Manga World: Globalization Theory Revisited

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I Introduction

Benjamin R. Barber's study¹⁾ entitled *Jihad vs. McWorld* offers a popular interpretation of the global political economy that resonates with contemporary world events. In this dialectic Japan is set firmly in *McWorld* and subject to the full force of universalizing and homogenizing processes emanating from Western-centered *globalization* rooted in Euro-America. There have been pockets of localized resistance to the globalization juggernaut in Japan that perhaps hint at the tribal overtones of *jihad*. However, the Japanese have been unable to resist the siren call of mass consumption epitomized by McDonald's/Coca-Cola, and mass infotainment typified by Hollywood movies and 'Western' music.

Barber's interpretation of the global political economy glissades over the 'recentering', or is it 'decentering', of *globalization* as Japan is fast becoming a major node of global cultural production in its own right (Figure 1). A host of Japanese cultural products have been created for domestic consumption ranging from comics [*manga*] and their offshoot animation [*anime*], through film and music, to television (*localization*). By crossing borders and becoming transnational phenomena these Japanese cultural consumer products are now in the process of being popularized in a way that underlines *globalization* is not merely a Western preserve but incorporates Japan (*lo-globalization*). As Japan has become part of this decentered *globalization*, it is, in turn, exporting cultural products to Asia (*glocalization*). This process echoes Japan's past economic embrace of Asia and the pioneering efforts of its major companies such as Honda and Toyota adapting their cars and Sony its electronic goods to suit local markets.²⁾ The issue is even more complex because, as in economic production, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan, are seeking to export some of their local cultural products to Japan.

Such developments raise a series of issues: how have local Japanese cultural products originated and changed over time; and how have Japan's cultural products become popularized and insinuated themselves so effectively into Western culture? More specifically, why has Japan been a latecomer in the export of cultural products to Asia; and how can the reverse process of exporting cultural products from South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan or other Asian economies to Japan be theorized?

1) Barber, B. R. *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*, New York, Ballantine Books, 2001.

2) Hatch, W. and Yamamura, K., *Asia in Japan's Embrace: Building a Regional Production Alliance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Figure 1. The Global Local Dialectic. *Localization* embraces fragmenting procedures and processes that encompass infrastructure, local history, governance, identity politics and geography. A compilation of these activities constitutes a local formation, which through *lo-globalization* is shaping the nature of globalized development. *Globalization* encompasses universalizing and homogenizing processes that include trade and transnational corporations (TNCs), technological change, deregulation and liberalization. Globalized development undergoes a transformational experience through *glocalization* that has local impacts on the nature of procedures and processes. The double circle for globalization reflects the decentering of globalization; that around localization reflects the possibility of different scales of geographical analysis (sub-regional, national and regional).

These issues are addressed by discussing Japanese *manga*, which are printed books of comics or cartoons that retail as graphic novels. *Manga* fuse the relationships between picture, frame and word at the heart of American comics with Japanese popular art to create a 'cinematic' story-telling style. By moving from motion to motion and aspect to aspect in successive frames the artist can shape narrative to cover virtually any subject across both gender and all age groups.³⁾ Some 280 story *manga* titles are published weekly, bi-monthly, monthly or quarterly in Japan, with one million copies being the hallmark of a best seller. The *manga* retail in general

3) (1) McCloud, S. 1994. *Understanding Comics: the Invisible Art*, New York, Harper Perennial (Reprint of original Kitchen Sink Press paperback published in 1993). (2) Natsume, F., Introduction to Manga: Short Comics from Modern Japan, Visual Cultural Research in Art and Education. http://www.csuchico.edu/mtoku/vc/articles/natsume/natsume_intromanga.html, 2001.

bookstores, specialist outlets dedicated to specific *manga* characters, newsstands and twenty-four hour convenience stores throughout Japan, at the relatively modest price of 300–500 yen (US \$3–5). Stand-alone volumes have several series running concurrently with 30–40 pages devoted to each serial. These anthology magazines can range in size from 200 to over 850 pages, which also include one-shot comics and four panel comic strips [*yon-koma*]. Apart from their bulkiness *manga* are distinguished by the light pastel shades of the coarse paper used in their production. Higher quality paper is used when units of a successful story are collected together in book-sized volumes [*tankōbon*]. More sumptuous de-luxe copies are available for older and wealthier readers and reprints of old *manga* are provided cheaply (100 yen) to counter recycling.

Manga has a close bond with animated cartoons [*anime*]⁴⁾. This bond is evident in the work of Osamu Tezuka (1928–89) who is regarded as the ‘God of Manga’ [*Mangano Kamisama*] and has a museum dedicated to him in Takarazuka city where he grew up.⁵⁾ Between 1946 and 1989 the storyteller-artist [*mangaka*] produced 150,000 pages of *manga* for 400 paperback titles, 60 animated works for television and 17 theatrical animated movies.⁶⁾ Tezuka’s titles included *Janguru Taitei* [Jungle Emperor], a story of animals in Africa learning to co-exist with each other, and *Tetsuwan Atomu* [Mighty Atom], a story of a robot-child who ‘fought for peace’, which were later animated and shown on television in North America and Europe as *Kimba the White Lion* and *Astro Boy*. This *manga-anime* connection, forged by artists such as Tezuka through his own *anime* production company, Mushi Productions (1962–73), are part of the wider media alliance, including films, computers games and video/DVDs (Figure 2). Original animated cartoons such as eco-fantastist Hayao Miyazaki’s *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Winds* and Oscar-winning *Spirited Away*, in turn, sell associated *manga* and merchandise, including stationery and toys.⁷⁾ The influence of the interlocking media mix is extended through the secondary economic impact of licensing, which permits leading *manga* characters to be used in advertising and replicated as figurines.

Why choose *manga* ahead of other Japanese media? As a small boy in England I was an avid reader of comics that pioneered the post-war visual generation [*shikaku sedai*]. Later my eldest son and I were keen followers of *Kimba the White Lion* and *Astro Boy* on Australian television not realizing that they were made in Japan. When I first went to Japan in the late 1970s I was struck by adult commuters reading comics and got into the habit of picking them up to read once they were tossed on the luggage rack or in the waste receptacles on railway stations. As a geographer, I was impressed with how the artists drew backgrounds that captured the essence of Japanese city landscapes.⁸⁾ When my eldest son reached university to study Visual Arts he asked me to resume my recycling activities and send samples of *manga* from Japan for him to study. While appreciative of the dependence of line over shading in *manga*, he was surprised at how the

4) (1) Levi, A., *Samurai from Outer Space: Understanding Japanese Automation*, Chicago and La Salle, Ill., Open Court, 1996.

(2) Napier, S. J., *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*, New York, Palgrave, 2001. (3) Drazen, P., *Anime Explosion! The What? Why? & Wow! of Japanese Animation*, Berkeley, Ca., Stone Bridge Press, 2003.

