.

Furthermore, my empirical data show that these women's experiences viewing TV *anime* nostalgically stimulated the familial memory of women of this generation. The next section will explore how the interviewees connect their familial memories to their viewing experiences of *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan*. Their positions within their families (an elder sister, a younger sister, the only child or the youngest, etc.), where they grew up, and their lifestyles are also related to representations of the West and the Western lifestyle in these witch texts.

1-3. Western Representations and Familial Memory

In her study on female spectatorship, Stacey (1994) points out that 'the contradictions of similarity and difference, recognition and separateness' typified the

relationship between female audiences and their admired Hollywood stars in the 1930s and 1940s (126-7). Her argument is limited to exploring the identification process of British female spectators towards Western female stars in Hollywood films. However, her accounts of self-identification, in which the subtle relationship between proximity and distance enables female spectators to perceive female stars on screen differently, can be modified and subsequently applied to relationships between viewers of Magical Girl *anime* and its heroines. Similarities and differences are indeed essential factors in the development of self-identification, with regard to family and lifestyle, of the female viewers I interviewed. In other words, reality is acknowledged through the contradictory process of searching for similarities and differences simultaneously. Western representations—including the superficial traits of fashion, hairstyle and lifestyle, i.e., status and houses of the protagonists of the Magical Girl TV *anime*—are vital to relate the women of this generation to their own lifestyles as children and in relation to their familial memories. Similarities generally facilitate resonances with the fictional characters and settings in the programmes. However, similarities do not always foster intimacy, and differences do not always allow viewers to feel distance that becomes admiration. The purpose of this section is to examine how the complex interplay between fantasy and reality enables the women of this generation to understand their own lifestyles and positions in their families in relation to Western representations of fashion, lifestyle and housing, as exemplified in *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan*.

The principal characters of these *anime* programmes are not ideal models for the women of this generation. Although as girls, they eagerly imitated Akko's transformation with the merchandised toy compact designed to allow girls to pretend they could become Akko (as her reflection printed on the mirror implies), none of the women fully identified themselves with Akko. Hitomi remembers:

[Sally and Akko] were not the objects that I tried to identify with. ['Cosplay']

was not common in our time, and there were no girls who actually copied them around me.¹² If you had been dressed like them, you would've been called a 'strange girl'.

The current pop cultural trend of *cosplay* has widely permeated Western countries and Asia since the late 1990s. In the *Sally* and *Akko* generation, *cosplay* was not a common method used to visualise and reify one's fantasies, although the practice of dressing as someone else has been conventionally exercised in Japan. Imaginative play in terms of dressing as witch heroines is not meaningful to women of this generation; however, it becomes more emphasised in female discourses in the *Meg* and *Mami* generation, together with the women's liberation movements that arose in the late 1970s and the 1980s.¹³

Sawako made a similar remark: 'I was sort of interested in Akko's hairstyle, but didn't dare try to copy her. I was desperate for her magic compact, though'. Similarly, other participants remembered that they were interested in Akko's unusual hairstyle, but unwilling to copy it in real life. This fascinating distinction between not copying/identifying yet being fascinated by—and wanting to be able to transform oneself into—Akko suggests that the girls' focus was on the malleable body rather than on Akko herself.

In this regard, Yoko noticeably pointed out that she admired Akko because Akko and her father were more 'realistic to her' than Sally and her father; however, her role model was not Akko:

As a child, I somehow understood that Sally-chan was not real, so I didn't particularly admire her. But Akko-chan was an ordinary girl and *her father was a captain of a passenger ship*. Of course, it's not real either, but I felt she was more realistic than Sally and her wizard father. That's why I preferred Akko-chan. (emphasis added)

¹² *Cosplay* is the short form of 'Costume Play', which originated in Japan. This is a performance in which fans of fictional characters of animation, videogames, fantasy television, science fiction films, etc., wear their costumes and adornment.

¹³ This will be explored in the next section.

The wizard father is not connected to reality for Yoko as she found it different; however, the international job held by Akko's father and their family's Western lifestyle fascinated her—she found its difference attractive. Realistic Western representations, linking inscribed images in the *anime* programmes to the audiences' perceptions of reality, serve to construct their familial memory. Yoko elaborated:

Yoko: If I could, I wanted to be like Sumire-chan.

AS: Oh, rather than Sally-chan?

Yoko: Yes, I felt that *Sumire-chan was well-bred. (Laughs)*

AS: What made you feel that way?/

Yoko: /Maybe her hair style. [. . .] I think her family is well-bred. But I just vaguely remember it.

AS: I see. You wanted to be a girl from a wealthy family?

Yoko: Yeah, plus, *her name sounded nice. It's SUMIRE.* (emphasis added)

Sumire is a secondary character in *Sally the Witch*. 'Sumire' sounds profoundly fashionable and elegant in comparison to the majority of Japanese female names suffixed with the diminutive *ko* in the 1970s. She has light black hair and a unique hairstyle, and she wears a violet hairband, an accessory associated with Western fashionableness. Though both Sumire and Yoshiko are Japanese girls, Sumire, who represents indigenised 'Western-ness', is distinct from Yoshiko, who symbolises typical Japanese-ness in respect to hairstyle, dress and appearance. Sumire's name and hairstyle allowed Yoko to feel intimacy while simultaneously admiring Sumire for her elegance and 'well-bred family' status, which differed from Yoko's familial situation. Yoko's statements about Akko and Sumire suggest that Yoko remembered and appreciated these female characters in conjunction with her own family. Similarly, Eriko mentioned that her positive impression of Sumire was attributed to her hairstyle and to Sumire's father's profession as a medical doctor. As Eriko's father was an ordinary businessman, the difference between her circumstances and Sumire's triggers memories of her own familial relationship. Familial

memory works the way in which Yoko and Eriko associate and compare the Western representations in the programmes with their childhood family circumstances.

In a manner similar to Yoko, Western representations inscribed in the texts trigger recollections from Sawako's familial memory as well. Concerning Akko's father, she noted:

That was my first time hearing about piloting of a passenger ship as a job. It sounded so cool! [Akko's father] smokes cigars, but when I compared him with my father... Well, there were no fathers like Akko's dad. My dad was a salaryman and usually returned home very late. But Akko's dad returned home after a long absence, with a cigar in his mouth. 'Wow, what a difference!' I was shocked by their luxurious house and the upper-class-like elegance of her mother.

The Western representation of Akko's familial relationships and situation prompted Sawako to talk about her own familial relationship. 'A salaryman' provides his family with the typical Japanese middle-level socio-economic status and lifestyle. Sawako's father's chosen occupation enabled her to identify herself as an average Japanese person or 'the same' as others. Thus, Sawako better understood her own familial relationships after examining her role in comparison to the Western-oriented lifestyle of Akko's family.

Sawako also mentioned Kabu, who is sent to Sally by her father in *Sally the Witch*. She recalled: 'I was convinced that Kabu was [Sally's] younger brother, but I was shocked to find out that he was a subordinate, not a younger brother'. Being an elder sister in reality, she probably projected her own relationship with her younger brother onto the relationship between Sally and Kabu, finding similarities and differences. From her perspective, Sally and Kabu are closely associated with Western representations: witchcraft, a Western-style house and autonomy ('living without parental support'). The differences that she perceived enabled her to construct her 'self' and an idealised familial relationship. Therefore, through Western representations—witchcraft and a Western lifestyle, as symbolised by a cigar, a job related to Western countries, and the children's

autonomy—Sawako reconceptualised both her own family as an ordinary Japanese family and her own position within her family.

Fivush (2008) suggests in her study on family narratives and the self:

Cultures [. . .] influence the form of the self. In broad strokes, Western cultures define a self as an autonomous agent who controls one's own destiny, whereas Eastern cultures define a self as an interpersonal agent in relation to a family or community. (51)

Although Fivush's account is relatively simplified, her argument that the 'Eastern self' is constructed through relationships between family and community endorses my empirical data; the women in my interviews focus not particularly on heroines, but on relationships and interactions between the heroines and their familial circumstances. Moreover, Fivush argues that:

Autobiographical memory is constructed in social interactions in which particular events, and particular interpretations of events, are highlighted, shared, negotiated and contested, leading to fluid dynamic representations of the events of our lives that function to define self, other and the world. (50)

Similarly, Sawako redefined her sense of 'self' and how she fit into her familial relationships and circumstances by examining her familial memory in comparison to witch heroines, their family relationships and their circumstances.

Hitomi also recalled her relationship with her family in her childhood through Western representations featured in *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan*. Like Sawako, she remembered Kabu and Polon, Sally's younger sister-like witch girl (Figure 1). Hitomi noted:

Hitomi: I liked Kabu because I had a younger brother. [. . .] I loved his voice. He always says: '(Elder) sister, Sally'! [AS: Do you think that he is *kawaii*?] Yes, he is *kawaii*. And there was Polon and she uses magic. Her blonde hair was tied up here, right? (*Gesturing with her hands*) [. . .] She is

very *kawaii*.

AS: So, you saw them from the viewpoint of an elder sister?

Hitomi: Well, probably so. I watched the programme again and again, and came to see them as if I were their elder sister. I watched it with my younger brother. We had only one television set, so we fought over which programme we'd watch.

The witchcraft of Kabu and Polon, Polon's blonde hair, and their (pseudo-)kinship with Sally enabled Hitomi to assert her position in her family as an elder sister, recalling her childhood viewing experience of television programmes with her own younger brother. These Western representations serve to catalyse her reminiscences, most explicitly when compared with Japanese representations of Yoshiko's family (Figure 2).

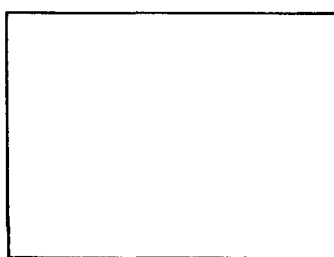


Fig. 1 Polon (left) and Kabu (right) in *Sally the Witch*.

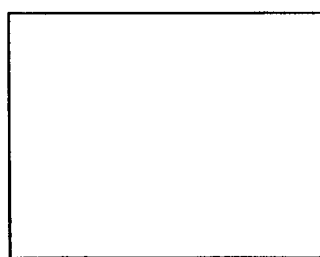


Fig. 2 Yoshiko (right), her triplet younger brothers (back), and their father (front) in a Japanese-style living/dining room.

Although Yoshiko also has younger brothers, Hitomi did not correlate Yoshiko's relationship with her younger brothers to her own relationship with her younger brother. The Western-oriented representations, which are localised but distinctive from Japanese representations, are more appealing to girl audiences. It is noteworthy that differences rather than similarities trigger Hitomi's memory of her own family associated with Sally's, not Yoshiko's family.

Western representations of lifestyle and housing serve to catalyse idealised constructions of gender and familial relationships in women of this generation. Concerning *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, Hitomi focused on Akko's Western-style house in relation to her own house, noting:

I remembered her house rather than episodes. [Akko's family] is rich. My house was a one-storey Japanese-style house. But her house is a two-storey house. I thought, like, 'Wow, two storeys!' And Akko's father is a captain of a

passenger ship. I had no friends whose father was a boat captain, so I felt ‘My God, it’s great!’

Intriguingly, she connected Akko’s house and father as an ideal house and father preferable to her own, which was also detected in discourses of other women of this generation.

In particular, Yoko’s narratives crystallise this function of Western representation of lifestyle and housing. She recalled her childhood experience when she described Akko’s familial living circumstances.

Yoko: [Akko’s house is] a big house. In order to enter her house, you had to use the stairs. It was nice. The door was a Western-style door.

AS: A Western-style door. So, you distinguished it from a Japanese sliding door.=

Yoko: =I did.

AS: You wanted to live in a house with a Western-style door?=
Yoko:

=I did. (*Laughs*)

AS: Was the house you lived in back then Japanese-styled?=
Yoko:

=Japanese-styled.

The front door was a sliding door.

AS: There were not so many Western-styled houses in your neighbourhood?

Yoko: Not so many. I wonder if there were any Western-styled houses...I don’t think there were any in my neighbourhood. [. . .]There was a fireplace [in Akko’s house]. It looked so nice.

Yoko explicitly remembered internal and external details of Akko’s house. Because she lived in a one-storey Japanese-style house with a sliding door, she preferred a Western-style door, which is pulled and pushed to open, attached to a Western-style house.

In 1960s Japanese society, the number of apartment complexes mushroomed as a result of the Law for Japanese Housing Development in 1955, by which the Japanese government aimed to provide affordable accommodation for lower-income households. The room decor of such housing was based on Western-style architecture, in which

bedrooms are separated from dining and living rooms. These homes also had stainless steel sinks, flushing toilets, a bathtub of porcelain enamel, and ferroconcrete exteriors (Nishikawa, 2004b: 141). The kitchen connected to a living/dining room symbolised women's emancipation from Japanese conservative feudal ideology because a kitchen with northern exposure was a sphere where servants and women worked, whilst the living room—located in the southern area of the house—was dominated by male householders in traditional Japan (Nishikawa, 2004b: 116). Traumatic memories of American air raids on Tokyo in 1945, which burned most of the city's wooden Japanese houses, led people to see ferroconcrete Western-style houses as secure incombustible living spaces (Nishikawa, 2004b: 145). Therefore, the Western-style house that Yoko mentioned symbolised the aspirations and dreams of those who still lived in Japanese-style houses in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

Western interior design elements—such as a Western-style door, a fireplace and stairs—prompted Yoko to narrate her TV viewing experience with her family in her childhood. Because *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan* were televised during primetime on weekdays, she explained how her father and grandmother would laugh while watching these programmes and have dinner together. Furthermore, the occupations of Sally's father (wizard) and Akko's father (a boat captain) enabled her to compare their familial relationships with her own familial relationships. Yoko positively interpreted Sally and Akko's fathers' long absences from their homes because 'My father ran a family business. [. . .] He was very strict, so I wanted to have a sweet dad like theirs—a daddy who doesn't stay home all the time (*Laughs*)'. When it came to their mothers, Yoko told her family secret:

Sally's mother is beautiful and Akko's mother is beautiful and elegant. [. . .]
It's embarrassing to say that my parents got a divorce when I was two years old.
So, I had no memory about her. That's why I thought I wanted to have a
beautiful mom like theirs.

The Japanese generally hesitate to talk about their personal experiences with others, particularly about stigmas or failures because they feel ashamed, acknowledging their perceived inferiority (Masamura, 1995: 37). Through Magical Girl *anime*, however, these women eagerly offered anecdotes about their childhood experiences and familial relationships. This is a considerably significant finding in my empirical data. Western representations in the programmes particularly prompted them to recollect their familial memories, through which they asserted and redefined their ‘selves’ and positions in their families.

This is corroborated by Eriko’s personal experience of living in New York due to her father’s business. In Japan, due to the limited space of her house, she shared one room with her sister. After watching *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan*, she insisted on having her own room. When her family moved to New York in 1970, Eriko was given her own room. She recollects:

I had a bed and a desk in my room, and there was still some space left. This would have been impossible in my Japanese house. [. . .] Houses in my neighbourhood [in New York] reminded me of [the Western-style houses portrayed in] the *anime*.

Eriko’s experience of living abroad is exceptional; however, Western representations are positively associated with the memories and childhoods of all women of this generation.

In this section, I have discussed how inscribed moral values (such as self-sacrifice and studiousness), the performance of magical transformation, and Western representations in *Sally the Witch* and *The Secrets of Akko-chan* serve to facilitate the construction, self-assertion, and awareness of femininity and resurrect familial memories in female audiences born in the 1960s. Fivush (2008) suggests that the ‘memory of our past [. . .] lives in the moment, in a constantly evolving dialectic between our self and others in the telling and retelling of who we are through what we remember’ (56).

Through similarities and differences, the programmes prompted women of this generation

to produce their personal narratives—narratives they do not usually share with others.

In the late 1970s and the 1980s, the same thematic codes that I have explained here were detected in the discourses of the women I interviewed. However, their foci shifted from self-control to self-expression. The next section will investigate how women growing up in the late 1970s and the early 1980s understood the witch texts in relation to self-expression.

Section 2: Women Growing Up in the late 1970s and the early 1980s (the *Shōwa* 50s) —the *Meg* and *Mami* Generation

In the previous section, I argued that studiousness, self-sacrifice, admiration for Western lifestyle, and the negotiation between Japanese hegemonic femininity and Western femininity were centred upon the discourse of women who were preteen girls in the 1960s. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, young female sexuality, *koketisshu* (coquettishness), signifying being *kawaii* and yet displaying appropriately adult-like sexuality, was emphasised and served as a symbol of young women's power in mass media, in the context of women's liberation movements in the 1970s and 1980s. Coquettishness is added to the characterisation of the heroines of *Meg the Little Witch* and *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, articulating female sexuality as a power associated with self-assertion. The pressure of self-control and group conformity remained powerful in girls' school lives, which prompted the women from the *Meg* and *Mami* generation to take pleasure in harbouring a secret identity, as did the women from the *Sally* and *Akko* generation. However, the foci of their interests were placed more on self-expression in terms of the malleable and sexualised body, fashion and 'textual poaching' (Jenkins, 1992).

Here, I should note the backgrounds of the women I interviewed. Yumiko, Misa, Kyoko and Toshiko grew up in the *Kanto* area, and Ayumi and Chie spent their preteen years in the *Kyushu* area (the southern part of Japan) and the *Tohoku* area (the northern

part of Japan), respectively. All of these women graduated from public elementary schools. Misa and Toshiko attended private junior high schools, and the others went to public junior high schools. Despite the differences in their household income levels, they considered their socio-economic status to be ‘middle-level’ because their fathers were salarymen. Therefore, it seems that these interviewees identified themselves as ‘ordinary’ girls, which is a crucial element in relation to their desire to become ‘different’ and ‘special’.

This section will explore how the foci of these women in the *Meg* and *Mami* generation shifted from self-control to self-expression in terms of the body, sexuality, fashion, adornment and ‘textual poaching’ through the consumption of *Meg the Little Witch* and *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*.

2-1. Body and Sexuality

In *Meg the Little Witch*, Meg is always targeted as a sexual object upon whom Rabi projects his sexual fantasy, as discussed in Chapter Three. Her sexuality is often represented by showing her partially nude or in her undergarments, as seen through Rabi’s voyeuristic gaze. Although this may have incestuous connotations, it merely typifies a conventional sexual teasing of Japanese boys to girls in elementary school.¹⁴ Meg’s overreaction and counterattacks to Rabi’s sexual teasing completely defeat him and, as a result, provide moments of comic relief in the storyline. Despite its theatrical function, the introduction of female *koketisshu* sexuality in witch heroine narratives speaks to female audiences’ self-consciousness about their own bodies. In a similar manner, Mami in *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* and Lunlun in *Lunlun the Flower Angel* (1979-80) represent a moderate sexuality, which is acceptable to male characters such as

¹⁴ The differences in moral standards between Japanese and (Euro-centred, Christian) Western countries have often caused censorship problems. For instance, child nudity is often portrayed in Japanese *anime* (e.g. *Doraemon* (1973-) and *My Neighbour Totoro* (1988)), whereas it is usually edited when these programmes are released in the United States.

Toshio and Serge (the crown prince of Planet Flowerne), respectively.¹⁵

The *koketisshu* sexuality of Mami and Lunlun, however, is highlighted by their heterosexual romances with these male characters, not by sexual harassment by the opposite sex. These depictions of their sexuality are enhanced when heterosexual romance is involved, which animation critics (Saitô, 1998; Kobayashi, 1999) disapprove of because the major concerns of girls' *anime* are emotions or love affairs, while those of boys' *anime* focus on reason. However, heterosexual romance does not directly appeal to women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation. Although there are male characters in these programmes, the interviewees regard them as secondary characters unnecessary to the central narratives. My empirical data show that most female viewers ignore male characters or their romantic relationships with protagonists, not reading into such gendered themes directly. Heterosexual validation is not required to shape feminine subjectivities in their understanding.

Yumiko, who is in her late 30s, claims to have had no heterosexual interest in boys when she was in the fifth grade. She states that she never paid attention to male characters in Magical Girl *anime*. She said plainly, 'Male characters were the same as a radish or a pumpkin'. Similar comments were made by Chie, who is in her mid-30s as well: 'Guys are a "side dish". Even if they were not there [in the story], nothing would change'. Misa, who is in her mid-30s, expressed disgust for the way in which *Lunlun the Flower Angel* ended. Towards the finale, Lunlun discovers that the Seven-Coloured Flower, which she has long sought, blooms in the backyard of her own house. Lunlun lives happily ever after with Serge, who has decided to live not as a king but as an ordinary human on earth. Misa offered:

Misa: To me the ending did not make any sense.

AS: It didn't make any sense? Why?

¹⁵ *Lunlun the Flower Angel* (*Hana no ko Lunlun*) is one of Toei's Magical Girl TV *anime* programmes. Lunlun Flower, the protagonist, is a 12-year-old French girl who travels all over Europe to look for the Seven-Coloured Flower. She uses transformation witchcraft with a magical flower pendant.

Misa: Well, I don't like the fact that the Seven-Coloured Flower was in her garden. [. . .] And then what happened at the end? I thought, 'Oh, that's a Cinderella-like ending!'

AS: I see. A prince comes over=

Misa: =A prince comes over to you. [. . .] I didn't like it. [. . .] That didn't make sense. She wasn't looking for a prince in the first place. [. . .] I wish Lunlun's journey could have continued on and on.

To the extent that most women focused merely on heroines, the heterosexual romance of the story does not effectively reinforce the sexualisation of the female body, although it is definitely textually inscribed. The love-prioritised settings are often criticised by feminists. These settings, however, did not influence women of this generation. Misa was enchanted by the ongoing process in which the protagonist actively explores unknown places. Instead of being tied to a single identity such as of a wife or mother, being single allows the character to be adventurous. This places female characters in an independent position. Unlike in the Cinderella story, which ends with marriage as a happy ending, it is thrilling for preteen girls to see that female characters can change their lives by their own volition. Such a fluid identity contains great possibilities for change, allowing vicarious fulfilment of the audiences' desire for such change. This can be adaptable to girls' passion for transforming themselves.¹⁶

If heterosexual romance is not the focus of the women I interviewed, how did they understand representations of sexuality? Kyoko, who is in her early 40s, enjoyed watching *The Secrets of Akko-chan* and *Meg the Little Witch* as well as *anime* programmes for families and boys during her childhood. She made positive remarks about female bodies, which were portrayed in some of the *anime* for girls.

When I watched Merumo-chan [of *Mysterious Merumo*], I was a bit excited to see something sexual. As a child, I didn't understand what my feeling was... something I couldn't explain. [. . .] *To me, Akko-chan, Sally-chan and Meg-chan seemed so sound and healthy. (Laughs)* Merumo-chan had this kind

¹⁶ This topic will be explored again later in this section.

of stuff (*she gestured to mean large breasts and a miniskirt*). Although I was a girl, I was excited [to see her body]. [. . .] I learned how the female body would develop. 'When I grow up, my breasts will become larger.' I realised it by seeing this *anime*. (emphasis added)

In *Mysterious Merumo* (1971-72), illustrated anatomic descriptions of the human body are inserted to provide easy-to-understand sex education for child viewers.¹⁷ White (1995) points out that teenage magazines function as a supplement to formal sex education, which 'in Japanese schools is insufficient and vague' (268). Thus, TV *anime* programmes also fill this gap. Merumo, 9, transforms herself into an adult self by eating a blue candy that makes her ten years older. Since her child outfit is not modified to fit her adult body after she has transformed, her large mature breasts and sexualised buttocks with long slender legs are considerably emphasised. Kyoko also mentioned the depictions of female bodies in *Cutie Honey* (1973-74).¹⁸ She states, 'I thought that female bodies were more beautiful than male bodies, [which were 'shown in such *anime* as *Tiger Mask*']'.¹⁹ Her positive remarks regarding adult female bodies are significant, in that she felt estranged from the appropriately sexualised bodies in Magical Girl *anime*. Although Meg of *Meg the Little Witch* is characterised as a sexual object, all the women I interviewed regarded it not as sexual harassment but as a thrilling moment, at which they could experience eroticism without identifying themselves with sexual victims.

The term and concept of 'sexual harassment' were imported to Japan from the

¹⁷ *Mysterious Merumo* (*Fushigi na Merumo*) is based on Osamu Tezuka's *manga* of the same title (1970-72). In the middle of episodes of this *anime* programme, illustrated explanations of sex education are inserted in the form of still drawings (Tezuka Productions, <http://tezukaosamu.net/jp/manga/426.html>).

¹⁸ *Cutie Honey* was produced by Toei Animation, which produced *Meg the Little Witch*, based on Go Nagai's *manga* of the same title (1973-74). Honey Kisaragi, the protagonist, is an android who can transform herself into any female figure by using a high-tech device invented by her murdered father/creator. Because the main targets of the *manga* are boys, Honey becomes almost naked when she transforms, which places overt focus on her sexuality. This work was remade as a new animation series, *Cutie Honey F* (1997-98), by Toei Animation, and adapted into a live-action film, *Cutie Honey* (2004), directed by Hideaki Anno. I do not regard this original work as a Magical Girl *anime* programme despite its transformation motif because Honey's power relies on science and technology rather than on supernatural power, and its target audience is not primarily girls.