5) OTMM, The Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum. <http://www.city.takarazuka.hyogo.jp/tezuka/index.htm>, 2004.

6) Schodt, F. L., *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga*, Berkeley, CA, Stone Bridge Press, 1996.

7) *op. cit.*, 4) (2).

8) Kardy, G. ed., *Manga University: 1-C Background Collection Workbook # 3: Japanese Neighborhoods*, Kawaguchi City, Saitama, Japanime Co. Ltd., 2003.

Figure 2. The Media Alliance.

'unrealistic' format of comics permitted the almost unfettered exploration of sex and violence. As my eldest son moved on to become an animator there were further requests in the 1980s for *manga* on *Akira* produced by the French-influenced artist Katsuhiro Ôtomo. Besides keeping up with developments in *manga* during annual visits to Japan for over twenty years I have the Cartoon Network on my broadband television that features Japanese animation everyday.

My knowledge of the ramification of the *manga* industry has been broadened by: Frederik L.

Schodt's⁹⁾ classic *Manga! Manga!* and his insightful *Dreamland Japan*; Sharon Kinsella's path-breaking *Adult Manga*¹⁰⁾; and Paul Gravett's lavishly illustrated *Manga*¹¹⁾. In addition, there have been a series of journal articles and a plethora of Internet sites in a variety of languages. The articles include essays by *manga* translator Matt Thorn¹²⁾ from the School of Cartoon & Comic Art at Kyoto Seika University and *manga* critic Furanosuke Natsume¹³⁾, who pinpoints symbolic representations in individual drawings and the effective use of white space and the flow of the layout in *manga*. The *Ultimate Manga Guide*¹⁴⁾ provides a comprehensive source on some 2,400 artists and their work.

Having established the nature of Japanese *manga* and my particular interest in them, it is pertinent to trace their origins and transformation within the domestic market (*localization*). The popularity of these Japanese cultural products as an expression of Japan Cool in the global market place centered on North America and Europe is considered and the support of the Japanese government in this export process recognized (*lo-globalization*). Then the reasons for the delayed export of *manga* by Japanese corporations to Asia are examined (*glocalization*). This leads to a consideration of the theoretical implications of the reverse flow of cultural products from Asia to Japan (*localization?*).

II Localization: National Scale

Japanese *manga* have a long history of combining words and pictures. Indeed, it is tempting to see *manga* [lit. random pictures] as being the quintessential product of Japanese traditional culture. Probably, their origins can be traced to twelfth century 'playful pictures', which were supposedly painted on paper scrolls by a Buddhist artist-monk named Toba (1053–1140) using illustrations of birds and animals and Chinese characters to satirize fellow monks and the nobility for an elite audience.¹⁵⁾ This earlier comic art tradition was refined in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by using woodblock printing to mass produce books comprising Toba pictures named after the earlier Buddhist monk, and yellow-cover booklets that circulated among the merchant class in Edo (Tokyo) and Osaka.

9) (1) Schodt, F. L., *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*, New York, Kodansha International, 1983. (updated paperback edition 2003). (2) *op. cit.*, 6).

10) Kinsella, S., *Adult Manga Subculture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon, 2000.

11) Gravett, P., *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*, London, Laurence King Publishing, 2004.

12) (1) Thorn, M., 'Shōjo manga-something for the girls', *The Japan Quarterly*, 48(1), pp. 43–50. <http://www.matt-thorn.com/shoujo-manga/japan-quarterly>, 2001. (2) Thorn, M., *Manga-gaku: a history of manga*, 3 parts, previously published in *Aniamerica: Anime & Manga Monthly*, 4 (2, 4, and 6). <http://www.matt-thorn.com/mangaku/historyI.html>, 2004.

13) (1) Natsume, F., 'Look back in manga', *Look Japan*, 42 (No. 491), pp. 20–21, 1997. (2) Natsume F., 'The future of manga (Japanese Comics)', Foreign Press Center / Japan. <http://www.fpcj/e/gyouji/br/1998/980917.html>, 1998. (3) Natsume F., 'Japan's manga culture', *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, 27 (3–4): 2000, pp. 1–6. (4) *op. cit.*, 3)(2) (5) Natsume F., 'Japanese manga encounter the world', *Japan Echo*, 29, 2002, pp. 62–66. (6) Natsume F., 'Japanese manga: its expression and popularity', Special Issue on the World of Asian Comics, *ABD [Asian / Pacific Book Development]*, 34, 2003, pp. 3–5 [Quarterly published by Asia / Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO].

14) Van Huffel, P., *The Ultimate Manga Guide*. http://users.skynet.be/manga_guide/magazines.html, 2004.

15) *op. cit.*, 9) (1).

The argument that *manga* were a distinctive Japanese product ignores any historical discontinuities posed by the spicing up of local folk culture through the early influence of both *Japanese Punch* (1862–67) produced in Yokohama by Charles Wirgman, and *Tobae* (1887) by Frenchman George Bigot.¹⁶⁾ These early influences were reinforced from the 1920s by imported Western-style cartoons, comics and newspaper strips like George McManus's *Bringing Up Father*, which featured multiple frames and dialogues in balloons to tell a story. Rather than pursue the distinctive Japanese antecedents of *manga* and the early role of major publishing houses such as Kôdansha (1909), Shogakukan (1922) and Shûeisha (1926), a more profitable approach is to discuss *story manga* as one of the most distinctive forms of pop culture in post war Japan.

Mid-1940s to mid-1990s

As major *manga* artists are well known to Japanese readers it is sufficient to reference their key works in Table 1 from the end of the Pacific War (1941–45) until the mid-1990s when the domestic industry reached its peak output. This strategy allows us to concentrate on the manufacture of *manga* as a prelude to a discussion of the decline in production since the mid-1990s.

During the American Occupation (1946–51) the cultural void in Japan was filled by picture card shows and four-frame newspaper comic strips. Tokyo-based publishers were still in disarray and small Osaka companies gained an early advantage by producing cheap, red-colored comics for rental libraries that had spread in urban areas. Rentals to high school students and graduates led to the production of more socially aware 'dark manga' that used 'dramatic pictures' to cover topics excluded from the school curriculum. Young alienated males from low social origins created these *manga* and their content often reflected the Marxist leanings of their left wing teachers. This short-lived period of anti-establishment counterculture and political radicalism could not withstand the competition from the resurgent monthlies produced by the big Tokyo-based publishers once Japan became more affluent with an improvement in the economy and baby boomers reached reading age. In 1959 Kôdansha revolutionized manga production by introducing the Weekly Boys' Magazine, to complement the weekly television-programming schedule; Shôgakukan's Weekly Boys' Sunday followed this initiative.

To meet the weekly demand for pages on a permanent or casual basis freelance artists established their own studios, particularly in the 'Village of Manga Artists' within the Ikebukuro area (Table 2). The major Tokyo publishers appointed hands-on editors to ensure artists conformed to the monthly schedule and met weekly deadlines as per contract. If necessary, the editors isolated the artists until they did! Once the conference between editors and artists finalized the quality and acceptability of the weekly serial copy, complete with speech bubbles and inked artwork, the *manga* were physically produced through either a four-stage industrial process involving separate typesetting, artwork and proofing, printing and cutting, and binding

16) *op. cit.*, 11).

Table 1. Developments in the History of Japanese *Manga*, 1945–1995

	Books	Magazines and characters	Key events
Mid-1940s	<i>Shin Takarjima</i> [New Treasure Island] by Shichima Sakai & Tezuka Osamu published in Osaka in 'red book' format (47)	First <i>manga</i> magazine to resume production (45) <i>Sazae San</i> newspaper strip by Hasegawa Machiko (46) (later serialized in <i>Asahi Shimbun</i>) <i>Manga Shōnen</i> founded to publish new 'story <i>manga</i> ' artists (47) New children's magazines launched (48)	Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (45) New Constitution (46)
1950s	<i>Ninja Bugeicho</i> by Shirato (59)	Tezuka Osamu moves to Tokyo and draws <i>Kimba The White Lion</i> in <i>Manga Shōnen</i> (50), <i>Astro Boy</i> (52) & <i>Princess Knight</i> in <i>Shojo Club</i> (53) — start of girl's <i>manga</i> <i>Ribon</i> & <i>Nakayoshi</i> monthlies for girls (55) Ishinomori Shotaro debut in <i>Manga Shōten</i> (55) <i>Tetsujin 28 go</i> aka Gigantor the giant robot (56) The word <i>gekiga</i> coined for dramatic pictures First boys' weeklies (59)	US Security Treaty signed (51) End American occupation (52) NHK begins TV (53) 9 new TV stations (59)
1960s		Shueisha's <i>Margaret</i> for girls (63) <i>Garō</i> , an influential non-conformist monthly (1964) <i>Star of Giants</i> baseball hit (66) Kōdansha's <i>Shōnen Magazine</i> 1 million copies (66) Weekly <i>Shōnen Jump</i> (68) <i>Tomorrow's Joe</i> (68) <i>Lupin III</i> debuts (67)	Tezuka Osama sets up animation company Mushi Publications (61) <i>Tetsuwan Atom</i> (Mighty Atom) by Teuzuka Osamu first animated TV series <i>Astro Boy</i> in US (63)
1970s	<i>Penguin Food Passion</i> by Terry Johnson and Shigesato Itoi starts <i>heta/uma</i> or unskilled /skilled punk style (76)	<i>Doraemon</i> and <i>Lone Wolf and the Club</i> (70) <i>Buddha</i> (72), <i>Rose of Versailles</i> (72) & <i>Black Jack</i> (73) by Tezuka Osamu <i>Barefoot Gen</i> (73) <i>Kindai Mahjong</i> (73) <i>Poem of Wind and Trees</i> establishes boys' love genre (76) <i>Young Jump</i> (79)	Comiket begins in Tokyo (76) First English language version of <i>Barefoot Gen</i>
1980s	<i>Japan Inc.</i> on economics by Ishinomori Shōtarō is a best seller (86)	<i>Be in Love</i> first 'ladies comic' (80) <i>Akira</i> released as <i>manga</i> (82) <i>Nausicaä</i> (82) <i>Captain Tsubasa</i> (82) <i>Section Chief Kōsaku Shima</i> (83) <i>Dragon Ball</i> by Toyama Akira (84) <i>Banana Fish</i> (85) <i>The Silent Service</i> political thriller (89)	Top five boys' weeklies reach 10 million (80) <i>Dragon Ball</i> animated (86) Animated <i>Akira</i> (in English) (88) Tezuka Osamu and the Emperor dies (89)
Mid-1990s		<i>R. G. Verda</i> by Clamp (90) <i>Slam Dunk</i> (90) <i>Comic Amour</i> erotic ladies comic (90) First <i>pachinko</i> magazines (91) <i>Sailor Moon</i> (92) <i>Yon Mama</i> comic for young mothers (93) <i>Detective Conan</i> (94)	Tezuka Osamu Manga Museum opens (94) <i>Shonen Jump</i> sells 6.5 million copies (94) Manga book and magazine sales peak (95)

Source: Based largely on P. Gravett. *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*, London, Laurence King Publishing, 2004, pp. 6-7.

subcontractors or the combined printing process incorporating all four stages. Then the *manga* were dispatched through an established distribution network for sale through retail outlets.

Once the industrial production system was installed the major Tokyo publishing companies appropriated rental *manga* and the small Osaka-based publishers of red-colored books during the 1960s by offering artists ten times the previous rate per page.¹⁷⁾ Their editors could concentrate on diversifying their output by developing young men's comics and comic books for girls drawn by female artists from the readers' own age group that later extended to love stories with a penchant for androgynous characters. Meanwhile political and social themes persisted through

17) *op. cit.*, 10) p. 3.

Table 2. The Weekly *Manga* Production Process

Stage	Sub-processes	Main players	Location
Artists	Contracts	Small production companies & casuals in home or studio	Concentrated Tokyo; dispersed Osaka city and Aichi prefecture
Editors in publishing companies	Editorial production	Kôdansha Shôgakutan Shûeisha	Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo
Conference between editors & artists		Editors Artists	Tokyo editorial offices/ Tokyo's western suburbs*
Weekly production cycle	Script production Proofing pencil mss	Script writer Artist & editor Ginnansha & casuals	Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo
Industrial reproduction	Typesetting Artwork & proofing Printing	Hirayama — Tôhan, Kyôdô, Dai Nippon	Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo
	Cutting & binding	—	Tokyo
Combined printing plants	All processes	Chûô Seihan Insatsu	Tokyo's western suburbs
Manga distribution network	Large distributors	Tôhansha Nipponsha	Tokyo
	Smaller distributors	Chûiôsha Taihansha Ôsakaya Kurita Kyôwa Taiyôsha	Tokyo
	Large bookshops	Kinokuniya Zaiseidô	National
	Luxury department stores	Parco Seibu	National
	24 hour convenience stores	Seven Eleven Family Mart Lawsons	National

Note: *Kichijôji, Hachijôji, Ogikubo, Asagaya and Chôfu located on the Chûô railway line.

Source: Distilled from Kinsella, S., *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon, 2000. pp. 50–69.

informal networks as artists sought to expose underlying injustices in Japan ranging from political oppression by the United States to poverty, issues that triggered regular student demonstrations. The reaction to student behavior and their endless preoccupation with comics and opposition to traditional academic pursuits prompted parent-teacher associations to lobby government to purge 'harmful' political *manga*.