¹⁹ *Tiger Mask* (1969-71; 1981-82) is an *anime* programme for boys, featuring fictional professional wrestlers in Japan. It is based on the *manga* of the same title by Ikki Kajiwara (story) and Naoki Tsuji (drawings) (1969-71). Pro-wrestlers' heavy muscular bodies represent male physical strength and male workers' toughness during the period of rapid economic growth in Japan.

United States in the late 1980s and soon disseminated.²⁰ Therefore, technically, girl audiences in the late 1970s did not identify Rabi's sexual teasing towards his sister as sexual harassment; however, it is notable that, for children, elements of play and entertainment were more attractive. The play elements and pleasure dominated Kyoko's viewing experience of *Magical Girl anime* and other *anime* programmes for girls.

This same-sex eroticism—as seen in Kyoko's perspective of eroticised female bodies in the *anime* programmes—are discussed by several scholars. For instance, Stacey (1994) examines homoerotic desire between female Hollywood stars and their female fans. Moseley (2002b) discusses same-sex eroticism in relation to the resonance of female admirers with Audrey Hepburn. Robertson (1998) relates same-sex eroticism to the sisterhood-like relationship between Takarazuka stars and female fans. Stacey (1994) suggests that 'identification between femininities contains forms of homoerotic pleasure' (29). However, the assumption of her argument is that female fans identify themselves with their favourite stars, which was not the case for Kyoko and Misa. Misa noted:

There are lots of scenes in which Meg takes off her outfit, I mean, kind of erotic scenes. (*Laughs*) [AS: How did you feel when you saw such scenes as a child?] As a child I liked a little eroticism. I got kind of excited, so I liked it. I liked *Cutie Honey* as well.

Kyoko and Misa took pleasure in seeing the eroticised female body without identifying themselves with the heroines. Although Kyoko considered Meg's sexuality to be 'sound and healthy', meaning appropriately childlike, Misa felt 'a little eroticism' in the portrayal of Meg in undergarments. None of my interviewees believe that moralistic hindrance intervenes in this erotic attraction between female audiences and female characters. Robertson (1998) suggests that the Takarazuka actor-fan relationship is similar to 'the "buddy system" characteristics of military outfits in which homoerotic elements are

²⁰ Sexual harassment was transliterated as *sekusharu harasumento*, or *seku-hara* for short, in Japanese. The term rose to prominence in the late 1980s, as seen by its designation as a popular new word in the 1989 Japan Vogue-Word Contest.

exploited but never directly encouraged to manifest as sexual practices' (186). However, although Takarazuka stars are female, her account explains only the relationships between stars who play male roles and female fans. Due to its engagement of heterosexual fantasy, the sisterhood of Takarazuka, which Robertson argues about, is not adaptable to Kyoko and Misa either. It should be noted that without identifying themselves with victims of heterosexual desire or without sexually desiring heroines, Kyoko and Misa positively accepted images of the adult female bodies. The women of this generation took pleasure in seeing same-sex eroticism, detaching themselves from the protagonists' positions. However, this detachment enables them to assert their adult selves.

'A little eroticism' as a phrase ties in with the heightened levels of women's sexualisation in the Japanese media, which was discussed in Chapter Two. Grogan (1999) argues that, in the United States, '[i]n the 1980s, several feminist authors suggested that a system of beauty norms set up impossible ideals for women. [. . .] These unrealistic ideals were seen as an ideal way to keep women in a subordinate position' (53). In 1980s Japan, female sexuality was being represented as a new female power in visual media and was socially accepted only if it was not excessive. Representations of excessive female sexuality incited moral outrage and admonitions in mass media (see Chapter Two).

According to Grogan's interviews with American and British girls in 1995, self-consciousness about their own body image develops rapidly, beginning with a sense of dissatisfaction by the age of eight (Grogan, 1999: 120). Women tend to suffer more from negative body image than men, which signifies that societal factors and pressures burden women more significantly than men (Cash and Brown, 1989: 369). Misa indicates remembering the social construction of the female body by the age of eight, when she says that 'I'm sure I prefer the slender body. The characters I loved, Meg and Lunlun [and Mami], are all tall, aren't they?' She did feel pleasure, not when she compared her body image with the representations of slender bodies in Magical Girl *anime*, but when she positively accepted the ability of transformation into the adult female body in *Magical*

Well, it's not like I wanted to become an adult faster, but I liked the possibility of being an adult sometimes and a child at other times. That's fun. But, if I had suddenly grown up to be 16 or 17 and not returned to being a kid, I would not have wanted that.

This statement corresponds with her fascination with the changeability of *Lulu the Flower Angel*. While willingly accepting Mami, Yû's adult self, Misa took pleasure in fantasising that she could freely move between the transient stages of childhood and female adulthood. The women I interviewed often pointed out that they felt this sense of body control was important.

Regarding the ability to transform between childhood and adulthood, Yumiko offered, "I can transform myself by using magical power. I *am* Yû-chan." [. . .] As a fifth grader, I think I had such desire' (original emphasis). Both Misa and Yumiko were fascinated with the state in which they could control their bodies by identifying themselves with Yû rather than with Mami, who represented an ideal body. For girl audiences, the 'malleable' body is thus more attractive than the idealised body because the imagined malleable body allows them to actively control themselves physically.

Controlling the body likewise correlates with a desire to fashion the body. Hiromi Kishi, the designer of Galaxxy, the Japanese apparel company, produced a new type of fashion for young women in 2008, utilising and modifying various characters and images from *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*.²¹ This created a new trend called the 'Shibu-Hara' type, a blended urban fashion style from two Japanese youth fashion streams: the Shibuya type (Gal or gaudy and active girl fashions) and the Harajuku type (anomalous fashion).²²

²¹ T-shirts, skirts, jackets and shoes, etc., designed by Kishi, notably appeal to young women who had not watched *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* at all. Another T-shirt company, QUOLOMO, also produces T-shirts depicting Creamy Mami and opened its first store in Harajuku, Tokyo ('QUOLOMO in Harajuku, Tokyo', 2008).

²² Shibuya and Harajuku are the names of the shopping districts located to the west of central Tokyo. They are popular among youth as sites of cutting-edge fashion trends. The Shibuya type indicates a heavily made-up, overtly sexual 'party girl' type, while Harajuku is associated with various subculture trends, from punk and *haute couture* to *cosplay* (costume play).

Kishi mentioned in a magazine that she identified herself with Yû, not with Mami (Kishi and Takada, 2009: 148). This precisely corresponds to Yumiko's case. Based on her childhood experience, Kishi realised her desire and nostalgia by creating fashion connected with this TV *anime*. This indicates that control of the body and the power to transform it are readily associated with fashion.

How is pleasure in controlling the body connected to self-expression in relation to fashion and femininity? The next section will examine 'fashioning' in the context of Japanese *kawaii* girls' culture.

2-2. Fashion, Hairstyle, Adornment and *Kawaii*

Moseley (2005) suggests that 'fashion and dress can play an important role in the way that stars are able to manage and resolve those ideological contradictions, particularly through their reception and appropriation by audiences in their own practices' (3). In her study of Audrey Hepburn and her female admirers, Moseley (2002b) suggests that dress served to articulate subjectivity in several films featuring Hepburn. The British female audiences growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, who loved Hepburn, felt that Hepburn's fashion and style on screen 'resonated' with them (63-80). The Hepburn look and style enchanted these female audiences. They did not, however, simply copy Hepburn's fashion and demeanour, but they asserted their individuality by taking cues from her style and demeanour. Regarding one interviewee who found a similarity between Hepburn's short hair and her own, Moseley argues that:

[the interviewee] is able to construct herself, through Hepburn, as 'different' in a way which is satisfying because that difference is located in herself, before it is located in Hepburn: it is not about 'role models', 'copying' or 'being influenced by'. (79)

My empirical data indicate similar cases. In her childhood, Yumiko always had short hair because her father cut her hair that way. Parental supervision kept her in a

passive position; however, her viewing experience of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* provided her a moment at which she recognised herself through Yû. Her first impression was, ‘Wow, Yû has the same hair style as me! [. . .] I found someone like me was on TV’. Chie likewise recalled, ‘I liked her because her hairstyle was short and blue. I felt close to her because she was tomboyish like me’. Yumiko and Chie felt that this heroine’s short hairstyle and tomboyishness resonated with them, thus garnering their attention.

However, slightly different aspects are also observed in the discourses of my interviewees in terms of fashion, demeanour and actions—that is, in terms of transformation. Although the women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation felt ‘resonance’ with heroines of Magical Girl *anime*, imitating the heroines’ fashion, demeanour and transformation serves to assert girls’ *kawaii* femininity (performing the collective feminine).

The women I interviewed were excitedly eloquent when explaining how they were absorbed by the fashion and style portrayed by coquettish *kawaii*-ness in Magical Girl *anime*. Misa described her concept of *kawaii* in her favourite characters, Meg, Lunlun and Mami.

AS: What is your standard of *kawaii*-ness?

Misa: As for dress, it’s frilly things. Lunlun’s skirt is frilly and the shoulder straps are also frilly. These make me feel it’s *kawaii*. [. . .] Indeed Sally-chan and Akko-chan wear miniskirts too..., but they were not frilly. Meg’s was frilled and softly waving. Lunlun’s is frilly and Creamy Mami’s is frilly. That’s what I loved.

Here, Misa makes a distinction between the outfits of witch heroines before and after the 1980s. Although they were relatively fashionably designed for their time, Sally and Akko’s dresses looked unfashionable to girl audiences in the 1980s because they had no frilly ornaments and pleats. The frilly dresses that Misa mentioned are Western outfits. When I asked her whether this preference has remained the same, she answered that she

personally still loved frilly dresses. Simultaneously, however, she understood that adult women should not wear such dresses in daily life. Although she avoids frilly attire at present, she has among her belongings such *kawaii* items as a handbag, a handkerchief, a pen case with modestly stitched frills and/or cute character and fruit prints. More importantly, her preference for wearing frilly items of clothing is linked to an articulation of femininity proper to only Japanese girls—that is, performing *kawaii* properly. As discussed in Chapter Two, girls' *kawaii* culture is considerably influenced by Western representations. *Kawaii* fashion here connotes Western (Victorian, to be precise) dress, which only young girls are allowed to wear. Thus, wearing frilly dresses based on Western attire symbolises the ephemeral nature of *kawaii*-ness.

Through the possession of toys, accessories and dresses, girls' *kawaii* femininity is constructed and affirmed. Misa voluntarily started recounting her memory of collecting several types of toys related to a popular *anime* programme for girls, *Candy Candy* (1976-79).²³ She had a set of bath goods,²⁴ a tracing table with Candy's face on it, a handkerchief with images of Candy's drawings printed on it and a nursing first aid kit.²⁵ In *Candy Candy*, Candy overcomes every possible problem a teenage girl might encounter (such as bullying caused by discrimination against orphans, love, human relationships, and even the death of her beloved). She eventually devotes herself to being a war nurse during World War I. In a manner similar to Lunlun, her independent adventure impressed Misa when she was three, allowing her to wish to 'be a nurse and go to war'. Her memory about the gender expectations of her parents was triggered by her memory concerning *Candy Candy*.

Before *Candy Candy*, I watched lots of programmes for boys. I loved action

²³ *Candy Candy* was based on *manga* of the same title (1975-79) by Kyoko Mizuki (story) and Yumiko Igarashi (drawings). This was also popular in European, South American and East Asian countries in the 1980s. The story is set in the Midwest of the United States and the United Kingdom in the early 20th century, portraying the life of an American orphan girl, Candice White (Candy), who has curly blonde hair, blue eyes and freckles.

²⁴ This contained a bottle of shampoo, a bottle of rinse, a wash towel, a mirror and a soap dish packed in a round pink plastic box bearing a picture of Candy's face.

²⁵ This contained a syringe, a feeding bottle, and a bandage packed in a white square box with a handle.

hero programmes and robot *anime*. I like them even now. I watched so many of them that my parents were getting worried about me. They thought, ‘She is a girl, but she only watched boys’ TV’. So, they were delighted that I was taking an interest in something girly.

The comments about her parents’ imply that societal expectations of traditional behaviour for girls are important. According to Misa, her mother regularly dressed her in frilly outfits, and even attempted to curl her hair, but failed due to Misa’s refusal to let her mother do her hair. In reality, she did not want to have curly hair merely because ‘there was a girl with curly hair in kindergarten and I didn’t like her hair’. Although in fantasy, she acknowledged that frilly curly hair is *kawaii*, in reality, she partially resisted her mother’s attempts at gendering her with *kawaii* femininity. This contradiction between embracing *kawaii* through representations of Candy, Lunlun and Yû and rejecting it as a personal identity signifies Misa’s desire to be different. Although she took pleasure in playing with *kawaii* products, merely copying Candy was meaningless to her. Thus, although the notion of *kawaii* associated with frilly dresses and curly hair in the *anime* facilitates the societal expectation that girls should perform ‘appropriate’ femininity, it induces girls to construct their gender identity as young females along set guidelines, and simultaneously, enables them to negotiate with normative ‘appropriate’ femininity.

In a similar manner to Misa, Toshiko, who is in her late 30s, watched TV *anime* for both girls and boys as a child. She identified herself as ‘an outdoor type’, meaning that she used to play outside, often with boys. Her interview did not advance easily because she had only a vague memory of the programmes she watched as a child. Toshiko could not remember how she played with female girls at home, either. However, her memory was profoundly vivid when she began to describe the accessories, dresses and physical traits she remembered for Meg of *Meg the Little Witch*:

Meg-chan was *kawaii*. She had a pink heart-shaped necklace. She threw it when she fought. I found it interesting that it made a contrast to Non’s blue

diamond-shaped necklace. [. . .] Her eyes were big and cute. She had curly short hair. Her colour was, maybe, a warm colour.

Toshiko's vivid descriptions of the details of Meg's necklace and her face are connected to her appreciation of Meg's hairstyle and frilly dress, and furthermore, to the Westernised stylishness in Magical Girl TV *anime* in terms of *kawaii*. She added that, 'what I liked was curly short hair, which foreigners would have, just like Sally-chan's and Meg-chan's'. When asked why, she replied: 'Perhaps because I had naturally wavy hair as a kid, I felt close to them'. She discovered similarities in their hairstyles, constructing a difference from the ordinary Japanese hair types exemplified by Sally and Meg. However, it is noteworthy that Toshiko's ideological notions of *kawaii* are all associated with 'the Japanesque West', a blend of the Japanese and the Occidental.

In Japanese girls' culture, whilst 'the West' was emulated, representations of traditional Japanese-ness were often portrayed as crude or unsophisticated and hence marginalised with negative connotations. However, especially since the late 1970s, hybridity in fashion emerged in Magical Girl TV *anime*. Western stylishness combined with Japanese cuteness is inscribed in magic items, attires and settings of witch girl protagonists. As Western fashions were naturalised and thus became invisible in Japanese society, an appreciation for a well-balanced and unobtrusive blend of Japanese-ness and Western-ness arose. Representations of 'the West' (the 'Japanesque West', to be precise) in Magical Girl TV *anime*—as represented by two-storeyed Western-style houses, Westernised cities and Western-related jobs, for instance—are associated with *kawaii* in the discourse of the women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation.

Toshiko described the characterisations and settings in *Meg the Little Witch* as Westernised Japan.

Toshiko: It's in Japan. Though it's in Japan, I remember she [Meg] lived not in a one-storey Japanese-style house, but in a Western-style house. I recall that her house is somewhat fashionable.

AS: Oh, but you didn't think this story was set in a foreign country?

Toshiko: No, I didn't. They were speaking Japanese. She went to a Japanese school. [...] Indeed I wondered what city this was while watching it, but I was convinced that Meg-chan was Japanese.

These physical settings are associated with Meg's foreign characteristics, which suggest the West specifically—not simply outside Japan. Regarding Meg's slim, long legs and big eyes, she continued, 'Meg's body is very foreign. She is like a foreigner'. Although those stereotypical attributes do not reflect the reality of typical Japanese genetic traits, Toshiko highly valued certain factors in the protagonists' appearance that are associated with Western traits.

Comments made by Ayumi, who is in her late 20s, also attest to this. Concerning *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, when I asked about the transformation, she stated, 'Yû is small but transforms herself into a tall, slim senior girl. I'd say that was a Western body'. Responding to my questions ('Did you feel her body was different from yours? Or did you want to become like her?'), she continued, 'I'd say, I was convinced that I would become like her.' This involves an idealisation of Western genetic traits. *Kawaii* femininity for girls is bolstered by such positively represented Western-ness incorporated into Japanese-ness in *Magical Girl anime*.

The kinds of occupations that appear in these programmes are associated with Western culture and are also conceptually connected to *kawaii*, leading to the construction of 'appropriate' femininity for girls. Chie, for instance, suggested that she was jealous of Yû because her parents run a crêpe restaurant in the home. Crêpe restaurants symbolise a trend in 1980s youth culture. Crêpes were initially sold in Harajuku, the centre of youth fashion culture, in the late 1970s, as discussed in Chapter Three. Due to the geographical location of Harajuku and the sophisticated connotations of their French origins, crêpes immediately became a symbol of fashionable youth culture. Crêpe's colourful appearances of ingredients—such as strawberries, kiwis, and white

whipped cream—appealed especially to young girls because of their connection to cultures of *kawaii*. *Kawaii* subjectivity is thereby constructed through the consumption of *kawaii* food in the urban city and fashion centre.

The Western-related and feminised crêpe business served not only to attract young audiences but also to facilitate construction of the *kawaii* self. Yumiko, who lived near Harajuku, also associated crêpes with her childhood memories of watching *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. As a child, she was taken to Harajuku by her parents to eat crêpes. Regarding the settings of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, she remembered that it was a ‘neon-coloured, a fashionable city, crêpes ... Everything looked pop and fashionable’. The neon colours, the crêpes, and the fashionable city are indeed attributes of central Tokyo, where Yumiko spent her adolescence. This combination of fantasy and real life readily allows her to accept the protagonist and the locale of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. Consuming crêpes connects viewers’ real lives to the fantastic life of the protagonist, Yû.

The way in which Misa recognised the settings of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* through representations of crêpes differs from that of Yumiko. Misa lived near Yokohama, a port city located next to Tokyo.²⁶ Although she easily identified with Western culture in her hometown, she felt distant from Tokyo’s popular trends. Just as Chie was jealous of Yû because of her parents’ family business, Misa also confessed that she was jealous of Yû. She recollects:

Misa: Crêpes were so popular and in fashion at that time. Fashionable food.
But I’m not sure if I tried crêpes myself at that time or not. (*Both laughed.*) ‘A crêpe shop opened in Harajuku...’ or something like that. I heard such news often. But not everybody had a chance to have crêpes, but it sounds like such a popular treat.
AS: Did you think crêpes were from a foreign country?
Misa: Yes, indeed. It’s not Japanese food obviously.
AS: So, you thought it was fashionable because it didn’t look Japanese?
Misa: Exactly. And it looked so yummy. I mean, it looked so *kawaii*./

²⁶ Yokohama was rapidly Westernised in the mid-nineteenth century when it was opened as the base of foreign trade after more than 200 years of isolation in Japan.

AS:

/Oh, it

looked *kawaii*. I see. It has strawberries=

Misa:

=and whipped cream!

As discussed in Chapter Three, the visual combination of white (whipped cream) and red (strawberries) is associated with fancy *kawaii*-ness, symbolising liberation from normative Japanese conventions for women, as in the 'shortcake house'. Unlike Yumiko, who enjoyed easy access to Harajuku, Misa associated the cute appearance of the crêpes (an unknown sweet from a Western country, to her) with the urban image of Tokyo. She was convinced that Yû lived 'not in [her] neighbourhood' but in Tokyo because 'her parents sell crêpes and Mami goes to a TV station'. Representations of Westernised Japan, such as urban images of Tokyo and crêpes, encouraged women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation to consume something *kawaii*, by which they adapted themselves to *kawaii* femininity. Thus, the *kawaii* selves were constructed and enforced by finding similarities and differences between them and the witch girl protagonists, and through the Western-oriented fashion, jobs and settings associated with *kawaii* values.

2-3. A Room of One's Own: Seeking Psychological Asylum through 'Textual Poaching'

Virginia Woolf (2000[1929]) claims that 'a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction' (3). With this statement, she emphasises the importance of securing a private space where women can engage in creative work and express their fantasies. Her statement suggests that securing a physically separate area facilitates the creation of a psychological private space. According to the women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation, securing private spaces by watching witch girl heroines is an essential way to express their 'differences' from others. By textually poaching witch girl heroines, they are able to nurture and assert their individuality.

Jenkins (1992) suggests that textual poaching means active fan practices, in which fans of a subculture express their reception to and interpretation of cultural texts, as well

as subsequent reproductions and circulation of fan fiction works. Drawing upon this idea, I will discuss how girl audiences access witch girl heroines by performing as the heroines and creating original stories in relation to self-expression. The witch girl heroines—who access their secret identities through the use of magical items and costume changes—provide models for the viewers, who also wish to have a secret identity in order to create a private psychological space to assert their ‘selves’ as distinct from others.

Regarding *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, Yumiko referred to the significance of having her own space:

I enjoyed the concept of having a secret, rather than the use of magical power. It's a *secret* only I have in my own world. In my own world, I was thrilled about my transforming in fantasy by using magical power of *my own*.
(emphasis added)

At the age of eight, she regarded herself as ‘relatively less mature’ than her friends because she still loved watching Magical Girl *anime*, whilst her friends had shifted their interests to real celebrities, such as young male singers.²⁷ Most women and girls in my audience research noted that they ‘graduated’ from watching Magical Girl TV *anime* by the time they finished elementary schools (aged twelve) ‘because they were no longer children’ (Hitomi, Ayumi, and Chie). Ceasing to view Magical Girl *anime* serves as a rite of passage, by which girls construct their identities as ‘grown-ups’.

Ayumi verifies this tendency: ‘I remember that I was convinced that Magical Girl *anime* was only for children, so I thought I should not watch them. I was really obsessed with that idea’. This obsession led her to stop watching Magical Girl TV *anime* at the age of ten. Therefore, for girl audiences, the act of viewing Magical Girl *anime* serves to indicate their self-awareness of their status as children or preteens. Yumiko states, ‘I realised that I was kind of isolated, but I felt I should not tell my friends about my preference for Magical Girl *anime*. So, I always played alone’.

²⁷ For instance, Shibugaki-tai, the male super idol pop music trio of that era, appealed to young girls.

In school life for Japanese girls, group conformity is highly valued. When a girl's behaviour or speech is obviously different from that of the hegemonic majority, she becomes an easy target for bullying. Among girls, bullying typically takes the form of school isolation or ostracism. Kyoko recalled her school life and reflected on this problem:

As a child, it was a tremendously serious problem if you were isolated from or ostracised by your classmates. For example, we girls used to hold hands and go to the restroom together, and during lunchtime, we connected our desks to have lunch together. On school excursions, we sat on seats next to each other or in a group in an excursion bus. But if you did not find a partner to sit next to you, you were very miserable.

Kyoko's disgust for the collective conformity of girls' school life led to her admiration for independent-minded Magical Girl *anime* protagonists, such as Non of *Meg the Little Witch*. Kyoko achieved vicarious fulfilment by making her own stories of Non, in which Non acted in ways Kyoko was unable to act. She did 'textual poaching' in order to escape from female conformity in school. Thus, Kyoko constructed a fantasy that she could control, providing her a psychological asylum from the pressure of school life.

Unlike the active circulation of fan fiction which Jenkins (1992) argues about, the women of this generation committed textual poaching as a 'secret pleasure' by monopolising their favourite characters. For them, having secrets helped them to secure their own private space as a psychological asylum, escaping from the societal pressure on girls caused by Japanese group conformity and enforced femininity in schools. In television studies, there are few arguments about the relationship between female animation characters and female audiences in terms of escapism. Some feminist critics in film studies, however, have investigated female film stars in relation to female spectatorship. Stacey (1994), for instance, explores the significance that escapism holds for British female spectators of cinema in the 1940s and 1950s. Drawing on Modelski's

argument about the feeling of ‘losing oneself’ (1982), Stacey (1994) suggests:

[There are] many levels at which escapism provided pleasures for female spectators: material, sensuous, emotional as well as psychic. [. . .] [T]he feelings of being in an audience offered a sense of belonging and togetherness; and the stars were enjoyed as utopian, transcendent fantasies. Thus, it was not simply the visual pleasures of film texts that operated, but rather a whole range of appeals which encouraged the feelings of complete absorption in another world. (122-123)

However, Stacey’s arguments are insufficient to explain the experiences of my research subjects because they are based on the collective viewing experiences of female spectators in movie theatres. Her research does not speak to television viewing or to my interview subjects’ preference for a secret, private connection to Magical Girl *anime* heroines.

In elementary schools, fear of isolation forced my interviewees to adjust themselves to normative girls’ school life, which demanded sameness and excluded differences. In Japan, girls are generally pressured more than boys based on the assumption that being gregarious is a female trait. In contrast, boys in school are more freely permitted to behave more individually or to differ in behaviour from others. Yumiko ‘poached’ the heroine to construct ‘a room of her own’, secretly performing Yû and inventing new fantastic stories by drawing her own illustrations. On the one hand, part of her interaction with the programme was based on the consumption of costumes and related toy products called ‘magic items’. On the other hand, part of her interaction was based on the creation of a private psychological space in which she imagined becoming—or interacting with—the characters.