During the 1970s conservatives had some success in removing political stories from commercial *manga*, particularly after the return of the Okinawa Islands. By the mid-1970s the abiding concerns of political *manga* artists with United States bases and atom bombs were suffused by greater economic prosperity underpinned by the alliance between the Liberal Democratic party, the bureaucracy and large business conglomerates. In this favorable economic and political climate the publishers of *manga* were able to diversify their output to include a new genre of girls' comics exhibiting hippie-like dream qualities and more serious offerings that strongly influenced the famous novelist Banana Yoshimoto. There was also a shift in orientation towards

older readers as baby boomers moved into adulthood. Non-conformist male and female artists seeking refuge from the industrialized, conveyor-belt production system offered their nihilistic work through the Comic Market established in Tokyo during 1975 and the monthly *Garō*.

During the 1980s the key feature was a sharp increase in adult *manga* for the over-thirties, catering not only for the standard fare of comics — science fiction, fantasy and action adventure — but extending to relationship melodramas, social commentaries, modern history, trade fiction and advice on cooking, fishing, golf, horse racing, *mahjong*, *pachinko* and tennis¹⁸⁾ These included the development of ladies comics which initially catered for both office ladies and housewives in their forties but later broadened to cater for a range of tastes from conservative to pornographic. By the end of the 1980s adult *manga* for men and ladies comics had surpassed the number of magazines for boys and girls.

Paralleling these mainstream developments was the marked growth of privately published *manga* sold in small print runs through the now biennial Comic Market held in Tokyo. The market attracted a host of dedicated fans drawn from poorly educated, low-income groups from suburban housing estates.¹⁹⁾ Previously, women had dominated amateur *manga* with their fascination with homosexual romance but young males had shifted the focus of interest towards violent and soft and hardcore pornographic comics, including Lolita complex comics that exhibit a preoccupation with cute young girls. Readers of these comics were often characterized as reclusive 'nerds' who were seen by mothers, parent-teacher associations, feminists, and anti-racist non-government organizations as being symptomatic of the social fragmentation afflicting urban life in Japan brought about by the mass media and communications.²⁰⁾

In 1989 this criticism was heightened when Tsutomu Miyazaki, an obsessive fan of pornographic animation videos, was found guilty of the abduction, murder and mutilation of four pre-school girls in outer suburban Tokyo. The resultant revulsion caused an 'otaku panic' in the media and the inevitable crackdown at the behest of local community groups occurred on both underground and mainstream publishers and creators of *manga* and *anime*, especially Lolita complex *manga*.²¹⁾ This local level censorship orchestrated by the government's Youth Policy Unit complemented the central government's promotion of information *manga* and its assimilation into educational and cultural institutions through the offices of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology (MEXT), national museums and national news media.

By the 1990s the editors in the large publishing companies, with a focus on profits exercised increasing intellectual and creative control over the *manga* industry and its 5,000 or so artists recruited largely from the lower end of the social spectrum who were often reduced to a drafting role. Where artists living on the edge of Japanese society lacked the background and imagination to deliver the required realist political and economic *manga* to the full-time editor's specifications, publishing companies introduced graduate and foreign artists and contract editors to colonize a

18) *op. cit.*, 13) (6) and 12) (2).

19) *op. cit.*, 10) p. 110.

20) Kinsella, S. 'Amateur manga subculture and the otaku panic', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 24 (2), 1998, pp. 289-296.

21) *op. cit.*, 11)

22) *op. cit.*, 10) and 14)

new cultural 'third' space between the two. In the process political adult *manga* has been transformed from an anti- to a pro-establishment medium reflecting the conformist attitudes of university educated middle-class editors and bureaucrats towards rather than the incendiary themes of would-be revolutionaries. A more sympathetic view of Japanese corporations was proffered in the new style of socially acceptable *manga* with topics ranging from career women to finance at the expense of the everyday life of ordinary people.

The *manga* pendulum swung beyond these representations of an ideal national culture to consider alternative pasts and futures. In turn, these gave way to revisionist *manga*, typified by the work of Kobayashi Yashinori that offered an even more strident nationalistic perspective.²³⁾ Initially, this independent artist used *manga* in a newsweekly to target a range of domestic issues, including the overprotection of the Imperial family, but later his outspokenness extended to disputing the reality or minimizing the importance war crimes including the 'comfort-women' issue and the 'Nanjing massacre'.²⁴⁾ Rather than pursue the implications of this style of right-wing provocation on *manga* exports it is important to take stock of the *manga* industry in the mid-1990s.

From the mid-1990s

In the mid-1990s when Schodt reported that the country was 'awash with *manga*' as they were piled high in bookstores and at railway station kiosks and freely available in coffee shops.²⁵⁾ A survey based on the *Usenet Manga Magazines Guide Supplement* compiled by Ryo Shiroma²⁶⁾ listed 370 anthologies. Table 3 shows that production among the seventy-four was concentrated almost exclusively Tokyo-based publishers. The top eleven publishers accounted for over half, of which the 'Big Four' covering Shûeisha, Shôgakukan, Kôdansha and Akita Shoten contributed almost 30 per cent. Two-fifths of the *manga* were targeted at female readers with ladies comics the leading category. The balance was directed at male readers with the H/Lolikom and Youth genre being the two biggest groups.

When this 1995 survey was taken the *manga* industry had a turnover of almost 5.9 billion yen or US \$7-9 billion,²⁷⁾ which Schodt notes was twice the gross domestic product of Iceland.²⁸⁾ Perceptively, Schodt regarded the 'meta-media' of *manga* as being perhaps too successful and wallowing ponderously in the mainstream of Japanese society, having lost its post-war cutting edge created by hungry artists to meet the fickle and insatiable demand of its Japanese readers.

Since the mid-1990s both *manga* and the publishing industry as a whole have been in decline due to the overall stagnation of the economy, increased Internet use, the falling birth rate and

23) *op. cit.*, 6) pp. 224-228.

24) Morris-Suzuki, T. and Rimmer, P. J., 'Virtual memories: Japanese history debate in *Manga* and Cyberspace', *Asian Studies Review*, 26 (2), 2002. pp. 147-164.

25) *op. cit.*, 6) p. 19.

26) Shiroma, R., *Usenet Manga Magazines Guide: Supplement* (Version 2.20) last updated 12 February 1995. http://www.users.skynet.be/manga_guide/magazines.html, 1995.

27) *op. cit.*, 6) p. 20.

28) *op. cit.*, 6) pp. 68-72.

Table 3. Survey of Manga Industry Mid-1990s: Companies and Genre

Companies			Genre			
Company ranking	No.	%	Code	Type ranking	No.	%
Big Four			Female			
Kôdansha	32	8.6	Fa	Young girl (<i>shôjo</i>) <6 th grade	8	2.2
Shueisha	28	7.6	Fb	Young girl (<i>shôjo</i>) >7 th grade	30	8.1
Shôgakukan	25	6.8	Fc	Ladies comic (<i>josei</i>) >10 th grade	73	19.7
Akita Shoten	25	6.8	Fd	Mystery / horror	29	7.8
Sub-total(4)	110	29.8	Fe	Comics (<i>manga</i>) fans	8	2.2
			Sub-total		148	40.0
Other top-11			Male			
Take Shobo	14	3.8	Ma	Children (<i>kodomo</i>) >4 th grade	7	1.9
Hôbunsha	14	3.8	Mb	Boys (<i>shônen</i>)	17	4.6
Kasakura Shuppansha	13	3.5	Mc	Youth (<i>seinen</i>)	38	10.3
Tatsumi Shuppan	11	3.0	Md	Adult erotic (<i>H/rorikon</i>)	43	11.6
Hakusensha	10	2.7	Me	Comics (<i>manga</i>) fans	16	4.3
Futabasha	9	2.4	Mf	Adult drama (<i>gekiga</i>) 3 rd rate	23	6.2
Ohzora Shuppan	9	2.4	Mg	Adult drama (<i>gekiga kannô</i>)	35	9.5
Sub-total(7)	80	21.6	Mh	Four – panel (<i>yon-koma</i>)	31	8.4
			Mi	Other interests (e. g. <i>pachinko</i>)	12	3.2
Sub-total(11)	190	51.4	Sub-total		222	60.0
Others 63 firms	180	48.6				
Total	370	100	Total		370	100

Source: Derived from data in Shiroma, R., Usenet Manga Magazines Guide: Supplement (Version 2.20) last updated 12 February 1995. <http://www.users.skynet.be/mangaguide/magazines.html>.

less interest in reading among young people, particularly those addicted to the video and the Internet. According to the Research Institute for Publications, *manga* sales between 1995 and 2002 have maintained their overall share of the shrinking publishing market at 77.4 per cent but their proportion of sales volume has declined slightly from 39.3 to 38.1 per cent; the relative growth in sales of *manga* books offsetting the decline in *manga* magazines (Table 4). The circulation of Shûeisha's *Shônen Jump* alone has fallen to 3.35 million copies compared to 6 million in the mid-1990s.²⁹⁾ This decline in magazines has been attributed to the erosion in downstream control exerted by the publishers of comics.³⁰⁾ More specifically, the Book-Off chain is making *manga* books

Table 4. Sales Volume and Sales Values of Manga, 1995 and 2002

	Sales amount		Sales volume	
	1995 %	2002 %	1995 %	2002 %
Manga books (Comics)	9.7	10.7	11.3	13.5
Manga magazines (Comic Magazines)	13.0	11.9	28.0	24.6
Manga sub-total	22.6	22.6	39.3	38.1
Other publications	77.4	77.4	60.7	61.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	2.59 trillion yen	2.31 trillion yen	4.80 billion units	3.96 billion units

Source: The Research Institute for Publications at the All Japan Magazine and Book Publisher's and Editor's Association, *Indicators and Annual Report of Publication 2003*.

29) ICV2, Manga sales slump in Japan, March 28 2003, <http://www.icv2.com/articles/home2540.html>

30) S. K. Mehra, 'Copyright control, and comics: Japanese battle over downstream limits on content', *Rutgers Law Review*, Fall, 2003, pp. 1-36. Available from Westlaw 56 Rutgers L. Rev181).

so cheap to buy. Nevertheless in no other country does *manga* still constitute such a large share of the publishing market and enjoy the same status as novels or films.

If domestic *manga* production and profitability continue to shrink, the whole Japanese publishing industry may be affected by an economic downturn. The lagging domestic market has intensified the search by major producers of *manga* (and *anime*) for alternative markets overseas. Recognizing the possibilities, Kôdansha has already taken the first step by publishing bilingual information *manga* in Japanese/English. There is now a growing interest among Japanese publishers in intensifying these overseas forays to establish a global market for fully translated versions, especially as a virtually untapped market for girls' comics and female cartoonists exists in Europe and North America.³¹⁾

III Lo-Globalization

Initially, there was concern and hesitancy among Japanese publishers about marketing translated *manga* in the American heart of *McWorld*. Due to the enormous domestic market in Japan, *manga* were not designed for export and were culturally specific in matters relating to taboo topics in the United States relating to sex and religion. Further, there were no magazines in the United States featuring several comic strips within a single issue and there was no mechanism for distributing *manga* through booksellers or other outlets. Unlike Japan, where magazines sell on the quality of the featured series, there is a greater reliance in the United States magazines on advertising revenue. Also Japanese comic magazines have to develop a strong subscriber base like their American counterparts. It was not until 1983 that 'the first Japanese comic book was published in the United States in true American format, complete with color printing'.³²⁾ The venture was not a financial success because, unlike animated cartoons, the costs of rearranging panels to read from left to right were expensive. More successful attempts by American authors have used translated excerpts, such as *Bringing Home the Sushi* and *Comics Underground Japan*.³³⁾ Going beyond translated excerpts to full books has been hampered by reported delays in obtaining international copyright permission from Japanese publishers of popular *manga*.³⁴⁾ These delays suggest that the Japanese publishing industry may need to undergo structural reform if it is to arrest its own decline and improve overall competitiveness in North America and Europe by adopting faster decision-making processes and improved market analysis.³⁵⁾

What convinced the Japanese producers to penetrate the vacant overseas market *niche* with translated *manga* was the success of the animated television series of *Pokémon*, *Dragon Ball* [*Dorogon Bôru*] and *Akira* in the United States during the late 1980s. Once animated cartoons primed viewers for *manga* from Japan, they were dispatched through the English-speaking

31) *op. cit.*, 13) (5).

32) *op. cit.*, 6) p. 309.

33) Silverman, L. K., *Bringing Home the Sushi: An Inside Look at Japanese Business through Japanese Comics*, Atlanta, Ga., Mangajin Inc, 1995.

34) Quigley, K. *Comic Underground Japan*, New York, Blast Books, 1996.

35) *op. cit.*, 13) (5).

world, especially the United States, en route to Europe for translation into local languages, notably French, German, Italian and Spanish.³⁶⁾ Since 1997 *Dragon Ball* (serialized 1984-95) by Akira Toriyama has become Germany's highest selling comic with reported sales of 5.7 million.³⁷⁾ In 2001 the monthly *Banzai!*, incorporating material from Shûeisha's *Shônen Jump*, commenced sales in Germany with an initial circulation of 130,000 copies.