The colours of fancy goods, especially the pale tones used to depict Kiki and Lala, which were discussed in Chapter Two, connect Yumiko to Magical Girl TV *anime*. She notes:

Yumiko: There were so many programmes with uncomfortable vivid colouring. But, when *Creamy Mami* started, I thought ‘Wow, the colour is beautiful!’ For a kid, it was hard to put it into appropriate words, but compared to *Lala-bell*, it was easy to watch it with beautiful colours. So, I felt comfortable, visually.

AS: What colours were impressive?

Yumiko: Pale blue, pink, violet. Pale tones of *Creamy Mami*’s key colours.

AS: Of those colours, which were your favourite colours?

Yumiko: Pink. I loved Kiki and Lala. I associated those colours with them. Pale colours and pastel tones. [. . .] *Creamy Mami* captured my tastes exactly. I clearly remember that I felt they were my favourite colours. That’s the very reason I first got into it.

Yumiko asserted that ‘her tastes’ were related to ‘the fancy goods’ in the 1980s’ growing *kawaii* culture through the images of Mami and Yû. Akemi Takada, the character designer of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, reveals that she created Mami and Yû’s colours by adding paler or darker colours, bridging the gap between the saturation of colours in the colour chart (Kishi and Takada, 2009: 149).²⁸ Therefore, wearing pastel colours allowed girl audiences to connect to the *kawaii*-ness that the 1980s’ cute culture demanded.

Notably, however, Yumiko’s practice of possessing the protagonist involved not only wearing Yû’s costumes but also performing Yû in her private sphere. Although her parents bought her what she wanted only for special occasions, Yumiko actively asked her mother to look for dresses similar to Yû’s in department stores and to purchase toy versions of Yû’s magic wand and tambourine for her. In reply to my question about how she played, Yumiko explained, ‘I used to carry the magic compact [toy] and put it around my waist [just as Yû did]. And I was drawing a form of the minor key [in the air with the wand]. Alone in my room. (*Laughs*)’. Again, she avoided others when involved in her activity of copying and avoided any gaze. Her own fantasy world was established not by sharing her experiences with others but by confining her favourite characters within her

²⁸ In my private interview with Akemi Takada, she told me how she created new colours for this programme (Takada, 2009). Most of the staff of Studio Pierrot, including the founder, Yûji Nunokawa, had experience working at Tatsunoko Production Co., which produced *Speed Racer* (Nunokawa, 2007). Tatsunoko Pro. is famous for the use of colourful drawings.

own world and monopolising them. Through this process, Yumiko asserted her 'self'.

Another way of monopolising the heroines is by creating one's own works with given characters and stories. Yumiko created numerous fictional stories full of illustrated images based on her favourite programmes, such as *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*. Chie had a dream in which she and her favourite characters were featured in a new episode. In addition to collecting products related to pop culture, the practices of reproducing the images of favourite (*anime*) characters or of writing new stories based on the originals nurture a sense of possession for fans (Jenkins, 1992; Endô, 2008).²⁹ Yumiko modified her favourite female characters from several different programmes to create stories about Yû with numerous illustrations of the characters. This desire to control the fictional *anime* characters she liked within her own private space enabled her to gain omnipotent power to dominate the characters, thereby constructing her individuality through the activity. She recollected: 'I created a story which went on in the way that Yû wanted to go. In other words, it's the story that fulfilled my desire'.

Chie cast herself in a love story based on *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* and *Magical Emi, Magic Star* in her own dream.³⁰ She vividly remembers that, in the dream, she played the role of Emi and talked to Toshio of *Magical Angel Creamy Mami*, experiencing the scene in which Toshio loses his memory after accidentally witnessing Yû's transformation into Mami (in order to have Yû regain her magical power). It seems that her subconscious desire was to identify with Emi rather than with Yû. In her dream, Chie modified the major storyline to remake Yû and Emi as her own.

Through the textual poaching of female heroines, such as performing to be like heroines and secretly creating fantastic stories within their own private spheres, the

²⁹ For instance, Zhizhi Wan, a NBA (National Basketball Association in the United States) player from China, says in an interview about his favourite basketball animation programme, *Slam Dunk* (1993-96), that he drew pictures of its characters such as Sakuragi, Rukawa and Haruko Akagi and put them on the wall of his room as posters. He recalled: 'When I drew them, I felt *Slam Dunk* became mine. I felt as if they were actually alive within me' (Endo, 2008: 40; translation mine). *Slam Dunk* is based on Takehiko Inoue's *manga* of the same title (1990-96). It sparked a 'basketball boom' not only in Japan but also in China (Endo, 2008: 40).

³⁰ *Magical Emi, the Magic Star* (*Mahô no Sutâ Majikaru Emi*) is a Magical Girl TV *anime* programme for girls produced by Studio Pierrot. The protagonist, eleven-year-old Mai becomes a popular magician/singer called Emi with her magical power.

women in this generation constructed ‘selves’ that were different from others. Although the pressure of group conformity on school-aged and adolescent girls was high, the activities undertaken to possess their private worlds functioned as a psychological asylum for these girls, where they had the power to control their favourite protagonists and the stories.

In this section, I have explored how the female interviewees of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation asserted a sexualised adult female body through representations of the appropriate sexuality of girls in Magical Girl *anime* and girls’ *anime*. The *koketisshu* (coquettish) sexuality of girls enables women to accept the female body. Because self-control and group conformity in schools oppress Japanese women, self-expression is more emphasised through their activities and their performance of being *kawaii* with fashion and accessories, the pleasure of having a secret identity, and the construction of a secret space by ‘textually poaching’ or monopolising their favourite characters. Compared to the women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation, the women in this generation highly value self-expression by using Magical Girl *anime*. The next section will examine how ten-year-old girls understand the Magical Girl *anime* in relation to self-expression and the recurrence of Japanese traditional values of femininity: mothering and caring.

Section 3: Girls Born in 1997 or 1998—the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* Generation

This section explores how girls aged 10 (as of my research in 2007) read Magical Girl TV *anime*, the series of *Sailor Moon* (1992-96 and 1999-2000) and *Magical Doremi* (1999-2003), in the context of postfeminism. Gill (2007) argues that:

[In the postfeminist context,] on the one hand, young women are hailed through a discourse of ‘can-do girl power’, yet on the other hand, their bodies are powerfully reinscribed as sexual objects; women are presented as active, desiring social subjects, but they are subject to a level of scrutiny and hostile surveillance. (163)

Her argument about postfeminist sensibilities typifies the complicated socio-cultural circumstances surrounding young women in contemporary American and British media, which are in part detected in current Japanese media. However, it does not fully speak to the Japanese postfeminist environment, in which Japanese socio-cultural problems—including the struggle between individuality and group conformity and the powerful assertion of, and obsession with, *kawaii*-ism—still hinder the self-expression of girls. For Japanese girls and boys in elementary schools and junior high schools particularly, ‘differences’ and ‘improperly distinguished conduct’ can still readily cause ostracism and bullying. Although the number of bullying incidents in elementary schools has decreased, annual bullying cases in public elementary schools are officially reported to be approximately 4000 to 5000 from 1994 to 2005 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2008: 14).³¹ Therefore, these circumstances force children to become overly conscious and sensitive about how others might evaluate them.

Taking into account these societal circumstances surrounding girls, my research subjects offered profoundly intriguing responses. In my audience research, I set up a focus discussion group of six girls (Chiharu, Manami, Hikari, Yuki, Rumi and Sakura) in Chiharu’s home in Tokyo in 2007.³² Sitting in as an adult while trying to alleviate authoritative pressure, I basically allowed these girls to exchange their opinions, only asking them questions occasionally. These girls have known each other for years and recognised themselves as members of a clique in the same homeroom class, with the exception of the other participant, Hikari, who was in the same grade but in a different homeroom class. However, she eagerly participated in my research because she was a great fan of Magical Girl TV *anime*. As soon as she joined this focus group, Hikari

³¹ From 2006, the survey measure of bullying cases changed. The number of both public national and private schools, which ‘recognise’ bullying cases, and the number of cases regarded as bullying are counted. Accordingly, the total number of the schools that recognise bullying cases was reported to be approximately 12,000, which is three times larger than the 2005 figure, when only public schools were investigated.

³² I have gained the consent of three participants (Chiharu, Manami and Hikari) and their parents to use their first names in my thesis. Fictitious names have been used for the remaining three participants to preserve their anonymity upon their request.

immediately got along with the other participants because the all-girl, same-age group facilitated the construction of their consciousness as insiders (*uchi* or inclusion). The socioeconomic status of their households was the middle-level, judging from their fathers' occupations (salarymen). Their mothers worked part-time to supplement their household income. Therefore, the girls seemed to feel that they belonged to the same socioeconomic group. This imagined homogeneity or awareness of being insiders frequently enabled them to answer as 'one' in a consensual way during discussions; however, it simultaneously intensified their aspirations to become distinguishable selves by performing as their favourite witch protagonists.

This section will focus on three ways in which girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation used the witch texts: to construct their awareness of self in a group as well as their identity as a member of the group, to highly appreciate well-blended *kawaii* and cool (*kakkoii*) femininity, and to reproduce familial memories through discursive texts.

3-1. Fashion, Uniforms and Self

Gill (2007) suggests that 'instead of regarding caring, nurturing or motherhood as central to femininity [. . .] , in today's media, possession of a "sexy body" is presented as women's key (if not sole) source of identity' (149). Her argument on femininity as a bodily property, which is profoundly connected with sexuality, is not adaptable to Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime* in the context of postfeminism for two reasons. In the *Sailor Moon* and the *Magical Doremi* series, *kawaii*—rather than sexiness—is the focus; caring, nurturing and motherhood—all considered to be an innate part of feminine nature—are reinscribed as essential factors of femininity in the texts. Intriguingly, however, hegemonic feminine traits and conventional gender roles of caring, nurturing and motherhood in the dominant discourse do not directly appeal to the girls in this generation, although they selected caring and thoughtfulness, rather than nurturing and motherhood, as positive *kawaii* feminine factors. It is noteworthy that they asserted their

‘selves’ as female children by NOT choosing associations connected with ‘motherhood’ or adult women. This point of choice is profoundly significant when examining how these girls construct their subjectivity. This is facilitated by fashion (costumes and ‘magical items’ of the *Sailor Moon* team and of the *Doremi* team) and the demeanours of multiple protagonists in the two series.

The construction of an identity as a member of an imagined homogeneous female team, to which the girls belong, is also exercised through fashion, particularly through ‘magical uniforms’. Although the primary interest of the girls in my focus group is placed on superficial, *kawaii* appearances, costumes help them to assert a collective identity as a group and to reproduce female solidarity. Therefore, it is observed that fashion catalyses the interplay between individuals and groups among girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation.

The girls in this focus group were relatively quiet while watching the episodes of *More! Magical Doremi*. What prompted them to suddenly start talking happily was the moment when Doremi and her teammates change into their ‘magical uniforms’ in a typical magical transformation scene. Each member changes her outfit into a uniform with rhythmical electrical music notes and ends up posing, which signals the completion of the transformation. When the protagonists change from their ordinary dresses into their magical uniforms and *pâtissier* (confectioner) uniforms—which are reversible—this implies the activation of their magical power and making sweets, respectively. The girls offered:

Yuki: I had this [magical] costume.

Manami: Me too. I still have the costume.

Chiharu: Me too.

AS: Whose costume did you have? Hazuki’s? Doremi’s? What colour?

Yuki: I had Doremi’s. It was given on my birthday↑

AS: Oh, was it?

Sakura: And I had one[a toy] like this. (*Mimes stirring a stick in a glass.*)

Sakura implied that she had a merchandised toy cooker.³³ Merchandised toys (accessories, costumes and household appliances), which Doremi and her friends use in the programme, mediated between girl audiences and the fictional world of the programmes, facilitating the girls' identification with their favourite protagonists.

As Stacey (1994) suggests, copying (transformation of audiences' physical appearance) is a process that 'involves an intersection of self and other, subject and object', and one through which the girls 'attempt to close the gap between [their] own image and [their] ideal image' (167). This copying process, however, focuses merely on interpersonal relationships between the audience (subject) and the female stars (object). In my research, a more complex process is noted. The girls suggest that they use the copying process not only to assert their 'selves' but also to enhance group solidarity among girls.

Hikari: My friend had lots of [toy products from *Magical Doremi*].

AS: Oh, she did?

Yuki: I think my friend in my previous school had them too. [. . .]

Manami: I used to make believe we were Doremi and her friends.

Yuki: Me too.

AS: What was it like? How did you play roles of Doremi and the others?

Manami: When we visited my friend, she said, 'Wear this!' She put the costumes on us.

All: (*Laugh*)

AS: So, you played roles of them with their costumes?

Manami: We sang songs. And danced.=

Chiharu: =We have sung them.

They were invited by their friends to form a team of five, playing roles of Doremi or other characters. The most frequently copied, popular character was Momoko because she looked 'cool', could 'speak English' and 'her outfits [were] *kawaii*', according to Chiharu. Chiharu's mother Miwako noted that Chiharu admired Momoko so much that

³³ This toy cooker is called the 'Cooking Range of *More! Magical Doremi's* Magical *Pâtissier* series', produced by Bandai, one of the largest toy companies sponsoring this programme.

she asked Miwako to make a costume resembling Momoko's for her fifth birthday party (Figure 1). Chiharu chose a *pâtissier* uniform rather than a magical uniform because it was more *kawaii* for her and she was interested in cooking in the first place. On the one hand, Chiharu copied Momoko by wearing her uniform. On the other hand, simultaneously, she assimilated Momoko with herself by making sweets for her own



Fig. 1
Chiharu, 5, in
Momoko's
pâtissier uniform
(photo taken by
her mother,
Miwako).

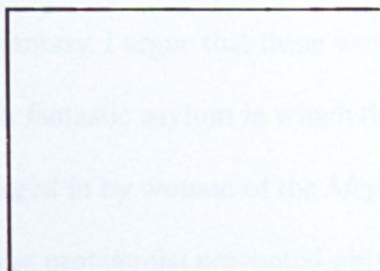


Fig. 2 Magical
girls in *pâtissier*
uniforms. From the
left, Momoko,
Hazuki, Doremi,
Aiko, and Onpu.

birthday party, as Moseley (2002b) argues about her research subjects' 'resonance' with Audrey Hepburn. According to Miwako, Chiharu invited friends to her party, some of whom attended the party in other teammates' *pâtissier* uniforms (Figure 2). In this way, fashion facilitates the assertion of the self as a girl, who plays out fantasies of being a *pâtissier* like Momoko and who asserts her own characteristics, both through Momoko and through the construction of group conformity in an all-female environment.

Although each of the girls prefer a different protagonist, they negotiated and took turns playing the roles of Doremi and her teammates when they played together.

AS: Who did you like best?

Chiharu: Momoko-chan.=

Manami: =I liked Momoko-chan's role.

AS: How come? Because she is the coolest?

Chiharu: Yes, and she can speak English.

AS: Haven't you ever fought? Like, 'I wanna be this girl', and 'I wanna be that girl!' ↑

Chiharu: Yeah, we were arguing!

AS: All of you liked Momoko-chan?

Chiharu: Doremi-chan was popular too, but=

Manami: =Momo-chan was most popular.

This differs from the copying processes of magical transformations performed by the women in the other cohorts. In the older age cohorts, they attempted to perform imagined magical transformations mediated by merchandised toys (Akko's magical compact or Mami's magical wand) in an all-female or solitary environment. In reality, however, because they realised that they were unable to transform themselves as Akko or Mami did, their performance relied profoundly on fantasy. I argue that these women took pleasure in having a secret identity, and in forming a fantastic asylum in which they could assert their 'selves'. *Cosplay* of Yû was indeed engaged in by women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation; however, the singularity of the protagonist prevented girls from playing together with a large number of friends. Therefore, their imitative performances were practiced limitedly within a secret private sphere, in which they could play out their narcissistic fantasies. 'Textual poaching' (Jenkins, 1992), writing one's own stories based on the Magical Girl *anime* and drawing one's favourite characters' images were also conducted secretly, avoiding the gazes of parents and younger siblings.

Therefore, in contrast to the older generation, the 'protagonist-in-a-team' *anime* style watched by these young girls provided girl viewers with a new type of play, in which a viewer assigns each of her friends to play different characters to make a team, thereby locating themselves in a space where they feel comfortable. Through this practice, they construct an identity as members of a homogeneous group and assert their 'selves'. They not only have a secret identity but also 'share' one with four same-sex comrades, which makes 'a team of five', identical to Sailor Moon's or Doremi's teams. This leads to the formation of a sense of female group solidarity. Team players are required to harmonise with each other. This is exemplified by Endô's study (2008) regarding the influences of Japanese *anime* on Chinese youth. He portrays how a female student from China who was absorbed in the *Sailor Moon* series in her junior high school poached

She made a *Sailor Moon* group of three among her good friends. [. . .] When a male classmate insulted them, they invited two more girls to join their group and confronted him, shouting, ‘Under the name of the moon, I’ll punish you!’ (30-31; translation mine)

Although, in this case, the girls did not wear the sailor warrior costumes, it should be noted that they used the image of the *Sailor Moon* team to form female solidarity and to protest male power, positioning the opposite sex as an ‘enemy’.

The team practices associated with group conformity seemingly represent a recurrence of the patriarchal Japanese virtue of devotion to the nation because group conformity nurtures altruism. The group conformity that the girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation value, however, considerably differs from that with which women of the older generations struggled. In the older generation, group conformity effectively functioned in schools, which enabled women to desire becoming different through the performance of a secret identity within their private spaces.

In contrast, in the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation, normative moral values and group conformity do not powerfully police children’s behaviour in schools. Whilst individual diversities are emphasised, homogeneous unification is more difficult to attain. The first verse of the opening song of *More! Magical Doremi*, ‘We won’t invite any more girls / If five of us get together, we are happy!’ (Rinozuka, 2001; translation mine), implies that female solidarity is formed within a profoundly consensual, small, and exclusively homogenised clique. Although extreme differences are negated, ‘appropriately’ diverse characteristics and appearances are crucial for the girls of this generation because diversities highlight team spirit, especially when differently characterised girls are united. The girls in my focus group suggested:

AS: When Sailor warriors transform themselves, they put the same style of

costumes on, though their colours are different. Do you like that?
 Rumi, Chiharu and Sakura: (*Nodding, signifying agreement*).
 Rumi: I prefer the same uniforms to different styles./
 Manami: /Because they are on the
 same team.=
 Chiharu: =They are still little girls.
 Rumi: =Because they are on a team.
 Hikari: I would feel their team spirit.

The moment at which Doremi and her teammates, or Sailor Moon and her teammates, who ordinarily wear different casual outfits, transform and change into their uniforms is fascinating to these girls because it represents team spirit or a sense of unity. This is the very moment when Sailor Moon's team members and Doremi's team members transform themselves into more powerful and physically feminine selves, with fashionably designed frilly skirts and cute boots (in the case of Doremi) or adornment, make-up and longer hair (in the case of Sailor Moon). The five different colours, which signify five diverse characterisations, are positively accepted by the girls because they enable the girls to find their own preferences —through which they assert their 'selves'—while simultaneously asserting their inclusion in the same clique.

The feelings of unity and security constructed by wearing uniforms are likewise detected in these girls' discourse. By wearing a uniform, 'one acquires a "role" not just in the functional, social scientific sense, but also in its original, performative meaning' (McVeigh, 2000: 83). For the girls in my focus group, the magical uniforms function as a source of power, by which both individuality and diversity are recognised as essential factors towards fostering a feeling of solidarity. It is typified, for instance, by their preference for different colours of the same style of uniforms, which symbolise different characteristics or individuality.³⁴

Delicate and tense attitudes, implying struggles between pursuits of female

³⁴ In this regard, *W.I.T.C.H.* (2004-06) offers differently designed uniforms with the same colours. This is another way to highlight diversity and conformity.

solidarity and individuality at the same time, appear in the way in which the girls conducted themselves during the focus group discussions. The girls always sought agreement with other participants and answered in a consensual way. When I questioned them, they often did not answer until someone started to speak, or answered as one verbally or nodded as one, signifying 'agreement'. In another pattern, the girls finished each other's comments, agreeing with each other. Once one started to offer an opinion on *Sailor Moon*, the others immediately followed:

Rumi: I like Sailor Jupiter best.=

Manami =I like Sailor Jupiter better.

All: (-----) (*Each participant shouted her favourite characters from Sailor Moon.*)

AS: Oh, Sailor Jupiter? How come?

Rumi: Because she's cool.

Chiharu: Yeah, she is so cool.

AS: Why do you think she is cool? Sailor Jupiter is best?

Rumi: Well, because...=

Manami =She's tall./

Rumi: /She's tall.=

Manami : =She has a ponytail./

Rumi: /Yes.

Group consent is vital when these girls offer their opinions. Although they willingly spoke on topics that interested them, they were reluctant to oppose the opinions of others. It is a significant finding that the way in which the girls sought agreement while offering their opinions accounts for the lack of individual interviews with girls, which I attempted only once. Their attitudes signify their subtle attempts to create group conformity and, simultaneously, to express themselves.

What prompted these girls to offer their opinions more frequently were evaluations of *kawaii*, by which they judged and validated their preferences. The next section will explore the aesthetics of *kawaii* and cool femininity, which the girls in my focus group highly valued. These aesthetics enabled them to favourably choose femininity.

3-2. Well-Blended *Kawaii* (Cute/Adorable) and *Kakkoii* (Cool/Handsome) Femininity

As discussed in Chapter Three, the *Sailor Moon* and *Magical Doremi* series are profoundly inscribed with representations of hegemonic femininity through motherhood, caring and domesticity. However, the girls of this generation were selective about accepting inscribed articulations of recurring conservative femininity in the *Sailor Moon* and *Magical Doremi* series: namely, mothering, nurturing, caring (particularly, thoughtfulness) and domesticity. They cautiously chose representations of caring and domesticity rather than those of mothering and nurturing, based on the aesthetic values of *kawaii* and *kakkoii* (cool or handsome). As discussed in Chapter Two, the Japanese aesthetic value of *kawaii*—which is now perhaps the central factor that constitutes Japanese girls' culture—is based on minimalism, which is frequently used to express something immature, childlike, inferior, dependent, ephemeral and nostalgic (Yomota, 2006). Since the 1980s, *kawaii* has been associated with 'the West', which is appropriated and indigenised into Japanese femininity (see Chapter Two and Yomota, 2006).

In contrast, *kakkoii* is used to illustrate a more mature, respectful, superior, independent, and sophisticated quality, and is associated with 'the West'. *Kakkoii* was appropriated into Japanese masculinity (Amano, 2006; Fujimura, 2006).³⁵ In *Magical Girl TV anime*, *kakkoii* is represented through female characters with psychologically and physically masculine attributes (such as independence, tall stature and the ability to ride a motorcycle). My research subjects most appreciated character demeanours and appearances traits that balanced *kawaii* and *kakkoii*, whilst avoiding excessive *kawaii* or *kakkoii* traits. Superficial physical appearances (including body parts, shapes and colours of eyes, hairstyles, body images and outfits) are measured by how *kawaii/kakkoii* they are. This section will discuss how, when used to portray female protagonists, the aesthetic values of *kawaii* and *kakkoii* regulate and police the norms of femininity, body image,

³⁵ Fujimura relates *kakkoii* to two types of Japanese masculinity, based on kabuki: a leader figure (*tateyaku*) who is brave and active, and a cool but naive man (*nimaime*). Fujimura suggests that *kakkoii*, which women expect men to become, shifted from the leader figure to the cool guy during the 2000s (2006: 193-194). However, *kakkoii* is still primarily associated with Japanese masculinity.

and the racial/ethnic aesthetics of ‘beauty’ for Japanese girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation.

Shôjo, as an agent, highly appreciates and validates *kawaii*, whilst interactively performing so as to be perceived as *kawaii*. Treat (1996) points out that the aesthetic value of *kawaii* ‘is directly linked to the consumer role that *shôjo* exist to play. A *kawaii* girl is attractive, and thus valorised, but lacks libidinal agency of her own’ (281). In comparison to the English notion of gender, he suggests that:

In English, gender is binary—at every stage one is either ‘male’ or ‘female’. But in Japan, one might well argue that *shôjo* constitute their own gender, neither male nor female but rather something importantly detached from the productive economy of heterosexual reproduction. (282-283)

Despite his simplified and optimistic accounts of the *kawaii* girl and the English notion of gender, the ambiguous boundary between male and female—and the desexualised ambivalence of *shôjo* in his account—crystallise the politics of *kawaii* and *kakkoii*, which the girls in my focus group employed.

Episode 13 of *More! Magical Doremi* (‘I Want to Get on the Dream Ship’) features Hana, the baby witch for whom Doremi and her team care, toddling around in Yokohama, where the team opens a mobile crêpe stand for business purposes. The girls in the focus group concentrated on every one of Hana’s moves while smiling at her as they watched the TV screen. There was considerable consensus when they answered my questions concerning babies and mothering.

AS: Do you think that baby was *kawaii*?

All: Yes, she was so *kawaii*.

AS: Do you think it would be great to have a baby like her?

All: Yes!

AS: Doremi was like her mother? How about the others?

Yuki: Well, all of them looked after her.

All: (*Nodding, signifying agreement.*)

AS: Do you think it would be hard [for you] to become mothers?

All: (*Nodding repeatedly, signifying strong agreement.*)

Although the girls responded affirmatively about having a baby, they agreed on the hardships of mothers, acknowledging these challenges based on their personal experiences. Having a baby is acceptable because the baby is *kawaii* for them; however, reality hinders them from accepting a maternal role. Miwako informed me that when Chiharu and her friends were younger, they played house, impersonating a nuclear family that consisted of a father, a mother and their children. Because they were all reluctant to play the mother role, they fought over the roles of children or father. From their daily experiences, 'they acknowledged that the mother should be always busy taking care of the children and housekeeping, whereas the position of a child or a father would seem easier' (Miwako). The girls' reluctance to play a maternal role indicates their rejection of motherhood, as it is neither a *kawaii* nor a *kakkoii* position for them.

Part of the domesticity associated with hegemonic femininity, however, is accepted by the girls in this generation; making sweets—or more precisely, making Western sweets—is evaluated as *kawaii*. The uniform for making sweets (the *pâtissier* costume) in the *Magical Doremi* series is named after the French word for a confectionary, indicating that the Western sweets appear *kawaii*. Doremi and her teammates are assigned to produce sweets and to sell them at the Mahô-dô, which is their workplace and the supernatural space linked to the World of Witches, where Majolica (their mistress/supervisor witch) and her familiar spirit dwell. In exchange for this labour, Doremi and her teammates gain 'magic spheres (*mahô dama*)', the source of magical power, in order to use magic and take tests to become witches. Working in the same style of costumes thus integrates Doremi and her teammates into the workforce (McVeigh, 2000). Through this representation, hegemonic femininity—as it is associated with domesticity—is also reinforced. However, the girls of this generation selected this representation because it is attractively *kawaii*. Their discourse about crêpes, compared

with their commentaries about daily cooking, demonstrates that their appreciation of *kawaii* enables them to make choices among their domestic chores.

AS: Do you like crêpes?

All: Yes!

Manami: I love it!

AS: Have you ever made some?

All: Yes, I have!

Yuki: I used a knife.

[. . .]

AS: Do you want to wear the same costumes and make sweets together?

Manami, YW and Chiharu: Yes, I want to try!

AS: You guys also help your mothers with cooking at home?

Chiharu and Sakura: (*Tilting their heads, signifying disagreement or misunderstanding.*)

Manami: I don't think so.

Household management (cooking, childrearing, cleaning and financing, etc.) has been represented as central to hegemonic Japanese female gender roles. However, although these girls would willingly select making sweets in reality and accept representations of female domestic chores inscribed in the text, the girls are reluctant to locate themselves on a continuum of accepted maternal behaviour, discursively connected to cooking and child-rearing.

The technology of *kawaii*, or *kakkoii* in relation to *kawaii*, addresses the value of 'beauty' as well. In her study of Western and Latin American beauty and ugliness represented in the TV drama *Ugly Betty*, Rivero (2003) argues that:

Regardless of the dominant discourses of gendered, racial, and class-based "beauty" presented in *Betty*, the text offered a space for mediation on the origins of female aesthetic categorizations and the ways in which the [Colombian, Colombian-American, Mexican, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican female] participants [in her audience research] saw themselves as "women". (66)

In Rivero's account, her research subjects realised that female physical beauty is socially constructed and validated by heterosexual men, which is internalised by the Latino women subjects (75). The girls in my focus group also recognise socially constructed women's Western-oriented white upper-class beauty. Nonetheless, they do not necessarily consider 'Western-oriented upper-class white beauty' to be superior. In the *Magical Doremi* series, the Western ideology of female beauty represented by Reika Tamaki, a rich and excessively self-conscious female classmate of Doremi, for instance, is not valorised by the girls of this generation. Additionally, *kawaii* appearances of Asian bodies are highly appreciated, when 'caring' is articulated. The girls suggested about Tamaki that:

Manami: Tamaki is a mean girl.

AS: But do you think she is beautiful? More beautiful than the other five girls?

All: Mmmmm.

Rumi: She *is* beautiful, but../

Manami: /She is beautiful, but she's not kind-hearted.=

Yuki: =But I prefer the other girls more.

AS: What part do you think is beautiful?

Yuki: Could be her hairstyle?=
=

Manami: =Hairstyle.

AS: Hair? Because it's blonde?

Rumi: Yeah.

Yuki: Because it's curly, maybe?

Hikari: Her hair looks well done.

Rumi: Yeah, yeah.

AS: Is that so? How about her eyes? They are not round, though.

Sakura: But I don't like red.=

Manami: =Blue is better, I think.

AS: How come blue is better?

Manami: Blue looks fashionable.

Curly blonde hair with blue eyes represents the Western hegemonic female beauty. The girls agree in the discussion group that Tamaki is beautiful but not admirable because she

lacks 'caring'. In another part of the discussion, racial/ethnic remarks about blonde hair and blue eyes also appear in the context of 'caring'. Looking at the images of various witch protagonists, the girls assessed heroines with blonde hair and/or blue eyes: Mako, Meg and Lunlun:³⁶

AS: Why did you think [Mako] is cute?

Rumi: Her hair is in a ponytail. *Because she looks thoughtful.*

AS: Looks kind-hearted?

Hikari: Oh, she has the blue eyes we were discussing before!

AS: Blue eyes? Do you like blue eyes? Blue eyes make this girl look kind-hearted?

Manami: Blonde hair would suit her more.

Chiharu: Blue eyes and blonde hair—it's very stereotypical.

AS: Very stereotypical?

Hikari: Yeah, [Meg] has blonde hair.

AS: She would be cuter if she had blonde hair?

Rumi: But this girl [Lunlun] is blonde, right?

Yuki: Blue eyes and blonde hair.

Manami: But she doesn't look *kawaii*.↑ (emphasis added)

Blonde-haired and blue-eyed archetypes, typifying hegemonic Western female beauty, are ideologically displaced by *kawaii*-containing elements of caring, such as thoughtfulness or a kind heart.

In order to investigate what underlies the girls' aesthetic value of *kawaii* more overtly, typical signifiers and codes of female figures in Japanese *anime* and *manga* should be examined. Long sharp eyes symbolise an ill-natured and spiteful person in general Japanese characterisations in *anime* and *manga*, which also offer viewers an impression of maturity or of evil (Yokota, 2006: 47, 58-59; P. Gray, 2003: 23). Yokota (2006) suggests that a crucial factor which enables faces of Japanese female *anime* characters to look cute (*kawaii*) is 'large round eyes'.

³⁶ Mako is the protagonist of *Mako, the Mermaid* (*Mahô no Mako-chan*, 1970-71).

In clinical psychology, large eyes are considered to represent excessive sensitivity towards others' thoughts. However, the eyes of *anime* characters are not only large, but also contain a considerable amount of glitter within them. [. . .] It is considered that large eyes represent acknowledgement of the presence of a nearby object/target, which connotes that the character accepts said object as it approaches. The sparkles in her eyes imply that she is engrossed in the object, which can be supposed to be the audience. Therefore, cute characters allow audiences to approach her and stay close to her, and furthermore, her affection is addressed towards the audience.

(108; translation mine)

He also argues that the generosity that *kawaii* characters display articulates their thoughtfulness towards the audience. In a manner similar to Yokota's account, the girls commented on the relationship between sizes and shapes of eyes. It should be noted here that they perceived their racial/ethnic identity through the facial characteristics of female protagonists, such as eyes and hair, rather than through skin colour.

Hikari: [Akko] has very big eyes, so she looks childish.

Yuki: If my hair were like this short, I would be exactly like her. If my hair were cut this short (*using a gesture of cutting her bangs*), I would look childish. So, I keep it long.

Rumi: If your eyes....eyes get smaller and thinner, (*using a gesture of pulling her eyes*), you would be more adult-like.

AS: I see. You mean, with big eyes, you would look childish.↑

Rumi: Yeah, things like, if your eyes get smaller and are on the upper part of your face, you would look adult./

AS: /Look adult?↑This girl [Minky Momo] has lots of hair, right? What does she look like?

Manami: She looks Japanese.

Rumi: I think she looks Korean, maybe?

Yuki: Well, if her hair were black, she would be Japanese obviously, wouldn't she?

All: Yes.

AS: So, you think the Japanese would have big eyes like [Minky Momo's eyes]?

All: Yes.

Large eyes represent childlike cuteness, which the girls linked to their racial/ethnic identity in relation to colours. Yuki in particular asserted her ethnic identity and corporal traits through witch protagonists, who resonated with her in respect of the length and colour of their hair.

Furthermore, the girls in my focus group associate faces, bodyparts and hairstyles (which are *kawaii*) with caring and thoughtfulness and associate tall height (which is *kakkoi*) with independence. *Kawaii* and *kakkoi* are both used positively to portray female protagonists in these girls' discourse. This indicates how the girls value their favourite characters. Most of the girls expressed admiration for Sailor Jupiter due to her *kakkoi* femininity. Sailor Jupiter is, in fact, characterised as tomboyish, represented by her use of masculine language, tall height, and straightforward disposition. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, the representations of feminine traits (including her ability to cook, her ponytail hairstyle and the story of her unrequited love for her elder male friend at her previous school) prevent the girls from perceiving her as excessively masculine. Well-blended femininity and masculinity profoundly appeal to the girls of this generation.

A positive assessment of well-balanced femininity and masculinity is observable in their discourse on Doremi and her teammates. The girls expressed tolerance about the immature disposition that forms one of the important factors of *kawaii*, although extreme tomboyishness in female protagonists is unacceptable.

Chiharu: Doremi-chan looks childish, doesn't she?

Rumi and Manami: Yeah.

AS: Doremi-chan looks childish, too? How come?

Rumi: Because she is stupid. (*Laughs*)

Hikari: Her character is childish, right? (*Laughs*)

AS: Her character? Well, I see. How about Aiko-chan? Do you think she looks stable?

Chiharu: Aiko-chan is the most mature of all, I guess.

AS: Really? Why do you think so?

Hikari: She is boyish.=

Chiharu: =She is always determined./
 Hikari: /And strong.
 AS: I see. Do you like the tomboyishness of Aiko-chan? Do you want to be like Aiko-chan? Have you ever admired tomboys?
 All: (*Tilting their heads, signifying uncertainty.*)
 AS: You haven't?
 Sakura: (*Nodding repeatedly, signifying strong agreement.*)
 All: (*Nodding, signifying agreement.*)
 AS: So, you prefer to be cute?
 Manami: I love being boyish. But *I don't like too much tomboyishness*, maybe.
 (emphasis added)

Their consensus when answering these questions suggests their preference for girls who are slightly boyish. Excessive masculine traits, when embodied by female characters, are not considered attractive. This differs from the viewpoint of some women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation, who admire self-made female characters because they project their aspirations and dreams onto the tomboyish girls. However, the girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation highly value well-blended femininity and masculinity, which represent to them an appropriate balance between being *kawaii* and *kakkoi*. Too much *kawaii* implies stupidity and childishness, which does not appeal to them, either.

Another possible factor that partly validates femininity is heterosexual desirability (Skeggs, 1997) and the body. However, in the discourse of the girls of this generation, no interest in male characters and heterosexual romance was detected, similarly to the discourse of the women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation. The *Sailor Moon* series is frequently criticised by feminist critics, presumably due to the characters' interest in heterosexual romance. However, the girls in my focus group did not mention Mamoru (Sailor Moon's boyfriend), Sailor Jupiter's male friend or other male characters. The focus of these girls' interests is solely on female characters.

Instead, the girls discussed heterosexual relationships in relation to representations of families portrayed in *More! Magical Doremi* and their own familial relationships, particularly their relationships with their fathers. The next part will explore how the girls

of this generation construct their familial relationships through witch texts.

3-3. Familial Memory through Representations of Fatherhood

The women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation reconstructed their familial memories and asserted their positions in their families through representations of family (more precisely, through an absent but idealised father, an idealised mother and younger siblings) and the Western-style house and lifestyle represented in the witch programmes. The women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation mentioned familial relationships in relation to their desires to purchase ‘magical items’ or merchandised toys and to have a secret identity. However, the girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation frequently focused on fatherhood as represented in Magical Girl *anime* in a slightly different way than women of the older generations.

Episode 14 (‘Eventful Birthday Party’) illustrates the life of Doremi’s parents on weekends. Her parents are invited to Momoko’s birthday party. Doremi’s mother blames her husband for attempting to sneak off and go fishing on the day of the party. He reluctantly agrees to attend Momoko’s party. Viewing this scene, Yuki suddenly spoke, ‘I like this kind of father. I mean, a weak father.’ When I asked whether she was afraid of her own father, she strongly nodded, signifying agreement. Obedience is traditionally associated with Japanese females; however, Yuki’s idealisation of Doremi’s docile father connotes her desire to be emancipated from powerful patriarchal norms.

In the next scene, the fathers of Doremi, Hazuki and Aiko help Momoko’s father to cook a beef stew in a huge pan in the backyard. I queried their fathers’ participation in domestic chores. The girls exchanged their opinions as follows:

AS: Does your father cook?

Chiharu: (*Shaking her head, signifying negation.*)

Manami: My dad doesn’t.

Sakura: (*Nodding*) My dad is keen on noodle dishes now, so he cooks often.

AS: Oh, he does?

Manami: My dad makes fried rice better than my mom does.

AS: Really? Do you think guys who can cook are nice?

All: (*Tilting their heads, signifying uncertainty or embarrassment.*)

Chiharu: I like Doremi's dad.=

Yuki: =I like him too. Because he is cheerful.=

Manami and Rumi: =I like him too.

AS: You like him because he's cheerful? He is weak, but you still like him?

All: (*Laugh*)

It is noteworthy that Sakura, who had never made any comments in our group discussions until this moment, voiced her opinion in front of the other girls. I assume that she felt tremendous peer pressure because she always whispered to Chiharu, who was seated next to her, and was careful to avoid being heard by the others. However, the portrayal of fathers in the programmes prompted her to express herself audibly. Although cooking is normatively associated with femininity, representations of altering gender roles in mass media, such as entertaining cooking programmes, dramas and *anime* on TV and *manga*, have naturalised men's participation in household chores.³⁷ Participation in domestic chores depicted by fathers in *More! Magical Doremi*—who carry out such tasks as cooking—enabled Sakura to associate her father with respectable fatherhood in a positive way.

Gender equality movements also facilitated the altering of gender roles in the 1990s and the early 2000s.³⁸ Men's cooking in *More! Magical Doremi* represents an invalidation of a patriarchal ideology of gender roles, although the participation of fathers in household management is depicted only on special occasions (such as parties). Paternal

³⁷ For instance, a popular cooking entertainment programme, *Smash! Smash!* (1996-), features the top young male idol group, SMAP, who cook for a guest celebrity. *Chûbô Desuyo* (1994-) stars Masaaki Sakai, a middle-aged singer, actor and talented comedian, who cooks a dish with a young female assistant and a guest. An *anime* programme, *Cooking Papa* (1992-94), based on Tochi Ueyama's *manga* comics of the same title (1985-), portrays a heavysset married business man, who cooks for his working wife, children and, later on, his colleagues.

³⁸ For instance, home economics courses began to be offered to male students as a compulsory class in junior high schools and high schools in 1993 and 1994, respectively (Higuchi, 2000). The percentage of schools that introduced 'mixed enrolment lists' grew from 11.5% in 1993 to 78.3% in 2007 (Japan Teachers' Union, 2009: 64). Before its introduction, names of female students were listed below those of male students. This style was considered to nurture the subjugated status of women to men, thereby reinforcing discrimination against women. For more detailed information about social changes in Japan, see Chapter Two.

participation in domestic chores is linked to the girls' perception of a new fatherhood. Their ideal father figure is weak, gentle and kind-hearted. These attributes, however, used to be strongly associated with femininity. This is distinguished from the ideal fathers of the women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation. Although the women of the older generation also prefer kind-hearted fathers, their ideal fathers are associated with Western representations. Sally's father, King of the Magic Kingdom, and Akko's father, the pilot of an international passenger ship, are both absent from the domestic sphere. However, they are respected by their wives and daughters despite their absence. Western-related professions and thoughtfulness are directly related to an ideal fatherhood for the women raised during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. In contrast, for the girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation, Western-related occupations are no longer considered special. However, their ideal father figure is based on their anti-patriarchal reading; they associate their ideal father figure with feminine traits, such as caring and thoughtfulness.

In reality, the fathers of girls of this generation hardly embody ideal fatherhood. Their fathers are ordinary businessmen, almost always absent from the home due to their heavy workloads in the conventional Japanese working style. However, cooking—or the participation in domestic chores—by fathers portrayed in Magical Girl TV *anime* prompts the girls to reconstruct their memories of their fathers. Whilst the women of the older generation associate Western-oriented occupations with their ideal occupations for fathers, the girls of this generation relate household chores to ideal fatherhood. This difference is related to socio-cultural changes that occurred in the period since the previous generation of Magical Girl *anime*. In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Western-style buildings and lifestyle were not common in Japan, so women of that generation aspired to imitate 'the West'. As representations of the West in the late 1970s and the early 1980s were fully appropriated and indigenised into Japanese girls' culture to blend with *kawaii*, 'the West' was not the object that the women growing up in these periods emulated, but the one that they used as a means to challenge hegemonic social

norms. Women's liberation movements and the Equal Employment Opportunity Law also supported increasing discourses on the emancipation of women from traditional gender roles. In the context of gender equality, the girls highly appreciate an appropriate 'feminisation' of the father figure. They embrace thoughtfulness and caring in women as well as in men. Although the mothering and nurturing that the *Magical Doremi* series articulates are rejected by the girls, representations of caring and the domesticity of fathers serve to nurture the girls' notion of gender equality and altering gender roles.

In conclusion, the thematic codes observed by members of the focus group are female solidarity and self-assertion in a clique through wearing uniforms, well-blended cute and cool femininity, and, finally, the reconceptualisation of the ideal father figure through representations of men's participation in domestic chores. Altering gender roles and anti-hegemonic readings of masculinity are evident in relation to emerging gender equality movements from the 1990s. The girls of this generation, however, focus not on merely superficial appearances but also on caring. Although the texts provide a reassessment of conventional femininity through mothering and domesticity, the girls refuse to accept them as they are. These young interviewees are selective and consume these representations only when they are associated with *kawaii*. This contradictory response is caused by the highly appreciated value of *kawaii*. Although powerful and assertive girls are admired, this generation still values *kawaii*, internally and externally, in relation to racial/ethnic identity. External *kawaii*-ness is represented by fashion, including frilly dresses, colourful costumes, slender bodies and hairstyles (ponytails), whereas internal *kawaii*-ness is represented by caring and thoughtfulness, which are conventionally regarded as feminine attributes.

Self-referential discourses—particularly about their hairstyles, *kawaii* fashions and the body—increased in this generation, compared to the women of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation. Whilst the recurring patriarchal ideology of femininity and gender roles, such as mothering, are addressed to the girls of this generation, they are profoundly selective

and gravitate towards female group conformity, which simultaneously entails diversity. Instead of accepting normative female attributes of mothering, the girls of this generation take pleasure in superficially performing as *kawaii* girls and in appreciating *kawaii* products.

The girls also relate representations of the families in the texts to their own familial relationships, especially to their fathers. It is a considerably significant finding that motherhood and an excessive emphasis on heterosexual romance, which are frequently criticised by feminist critics, were not detected as issues in these focus group discussions.

Thus, this chapter has explored how girls and women across three generations interpret and use Japanese Magical Girl TV *anime*. Despite the different modes of consumption, their active practices are elucidated in terms of self-control and self-expression. *Sally the Witch* articulates the traditional moral values of self-sacrifice and studiousness, which are in fact highly appreciated by the women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation. The women, however, understand that these moral values are no longer practical. Altruism is considered as unrealistic and ‘embarrassing’ conduct for them. Few studies have explored this aspect of Japanese audiences’ response. These women’s desire for self-expression is caused by a struggle against expected group conformity. Despite the fact that self-control is profoundly demanded in school, the women express their ‘selves’ through the pleasure of fantasising about the magical transformation of Akko in an all-female or solitary environment.

It is a significant finding that Western-oriented representations of femininity, lifestyle and home serve as a site through which the ‘self’ is expressed and asserted by women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation. Self-assertion as women is practiced by the women of this generation through their identifications with Sumire, the Japanese girl who symbolises localised Western representations, and their performance of Akko’s magical transformation. Western-style houses, lifestyles and international jobs address girls’

admiration; however, the women assert their selves by ‘compromising’ with ‘differences’ from those Western representations and also by indigenising them.

In the *Meg* and *Mami* generation, self-expression is more emphasised through attire, adornment, the fantastic performance of magical transformation, and ‘textual poaching’ in a solitary environment. In the context of women’s liberation movements, the women of this generation also positively accept girls’ coquettishness and the female body. However, it should be noted that their central interests are placed in the ‘malleable’ body. The malleable body in magical transformation represents the power to ‘control’ the female body. The women of this generation thus not only positively accept coquettish female sexuality, but also take pleasure in viewing the changing process of the female body. Although societal pressure to exercise self-control, or group conformity, is powerful, the women of this generation use representations in the witch texts to assert differences between them by ‘resonating’ witch protagonists with them and by expressing their desire to become *kawaii*.

In the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation, self-control or group conformity is more powerfully expected in school due to Japan’s growing demographic diversity. Whilst the movements for gender equality became more widespread, a strong backlash in favour of restoring hegemonic gender roles arose. Just as differences within gender are valued, demographic diversity is positively appreciated in Japanese society. However, being different readily causes bullying and ostracism in school. The girls of this generation, however, are selective about the recurrence of normative female roles as motherhood, caring and domesticity, which the witch texts articulate. Female solidarity is taken as power as well as pleasure through the performance of magical transformation in a team. Despite the struggle between self-control and self-expression, the girls ‘reconcile’ group conformity by playing with diversity in an all-female environment and expressing their different tastes. Therefore, throughout the three generations, self-control and self-expression are negotiated and complementarily practiced. Within this interplay, the

girl audiences of Magical Girl *anime* assert their 'selves' through compromise, resonance or reconciliation.

Conclusion

Western-oriented witch girl protagonists in Magical Girl TV *anime* have enjoyed enduring popularity among Japanese girls. However, when Japanese girls turn approximately ten years old or so, they generally acknowledge that they are grown up enough to ‘graduate’ from (that is, to cease viewing) Magical Girl *anime*. My initial research question asked how girl audiences understood what this considerably influential but ephemeral girls’ *anime* articulates socioculturally, in relation to Japanese second-wave feminism and postfeminism. This thesis sought to answer this question by elucidating the relationship between representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Magical Girl *anime* and girl audiences, as detailed in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. My research, however, indicated that the relationship between the Magical Girl *anime* texts and girl audiences was noticeably more complex and provided more significant material for discussion than previously hypothesised.

As Chapter Two explored, Japanese *shôjo* culture has developed since the early 20th century by modifying and appropriating Western representations of fashion, body, food, lifestyle, and residence. The 1980s’ *kawaii* culture likewise proliferated through its indigenisation of Western culture. Girls’ high appreciation of Western culture (in terms of *kawaii*) signified the emancipation of women from hegemonic patriarchal norms. Concomitant with such sociocultural situations and feminist movements, the iconography of the Western witches removed from the Christian context was modified with positive connotations in Magical Girl *anime*, articulating a ‘different’ ideology that simultaneously destabilised and negotiated with Japanese hegemonic femininity. Furthermore, the all-female private space that nurtured *shôjo* culture was also characteristic of this *anime*, enabling girl protagonists to gain confidence without male support.

As Chapter Three demonstrated, however, Western-oriented witches and witchcraft

in Magical Girl *anime* were often associated with motherhood and its notions of self-sacrifice and caring. This point is especially important to note. Although motherhood was constructed as an innate part of the female nature, hence serving to reinforce hegemonic gender roles. Japanese second-wave feminist movements deftly ‘used’ this notion of motherhood—or mothers’ concerns about children—as a strategy to successfully avoid harsh criticism based on patriarchal norms. Whilst not radically subverting hegemonic norms, Magical Girl *anime* articulated a powerful new femininity. Thus, through representations of witches and witchcraft, I argued that the negotiation, compromise and reconciliation of this powerful new femininity with hegemonic femininity could be traced.

This concluding chapter will explicate significant findings in my research by comparing the major thematic codes which the Magical Girl *anime* texts articulated with audience accounts of: 1) Western-oriented representations; 2) witchcraft, sexuality and fashion; and 3) female solidarity and motherhood. Actual audience accounts profoundly differed from the articulation of the texts. I will then conclude this chapter by considering what this research project has suggested and by identifying the methodological, theoretical and empirical issues it has raised.

1. Functions of Western-Oriented Representations

Representations of Western witches and witchcraft in Magical Girl *anime* serve as significant sites through which negotiations between Japanese dominant femininity and counter-hegemonic femininity have taken place. In the context of the second-wave feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, Western fashion, lifestyles and housing, as represented by Sally and Akko, were used to promote a new, powerful yet fashionable femininity. Western representations, however, were employed to reconceptualise Japanese moral values as well. Representations of non-Japanese girls (Sally and Pony) serve to articulate the clichéd self-sacrifice and studiousness associated with Japanese femininity. I noted

that Western representations served to simultaneously destabilise and make compromises with Japanese dominant femininity.