In 2002 *Shônen Jump* moved into the pivotal American market with an initial annual circulation of 200,000–300,000 and an ultimate target of 1 million.³⁸⁾ The 288-page 'premiere issue' in January 2003 retailed at US \$4.95 (\$CAN7.95). By 2004 there were 60,000 subscribers and the publishers had an initial target of 100,000 subscribers. Designed to capture the junior high school market — 'the rave-frequenter techno teens' — *Shônen Jump* not only includes popular series and recognizable characters that have featured in movies and video games, such as *Dragon Ball Z* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!*, but also stories like *Naruto* and *One Piece* in which a character grows up with friends.³⁹⁾

Characters having Western appearances and large Disneyesque entertainment-eyes have become a regular feature of *manga* since Osamu Tezuka adopted them in the 1960s and have aided the lo-globalization process. Boys' comics had long dominated the North American market but greater prominence was given to adolescent girls' *manga* characterized by *Banana Fish: Story and Art* by Akimi Yoshida set in New York City.⁴⁰⁾ Although publishers were prepared to reverse the right-to-left format of the originals (i.e. flopping rather than flipping), readers, like their creators, prefer the original back-to-front magazine and 1.5 cm format to obtain the full flavor of Japanese Cool. After the initial blockbusting issues, *manga* in North America are often slimmed down by a reduction in the number of pages and by the insertion of advertisements. The time lag between sales of new *manga* in Japan and their production in the United States has narrowed from more than one year to creating titles that premiere in both countries almost simultaneously.

Developing a strategy for exporting *manga* has not been easy because of cultural and market barriers inhibiting the emergence of a truly borderless world. The United States government's Comics Code Authority, for example, has precluded the import of certain types of *manga* into the United States.⁴¹⁾ Further, unlike Japan, *manga* sales statistics in the United States are not released for nine months after publication. However, the entry barriers have been overcome and *manga* appear on the shelves of leading international bookstore chains such as Barnes & Noble, Borders, Kinokuniya and Waldens and occupy more space than American superhero comics, which are often relegated to specialty shops. A growing demand for second-hand *manga* has led Mandarake Inc. to establish a branch in Los Angeles (1999). Having established a foothold in the United States, the entertainment industry is able to select popular *manga* in Japan and exploit their crossover potential in movies and television. *Manga* characters can also be licensed for use on clothing, gaming industry consoles and stationery. For example Shôgakusan Production Co. Ltd

36) (1) Groensteen, T., *L'univers des mangas: Une introduction à la bande dessinée japonaise*, Paris, Casterman, 1991. (2) *op. cit.*, 6).

37) Chiba H., 2002. 'Cool Japan', *Look Japan*. <http://www.lookjapan.com/LBcoverstory/o3MayCS.htm>

38) Yamada, M., Okada, S. and Ohkoshi T., 'The cutting edge of cool', *Asia-Pacific Perspectives*, 2 (1), 2004 pp. 6-23.

39) Mixx, nd. The rise and fall (?) of Mixx. <http://www.geocities.com/d-patanella/mixx.htm>

40) *op. cit.*, 12) (1).

41) Befe H., 'Globalization theory from the bottom up: Japan's contribution', *Japanese Studies*, 23 (1), 2003, pp. 3-22.

in Japan licenses *Pokémon* from the TV cartoon Pocket Monsters as a movie, game and toy in conjunction with Nintendo of America in the United States. The spillover effect on a young consumer generation brought up on Japanese *manga* and animation is reflected in the fast sales of Toyota's compact Scion cars in California.⁴²⁾

Major *manga* publishers and distributors established in North America have a strong Californian bias, presumably reflecting the strong presence of Japanese expatriates. The San Francisco-based, Viz Inc., founded in 1986 as a joint venture between two of the top Japanese publishers Shogakukan and Shûeisha, distributes *Shonen Jump* and a range of popular *manga* titles. Reportedly, Viz Inc. dominates the translated *manga* market in both the United States and Canada though the Los Angeles-based TokyoPop is an active competitor pioneering the use of television advertising to market English versions of the original *manga*, which retain Japanese sound effects to maintain the feel of the original.⁴³⁾ Dark Horse Comics Inc. has links with the Kôdansha and markets a diverse range of Japanese *manga* designed to supersede the ageing superheroes of Marvel and DC Comics.⁴⁴⁾ ADV Manga continues to release many upcoming action/adventure, sci-fi *manga* titles in the original Japanese flipped format and uses colored pages. Other distributors in the United States include: Fanfare/Ponent Mon that also has European connections; the New York-based Blast Books, established in 1999, as a small publisher of Japan's underground classics;⁴⁵⁾ and the New York-based Vertical Publishing Inc., established in 2001 by former *Nikkei Shimbun* reporter Hiroki Sakai to publish novels and *manga* by Japanese writers. In May 2004 there was the rare case of Raijin Comics, publisher of the first *manga* weekly in the United States, ceasing publication, presumably because the titles of its graphic novels did not penetrate the intended adult market.⁴⁶⁾ However, Vertical's publication of an eight volume series on 'Buddha' by Osamu Tezuka in June 2004 was seen to have broken the nexus between *manga* and children in the United States.⁴⁷⁾

Not surprisingly, Japan still accounts for the bulk of the revenue from *manga*. However, producers expect sales in North America and Europe to grow over the next decade to rival local demand, particularly as there are many famous works in Japanese that have yet to be translated into English, including the Sanpei Shirato's *Ninja Bugeichô* [Chronicle of Ninja's Military Accomplishments].⁴⁸⁾ In 2002, for instance, foreign comics in the United States accounted for 4.7 billion yen compared with 520 billion yen in Japan. Sales in the United States had tripled between 2000 and 2002.⁴⁹⁾ In 2002 the market for *manga* was estimated to be between US \$40 and US\$50 million or about one-tenth of the United States market for Japanese animation estimated

42) De Boer, J., 'Why America thinks Japan's cool', US Report #9 March 2 2004, Glocom Platform, Japanese Institute of Global Communications. http://www.glocom.org/special_topics/us_report/20040302_usreport_s9/-23k-31 Jul 2004.

43) Harris, F., 2004. TokyoPop takes Japanese comics to television, Pulp Culture Productions. <http://www.franklin@pulpculture.net>

44) DHB, Dark Horse Books, 2004.

45) *op. cit.*, 34).

46) RC, Raijin Comics. <http://www.raijincomics.com>, 2004.

47) Kondoh, R., Personal communications, 9 and 12 August 2004.

48) Lewis, D., 'Unlikely ambassadors: The surprising appeal of *manga* overseas', *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, 27(3-4), 2002, pp. 7-11.

49) Ashby, J., 'Manga culture ignites craze in market overseas', *The Japan Times*, 24 August 2003. <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/egi-bin/getarticle.pl5ek20030814br.htm>

at US \$4.3 billion, which is four times the value of Japanese steel exports to the United States.⁵⁰⁾

The combined exports of Japanese *manga*, animation, art, music and toys had reached US \$14 billion (1.5 trillion yen) compared to less than US \$5 billion (500 billion yen) in 1992.⁵¹⁾ While the export pop-culture sector is still small compared to other Japanese business activities this three-fold increase in its size over a decade suggests that it is the fastest growing sector of the Japanese economy, which experienced only a 15 per cent increase over the period.

This Japan Cool phenomenon has prompted a series of upbeat media stories about how the country is being transformed from being the economic superpower of the 1980s into a potential cultural powerhouse of the new millennium (see, for example, Chiba;⁵²⁾ De Boer;⁵³⁾ Fowler, GF;⁵⁴⁾ Yamada,⁵⁵⁾ Okada and Ohkoshi⁵⁶⁾). While these stories have comforted the Japanese struggling to emerge from a prolonged economic recession, the youthful appeal of *manga*, *anime* and video games may have alarmed cautious Westerners. A counter to this concern has been the Japanese Government's encouragement of the export of translated information *manga* and exhibitions of *manga* artwork to project the country's image abroad. The pictures have not always translated well at art shows because *manga* are for reading rather than exhibition. Consequently, offerings at exhibitions in North American and European venues have focused on short *manga* works.⁵⁷⁾ What will be the outcome? Rather than the appearance of a universal comic-style through the globalization process Paul Gravett sees the prospect of 'World Comics' being derived from combining the genes from Japanese comics with those of Europe and North America and other Asian sources to create a transnational culture, typified by the work of French graphic novelist Frédéric Boilet,⁵⁸⁾ now resident in Tokyo.⁵⁹⁾

IV Glocalization

The United States has sought to take advantage of Japan's Cool by tailoring films, if not comics, for the Japanese market—the *Last Samurai* grossing US\$109 million in the United States compared with US\$131 million in Japan.⁶⁰⁾ In turn, a globalized Japan has sought to market *manga* in neighboring countries by being sensitive to local differences. This glocalization process should have been relatively easy given the cultural proximity of Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan to Japan as their languages can be written right-to-left and top-to-bottom and only translation is required. Although *manga* first entered Asian markets in the 1970s, acceptance was delayed by

50) Terada Shinichi, Japan's booming pop culture: animated cartoons become big Japanese business, CBS Market Watch. <http://cbs.marketwatch.com/news/story.asp?guid=%7B7A29833D-242B-4826-967CCD1A51C81778%7D&siteid=google&dist=googl> 2003.

51) Faiola, A., 'Japan's Empire of cool', MSBNC News, 2003. <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3814280/>

52) *op. cit.*, 37).

53) *op. cit.*, 42).

54) Fowler, G. A., 'Animation: Japan's world beaters', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 22 2004, 2004, pp. 48-49.

55) GF, Special Issue on 'Cool Japan', *Gaiko Forum-Forum on Foreign Affairs*, June, 2004. <http://www.gaikoforum.com/>

56) *op. cit.*, 38).

57) *op. cit.*, 3) (2).

58) *op. cit.*, 11).

59) FB, Frédéric Boilet-Biography. <http://www.boilet.net/am/biographie.html>, 2004.

60) *op. cit.*, 42).

antipathy towards past Japanese imperialism in China, South Korea and Taiwan. As in Thailand, *manga* in Taiwan were often pirated or re-drawn.⁶¹⁾ Not only did South Korea not accept the Japanese right-to-left format but placed an embargo on imports.

From the mid-1980s this delayed penetration of Asian markets by *manga* was eased, according to Koichi Iwabuchi's thesis,⁶²⁾ by a shift in emphasis within the media alliance from exporting Japanese cultural products *per se* (i.e. Japanization) to distilling the 'Japanese odour' from them so that they could be retailed as authentic 'local' products. This glocalization process was aided by the success of the Japanese television drama, notably *Oshin* followed by *Tokyo Love Story* and *101st Proposal* in the early 1990s; the syndication of Dentsu's Japanese variety program format for transformation into local shows in Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan through the injection of local celebrities and audiences; and the indigenization of music derived from North America in Japan and its re-export, through Hong Kong or Taiwan en route to Shanghai, without the Chinese necessarily being aware of Japan's hand in the process. Reflecting Japan's own experience in indigenizing Western culture, this glocalization strategy embodied in computer games, consumer technologies, cover songs, has smoothed the more general acceptance of comics/animation in Asia, which are seen as the fourth element in Japan's export of culturally odorless products to the region (i.e. Iwabuchi's 4cs). Subsequently, resistance to *manga* has further dissipated reflecting the decline in the numbers of people with direct experience of the Pacific War. This trend was reinforced by the growing dislike of 'Western' values embodied in media globalization stemming primarily from the United States and the perceived need for politicians to promote 'Asian' values by making products more palatable to local tastes.

Thus by the 1990s conditions were more favourable for Japanese *manga* producers in Asia.⁶³⁾ With an increase in the economic growth rate and emergence of an affluent middle class in Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Thailand, younger people were in a position to buy boys' and girls' *manga* and a range of other Japanese consumer products including cassette players and CDs. This emerging market overcame the nagging fear among Japanese *manga* exporters about the difficulties of making a profit in Asia. This turnabout in the prospects of Japanese cultural goods in Asia led to a shift in emphasis from exporting Japanese know-how in producing *manga* to their local promotion. Until the Asian Crisis of 1997-98 Japanese producers appeared unworried by appropriation stemming from piracy and imitation. Since the Crisis the Japanese Government has sought to crackdown on pirates by developing licensing agreements with Hong Kong, Taiwan and Thailand. This regulation, stemming from Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), is not only aimed at *manga* but also at *anime* and video games. Inevitably, these actions prompted a backlash against Japan in the countries concerned.

In Thailand all of the popular comics catering for a wide spectrum of readers across all ages

61) Ponchamni, Rop, 'Future possibilities of comics in Thailand', *ABD [Asian/Pacific Book Development]*, 34 (1) 2003, pp. 10-11 [Quarterly published by Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO].

62) Iwabuchi K., *Returning to Asia: Japan in the cultural dynamics of globalisation, localisation and Asianisation*, PhD thesis 1999, University of Western Sydney.