My audience research indicated that the women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generation embraced the fashionableness of Western-styled houses, lifestyles, fashion and international jobs by comparing their family situations with the representations in the texts. It is a significant finding that the women understood the ‘self’ not by simply indentifying themselves with protagonists, but by relating their circumstances (familial relationships and housing) to those featured in the texts. The women’s understanding of altruism, however, showed an interesting contradiction. Despite their appreciation of self-sacrifice and studiousness in theory, they regarded these qualities as ‘embarrassing’ or unrealistic conduct, in practice.

In the 1970s and 1980s—which saw the proliferation of the love-based New Family and the women’s liberation movements—Western representations were powerfully associated with a new lifestyle for girls and *kawaii* jobs, food and fashion. *Magical Angel Creamy Mami* typified how Western representations (witchcraft, a ‘shortcake house’ and crêpes) suggested the emancipation of women from patriarchal norms and the construction of gender equality ideals through the New Family. Moreover, Meg and Creamy Mami were not of *out-of-uchi* (outsiders) status, exemplified by the West. The Western fashionableness represented by these protagonists was appropriated and indigenised into Japanese girls’ *kawaii* identity. The ‘Japanised West’, especially through *kawaii* fashion, resonated with the female audiences of the *Meg* and *Mami* generation. I also noted that audiences in the late 1970s, the early 1980s and onward focused considerably on superficial Western-oriented representations of fashion.

The focus on superficial Western fashionableness was exemplified by the interest of these girl audiences in Japanese heroines of the *Sailor Moon* series and of the *Magical Doremi* series, who wear Western-oriented fashionable costumes. Altruism and caring were recurrently inscribed in the *Sailor Moon* series and the *Magical Doremi* series,

suggesting that the Japanese girl subjects attained both Western fashionableness and Japanese traditional female virtue. The girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation reconciled Western fashionableness with Japanese normative virtues in a unique way. They appreciated Western fashionable bodies, cute costumes and conduct (especially caring) in terms of *kawaii*. Whether aesthetics, ideology and demeanour were *kawaii* or not served as a crucial measure to evaluate them.

Based upon the research regarding these Western-oriented representations in relation to femininity, self-assertion and self-expression, I argue that their functions have shifted from the ‘imagined other’ in the late 1960s and the early 1970s to the ‘internalised other’ or the ‘indigenised West’ in the late 1970s, the early 1980s and onward. Through this perception of the other (or differentiation), the Japanese girls perceived their ‘selves’ whilst appropriately positioning themselves between Westernness and Japaneseness. In particular, *kawaii* served broadly as a well-blended Western sophisticated fashionableness and Japanese childlike cuteness. *Kawaii* powerfully policed the perception of ‘self’ of these girls in comparison with the women of the *Sally* and *Akko* generations in my research.

2. Witchcraft, sexuality and fashion

Throughout Magical Girl *anime*, magical transformation was often associated with representations of sexuality and fashion. It served as a site for expressing and asserting the ‘self’. Akko asserted her ‘self’ when she failed in her transformation. Yû’s power of transformation into her adult self was eventually lost, whilst Yû expressed satisfaction with her unadulterated ‘self’. The audiences in my research took pleasure in having a secret identity that was attained by performing imagined transformations. Their make-believe transformation play served to emancipate the girls from the forcible group conformity and self-control of school from the 1960s to the 1980s, constructing an asylum for their self-expression.

Since the 1990s, however, this magical transformation has been performed by multiple protagonists in the *Sailor Moon* series and the *Magical Doremi* series. The transformation served to express the girls' 'selves' as well as to construct a group identity. Fashion (magical costumes) served to powerfully unite their diverse demographic backgrounds. Gender diversity was valorised, which conversely enforced a desire within girl audiences for the construction of a clique. Furthermore, despite generational differences in transformation performances, it is a significant finding that the female audiences in all generations focused on representations of the 'malleable body', which suggested the ability to become different (*out-of-uchi* or differentiation) while always being able to return to the original self (*uchi* or inclusion). This was also linked to the girls' perception of control over their bodies. My research subjects took pleasure in asserting the 'self' and the body through viewing the flexibly changing body of the protagonists, play-acting magical transformations, and conducting 'textual poaching' (a trait continued from the 1970s). This suggested the girls' ambivalent desire to become different from others *and* to be viewed as the same as others.

Sexuality was likewise emphasised with the interplay of changes that occur between childhood and adulthood. Women raised during the late 1970s, the early 1980s and onward took pleasure in viewing the *koketisshu* female body, which led to a positive acceptance of their own bodies. Despite the fact that 'the darkness of sexuality' (Murase, 2000) was often inscribed into female *anime* characters, my research subjects enjoyed the ambivalence between adult sexual allure and childlike *kawaii*. It is important to note that the heterosexual desirability which valorised femininity and female sexuality (Skeggs, 1997) was not detected in my empirical data. Girls' pleasure in viewing an appropriately-sexualised female body—and its relationship with their assured body image—has hardly been discussed in text-based arguments dominant in feminist film studies with psychoanalytical approaches.

3. Female Solidarity and Motherhood

Female solidarity in Magical Girl *anime* was positively represented in *Meg the Little Witch*, the *Sailor Moon* series and the *Magical Doremi* series. The latter two were particularly associated with motherhood and caring. This recurrence of motherhood and caring in the context of a backlash against ‘gender-free’ (gender equality) movements served to reinforce hegemonic female gender roles. However, the girls of the *Sailor Moon* and *Doremi* generation noticeably rejected motherhood. Their preference for the *kawaii* enabled them to judge mothering in various ways; a *kawaii* baby was acceptable, but mothering was unacceptable because it was not *kawaii*. It is more significant to note that these girls related ‘motherly’ caring and thoughtfulness—which were constructed as female attributes—to both female characters and paternal characters as well. This ‘feminisation’ of men or fatherhood arose concomitantly with ‘gender-free’ education in the 2000s. Furthermore, the girls regarded motherhood or motherly caring not as expected femininity, but as a catalyst to construct positive human and familial relationships. This relationship-oriented interpretation was profoundly characteristic in the discourses of female audiences in my research.

4. Methodological, Theoretical and Empirical Findings and Issues

This section presents the methodological, theoretical and empirical findings and issues raised by my research. A significant methodological and empirical finding that my research project suggested was that factors such as the homogeneity of age and gender, the size of a focus group, and the venue of these discussions are of critical importance when designing and conducting qualitative research about Japanese girls. Furthermore, an interview free of parental and teachers’ supervision is crucial for reducing stress and tension. A group discussion in the home, rather than individual interviews, was more effective for girls. For adult research subjects, conversely, face-to-face interviews outside the home were most appropriate. The Japanese are considered to be relatively gregarious;

however, the women in my research noticeably became more talkative, even about private matters, when they were isolated from their day-to-day human relationships and domestic duties.

This brings me to what this research suggested in relation to girls' perception of *uchi* (self, family, clique and Japan) and *out-of-uchi* (community, society and the West). Japanese *anime* texts for children are often criticised due to their emphasis on highly gendered themes, such as adventure and toughness in boys' *anime* and love and romance in girls' *anime*. However, my empirical data clearly indicated that girl audiences hardly engaged in hegemonic readings. The vital point is that they asserted the relationship between their family and friends and themselves through the relationships between witch protagonists and their families, friends and even villains. The girl audiences likewise assessed 'appropriate' or socially acceptable femininity in relation to the self and others. It is an important theoretical finding that Japanese girls focused on intra-relationships between themselves and their families and friends through those of witch *anime* characters, rather than through a simple interplay between the characters and themselves or through the self-identification with protagonists. This has rarely been argued by Western star-fan or identification studies, including studies regarding female stars and female fans by Stacey (1994; 1999) or those about actresses who play male parts and female fans by Robertson (1998).

Finally, this research has raised two further issues that address the meanings of femininity and the validity of studying Japanese texts and audiences in relation to Western theorisation. The former issue has been addressed frequently in relation to heterosexual desirability inscribed in Western televisual texts about teen witches, in particular. The concept of 'femininity' inscribed in Japanese Magical Girl *anime* for girls, however, articulated both feminine allure and desexualised motherhood. The latter point is important to note in relation to this issue. Although my arguments in this thesis were based on Western theorisations, they did not fully illuminate the nature of Japanese

femininity. The Japanese sociocultural and feminist context needed to be examined; one should investigate how Japanese girls modified and appropriated Western culture into Japanese girls' culture in an all-female environment, how representations of 'the West' were used for the construction of a superior status in Japanese society where the awareness of class differences was not strong, and how Japanese feminist movements used 'motherhood' strategically. More attention should be paid to motherhood and *kawaii* than to heterosexuality in order to analyse Japanese girls' femininity. When applying Western scholarship on live-action texts and adult audiences to studies of Japanese *anime* texts and child audiences, we should be attentive to the contexts, premises and limits of such Western scholarship. In this sense, the combined methodology of close textual analysis and audience research, which this research employed, may provide a useful way to detect specificities of articulations of *anime* texts and girls' ways of understanding *anime*.

In recent years, Japanese *anime* has experienced a surge in popularity among young people all over the world. In the context of globalisation, representations of Western-oriented witches and witchcraft in Magical Girl *anime* for girls may, conversely, be influential to Western girls in relation to femininity and subjectivity. My research project focused on very local cultural texts and research subjects. However, this thesis sought to contribute further to a new aspect of our knowledge regarding Japanese cultural texts and children in terms of gender. I hope that my arguments in this thesis will be able to contribute to a better understanding of Japanese cultural specificity represented in gender-centred *anime* culture, and of the media and gender environment to which Japanese girls are exposed.

APPENDIX A:

1. A Pilot Questionnaire for Women

(Original language is Japanese; translation mine)

Questionnaire on “Magical Girl” Animation

1. Which TV “magical girl” animation did you watch most when you were little?

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Sally the Witch | b. The Secrets of Akko-chan |
| c. Maco, the Mermaid | d. Chappy the Witch |
| e. Miracle Girl Limit-chan | f. Meg the Little Witch |
| g. Witch Girl Chikkle | h. Lulu the Flower Angel |
| i. Magical Girl Lala-Bell | j. Minky Momo |
| k. Sailor Moon | l. Magical Doremi |
| m. Other (please specify) | |

Why did you like the magical girl TV animation so much?

When did you watch this program?

Please write about particularly impressive episodes for you or about any interesting experiences with this program. For example, when you remembered one episode, did you want to act like the character? Or did you make friends with someone, who also liked your favourite character? (If you would like to write more, please use the opposite side of this paper.)

2. Who is/are your favourite character(s)?

3. What did/do you like about her/them?

4. What character of TV animation did you dislike most?

5. How did you play with your friends most when you were little?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. play with dolls | b. play sports |
| c. read books | d. read comic books |
| e. pretend to be an anime heroine | |
| f. other (please specify) | |

Please tell me more about this if you would like. For example, if you liked playing volleyball most, what made you choose this kind of play? If you liked to wear clothes like an anime heroine, who did you want to be like? On what occasions did you play with costumes?

6. How many hours were you allowed to watch TV when you were little? Did your parents set a time limit for your watching animation? If so, how long?
7. Did you ask your parents to buy the items that your favourite character(s) wore/used in the program? If so, how and where did you wear/use those items?

Please specify what items you got, (for example, Akko's mirror). Or if you do not remember clearly, please explain the items, for example, the make-up box on which a certain anime heroine's illustration was printed.

8. When you got those items, how/where/with whom did you play with them?
9. Please use this space if you would like to say anything else about magical girl animation.

About You

Please feel free to leave these questions out if you don't want to answer. But if you could answer them, I would really appreciate it.

1. Which time period best describes your pubescent time?
 - a. in the 1960s
 - b. in the 1970s
 - c. in the 1980s
 - d. in the 1990s
 - e. present
 - f. other (please specify; for example from the late 1960s to the early 1970s)
2. Which part of Japan are you from?
3. What kind of elementary school did/do you go to?
 - a. public elementary school
 - b. private elementary school
 - c. other (please specify)
4. What kind of junior high school did/do you go to?
 - a. public junior high school
 - b. private junior high school
 - c. other (please specify)
5. Please describe your work/study. If you quit your work, please describe your

previous work and what you do now.

6. Do you think the TV *anime* you were raised with influenced your choosing a school/job/partner/other factors? If so, please explain how and what.
7. When do you think you “graduated” from watching TV magical girl animation?
 - a. when I finished preschool
 - b. when I finished junior high school
 - c. when I finished high school
 - d. other (please specify: or you still like to watch it, perhaps with your kids?)
8. Finally, do you agree to be quoted in my research? (yes / no)
If you do not, would you prefer to keep yourself anonymous? (yes / no)

Name:

Address:

E-mail:

Telephone:

(This information will be used only for my research project. Please feel free to keep it blank if you prefer not to give it. I will keep your answers confidential and never use them for other purposes.)

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

2. A Pilot Questionnaire for Girls

(Original language is Japanese; translation mine)

Questionnaire on “Magical Girl” Animation

1. Which TV “magical girl” animation do/did you watch most?
 - a. Sailor Moon
 - b. Magical Doremi
 - c. Pretty Cure
 - d. Other (please specify)

Why do/did you like the magical girl TV animation so much?

When did you watch this program?

Please write about particularly impressive episodes for you.

2. My favourite character is _____.
3. I like her/him because _____.
4. I don't like _____. (character's name)
5. What kind of play do you like with your friends?
6. How many hours a day do you watch TV? How many hours a day do you watch *anime*?
TV... () hours a day
Anime...() hours a day
7. Did you ask your parents to buy and/or make the items that your favourite character(s) wore/used in the program? (yes / no)
→If yes, what did you ask them to buy and/or make?

How and where did you wear/use those items?

8. Do you have any other comments about your favourite character(s) or Magical Girl *anime*?

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B

Transcription Conventions

<i>You</i>	stressed syllable
• • •	pause
/	onset of overlap
= =	turns following without any gap
()	words added to transcript
[]	comments added to transcript
↑	rising intonation (which means ‘not sure’ or ‘asking for opinions’)
(-----)	inaudible section

These convention signs were made with reference to Rosaline S. Barbour and Jenny Kitzinger eds., *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice*, (London: Sage, 1999)

APPENDIX C: Confidential Data

(This will be removed upon the requests of copyright holders when this thesis is filed in the library.)

In order to detect TV viewing rates, Video Research Ltd. collects data from 6600 households in 27 areas in three regions (Kanto, Kansai and Nagoya) of Japan, which are randomly selected, by using People Meter system (PM). Average viewing rates written below indicate the average amount of whole viewing rates per minute of a TV programme (Video Research Ltd., 2010).

APPENDIX D: Interview Questions for Adult Female Audiences

1. What do you like most in Magical Girl TV *anime*? Why?
2. Why did you watch that *anime*? Can you tell me more about it?
3. How did you watch it? (With whom? At what time? While doing something else?)
4. Did you talk about that *anime* with your friends or family? Can you tell me about it?
5. What kinds of games did you play about those programmes? Did you imitate actions or behaviour of any of the magical girl protagonists? Can you tell me about them?
6. Did you make/buy magical girls' costumes or goods? Can you tell me about them?
7. If you have a daughter, would you like to have her watch Magical Girl TV *anime*? Why or why not?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The macrons such as ô [ou] and û [u:], or long signs, are used to indicate extended vowel sounds of Japanese words.

- Abe, Tsunehisa and Satô, Yoshimaru, *Tsûshi to Shiryô: Nihon Kingendai Joseishi [A History and Resources: Japanese Women's History in Modern and Present Periods]* (Tokyo: Fuyô Shobô, 2000)
- Akatsuka, Fujio, *Himitsu no Akko-chan [Secret Akko-chan]* (Tokyo: Akebono Shuppan, 1998 [1974]).
- Alasuutari, Pertti, *Researching Culture: Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 1995).
- Allison, Anne, 'Cyborg Violence: Bursting Borders and Bodies with Queer Machines', *Cultural Anthropology* 16:2 (2001), pp.237-265.
- Amano, Masako, 'Souron: Otokodearu kotonô Sengoshi—Saraîman, Kigyô Shakai and Kazoku—' [The Post-War History of "Being Masculine"—Salarymen, Corporate Society and Family: An Introduction], in Abe Tsunehisa, Obinata Sumio and Amano Masako (eds.), *Danseishi 3: "Otoko Rashisa" no Gendaishi [A History of Men 3: a Modern History of "Masculinity"]* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2006), pp.1-32.
- An-an*, (Tokyo: Magazine House, 1970-).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]).
- Ang, Ien, *Watching Dallas: Soap Opera and the Melodramatic Imagination* (London: Methen, 1985).
- , 'Wanted: Audiences. On the Politics of Empirical Audience Studies' in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp.96-115.
- , *Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- , 'Melodramatic Identifications: Television Fiction and Women's Fantasy' in Charlotte Brunson, Julie D'Acci and Lynn Spigel (eds.), *Feminist Television Criticism: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 [1990]), pp.155-166.
- Ang, Ien, and Hermes, Joke, 'Gender and/in Media Consumption' in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds.), *Mass Media and Society* (2nd edn.; London, New York and Sydney: Arnold, 1996), pp.325-347.
- 'Animation', *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (6th edn., 2000), p.41.
- Anon., '92nen Anime Jûdai Nyûsu: Anime Kyara Goraku no Ohsama ni?' ['Top 10 News about Anime of 1992: Anime Characters are Kings of the Amusement?'] *Animage* (Feb., 1993), pp.34-37.
- Anon., 'Aitsugu Kakuryo, Jimintô Kanbu no Mondai Hatsugen: Genkyo wa Shushô to

- Waidoshô Seiji' ['Problematic Remarks of Government Officials and Members of the Liberal Democratic Party: Causes are Prime Minister and Entertainment-Show-Business-Like Politics'] *Weekly Asahi* (1 Aug., 2003), p.168.
- Anon., "'Jendâfurî" Kyoiku Genba kara Tettaï" ["Gender-free" is to be Withdrawn from Education'], *Sankei Newspaper* (13 Aug. 2004), p.1.
- Anon., 'Jendâ furî "Fushiyô Tsûchi" Hirogaru Hamon: Josei Sentâ Heisa, Toire Hyôji Doushoku Minaoshi' ["Notice of the Prevention of the Use of Gender-free" and Extending Ripple: the Closure of Women's Centre and the Reconsideration of the Same-Coloured Toilet Signs'], *Asahi Newspaper* (12 May 2006), p.22.
- Anon., 'Joji ni Ninki no "Onna Robotto"' ['A Popular "Female Robot" among Girls'], *Asahi Newspaper* (14 June 1966), p.9.
- Anon., 'Shin Gakushû Shidô Yôryô no Pointo. Shogakkou deno "Gaikokugo Katsudô" wa Kônarû!' ['The Points of New Official Guidelines for School teaching. "Learning Foreign Languages" is Like This!'], *Sankei Newspaper* (24 Feb. 2011) <<http://sankei.jp.msn.com/life/news/110224/edc11022423520003-n1.htm>> , accessed 20 June, 2011.
- Anon., 'QUOLOMO in Harajuku, Tokyo', *Fuji Sankei Business I* (24 Aug. 2008), p.1.
- Azuma, Sonoko, and Hata, Mikako, 'Tokushu Onnanoko muke Terebi Anime' ['Special Feature: TV anime for Girls'], *The Annual Report of Girls' Culture Studies 3* (2009), pp.8-14.
- Badinter, Elisabeth, *Bosei toiu Shinwa [Myth of Motherhood]*, trans. Akira Suzuki (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1998 [1980]).
- Barbour, Rosaline S., and Kitzinger, Jenny (eds.), *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice* (London: Sage, 1999).
- Bazalgette, Cary, and Buckingham, David (eds.), *In Front of Children: Screen Entertainment and Young Audiences* (London: British Film Institute, 1995).
- Benedict, Ruth, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1999 [1946]).
- Bergstrom, Janet, and Doane, Mary Ann, 'The Female Spectator: Contexts and Directions', *Camera Obscura* 20/21(1989), pp.5-27.
- Bobo, Jacqueline, *Black Women as Cultural Readers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).
- Brinton, Mary C., 'Fact-Rich, Data-Poor: Japan as Sociologists' Heaven and Hell' in Theodore C. Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff and Victoria Lyon Bestor (eds.), *Doing Fieldwork in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), pp.195-213.
- Brooks, Ann, *Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural History and Cultural Forms* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Brown, Mary Ellen (ed.), *Television and Women's Culture: The Politics of the Popular* (London: Sage, 1990).
- Brunsdon, Charlotte, "'Crossroads": Notes on Soap Opera', *Screen*, 22:4 (Winter 1981),

- , 'Text and Audience' in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp.116-129.
- , *Screen Tastes: Soap Opera to Satellite Dishes* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Brunsdon, Charlotte, and Caughie, John (eds.), *The Feminist, the Housewife, and the Soap Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Buckingham, David, *Children Talking Television: The Making of Television Literacy* (London: Falmer Press, 1993).
- Burgess, Chris, 'Multicultural Japan? : Discourse and the Myth of Homogeneity', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (2007) <<http://japanfocus.org/-Chris-Burgess/2389>> , accessed 19 March 2010.
- , 'The "Illusion" of Homogeneous Japan and National Character: Discourse as a Tool to Transcend the 'Myth' vs. 'Reality' Binary', *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (2010) <<http://japanfocus.org/-Chris-Burgess/3310>> , accessed 19 March 2010.
- Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990).
- Buttsworth, Sara, "'Bite Me": Buffy and the Penetration of the Gendered Warrior-Hero', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 16:2 (2002), pp.185-199.
- Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, *Danjo Kyodo Sankaku Kihon Keikaku ni Kansuru Senmon Inkaigijiroku (no.15)* [*The Record of the Committee on a Plan for Gender Equal Society (no.15)*], (5 Apr., 2006a) <<http://www.gender.go.jp/danjo-kaigi/keikaku/gijiroku/ke15-g.html>>, accessed 21 Jan. 2009.
- , *Nenji Keizai Zaisei Houkoku [Annual Report of Economics and Finance]* (July, 2006b) <<http://www5.cao.go.jp/j-j/wp/wp-je06/06-00303.html>>, accessed 5 Dec. 2006.
- , 'A Public Opinion on a Gender-Equal Society', (Aug., 2007) <<http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h19/h19-danjoyo/2-1.html>>, accessed 1 Mar. 2010.
- , 'Seikatsu no Teido', ['The Degree of Life'] in *Kokumin Seikatsu ni Kansuru Yoron Chôsa [Public Opinion Polls about Life]*, (2009) <<http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h21/h21-life/images/z31.gif>>, accessed 23 Oct. 2009.
- Cabinet Office Director-General for Policies on Cohesive Society, *Shôshika Shakai Hakusho [White Paper on Policies on Declining Birth Rate]*, (2009) <<http://www8.cao.go.jp/shoushi/whitepaper/w-2009/21webgaiyoh/html/i110000.html>>, accessed 2 Feb. 2010.
- Cash, Thomas F., and Brown, Timothy A., 'Gender and Body Images: Stereotypes and Realities', *Sex Roles* 21 (5/6 1989), pp.361-373.

- Castaneda, Claudia, 'The Child as a Feminist Figuration: Toward a Politics of Privilege', *Feminist Theory* 2:1 (2001), pp.29-53.
- Chodorow, Nancy, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978).
- Church-Gibson, Pamela, 'Redressing the Balance: Patriarchy, Postmodernism and Feminism' in Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church-Gibson (eds.), *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006 [2000]), pp.349-362.
- Clammer, John, 'Consuming Bodies: Constructing and Representing the Female Body in Contemporary Japanese Print Media' in Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (eds.), *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), pp.197-219.
- CNN News. (2005) <<http://www.cnn.co.jp/showbiz/CNN200504120020.html>>, accessed 10 Nov. 2007.
- Cooper-Chen, Anne, 'An Animated Imbalance: Japan's Television Heroines in Asia', *International Communication Gazette* 61 (3-4 1999), pp.293-310.
- 'Coquettish', *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (6th edn., 2000), p.278.
- Cowie, Elizabeth, *Representing the Woman: Cinema and Psychoanalysis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
- Cornog, Martha, and Perper, Timothy, 'Non-Western Sexuality Comes to the U.S.: A Crash Course in Manga and Anime for Sexologists', *Contemporary Sexuality* 39/3 (March 2005), pp.1 and 4-6.
- Creed, Barbara, *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- Creighton, Millie R., 'The Shifting Imagery of Childhood Amidst Japan's Consumer Affluence: The Birth of the "5 Pocket Child"' in Harry Eiss (ed.), *Images of the Child* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994), pp.77-102.
- Davidson, Emily S., Yasuna, Amy, and Tower, Alan, 'The Effects of Television Cartoons on Sex-Role Stereotyping in Young Girls', *Child Development* 50:2 (Jan. 1979), pp.597-600.
- De Lauretis, Teresa, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1987).
- Denison, Rayna, 'Disembodied Stars and the Cultural Meanings of *Princess Mononoke*'s Soundscape', *Scope: An On-line Journal of Film and TV Studies* 5 (2005) <<http://www.scope.nottingham.ac.uk/article.php?issue=3&id=83§ion=article&q=denison>>, accessed 5 May 2009.
- , 'The Global Markets for *Anime*: Miyazaki Hayao's *Spirited Away* (2001)' in Alastair Phillips and Julian Stringer (eds.), *Japanese Cinema: Texts and Contexts* (London

- and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp.308-321.
- Doane, Mary Ann, 'Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator', *Screen* 23: 3/4 (1982), pp.74-88.
- , *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991).
- Doi, Takeo, *Zoku 'Amae' no Kôzô [The Anatomy of 'Dependence' II]* (Tokyo: Kôbundô, 2001).
- Drazen, Patrick, *Anime Explosion!: The What? Why? and Wow! of Japanese Animation* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2003).
- Driscoll, Catherine, *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Durkin, Kevin, *Television, Sex Roles and Children: A Developmental Social Psychological Account* (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1985).
- Eller, Cynthia, 'Affinities and Appropriations in Feminist Spirituality' in Elizabeth Reis (ed.), *Spellbound: Women and Witchcraft in America* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1998 [1993]), pp.221-245.
- Endô, Hiroko. (2004), *Shôjo no Tomo to Sono Jidai: Henshûsha no Yûki Uchiyama Motoi [Shôjo no Tomo and its Time: Courage of the Editor, Motoi Uchiyama]* (Tokyo: Hon no Izumisha).
- Endô, Homare, *Chugoku Dôman Shinjinrui—Nihon no Anime to Manga ga Chûgoku wo Ugokasu, [New Generation of Anime and Manga in China: Japanese Anime and Manga Change China]* (Tokyo: Nikkei BP, 2008).
- Etô, Mikiko, 'Women's Movements in Japan: the Intersection between Everyday Life and Politics', *Japan Forum* 17:3 (2005), pp.311-333.
- Fivush, Robyn, 'Remembering and Reminiscing: How Individual Lives are Constructed in Family Narratives', *Memory Studies* 49:1 (2008), pp.49-58.
- Foucault, Michael, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
- Frith, Gill, "'The Time of Your Life": The Meaning of the School Story' in Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin, and Valerie Walkerdine (eds.), *Language, Gender and Childhood* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), pp.113-136.
- Fujimoto, Yukari, 'Onna to Renai: Shôjo Manga no Rabu Iryûjon' ['Women and Romance: The Love Illusion in Girls' Manga'] in Inoue Teruko, Ueno Chizuko, Yumiko Ehara (eds.), *Hyôgen to Media [Expressions and Media]* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995 [1990]), pp.56-84.
- , *Watashi no Ibasho wa Doko ni Aruno?: Shôjo Manga ga Utsusu Kokoro no Katachi [Where is the Place for Me?: The Shape of the Heart Mirrored by Girls' Comics]* (Tokyo: Gakuyô Shobô, 1998).
- Fujimura, Kumiko, and Itô, Megumi, 'TV Anime ga Kodomo no Jendâishiki no Keisei ni

- Oyobosu Eikyô: Naiyou Bunseki to Kodomo eno Kikitori Chôsa wo Chûshin toshite' ['The Influence of TV Animations on Children's Constructing Gender Identity']. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science of Tôyôeiwa Women's University* 21 (2003), pp.126-151.
- Fujimura, Masayuki, 'Wakamono Sedai no "Otoko Rashisa" to sono Mirai' ['"Masculinity" and its Future for the Young Generation], in Abe Tsunehisa, Obinata Sumio and Amano Masako (eds.), *Danseishi 3: "Otoko Rashisa" no Gendaishi* [*A History of Men 3: a Modern History of "Masculinity"*](Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha, 2006), pp.191-227.
- Fujita, Yumiko, 'Yôjiki niokeru Jendâ Keisei to Kodomo Bunka' ['Gender Construction in Childhood and Children's Culture'] in Mochizuki Shigenobu, Kondo Hiroshi and Kasuga Kiyotaka (eds.), *Kyoiku to Jendâ Keisei: Kattou, Sousaku/Shutaisei* [*Education and Gender Construction: Conflicts, Complex/Subjectivity*] (Tokyo: Harvest-sha, 2005), pp.47-71.
- , 'Terebi Anime Bangumi to Kodomo no Jendâ' ['TV Animation Programmes and Children's Gender'] in Kashiwagi Keiko and Takahashi Keiko (eds.), *Nihon no Dansei no Shinrigaku: Mouhitotsu no Jendâ Mondai* [*Psychology of Japanese Men: Another Gender Issue*] (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2008), pp.80-86.
- Fujitsu, Ryôta, '1. Saisho ni Taoreta Domino no Ichimai e—Fujitsu Ryôta no Terebi to Anime no Jidai' ['1. The First Domino Falling Down—The Era of Television and Anime by Fujitsu Ryôta'] in *Anime Anime*, (21 Nov. 2008) <<http://www.asahi.com/showbiz/column/animagedon/TKY200810200105.html>>, accessed 12 Dec. 2009.
- , lecture 'Introduction to "History of Animation"' given at Kôgakuin Institute and Asahi Culture Centre, Tokyo, 31 Oct. 2009.
- , '14. Anime Bûmu no Chôten wa 1983—Fujitsu Ryôta no Terebi to Anime no Jidai' [14. The Peak Year of 'the Anime Boom' is 1983— The Era of Television and Anime by Fujitsu Ryôta'] in *Anime Anime*, (2 Apr. 2010) <<http://animeanime.jp/special/archives/cat192/index.html>>, accessed 30 Apr. 2010.
- Furukawa, Makoto, 'Sekusharitî no Henyô: Kindai Nihon no Dôseiai o Meguru Mittsu no Kôdo' ['Transitions of Sexuality: Three Codes of Modern Japanese Homosexuality'], *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 17(1994), pp.29-55.
- Furuta, Akiko, 'Mother/Girl: Initiation in *Sailor Moon*', *Women's Studies Forum of Institute for Women's Studies of Kobe College* 14 (2000), pp.201-224.
- Futagami, Hirokazu, *Shôjo Manga no Keifu* [*A History of Girls' Manga Comics*] (Tokyo: Penguin Shobô, 2005).
- 'Gender', *Kôjien* [*Kôjien Japanese Dictionary*], (5th edn.; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), p.1136.
- Gibbs, Anita, "'Focus Groups" in Social Research Update', (19 Dec. 1997) <www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU19.html>, accessed 8 Nov. 2006.

- Gilbert, Denis, *The American Class Structure in an Age of Growing Inequality* (8th ed., Los Angeles and London: Sage, 2011).
- Gill, Rosalind, 'Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility', *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 10 (2007), pp.147-166.
- Gillespie, Marie, *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Gilligan, Carol, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1993 [1982]).
- Gledhill, Christine, 'Pleasurable Negotiations' in E. Deidre Pribram (ed.), *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television* (London and New York: Lerso, 1988), pp.64-89.
- Gray, Ann, 'Behind Closed Doors: Video Recorders in the Homes' in Helen Baehr and Gillian Dyer (eds.), *Boxed In: Women and Television* (London: Pandora, 1986), pp.38-54.
- , *Video Playtime: The Gendering of a Leisure Technology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
- , *Research Practice for Cultural Studies* (London: Sage, 2003).
- Gray, Jonathan, Sandvoss, Cornel, and Harrington, C. Lee (eds.), *Fandom: Identities and Communities in a Mediated World* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007).
- Gray, Peter, *The Art of Drawing and Creating Manga Women* (London: Selecta Book, 2003).
- Greig, Anne, and Taylor, Jayne, *Doing Research with Children* (London: Sage, 1999).
- Grogan, Sarah, *Body Image: Understanding Body Dissatisfaction in Men, Women and Children* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Hamabayashi, Masao, *Majo no Shakaishi, [A Socio-History of Witches]* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1978).
- Hani, Rei, *Zukai Kindai Majutsu [An Illustrated Book on Modern Magic]* (Tokyo: Shinkigensha, 2005).
- Hane, Yuki Yoshi, 'Special Interview 05' in *Mahô Tsukai Sari: Original Booklet [Sally the Witch: The Original Booklet]*, a booklet attached to DVD Box (Tokyo: Universal Music, 2006).
- Hashimoto, Osamu, *Hanasaku Otometachi no Kinpira Gobô [Kinpira Gobô of Blooming Maidens]* (2 vols.; Tokyo: Kawadeshobô, 1995[1984]).
- Haskell, Molly, *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (New York and London: New English Library, 1974).
- Hayashi, Kaori, 'Nihon niokeru Shinbun Kateimen no Jânarizumu' ['Journalism of Newspaper's Home-Life Sections in Japan'] in Masako Amano, Kimio Ito and Teruko Inoue et al. (eds.), *Hyôgen to Media [Expressions and Media]*, (updated edn., vol.7; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009 [2002]), pp.177-193.
- Hayashi, Mariko, 'Iikagenni Shiteyo Agunesu' ['Cut it Out, Agnes'], *Bungei Shunjû*, 66:6

- (May 1988). pp.364-374.
- Hayashi, Michiyoshi, *Bosei no Fukken* [*Restitution of Motherhood*] (Tokyo: Chûkô, 1999a).
- , *Bosei Hôkai* [*Ruin of Motherhood*] (Tokyo: PHP, 1999b).
- Helford, Elyce Rae (ed.), *Fantasy Girls: Gender in the New Universe of Science Fiction and Fantasy Television* (New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).
- Hermes, Joke, *Reading Women's Magazines* (Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
- , "Ally McBeal", "Sex and the City" and the Tragic Success of Feminism', in Joanne Hollows and Rachel Moseley (eds.), *Feminism in Popular Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), pp.79-95.
- Higuchi, Keiko, 'Danjo Kyodô Sankaku Shakai Jitsugen eno Michi' ['Path to the Realisation of Gender Equality Society'], *Jinken Hiroba* [*Forum of Human Rights*] (2000) <http://www.jinken-net.com/old/hiroba/2000/t_hiroba1.html> , accessed 4 Dec. 2009.
- Hill, Douglas, *Eyewitness-Witches* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 1997).
- Hill, Malcolm, Laybourn, Anne, and Borland, Moira, 'Engaging with Primary-Aged Children about their Emotions and Well-being: Methodological Considerations', *Children and Society* 10 (1996), pp.129-144.
- Hobson, Dorothy, 'Housewives: Isolation as Oppression' in Women's Studies Group, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of University of Birmingham, *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women's Subordination* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1978), pp.79-98.
- , *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera* (London: Methuen, 1982).
- Holloway, Debra L., and LeCompte, Margaret D., 'Becoming Somebody! How Arts Programs Support Positive Identity for Middle School Girls', *Education and Urban Society* 33:4 (August 2001), pp.388-408.
- Hollows, Joanne, 'Can I Go Home Yet? Feminism, Post-Feminism and Domesticity', in Joanne Hollows and Rachel Moseley (eds.), *Feminism in Popular Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), pp.97-118.
- Honda, Masuko, *Henbô Suru Kodomo Sekai* [*Changing World of Children*] (Tokyo: Chûokûron Shinsha, 1999).
- Honkawa, Yutaka, 'Nihonjin no Sukina Yoka no Sugoshikata Rankingu' ['A Survey on Favourable Leisure Time'], *Honkawa Data Tribune* (2008) <<http://www2.ttcn.ne.jp/honkawa/2327.html>>, accessed 13 Feb. 2010.
- Human Development Report Office, *Human Development Report 2007/2008* (2008) <http://www.eas.edu.ee/Arhiiv/sygiskool/ettekanded/Anu_Tootsi_lisamaterjalid/HR_20072008_GEM.pdf>, accessed 20 Feb., 2010.
- Iizawa, Kotaro, *Sengo Minshushugi to Shôjo Manga* [*Postwar Democracy and Girls' Manga Comics*] (Tokyo: PHP, 2009).
- Ikeyama, Kazuko, and Sakamoto, Hideki, 'Shôgakkou Jidô to Manga, TV Anime

- Bangumi' ['Elementary School Pupils and Manga and TV Animation Programmes']. *Journal of Department of Education of University of Kagoshima, Section of Humanities and Social Science* 47 (1996), pp.89-103.
- Ikuhara, Kunihiko. 'Shinkyu' ['Promotion'], An Interview, *Animage* (April, 1993), pp.41-43.
- Imada, Erika, '*Shôjo' no Shakaishi*' ['*A Social History of the 'Shôjo'*] (Tokyo: Keisôshobô, 2007).
- Inagaki, Kyoko, *Jogakkô to Jogakusei: Kyôyô, Tashinami, Modan Bunka* [*Girls' Schools and Female Students: Education, Grace and Modern Culture*] (Tokyo: Chûkô, 2007).
- Inness, Sherrie A., *Action Chicks: New Images of Tough Women in Popular Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).
- Inoue, Teruko, and Ehara, Yumiko, *Josei no Dêta Bukku: Sei Karada kara Seiji Sanka Made* [*Women's Databook: From Sexuality to the Participation in Politics*] (4th edn.; Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2005).
- Ishida, Kaori, *Keshô to Ningen: Kikakuka sareta Shintai karano Dasshutsu* [*Makeup and Human Beings: An Escape from Normalized Bodies*](Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 2009).
- Ishiko, Junzô, *Komoriuta wa Naze Kanashiika: Kindai Nihon no Haha zô* [*Why are Lullabies Sorrowful?: Images of Mother in Modern Japan*] (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobô, 2006).
- Ishita, Saeko, 'Media Bunka Kenkyû niokeru Jendâ—Aruiwa Janru Kenkyû no Gan'i' ['Gender in Media Cultural Studies—Or Connotations of Genre Studies'] in Shunya Yoshimi (ed.), *Media Studies* (Tokyo: Serica, 2000), pp.113-127.
- Itakura, Fumiaki, 'Daiei "Haha Mono" Janru Seisei to Sutajio Sisutemu' ['Production of Daiei's Genre of "Maternal Melodrama" and Studio System'] in Kenji Iwamoto (ed.), *Hômu Dorama to Merodorama: Kazoku no Shôzo* [*Home Drama and Melodrama: Portrayal of Family*] (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2007), pp.101-138.
- Itô, Kimio, *Danseigaku Nyûmon* [*Introduction to Men's Studies*] (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1996).
- Iwabuchi, Kôichi, 'Marketing 'Japan': Japanese Cultural Presence under a Global Gaze', *Japanese Studies* 18:2 (1998a), pp.165-180.
- , 'Pure Impurity: Japan's Genius for Hybridity', *Communal/Plural* 6:1 (1998b), pp.71-85.
- , *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).
- , *Feeling Asian Modernities: Transnational Consumption of Japanese TV Dramas* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004).
- Iwabuchi, Kôichi (ed.), *Gurôbaru Purizumu: Aijan Dorîmu toshiteno Nihon no Terebi Dorama* [*Global Prism: Japanese TV Dramas as an Asian Dream*] (Tokyo:

- Heibonsha, 2003).
- Iwai, Hachirô, 'Current Issues After Twenty Years of Quantitative Life Course Research', *Sociological Theory and Methods* 22:1 (2006), pp.13-32.
- Izuno, Chita, 'Josei wa Shôri Shitaka—Mizoguchi Kenji no Minshushugi Keimô Eiga', ['Did Women Win?: Kenji Mizoguchi's Films for Educating Democracy'] in Kenji Iwamoto (ed.), *Senryôka no Eiga—Kaihô to Ken'etsu* [*Films under the Occupation: Liberation and Censorship*] (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2009), pp.117-150.
- Jackson, Kathy Merlock, *Images of Children in American Film: A Sociocultural Analysis* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1995[1986]).
- Jackson, Rosemary, *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion* (London and New York: Methuen, 1981).
- Japan Teachers' Union, 'Danjo Byodô, Kyosei Seisaku' ['Gender Equality, Policies for Gender-Harmonised Society'], 2009-2010 *Nikkyoso no Seisaku Seido Yôkyû to Teigen* [2009-2010 Japan Teachers' Union's Proposals for Policies and Regulations] (2009) <<http://www.jtunet.or.jp/doc/proposal2009-2010.pdf>>, accessed 4 Dec. 2009.
- Jenkins, Henry, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).
- Jitsugyônonihonsha (ed.), *Shôjo no Tomo Sôkan 100 Shûnen Kinengô* [*Friends of Girls, the 100th Anniversary Edition*], supervised by Hiroko Endô and Shizue Uchida (Tokyo: Jitsugyônonihonsha, 2009).
- Jordan, Mary, and Sullivan, Kevin, 'Ad Fuels Debate on Gender Equality in Japan', *Washington Post* (9 May 1999), p.29.
- Kadono, Eiko, *Majo no Takkyûbin* [*Kiki's Delivery Service*] (Tokyo: Fukuinkan, 1985).
- Kaizuka, Shigeki, *Sengo Kyôiku nonakano Doutoku, Shûkyô* [*Ethics and Religion in the Postwar Education*] (Tokyo: Bunkashobô Hakubunsha, 2006).
- Kano, Ayako, 'Japanese Feminist Debates in the Twentieth Century' in Yumiko Ehara and Toshiko Kanai (eds.), *Feminism* (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2004)[1997]), pp.196-221.
- Kaplan, E. Ann, *Women and Film: Both Sides of the Camera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- , *Motherhood and Representation: The Mother in Popular Culture and Melodrama* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
- Karras, Irene, 'The Third Wave's Final Girl: Buffy the Vampire Slayer', *The Third Space* 1:2 (2002), pp.1-8, <<http://www.thirdspace.ca/articles/karras.htm>> , accessed 2 July 2009.
- Kashiwagi, Makoto (ed.), *Anime Hiroin Gahô: Kakû Bishôjo Hiroin 40 Nenno Ayumi* [*The Pretty Character Chronicles: The History of Animation Heroines, 1958-1999*] (Tokyo: Take Shobô, 1999).
- Katei Sôgô Kenkyû Kai, *Shôwa, Heisei Kateishi Nenpyô 1926-1995* [*A Chronology of the History of Home and Family Culture from 1926-1995*], Kôshi Shimokawa (ed.) (Tokyo: Kawadeshobô Shinsha, 1997).
- Katsuura, Noriko, "'Onna no Reinô" o Megutte' ['About Women's "Supernatural Power"'], comments to Kuratsuka Akiko's *Fujo no Bunka* [*Culture of Fujo, or Miko*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994), pp.360-366.

- Katz, Elihu, and Foulkes, David, 'On the Use of the Mass Media as "Escape": Clarification of a Concept', *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 26:3 (1962), pp.377-388.
- Kaveney, Cathleen, 'What Women Want: "Buffy", the Pope and the New Feminists', *The Commonweal* 7 (Nov. 2003), pp.18-24.
- Kawamura, Kunimitsu, *Otome no Inori: Kindai Josei Imêji no Tanjô* [*Prayer of Otome: The Birth of the Images of Modern Women*] (Tokyo: Kinokuniya, 1993).
 -----, *Sekushuaritî no Kindai* [*Modern Sexuality*] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996).
- Kim, Youna, 'How TV Mediates the Husband-Wife Relationship: A Korean Generation/Class/ Emotional Analysis', *Feminist Media Studies* 6:2 (2006), pp.129-143.
- , 'Female Individualization?: Transnational Mobility and Media Consumption of Asian Women', *Media, Culture and Society* 32:1 (2010), pp.25-43.
- Kinder, Marsha, *Playing with Power: In Movies, Television, and Video Games from Muppet Babies to Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1991).
- Kinsella, Sharon, 'Cuties in Japan' in Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (eds.), *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), pp.220-254.
- Kishi, Hiromi, and Takada, Akemi, 'Cute Anime! Cute Fashion!—Bunkamura no Creamy Mami: Taidan Shôjo Anime to Fasshon no Kankei' ['Cute Anime! Cute Fashion!—Creamy Mami of Bunkamura: a Talk on Relationships between Animation for Girls and Fashion'], Dainiji Wakusei Kaihatsu Iinkai, *PLANETS* 6 (2009), pp.148-153.
- Kishi, Hiroyuki, "Pop Culture as a Security Treaty", *Stanford Japan Center Policy Paper*, (14 Feb. 2004) <<http://www.ppp.am/p-project/japanese/paper/kishi.pdf>>, accessed 10 Oct. 2008.
- Kline, Stephen C., 'The Empire of Play: Emergent Genres of Product-based Animations' in Cary Bazalgette and David Buckingham (eds.), *In Front of the Children: Screen Entertainment and Young Audiences* (London: British Film Institute, 1995), pp.151-165.
- Kobayashi, Yoshihiro, 'Terebi Anime no Media Fandamu: Majokko Anime no Sekai' ['Media Fandom of TV Animation: the World of Magical Girls Animation'] in Mamoru Ito and Masafumi Fujita (eds.), *Terebijon Porifonii: Bangumi Shichôsha Bunseki no Kokoromi* [*Television Polyphony: Analysis of Programmes and Viewers*] (Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha, 1999), pp.182-215.
- Kodomo Chôsa Kenkyûjo, *Kodomo Chôsa Shiryou Shûsei* [*Surveys on Children*] (Tokyo: Kodomo Chôsa Kenkyûjo, 1974).
- Kolbenschlag, Madonna. *Kiss Sleeping Beauty Good-bye: Breaking the Spell of Feminine Myths and Models* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988[1981]).
- Kristeva, Julia, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- Krywinska, Tanya, *A Skin for Dancing in: Possession, Witchcraft and Voodoo in Film* (Trowbridge: Flicks Books, 2000).
- Kuhn, Annette, 'Women's Genres: Melodrama, Soap Opera and Theory', *Screen* 25:1 (Jan. /Feb. 1984), pp.18-28.
- Kurahashi, Yumiko, *Seishôjo* [*Sacred Girl*] (Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1965).
- Kuratsuka, Akiko, *Fujo no Bunka* [*Culture of Fujo, or Miko*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994 [1978]).
- Kurihara, Yôko, 'Uta nonakano Hahaoya Zô: Mabuta no Haha kara Wagamama Fuyuko e' [Motherhood in Songs: From Love for a Mother to Selfish Mother Fuyuko] in Inoue Teruko, Chizuko Ueno and Yumiko Ehara (eds.), *Hyôgen to Media*

- [Expressions and Media] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995), pp.85-96.
- Kusanagi, Satoshi, *Amerika de Nihon no Anime wa, Dou Mirarete Kitaka?* [How Has Japanese Animation Been Seen in the US?] (Tokyo: Tokumashoten, 2003).
- Kyôgoku, Natsuhiko, *Yôkai Zukan* [An Illustrated Book on Monsters] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 2000).
- Ladd, Fred, and Deneroff, Harvey, *Astro Boy and Anime Come to the Americas: An Insider's View of the Birth of a Pop Culture Phenomenon* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2008).
- Lakoff, Robin Tolmach, and Scherr, Raquel L., *Face Value: The Politics of Beauty* (Boston, London, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).
- Lamarre, Thomas, *Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).
- Laplanche, Jean, and Pontalis, Jean-Bertrand, 'Fantasy and the Origins of Sexuality' in Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kapran (eds.), *Formations of Fantasy* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986 [1968]), pp. 5-32.
- Leonard, Sean, 'Progress against the Law: Anime and Fandom, with the Key to the Globalization of Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8:3 (2005), pp.281-305.
- Macromill Co., 'Shôgakusei Ika no Kodomo no Terebi Shichô' ['Television Viewing of Children under 12 Years Old'] (2004)
<<http://japan.internet.com/survey/art/macromill/2.html>>, accessed 5 Feb. 2009.
- Makita, Tetsuo, 'Terebi Shichô no Henyô' [Changes in TV Viewing], in Yoshihisa Tanaka and Bunya Ogawa (eds.), *Terebi to Nihonjin: Terebi 50nen to Seikatsu, Bunka, Ishiki* [TV and the Japanese: The 50-year TV History and Life, Culture, Consciousness] (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 2005), pp.3-32.
- Maltin, Leonard, *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons* (revised and updated edn.; New York: Plume, 1987).
- Mankekar, Purnima, *Screening Culture, Viewing Politics: An Ethnography of Television Womanhood, and Nation in Post-colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
- Marshall, Catherine, and Rossman, Gretchen B., *Designing Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 1995).
- Masamura, Toshiyuki, *Himitsu to Haji: Nihon Shakai no Komyunikêshon Kôzô* [Secrets and Shame: The Structure of the Communication System in a Japanese Society] (Tokyo: Keisôshobô, 1995).
- Masuda, Shirô, *Seiyô to Nippon: Hikakubunka Teki Kôsetsu* [Europe and Japan: A Comparative Study] (Tokyo: Chûkô, 1986[1970]).
- Matsuda, Sakumi, *Seiyû Hakusho* [A White Paper of Voice Actors] (Tokyo: Ohkura, 2000).
- McRobbie, Angela, 'Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity' in Women's Studies Group, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of University of Birmingham, *Women Take Issue: Aspects of Women's Subordination* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1978), pp.96-108.
- , *Feminism and Youth Culture* (2nd edn.; London: Macmillan, 2000).
- McRobbie, Angela, and Garber, Jenny, 'Girls and Subcultures' in Angela McRobbie (ed.), *Feminism and Youth Culture: From "Jackie" to "Just Seventeen"* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1975[1991]), pp.1-33.
- McVeigh, Brian J., *The Nature of the Japanese State: Rationality and Rituality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

- , *Wearing Ideology: State, Schooling and Self-Presentation in Japan* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000).
- , *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowmann and Littlefield, 2004).
- Meiji Yasuda Insurance Company, 'Umare Betsu Namae Besuto 10' ['Yearly Top 10 of the Popular Names'] (2009)
 <http://www.meijiyasuda.co.jp/profile/etc/ranking/year_women/> , accessed 2 Sep. 2009.
- Messenger-Davies, Máire, *Dear BBC: Children, Television Storytelling and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Messenger-Davies, Máire, and Mosdell, Nick, *Practical Research Methods for Media and Cultural Studies: Making People Count* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2006).
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Japan), 'Youth Whitepaper' (2008)
 <http://www8.cao.go.jp/youth/whitepaper/h20honpenpdf/pdf/b1_sho1_2.pdf> , accessed 27 Nov. 2009.
- , 'On English Education in Elementary Schools', (2006)
 <http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo3/004/siryo/06040519/002/002.htm> , accessed 12 June 2007.
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 'Shôwa 51 Nen Rôdo Keizai no Bunseki' ['An Analysis of Labour and Economy in 1975'] (1976)
 <<http://wwwhakusyo.mhlw.go.jp/wp/index.htm>> , accessed 3 March 2009.
- , 'Kodomo wo Torimaku Katei, Shakai Kankyô' ['Social Environment Surrounding Children] in *White Paper of Ministry of Welfare* (1979)
 <<http://wwwhakusyo.mhlw.go.jp/wpdocs/hpaz197901/b0039.html>> , accessed 25 Dec. 2008.
- Mischel, Walter, 'A Social-Learning View of Sex Differences in Behavior', in Eleanor E. Maccoby (ed.), *The Development of Sex Differences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp.56-81.
- Misono, Makoto, *Zusetsu Terebi Anime Zensho [An Illustrated History of TV Animation]* (Tokyo: Hara Shobô, 1999).
- Miura, Atsushi, 'Kazoku' to 'Koufuku' no Sengoshi: Kougai no Yume to Genjitsu [*A Post-war History of 'Family' and 'Happiness': Dreams and Reality in the Suburbs*] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1999).
- , *Karyû Shakai: Aratana Kaisô Shûdan no Shutsugen [Low-Stream Society: The Emergence of a New Group]* (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 2005).
- Miyahara, Kôjiro, 'Henshin Ranman na Hito' ['Persons who can Cheerfully Transform Themselves'] in Kôjiro Miyahara and Masahiro Ogino (eds.), *Henshin no Shakaigaku [Sociology of Transformation]* (Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha, 1997), pp.226-251.
- , *Henshin Ganbô [A Desire for Transformation]* (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1999).
- Miyamoto, Hiroto, 'Manga nioite Kyarakutâ ga 'Tatsu' towa Douiukoto ka' ['What is the Meaning of Characters who is "Established" in Manga Comics?'], *Nihon Jidou Bungaku [Japanese Children's Literature]* 49:2 (2003), pp.46-52.
- Mizutani, Maki, *Shôjo* (Tokyo: Yumanishobô, 2009).
- Mizutani, Masaru, *Shôjo Shi no Tsukurikata [How to Make Shôjo Poetry]* in Maki Mizutani's *Shôjo* (Tokyo: Yumanishobô, 2009 [1922]), pp.5-173.
- Monnet, Livia, 'Towards the Feminine Sublime, or the Story of "a Twinkling Monad, Shape-Shifting across Dimension": Intermediality, Fantasy and Special Effects in Cyberpunk Film and Animation', *Japan Forum* 14:2 (2002), pp.225-268.
- Morgan, David L., *The Focus Group Guidebook* (London: Sage, 1998).

- Morgan, Michael, 'Television, Sex-Role Attitudes, and Sex-Role Behavior', *Journal of Early Adolescence* 7:3 (1987), pp.269-282.
- Morikawa, Kaichirô, 'Otoko to Onna no Mirai Sensô 1: Danjo Tôsô to Sengo Nihon no Toshi Fûkei' ['Future Wars between Men and Women 1: Struggles between Men and Women and the Scenery of the Cities'], *Mobile Society Review* 5 (2006), pp.65-69 <http://www.mobaken.jp/wpcontent/pdf/vol.05_morikawakaichiro.pdf>, accessed 12 June 2009.
- Morley, David, *The Nationwide Audience* (London: BFI, 1980).
- , *Television, Audience and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Moseley, Rachel, 'Glamorous Witchcraft: Gender and Magic in Teen Film and Television', *Screen* 43:4 (2002a), pp.403-422.
- , *Growing Up with Audrey Hepburn: Text, Audience, Resonance* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002b).
- , 'Dress, Class and Audrey Hepburn: The Significance of the Cinderella Story' in Rachel Moseley (ed.), *Fashioning Film Stars: Dress, Culture, Identity* (London: BFI, 2005), pp.109-120.
- Moseley, Rachel, and Read, Jacinda, "'Having it Ally": Popular Television (Post-)Feminism', *Feminist Media Studies* 2:2 (2002), pp.231-249.
- Mulvey, Laura, 'British Feminist Film Theory's Female Spectators: Presence and Absence', *Camera Obscura* 20/21(1989), pp.68-81.
- , 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in Sue Thornham (ed.), *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999a [1975]), pp.58-69.
- , 'Afterthoughts on "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun*' in Sue Thornham (ed.), *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999b [1981]), pp.122-130.
- Muramatsu, Yasuko, 'Terebi Dorama no Jendâ Hyôgen to Josei Shichôsha—70 Nendai Ikô no Dorama Shichô no Henyô' ['Gender Depictions in TV Dramas and Female Audiences: Changes of Drama Viewing after the 1970s'] in Tatsurô Hanada, Shunya Yoshimi and Colin Sparks (eds.), *Karuchuraru Sutadiizu tonô Taiwa* [*A Dialogue with Cultural Studies*] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1999), pp.360-394.
- Murase, Hiromi, *Feminizumu Sabukaruchâ Hihyô Sengen* [*A Manifesto of Feminist Criticism on Subculture*] (Tokyo: Shunjûsha, 2000).
- , 'Tatakau Anime Shôjotachi no <Jikken>--"Henshin" go no Nichijô wo Ikirukoto' [<Experiments> of Fighting Girls—Living Daily Life after "Transformations"] in Hirotaka Ichiyanagi and Morio Yoshida (eds.), *Onna wa Henshinsuru* [*Women Transform*] (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2008), pp.137-147.
- Murray, Susan, 'Saving Our So-Called Lives: Girl Fandom, Adolescent Subjectivity, and *My So-Called Life*', in Marsha Kinder (ed.), *Kids' Media Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp.221-238.
- Muta, Kazue, 'Kindai Kokumin Kokka to Feminizumu' ['Modern Nation State and Feminism'] in Kazuko Takemura (ed.), *'Post'-Feminism* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2003), pp.78-82.
- Napier, Susan J., *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary*

- Japanese Animation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
- , *Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation* (updated version; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Nayak, Anoop, and Kehily, Mary Jane, *Gender, Youth and Culture: Young Masculinities and Femininities* (New York: Palgrave, 2008).
- Newitz, Annalee, 'Magical Girls and Atomic Bomb Sperm: Japanese Animation in America', *Film Quarterly* 49:1 (Autumn 1995), pp.2-15.
- NHK, *The Evolution of TV: A Brief History of TV Technology in Japan* (2002) <<http://www.nhk.or.jp/str/aboutstr/evolution-of-tv/p12/index.html>>, accessed 5 May, 2011.
- NHK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute, *2005nen Kokumin Seikatsu Jikan Chôsa Houkokusho [A 2005 Survey of the Use of Time and Lifestyle]* (2006) <http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/life/life_20060210.pdf>, accessed 20 Dec. 2008.
- , 'Yôji wa Terebi wo Doumiteiruka' ['A Survey of Little Children's Television Viewing'] (2008) <http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/research/yoron/shichou/shichou_08100101.html>, accessed 13 Feb. 2009.
- NHK Online, 'Asano Renzoku Terebi Shôsetsu Ichiran' ['Index of the Serial Morning TV Novel'] (2011) <<http://www9.nhk.or.jp/asadora/>>, accessed 5 Jun. 2011.
- NHK Service Centre, *Hôsô 80nen: Sore wa Rajio kara Hajimatta [Eighty Years of Broadcasting: Starting with Radio]* (Tokyo: NHK, 2005).
- Nimiya, Kazuko, *Kuma no Jidai: Shôjo Minzokugaku Pâtô 2—Shohi Shakai wo Samayou Mono no 'Sukui' towa [The Era of Teddy Bears: Anthropology of Girls Part II—What is 'Redemption' of Those Who are Floating in a Consumerist Society?]* (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1993).
- , *Adaruto Chirudoren to Shôjo Manga: Hitonami ni Yattekoreta On'nanokotachi e. [Adult Children and Girls' Manga: To Girls who could Somewhat Survive]* (Tokyo: Kôzaidôshuppan, 1997).
- , *Naze Feminizumu wa Botsuraku Shitanoka? [What Brought Feminism to Ruin?]* (Tokyo: Chûkô, 2004).
- Nishikawa, Yûko, 'Nihon Feminizumu Ronsôshi 2—Feminizumu to Kokka' ['Feminism vs. Nation in Japan'] in Yumiko Ehara and Toshiko Kanai (eds.), *Feminism* (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2004a [1997]), pp.222-244.
- , *Sumai to Kazoku wo Meguru Monogatari—Otoko no Ie, Onna no Ie, Seibetsu nonai Heya [Narratives on Housing and Family—Men's Houses, Women's Houses and Unisex Rooms]* (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2004b).
- Nishimura, Noriaki, *Anime to Shishunki no Kokoro [Animation and Adolescence Feelings]* (Tokyo: Sôgensha, 2004).
- Nishizawa, Akira, *Research Method* (Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1998).

Non-no (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 1971-).

Nunokawa, Yûji, Personal Interview, (1 September 2007).

Nye, Joseph S. Jr., 'Soft Power', *Foreign Policy* 80 (1990), pp.153-171.

-----, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

Ochiai, Emiko, 'Bijuaru Imêji toshitenô Onna: Sengo Josei Zasshi ga Miseru Seiyakuwari' ['Women as Visual Images: Gender Roles in Postwar Women's Magazines'] in Teruko Inoue (ed.), *Nihon no Feminizumu 7: 'Hyogen to Media'* [Japanese Feminism 7: 'Expressions and Media'] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995), pp.97-129.

Ogawa, Bunya, 'Komyunikêshon Kôî toshitenô Terebi Shichô' [TV Viewing as a Tool for Communication], in Yoshihisa Tanaka and Bunya Ogawa (eds.), *Terebi to Nihonjin: Terebi 50nen to Seikatsu, Bunka, Ishiki* [TV and the Japanese: The 50-year TV History and Life, Culture, Consciousness] (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppan, 2005), pp.81-126.

Ogino, Masahiro, 'Shakai Gaku no Henshin/ Henshin no Shakaigaku' ['Transformation of Sociology/ Sociology of Transformation'] in Kôjiro Miyahara and Masahiro Ogino (eds.), *Henshin no Shakaigaku* [Sociology of Transformation] (Tokyo: Sekai Shisôsha, 1997), pp. 2-23.

Oguma, Eiji, *Tan'itsu Minzoku Shinwa no Kigen: 'Nihonjin' no Jigazou no Keifu* [The Myth of the Homogeneous Nation] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1995).

Ohno, Hisako, Senso, Akio, Noro, Kaori, Hayakawa, Yoshie, and Ikehara, Akiyoshi, 'Warum kann man "witch" oder "Hexe" ins Japanische mit "Majo" übersetzen?—Unter dem Einfluss von buddhistischen und westlichen Dämonen', *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University*10 (2009), pp.75-92.

Ohsawa, Masachi, *Sengo no Shisô Kûkan* [Postwar Domain of Thoughts] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2005 [1998]).

Ohta, Kenji, Azuma, Iriya, Junichi, Satô, and Sukehiro Tomita, An Interview, 'Jûdai na Têma ga Nainoga Kono Sakuhin no Iitokoro?' ['Lack of Major Issues is an Appealing Point of This Work?'], *Animage* (January 1993), pp.36-39.

Ohtsuka, Eiji, "'Iyashi" toshitenô Kuma' ['Bears as "Healing"'], Comments to Kazuko Nimiya's *Kuma no Jidai: Shôjo Minzokugaku Pâto 2—Shohi Shakai wo Samayou Monono 'Sukui' towa* [The Era of Teddy Bears: Anthropology of Girls Part II—What is 'Redemption' of Those who are Floating in a Consumerist Society?] (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1993), pp.189-222.

-----, *Shôjo Minzokugaku: Seikimatsu no Shinwa wo Tsumugu "Miko no Matsuei"* [Anthropology of Girlhood: "The Descendants of Miko Mediums" who Spin Myths at the End of the Century] (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1997[1989]).

Oshiyama, Michiko, *Shôjo Manga Jendâ Hyôshôron: "Dansô no Shôjo" no Zoukei to Aidenthithi* [A Study on Representations of Gender in Shôjo Manga: Characterisations and Identities of "Transvestite Girls"] (Tokyo: Sairyûsha,

- 2007).
- Owen, Alex, 'The Other Voice: Women, Children and Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism' in Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin, and Valerie Walkerdine (eds.), *Language, Gender and Childhood* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), pp.34-73.
- Owen, Susan, 'Vampires, Postmodernity, and Postfeminism: Buffy the Vampire Slayer', *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 27:2 (Summer 1999), pp.24-31.
- Pilato, Herbie J., *Bewitched Forever—40th Anniversary Edition: The Immortal Companion to Television's Most Magical Supernatural Situation Comedy* (Arlington, TX: The Summit Publishing Group, 1996).
- Pilling, Jayne (ed.), *A Reader in Animation Studies* (Sydney: John Libbey, 1999).
- Press, Andrea Lee, *Women Watching Television: Gender, Class and Generation in the American Television Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).
- Projansky, Sarah, 'Mass Magazine Cover Girls: Some Reflections on Postfeminist Girls and Postfeminism's Daughters', in Yvonne Tasker and Diane Negra (eds.), *Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp.40-72.
- Projansky, Sarah, and Berg, Leah R. Vande, 'Sabrina, the Teenage...?: Girls, Witches, Mortals, and the Limitations of Prime-Time Feminism' in Elyce Rae Helford (ed.), *Fantasy Girls: Gender in the New Universe of Science Fiction and Fantasy Television* (New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), pp.13-40.
- Purkiss, Diane, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Radway, Janice, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).
- Reider, Noriko T., 'Yamauba: Representation of the Japanese Mountain Witch in Muromachi and Edo Period', *The International Journal of Asian Studies* 2 (2005), pp.239-264.
- Rinotsuka, Reo, 'Ojamajo de BAN BAN', The Opening Song of *More! Magical Doremi*, composed by Yasuo Kosugi, sung by MAHO-do (Tokyo: Marvellous Entertainment Co., 2001).
- Rivero, Yeidly M., 'The Performance and Reception of Televisual "Ugliness" in *Yo Soy Betty la Fea*', *Feminist Media Studies* 3:1 (2003), p.65-81.
- Rivière, Joan, 'Womanliness as a Masquerade' in Victor Burgin, James Donald, and Cora Kaplan (eds.), *Formations of Fantasy* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986 [1929]), pp.35-61.
- Robertson, Jennifer, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).
- Roth, Joshua Hotaka, 'Responsibility and the Limits of Identification: Fieldwork among Japanese and Japanese Brazilian' in Theodore C. Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff, and Victoria Lyon Bestor (eds.), *Doing Fieldwork in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), pp.335-366.

- Rowe, Kathleen, *The Unruly Woman: Gender and the Genres of Laughter* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995).
- Russell, Sharon, 'The Witch in Film: Myth and Reality' in Barry Keith Grant (ed.), *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film* (Matuchen, N.J. and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1984), pp.113-125.
- Sado, Makiko, and Iwao, Sumiko, 'Terebi Animeishon ga Yôji no Souzousei ni Oyobosu Eikyô: Akueikyô no Teigen nimuketeno Jisshôteki Teian' [Influence of TV Animation on Children's Skills of Creation: A Proposal for the Elimination of its Bad Influence] in *Journal of Department of Education, Kagoshima University* 47 (1996), pp.89-103.
- Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).
- Saitô, Minako, *Kô Ittenron: Anime, Tokusatsu, Denki no Hiroin Zô* [*The Only Girl in a Group: Heroines of Animations, 'Suits-mation' Television Programmes and Biographies*] (Tokyo: Village Centre Shuppankyoku, 1998).
- , *Modan Gâru Ron: Onnanoko niwa Shusse no Michi ga Futatsuaru* [*A Study of Modern Girls: There are Two Paths to Take for Girls to be Promoted*] (Tokyo: Magazine House, 2000).
- Saitô, Tamaki, *Sentô Bishôjo no Seishin Bunseki* [*Psychoanalysis of Beautiful Fighting Girls*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2006 [2000]).
- , *Haha wa Musume no Jinsei o Shihaisuru: Naze Haha Goroshi wa Muzukashiinoka* [*Mother Dominates the Life of Her Daughter: Why is It Difficult to Kill Mother?*] (Tokyo: NHK Books, 2008).
- Sakamoto, Kazue, "*Kazoku*" *Imêji no Tanjô: Nihon Eiga nimiru "Hômu Dorama" no Keisei* [*The Birth of Images of "Family": A Formation of "Home Drama" in Japanese Films*] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1997).
- , 'Reading Japanese Women's Magazines: The Construction of New Identities in the 1970s and 1980s', *Media, Culture & Society* 21(1999), pp.173-193.
- , 'Josei Zasshi nimiru "Onnanoko" no Seiritsu: Shôjo Bunka kara Onnanoko Bunka e' ['An Establishment of "Girls" Seen in Women's Magazines: From Shôjo Culture to Onnanoko Culture'], *The Journal of Human Science of Ochanomizu Women's University* 54 (March 2001), pp.149-158.
- Sakuda, Keiichi, *Haji no Bunka Saikô* [*Reconsideration of Culture of Shame*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1967).
- Sanders, Hannah E., 'Living a Charmed Life: The Magic of Postfeminist Sisterhood', in Yvonne Tasker and Diane Negra (eds.), *Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp.73-99.
- Sato, Barbara, *Japanese Women and Modanizumu: The Emergence of a New Women's Culture in the 1920s*, PhD Diss. (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1994).
- , *The New Japanese Women: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*

- (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- Satô-Sakuma, Rika, “‘Kiyoki Shijô de Gokousai wo’: Meiji Makki Shôjo Zasshi Tôkôran nimiru Dokusha Kyôdôtai no Kenkyu’ [“‘Relationships on the Pure Bulletin Board’: A Study on the Readership Seen on the Bulletin Board of Girls’ Magazines’], *The Journal of Women’s Studies* 4 (1996), pp.114-141.
- Sawatari, Makiko, and Iwao, Sumiko, ‘TV Animation ga Yôji no Souzousei ni Oyobosu Eikyô: Akueikyô no Teigen ni Mukete no Jisshôteki Teian’, [‘The Influence of TV Animation Programmes on Young Children: Practical Suggestions to Reduce Their Bad Influence’], *Report of Newspaper Research Centre of Keio University* 37(1991), pp.37-54.
- Scott, Joan W., ‘Experience’ in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (eds.), *Feminist Theorize the Political* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp.22-40.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).
- Seidman, Irving, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).
- Seiter, Ellen, ‘Mothers Watching Children Watching Television’ in Beverly Skeggs (ed.), *Feminist Cultural Theory: Process and Production* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995a), pp.137-152.
- , ‘Toy-Based Video for Girls: “My Little Pony”’ in Cary Bazalgette and David Buckingham (eds.), *In Front of the Children: Screen Entertainment and Young Audiences* (London: British Film Institute, 1995b [1993]), pp.166-187.
- , ‘Power Rangers at Preschool: Negotiating Media in Child Care Settings’, in Marsha Kinder (ed.), *Kids’ Media Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), pp.239-262.
- Seiter, Ellen, Borchers, Hans, Kreutzner, Gabriele, and Warth, Eva-Maria, “‘Don’t Treat Us Like We’re So Stupid and Naïve”: Toward an Ethnography of Soap Opera Viewers’, *Remote Control: Television, Audiences and Cultural Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp.223-247.
- Setogawa, Sôta, *Natsukashi no Amerika TV Eiga Shi [A History of American TV Programmes and Films in Good Old Days]* (Tokyo: Shûeisha, 2005).
- Shamoon, Deborah, ‘Revolutionary Romance: *The Roses of Versailles* and the Transformation of Shôjo Manga’, *Mechademia 2* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), pp.3-17.
- , ‘Misora Hibari and the Girl Star in Postwar Japanese Cinema’, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 35:1 (2009), pp.131-155.
- Sharpe, Deborah T., *The Psychology of Color and Design* (Chicago: Burnham, 1974).
- Shimamori, Michiko, *Kôkoku no Hirointachi [Heroines in Advertisements]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998).
- Shiraishi, Nobuko, ‘Kodomo wa Anime no Dokoni Miserarerunoka: Anime Bangumi no

- Naiyô Tokusei wo Saguru Kokoromi' ['What Fascinates Children?: A Study on Attributes of TV Animation Programmes'], *Hôsô Kenkyu to Chôsa*, NIKK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute (Nov. 1987), pp.58-63.
- , "Tôsô, Henshin" Joshi mo Shichô: Anime Bangumi no Naiyô Bunseki Kenkyu kara' ['Girls also View "Fighting and Transformation": A Textual Analysis of TV Animation Programmes'], *Hôsô Kenkyu to Chôsa*, NIKK Broadcasting Culture and Research Institute (Feb. 2002), pp.44-55.
- Shirakawa, Daisaku, 'Mahôtsukai Sarî: Anime Tanjô Iiwa' ['A Secret Story of the Birth of Sally the Witch, the Animation'] in *Mahôtsukai Sari: Orijinaru Bukkuretto* [*Sally the Witch: An Original Booklet*], A Booklet attached to DVD Box (Tokyo: Universal Music, 2006).
- Shindô, Kumiko, *Jendô de Yomu Nihon no Seiji: Rekishi to Seisaku*, [*A Japanese History from Gender Perspective: History and Policies*] (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2004).
- Silverman, David, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000).
- Silverman, Kaja, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).
- Skeggs, Beverley, 'Theorising, Ethics and Representation in Feminist Ethnography' in Beverley Skeggs (ed.), *Feminist Cultural Theory: Process and Production* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp.190-206.
- , *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable* (London: Sage, 1997).
- Skov, Lise, and Moeran, Brian, 'Introduction: Hiding in the Light: From Oshin to Yoshimoto Banana' in Skov and Moeran (eds.), *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), pp.1-74.
- Sparke, Penny, *As Long As it's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste* (London: Pandora, 1995).
- Stacey, Jackie, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).
- , 'Feminine Fascinations: Forms of Identification in Star-Audience Relations' in Sue Thornham (ed.), *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999 [1991]), pp.196-209.
- Sudo, Naoki, *Nihonjin no Kaisô Ishiki* [*Class Consciousness of the Japanese*], Tokyo: Kodansha, 2010.
- Sugawa, Akiko, 'Jun'ai, Jikonaisei, Baundârifurî: Oshii Mamoru no Inosensu ni Miru Gainoido Hyôshô' ['Beyond the Mirror: The Functions of Gynoids in Mamoru Oshii's Innocence'], *The Japanese Journal of Animation Studies* 6 (2005a), pp.2-22.
- , 'Hikanketsusei to Josei Hyôshô: Kon Satoshi Sennen Joyû niokeru Narathibu no Rasenkouzou to Jendâ' ['Keeping It Incomplete: The "Spiral" Narrative Structure and Representations of Women in Satoshi Kon's *Millennium Actress*'], *The*

- Hiyoshi Review of English Studies* of Keio University 47 (2005b), pp.93-121.
- , “‘Mahô Shôjo’ Animêshon niokeru Jendâ Aidenthithi Kouchiku: 1960 Nendai ‘Mahôtsukai Sari’ wo Chûshin ni’ [‘Constructions of Gender Identity in “Magical Girl” Animations: *Sally the Witch* and Culture in the 1960s’], *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University* 5 (2006), pp.143-160.
- Sugawa-Shimada, Akiko, “‘Mahô Shôjo’ Animêshon niokeru Jendâ Aidenthithi Kouchiku: 1970 Nendai Zenhan *Himitsu no Akko-chan* nimiru Shôjo Hyôshô’ [‘Constructions of Gender Identity in Japanese Magic Girl TV Animation Programmes: *The Secrets of Akko-chan* and Japanese Culture in the 1970s’], *Journal of Human Science of Toyo University* 8 (2008), pp.195-210.
- Sugimoto, Yoshio, *An Introduction to Japanese Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Takada, Akemi, Personal Interview (30 April 2009).
- Takahara, Eiri, *Shôjo Ryôiki* [*Territory of Girls*] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai, 1999).
- Takahashi, Jun, *Fantaji to Jendâ* [*Fantasy and Gender*] (Tokyo: Sôkyûsha, 2004).
- Takahashi, Kazumitsu, ‘Toei Majokko Anime: Honto ni Kakeashina Rekishi’ [‘Toei’s Magical Girl Animation Programmes: A Brief History’], *Dôgaô* 2(1997), pp.29-33.
- Takahashi, Toshie, ‘De-Westernizing Media Studies: A Japanese Perspective’, *Global Media and Communication* 3:3 (2007), pp.330-335.
- Takami, Yoshio, ‘A Special Interview 1: An Interview with Yoshio Takami, the Producer of *Meg the Little Witch*’, *Toei Animation Anthology 3: Majokko Meg-chan & Hananoko Lunlun* (Tokyo: Mainichi Communications, 2004), pp.24-28.
- Takeda, Tohru, *Ryûkôki: Torendo no Hyôsô to Shinsô* [*The Records of the Vogue: the Surface and the Depth of Trends*] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1990).
- Takemura, Kazuko, ‘Why is “Post”-Feminism?’, An Introduction to Kazuko Takemura (ed.), *‘Post’-Feminism* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2003), pp.1-4.
- Takemura, Mana, *Majokko Days* (Tokyo: BNN Shinsha, 2009).
- Takeuchi, Naoko, ‘Takeuchi Naoko-san ga Hajimete Kataru Seirâ Mûn Tanjô Hiwa’ [‘Naoko Takeuchi Speaking of a Secret Story of the Birth of Sailor Moon’], An Interview, *Animage* (Sep. 1992), pp.34-35.
- Tane, Kiyoshi, “‘Shôjo tachino Akogare’ ga tsumatta Mahô Shôjo Anime no Reimeiki’ [‘The Dawning of the Mahô Shôjo Anime that Are Full of “Girls’ Admirations”’], *Otonaanime* 20 (2011), pp.46-47.
- Tanimoto, Nao, *Biyô Seikei to Keshô no Shakaigaku: Purasuchikku na Shintai* [*A Sociology of Cosmetic Surgery and Makeover: The Plastic Bodies*] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2008).
- Tannen, Deborah (ed.), *Gender and Conversational Interaction* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Tano, Tetsufumi, *Himitsu no Akko-chan no Konpakuto wa Naze: Bokuga Kaiketsushita*

- Sabukaruchâ Gimon Shu [*Why was the Compact of The Secrets of Akko-chan? : Questions about Subculture that I Have Solved*] (Tokyo: Tokuma, 1993).
- Tasker, Yvonne, and Negra, Diane, 'Introduction: Feminist Politics and Postfeminist Culture', in Yvonne Tasker and Diane Negra (eds.), *Interrogating Postfeminism: Gender and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp.1-25.
- Tezuka, Osamu, *Manga no Kakikata: Nigaoe kara Chôhen made* [*How to Draw Manga: from Portraits to Long Stories*] (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1999 [1996]).
- Tezuka Productions, 'Fushigi na Merumo', *TezukaOsamu.Net*
<<http://tezukaosamu.net/jp/manga/426.html>>, accessed 17 Aug. 2009.
- Thompson, Teresa L., and Zerbinos, Eugina, 'Television Cartoons: Do Children Notice It's a Boy's World?', *Sex Roles* 37: 5-6 (1997), pp.415-432.
- Thorn, Matt, 'Shôjo Manga: Something for the Girls', *Japan Quarterly* 48: 3 (July-Sept. 2001), pp.43-50.
- Toei Animation Anthology 3: *Majokko Meg-chan & Hananoko Lunlun* (Tokyo: Mainichi Communications, 2004).
- Toei Animation Co., <<http://www.toei.co.jp/tv/index.html>>, accessed 5 Feb. 2007.
- Toei Co., *Karâ TV Manga Majokko Meg-chan Kikakusho* [*The Project Plan of Meg the Little Witch, Coloured TV Animation*], An Unpublished Document (1974).
- Toei Dôga Co., 'TV Manga Eiga, Mahôtsukai Sanî Kikakusho' ['The Proposal of *Sunny the Witch*, A TV Animation Programme'], An Unpublished Document (1966).
- , 'Shinbangumi Kikakusho Bishôjo Senshi Sailor Moon' ['The Proposal of *Pretty Soldier Sailor Moon*'], An Unpublished Document (1991).
- Tôgi, Michiko, <*Hazukashii*> no Kôzô: *Gendai Shakai ni Saguru* [*Structure of 'Being Embarrassed': In the Current Society*] (Tokyo: Hokujushuppan, 1989).
- Tominaga, Ken'ichi, *Nippon no Kaisô Kôzô* [*The Class Structure of Japan*] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979).
- Tomono, Takashi, and Mochizuki, Nobuo, *Sekai Animêshion Eiga Shi* [*The Animation Films of the World*] (Tokyo: Pulp, 1986).
- Toriyama, Sekien, *Toriyama Sekien Gazu Hyakkiyakô Zengashû* [*Sekien Toriyama's Illustrated Book of a Night Parade of One Hundred Demons*] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2005 [1776]).
- Treat, John Whittier, 'Yoshimoto Banana Writes Home: The Shôjo in Japanese Popular Culture' in J.W. Treat (ed.), *Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996), pp.275-308.
- Tsugata, Nobuyuki, *Nihon Animeishon no Chikara: 85 Nen no Rekishi wo Tsuranuku Futatsu no Jiku* [*Power of Japanese Animation*] (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2004).
- Tsurumi, Shunsuke, *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan 1945-1980* (London and New York: KPI, 1987).
- Ueda, Kagura, 'Kono 30 Nen de Dou Kawatta? Onna to Otoko no Partnership wo Tettei

- Kenshō' [How has the Partnership of Women and Men Changed?: A Survey]', *Psiko* (Dec. 2007), pp.38-41.
- Ueno, Chizuko, "'Kozure Shukkin' Agnes o Yōgo" ['"Bringing a Baby to the Workplace": Defence for Agnes'], *Asahi News Paper* (16 May, 1988), p.5.
- , 'Self-Determination on Sexuality? Commercialization of Sex among Girls in Japan', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4:2 (2003), pp.317-324.
- , 'Fuan na Otokotachi no Kimyō na Rentai: Jendāfurī Bassingu no Haikei wo Megutte' ['Odd Unifications among Insecure Men: About the Background of Gender-free Backlash' in Sōfūsha (ed.), *Bakkurasshu! Naze Jendāfurī wa Tatakaretanoka?* [*Backlash! Why was Gender-free Attacked?*] (Tokyo: Sōfūsha, 2006), pp.378-439.
- Van Doom, Niels, van Zoonen, Liesbet, and Wyatt, Sally, 'Writing from Experience: Presentations of Gender Identity on Weblogs', *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14:2 (2007), pp.143-159.
- Video Research Ltd., *Kihō Terebi Shichōritsu*, [*Quarterly Reports of the Audience Ratings*] (Tokyo: Video Research Ltd., 1966-1986).
- , *Terebi Shichōritsu Kihō* [*The Audience Ratings: Quarterly Reports*] (Tokyo: Video Research Ltd., 1987-2002).
- , *TV Rating Guide Book* (2010) < <http://www.videor.co.jp/rating/wh/rgb201002.pdf> >, accessed 30 Mar. 2011.
- Wakakuwa, Midori, *Sensō ga Tsukuru Joseizō: Dainiji Sekai Taisenka no Nihon Josei Dōin no Shikakuteki Puropaganda* [*Female Representations Created by Wars: Visual Propagandas of Japanese Women under the World War II*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1995).
- , *Ohimesama to Jendā: Anime de Manabu Otoko to Onna no Gender Nyūmon* [*Princess and Gender: An Introduction to Gender Studies through Animations for Men and Women*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2003).
- , 'Anime no Jendā: Shōjo o Torikakomu Purinsesu Shinwa/Shōhi Sareru Shōjo' ['Gender in Animation: A Myth Surrounded by Girls/Consumed Girls'] in Move, Kitakyushu Municipal Centre for Gender Equality (ed.), *Jendā Hakusho 3: Josei to Media* [*Gender White Paper 3: Women and Media*] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2005), pp.84-101.
- Walkerdine, Valerie, 'Video Replay: Families, Films and Fantasy' in Victor Burgin, James Donald, and Cora Kaplan (eds.), *Formations of Fantasy* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), pp.167-199.
- , 'Femininity as Performance', *Oxford Review of Education* 15:3 (1989), pp.267-279.
- , *Daddy's Girl: Young Girls and Popular Culture* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997).
- Walkerdine, Valerie, Lucey, Helen, and Melody, June, *Growing Up Girl: Psychosocial Explorations of Gender and Class* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).
- Ward, Paul, 'Some Thoughts on Practice-Theory Relationships in Animation Studies',

- Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1:2 (2006), pp.229-245.
- Watanabe, Shûko, "Shôjo" Zô no Tanjô: Kindai Nihon niokeru "Shôjo" Kihan no Keisei [*The Birth of the Figure of "Girls": The Formation of the Disciplines for Girls in Modern Japan*] (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 2007).
- Wells, Paul, *Understanding Animation* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- White, Merry, 'The Marketing of Adolescence in Japan: Buying and Dreaming' in Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (eds.), *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), p.255-273.
- Wilson, Barbara J., 'Media and Children's Aggression, Fear, and Altruism', *The Future of Children* 18:1 (2008), pp.87-118.
- Wolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own* (London: Penguin, 2000 [1929]).
- Yamada, Hanako, *Nageki no Tenshi 1*, [*The Sorrowful Angels 1*] (Tokyo: Seirin Kôgeisha, 1999).
- Yamada, Masahiro, *Kibou Kakusa Shakai: "Make Gumi" no Zetsubôkan ga Nihon wo Hikisaku* [*Hope and Gap-Widening Society: Despair of Losers Splits the Japanese Society*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2004).
- Yamakami, Izumo, *Miko no Rekishi: Nihon Shûkyô no Botai* [*A History of Miko: Mother's Womb of Japanese Religions*] (Renovated Edn; Tokyo: Yûzankaku, 1994 [1971]).
- Yamanashi, Makiko, 'The Power and Allure of the Ephemeral Otome Fantasy', A Paper presented at 12th International Conference of the European Conference for Japanese Studies (Lecce, Italy, 21 Sept. 2008).
- Yayoi Museum, and Uchida, Shizue (eds.), *Jogakusei Techô: Taisho, Shôwa, Otome Raiifu* [*Diaries of Schoolgirls in Taishô and Shôwa Eras*] (Tokyo: Kawadeshobô, 2005).
- , *Matsumoto Katsuji: Shôwa no Kawaii! wo Tsukutta Irasutorêtâ* [*Katsuji Matsumoto: An Illustrator who Created Kawaii in the Shôwa Era*] (Tokyo: Kawadeshobô Shinsha, 2006).
- Yoda, Arata (ed.), *Terebi no Jidou ni Oyobosu Eikyô* [*The Influences of TV on Children*] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1964).
- Yokokawa, Yumiko, *Shochô toiu Kirifuda: "Shôjo" ron Hihiyô Josetsu* [*Menarche as the Last Resort: An Introduction to "Shôjo" Study*] (Tokyo: JICC, 1991).
- Yokota, Masao, *Animêshon no Rinshô Shinrigaku* [*Clinical Psychology of Animation*] (Tokyo: Seishin Shobô, 2006).
- Yokoyama, Mitsuteru, *Mahôtsukai Sari* [*Sally the Witch*] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2004).
- Yomota, Inuhiko, 'Takeuchi Naoko's *Sailor Moon*', *Maruko Pôro to Shomotsu* [*Marco Polo and Books*] (Tokyo: Eishuppan, 2000), pp.270-280.
- , *Kawaii ron* [*An Essay on Cuteness*] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2006).
- Yonezawa, Yoshihiro, *Sengo Shôjo Manga Shi* [*A History of Postwar Girls' Manga Comics*] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2007 [1980]).
- Yoshida, Kaori, *Animation and "Otherness": The Politics of Gender, Racial, and Ethnic*

- Identity in the World of Japanese Anime* (Diss. University of British Columbia, 2008).
- Yoshimi, Shunya, “‘America’ as Desire and Violence: Americanization in Postwar Japan and Asia During the Cold War”, trans. by David Buist, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4: 3 (2003), pp.433-450.
- , *Media Bunka Ron [A Study on Media Culture]* (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2004).
- Yoshimoto, Taimatsu, *Otaku no Kigen [The Origin of Otaku]* (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2009).
- Yukimuro, Shun’ichi, ‘Anime Yabunirami: No. 14 ‘Saraba “Dai’ichiwa”’ [‘Anime Crossed-Eyed: No. 14 ‘Farewell to “the First Episode”’], *Web Anime Style* (2003) <http://www.style.fm/log/05_column/yukimuro14.html>, accessed 17 Aug. 2007.

Telegraphy and Filmography

All of the television programmes and films mentioned in this thesis are listed below in alphabetical order with English titles first, followed by the original titles in parenthesis. Television programmes are divided into four categories: Japanese television animation programmes, Japanese live-action television programmes, other television animation programmes and other live-action television programmes. Films are classified into two subsets: animation films and live action films. Information on television animation programmes includes the network on which they were broadcast, as well as the year, date and time slot in which they first appeared, where available. With the film titles, the names of the directors and the year in which the film was released are included.

The macrons such as ô [ou] and û [u:], or long signs, are used to indicate extended vowel sounds of Japanese words.

TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Japanese television animation programmes

Absolutely Elegant Children (Zettai Karen Chirudoren), Synergy SP, TV Tokyo, tx. Apr. 2008 –Mar. 2009. Dir: Keiichiro Kawaguchi.

Astro Boy (Tetsuwan Atomu), first series, Mushi Production, Fuji, tx.1 Jan. 1963 -31 Dec. 1966. Dir: Osamu Tezuka, etc.

Dragon Ball (Doragon Bôru), Toei Animation Co., Fuji, tx. 26 Feb. 1986-19 Apr. 1989. Dir: Minoru Okazaki and Daisuke Nishio.

The Eighth Man (8 Man), TCJ, TBS, tx.8 Nov. 1963- 31 Dec. 1964. Dir: Naoyuki Kawashima.

Future Boy Conan (Mirai Shônen Konan), Nihon Animation, NHK, tx. Apr. 1978-Oct. 1978. Dir: Hayao Miyazaki.

Gigantor (Tetsujin 28 gô), first series, TCJ, Fuji, tx.20 Oct. 1963-25 May 1966. Dir: Kiyoshi Ohnishi and Yonehiko Watanabe, etc.

Kimagure Orange Road, Studio Pierrot, NTV, tx.1987-1988, Dir: Osamu Kobayashi.

Lulu the Flower Angel (Hana no Ko Runrun), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx.Feb.1979-Feb. 1980. Dir: Noboru Shiroyama.

Lum (Urusei Yatsura), Studio Pierrot and Studio Deen, Fuji, tx.1981-86. Dir: Mamoru Oshii and Kazuo Yamazaki. Prod: Yûji Nunokawa.

Maco, the Mermaid (Mahô no Mako-chan), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx.1970-71. Prod: Kenji Yokoyama.

Magical Angel Creamy Mami (Mahô no Tenshi Kurîmî Mami), Studio Pierrot, TV Tokyo, tx.1983-84. Dir: Kazunori Ito.

Magical Doremi (Ojamajo Doremi), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi Network, tx.7 Feb., 1999-Jan. 2000. Dir: Takuya Igarashi and Jun'ichi Sato.

Magical Doremi Sharp (Ojamajo Doremi #), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi Network, tx. Feb. 2000-Jan. 2001. Dir: Shigeyasu Yamauchi.

Magical Doremi Mo-tto! (Motto! Ojamajo Doremi), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi Network, tx. Feb. 2001-Jan. 2002. Dir: Takuya Igarashi.

Magical Doremi Dokka-n! (Ojamajo Doremi Dokkan), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi Network, tx. Feb. 2002-Jan. 2003. Dir: Takuya Igarashi.

Magical Idol Pastel Yûmi (Mahô no Aidoru Pasteru Yûmi), Studio Pierrot, NTV, tx. Mar. 1986-Aug. 1986. Dir: Akira Shigino.

Meg the Little Witch (Majokko Megu-chan), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx. Apr. 1974-Sept. 1975. Dir: Yûgo Serikawa, etc.

Mom Is a Fourth-Grader (Mama wa Shôgaku 4 Nensei), Sunrise Co., NTV, tx.1992. Dir: Shûji Iuchi.

Mobile Suit Gundam (Kidô Senshi Gandamu), Sunrise Co., Nagoya TV, tx. 7 Apr. 1979-26 Jan. 1980. Dir: Yoshiyuki Tomino.

Mysterious Merumo (Fushigi na Merumo), Tezuka Productions., TBS, tx. 3 Oct., 1971-26 Mar., 1972. Dir: Osamu Tezuka and Yoshiyuki Tomino etc.

Neon Genesis Evangelion (Shinseiki Evangelion), GAINAX, TNX, tx.Oct. 1995-Mar. 1996. Dir: Hideaki Anno.

Rainbow Team Robin (Reinbou sentai Robin), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx. April 1966 -March 1967. Dir: Yûgo Serikawa etc.

Sailor Moon (Bishôjo Senshi Seirâ Mûn), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi, tx. Mar. 1992 - Feb. 1993. Dir: Jun'ichi Sato and Kunihiko Ikuhara.

Sailor Moon R (Bishôjo Senshi Seirâ Mûn R), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi, tx.Mar.1993 - Mar.1994. Dir: Jun'ichi Sato and Kunihiko Ikuhara.

Sailor Moon S (Bishôjo Senshi Seirâ Mûn S), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi, tx.Mar.1994 - Feb.1995. Dir: Kunihiko Ikuhara.

Sailor Moon Sailorstars (Seirâ Sutâzu), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi, tx. Feb.1999 - Jan.2000. Dir: Takuya Igarashi.

Sailor Moon Super S (Bishôjo Senshi Seirâ Mûn Sûpâzu), Toei Animation Co., TV Asahi, tx. Mar.1995 - Mar.1996. Dir: Kunihiko Ikuhara.

Sally the Witch (Mahôtsukai Sarî), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx.5 Dec.1966 - 30 Dec.1968. Dir: Kenji Yokoyama etc.

School Alice (Gakuen Arisu), Group Tac, NHK, tx. Oct. 2004 - May 2005. Dir: Takahiro Ohmori.

The Secrets of Akko-chan (Himitsu no Akko-chan), Toei Animation Co., NET, tx.6 Jan. 1969 - 26 Oct. 1970. Dir: Hiroshi Ikeda etc.

Slayers, first series, EG Film and J.C.Staff, TV Tokyo, tx. Apr. 1995 - Sept. 1995. Dir:Takashi Watanabe.

Space Battleship Yamato (Uchû Senkan Yamato), Office Academy, NTV, tx. 6 Oct.

1974-30 Mar. 1975. Dir: Reiji Matsumoto.

Zoran, Space Boy (Uchû Shônen Soran), TCJ, TBS, tx.4 May 1965 - 8 Mar. 1967. Dir: Isao Kawauchi etc.

Japanese live-action television programmes cited

Attention Please, Tôhô, TBS, tx.1970-1971. Dir: Minoru Kaneya and Susumu Takebayashi.

Go-Rangers (Himitsu Sentai Gorenjâ), NET, tx.1975-1977. Dir: Minoru Yamada, Katsuhiko Taguchi etc.

Red Bond (Akai Kizuna), TBS, tx. 1977-1978. Dir: Sôkichi Tonimoto. Main cast: Momoe Yamaguchi (Keiko), Tomiyuki Kunishiro (Nobuo).

Red Destiny (Akai Unmei), TBS, tx. 1976. Dir: Yasuo Furuhata. Main cast: Momoe Yamaguchi (Naoko), Ken Utsui (Nobuto).

Red Sensation (Akai Shôgeki), TBS, tx. 1976-1977. Dir: Toshiaki Kuniyama. Main cast: Momoe Yamaguchi (Tomoko), Tomokazu Miura (Hideo).

Red Suspicion (Akai Giwaku), TBS, tx. 1975-1976. Yasuo Furuhata, Toshiaki Kuniyama, etc. Main cast: Momoe Yamaguchi (Sachiko), Tomokazu Miura (Mitsuo).

Rider Mask (Kamen Raidâ), NET, tx.1971-1973. Dir: Koichi Takemoto etc.

Rider Mask, The Series of (Kamen Raidâ Shirîzu), NET, tx. 1971-1975; TBS, tx. 1975-present. Dir: Hideaki Kobayashi etc.

Ultraman, TBS, tx. 1966-1967. Dir: Akio Jissoji.

Ultraman, The Series of (Ultraman Shirîzu), TBS, tx. 1966-2009. Dir: Akio Jissoji etc.

Other television animation programmes cited

My Little Pony, USA, tx.1984. Dir: Gerry Chiniquy, etc.

Popeye, USA, tx.1933-1957; Japan, tx. 1959 -1965.

Tom and Jerry, Warner Brothers and MGM, USA, tx. 1940-; Japan, tx. 1964; TV series, tx. 1965-1972.

W.I.T.C.H., France, Jetix Europe, tx. 2004-06.

Other live-action television programmes cited

Ally McBeal, USA, tx. 1997-2002. Main cast: Calista Flockhart (Ally), Gil Bellows (Billy) and Greg Germann (Richard).

Bewitched, USA, ABC, tx. 1964-72. Main cast: Elizabeth Montgomery (Samantha), Dick York (Darrin) and Agnes Moorhead (Eudora). Translated as *Okusama wa Majo*, (dubbed in Japanese, TBS, tx. 1966-1974) Haruko Kitahama (Samantha), Shinichi

Yanagisawa (Darrin), and Tadashi Nakamura (Narrator).
Buffy the Vampire Slayer, USA, tx. 1997-2003. Main cast: Sarah Michelle Gellar (Buffy), James Marsters (Spike).
Cagney & Lacey, USA, tx. 1981-88. Main cast: Sharon Gless (Cagney) and Tync Daly (Lacey).
Charlie's Angels, USA, tx. 1976-81. Main cast: Jaclyn Smith (Kelly), Kate Jackson (Sabrina) and Farrah Fawcett (Jill).
Crossroads, UK, tx. 1964-88. Main cast: Elsie Kelly (Mrs. Tardebigge), Noele Gordon (Meg) and Susan Hanson (Diane).
Charmed, USA, tx. 1998-2006. Main cast: Shannen Doherty (Prue), Holly Marie Combs (Piper), Alyssa Milano (Phoebe).
Dallas, USA, tx. 1978-91. Main cast: Larry Hagman (J. R. Ewing) and Ken Kercheval (Cliff).
I Dream of Jeannie, USA, tx. 1965-1970; Japan, tx. 1966-1968.
Sabrina, the Teenage Witch, USA, tx. 1996-2003. Dir: Kenneth R. Koch etc. Main cast: Melissa Joan Hart (Sabrina), Caroline Rhea (Hilda).
Sex and the City, USA, tx. 1998-2004. Main cast: Sarah Jessica Parker (Carrie), Kim Cattrall (Samantha), Kristin Davis (Charlotte) and Cynthia Nixon (Miranda).
Ugly Betty, USA, tx. 2006-2010. Dir: Victor Nelli Jr., etc. Main cast: America Ferrera (Betty), Eric Mabius (Daniel).

FILMS

Animation films

Animal Farm (Joy Bachelor and John Halas, Halas and Bachelor Cartoon Films, UK, 1954).
Betty Boop, the series of (Max Fleischer, Fleischer Studios, USA, 1932-1939).
La Bergère et Le Ramoneur (Paul Grimault, Clarge Distributors and Le Gemeaux S.A., France, 1952).
Cinderella (Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson, and Hamilton Luske, Walt Disney Productions, USA, 1950; Released in Japan in 1952).
Howl's Moving Castle (Hauru no Ugoku Shiro) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 2004).
Kiki's Delivery Service (Majo no Takkyubin) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 1989).
Laputa: Castle in the Sky (Tenkû no Shiro: Rapyuta) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 1986).
My Neighbour Totoro (Tonari no Totoro) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 1988).

Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind (Kazeno Tanino Naushika) (Hayao Miyazaki, Toei, Japan, 1984).

Neon Genesis Evangelion (Shinseiki Ebangerion) (Hideaki Anno, GAINAX, Japan, 1997 and 2007).

Princess Mononoke (Mononoke Hime) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 1997).

Sleeping Beauty (Clyde Geronimi, Walt Disney Productions, USA, 1959).

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (William Cottrell, David Hand, Wilfred Jackson, Larry Morey, Perce Pearce, and Ben Sharpsteen, Walt Disney Productions, USA, 1937; Released in Japan in 1950).

Spirited Away (Sen to Chihiro no Kamikakushi) (Hayao Miyazaki, Studio Ghibli, Japan, 2001).

Live-action films

Annie (John Huston, Columbia Pictures, USA, 1982).

The Bad Seed (Mervyn LeRoy, Warner Brothers Pictures, USA, 1956).

Bright Eyes (David Butler, Fox Film Corporation, USA, 1934).

Carrie (Brian De Palma, Redbank Films, USA, 1976).

Daughters of the Dust (Julie Dash, American Playhouse, Geechee Girls and WMG Film, USA, 1991).

East Lynne (Frank Lloyd, Fox Film Corporation, USA, 1931).

The Exorcist (William Friedkin, Hoya Productions and Warner Brothers Pictures, USA, 1973).

I Married a Witch (René Clair, René Clair Productions, USA, 1942).

The Izu Dancer (Izu no Odoriko) (Katsumi Nishikawa, Tôhō Company, Japan, 1974).

Kamikaze Girls (Shimotsuma Monogatari) (Tetsuya Nakashima, Tôhō Company, Japan, 2004).

Lolita (Stanley Kubrick, MGM, USA, 1962).

Mädchen in Uniform (Leontine Sagan and Carl Froelich, Deutsche Film-Gemeinschaft, Germany, 1931).

Roman Holiday (William Wyler, Paramount Pictures, USA, 1953).

Stella Dallas (King Vigor, The Samuel Goldwyn Company, USA, 1937).

Stopping the Show (Dave Fleischer, Fleischer Studios, USA, 1932).

The Wizard of Oz (Victor Fleming, MGM, USA, 1939).