63) Gossman, P., Introduction to the Panel 'Images of Asia in Japanese mass media, popular culture and literature', 2nd International Convention of Asia Scholars, *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*, Berlin 9-12 August 2001. <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/ICAS2/Goessmann.pdf>

came from Japan, including Fujiko F. Fujio's *Doraemon*, the name of a robot who continually helps a weak youngster incapable of acting on his own.⁶⁴⁾ Besides *Dragon Ball*, other favourites included Yoichi Takahashi's *Captain Tsubasa* who moved from boy prodigy to 2002 World Cup star; and Takehiko Inoue's *Suramu Danku* [Slam Dunk] featuring an unwilling, red headed basketballer.⁶⁵⁾ As these comics were pirated, readers experienced poor paper quality, poor translations and ran the possibility of the series not being finished. There were only four comic publishers in Thailand: Vibulkj, Nation, Siam Inter Comics and Bangkokch. In 2002 two new comic publishers, Burapat Comics and Tomorrow Comics, were added and their activities included buying license rights from Japan. Although the price of comics is about 35–55 baht (US \$ = 42baht), keeping pace with the 35–55 comics published weekly is beyond the limited budget of many potential readers. Comic rental shops have increased and are enjoying the spin-off sales from animation series on television. Countering these gains are the competition from computer games, the continuation of the practice of pirating 'adult' comics and inefficient distribution channels for comics in Thailand, despite 80 per cent of the market being in Bangkok.

Once pirates were brought under some degree of control, Japanese producers led by Shûeisha, the publishers of *Shônen Jump*, transplanted *manga* and *anime* to other parts of Asia. Initially, Shûeisha released *manga* in South Korea to compete against locally produced Korean *mangwha* once regulations were eased in 1998. Then the big publisher expanded its market to Taiwan that has the reputation as having greatest range of boys', girls' and young adult *manga* in Asia, prompting rival Kôdansha to license *manga* there within three days of their publication in Japan. Later Shûeisha's circulation was extended to other Asian economies, displacing the popularity of American style comics in the process. As in Thailand, there is also a strong following for the robot cat *Doraemon* and the *Dragon Ball* series among other Southeast Asian countries. This growing popularity of *manga* and associated licensed products of famous characters has led to the publishers trying to develop Japanese-style production and distribution systems in Asia. However, the superpower status of Japan's pop culture has led to the persistence of an unequal relationship with other Asian economies. The inequality not only persists in the *manga* industry but also extends into music, art, fashion and design. Will this inequality endure, or are there grounds for considering cultural products at a different spatial scale by subsuming Japan into a wider Asian market?

V Localization: Regional Scale?

Japanese producers expect that over time domestically produced *manga* in Asia will supersede their own products. This anticipated indigenization mirrors Japan's own experience as the country's absorption of Western comic influences presents a model for other Asian countries, notably China, to follow.⁶⁶⁾ Already a *manga* industry has emerged in various Asian economies

64) *op. cit.*, 13) (2).

65) *op. cit.*, 61).

66) DYO, China looking to imitate Japanese Manga, The Daily Yomiuri Online, 2004. <http://www.laibcoms.com/index.php/news/3>

incorporating both American production style and radical topics and art from Japan that were lacking in local comics. In Hong Kong there is an emphasis on *kung fu* and martial arts comics [*manhua*] produced not by individual artists but by a collective production system.⁶⁷⁾ Indigenization is most evident in South Korea's comics [*manwha*] industry.

This South Korean *manwha* industry flourished when imports of *manga* from Japan were banned (*localization*). Since 1998 this ban has been relaxed and Japanese pop culture has been allowed into the country.⁶⁸⁾ Consequently, an influx of Japanese comics have atrophied the local industry of 106 publishing companies, producing over 800 titles each month, and dominated by the 'Big Three' — Seoul Cultural Publishers Inc., Daiwon C.I. Inc and Haksan Publishing Co. Ltd — that account for half of the comics produced and four-fifths of the intake of the 10,000 comic rental shops that still dominate the industry.⁶⁹⁾ The Japanese influx has compounded the litany of drawbacks to producing comics in South Korea stemming from the social prejudice against comics; an outmoded legal system restricting content; losses arising from an expensive and inefficient pre-modern distribution system; and illegal online scanning of comics on the Internet. Unlike Japan, there is no mechanism for comics to be collected in books and there is no well-developed media alliance through which comics can be animated for television. First printings do not exceed 5 000 copies and, as the industry shrinks, 3,000 copies are fast becoming the norm. Also the animation industry in South Korea is still in the process of shifting from being a cheap production base for foreign animation houses to taking on an export role in its own right that is capable of having a spin-off for local *manwha* producers.

As witnessed by Won-bok Rhie's (2002) *Korea Unmasked*,⁷⁰⁾ there are opportunities for high quality information *manwha*. There is no shortage of creative talent. Sales of Seunghyun Shim's *Papepopo Memories* about the everyday lives of young people have exceeded 500,000 copies. Given these prospects the South Korean government has refused to protect its national comics industry from Japanese competition but has promoted *manwha* abroad. As a result there has been an increase in Korean comics for sale to North America and Europe following in the path of Japanese *manga*; there are also sales to Japan and Thailand. Presumably, the sales to North America handled by TokyoPop could be regarded as *lo-globalization* and contributing to the further decentering of globalization. However, the sales of *manwha* from South Korea to Japan and the parallel movement of artists create a conceptual dilemma, as these developments could not be regarded as a case of *glocalization*.

The way out of this conceptual dilemma is to suggest that Japan and South Korea should be subsumed into the wider regional entity together with Hong Kong, Taiwan and possibly other Asian economies. In other words, the *regional level* becomes the dominant scale for discussing *localization* rather than the national level. While obviating the need to invoke an Asianization process, localization at a regional level would provide an opportunity for *manga* that explore

67) Wong, Siuyi, W., *Hong Kong Comics: A History of Manhua*, Princeton Architectural Press. 2002.

68) *op. cit.*, 11).

69) Yoo J., 'Trends in Korean comic publishing', Special Issue on the World of Asian Comics, *ABD[Asian/Pacific Book Development]*, 34 (1), 2003, pp. 8-9 [Quarterly published by Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO].

70) Rhie, Won-bok, *Korea Unmasked: In Search of the Country, the Society and the People*, trans. By Jung Un and Louis Choi, Seoul, Gimm-Young Publishers Inc., 2002.

'human connectedness, cross-gender issues, transcendental existence and so forth' that are omitted in Western discourses.⁷¹⁾ Thus, the concepts of *globalization* and *localization*, together with their hybrids of *glocalization* and *lo-globalization*, are sufficient to account for observed trends in *manga* world.

VI Conclusions

This study of the dialectic between *globalization* and *localization* seen through the prism of Japanese *manga* suggests a more nuanced interpretation of contemporary political economy is required than Benjamin R. Barber's study entitled *Jihad vs. McWorld*. There is a pressing need to appreciate not only the continuing depth of Japan's economic power, but also to recognize the likely impact and nature of Japan's cultural strength evident in *manga* and its connections within a broader media alliance.⁷²⁾ There is no denying Douglas McGray's view in his *Foreign Policy* article on Japan's Gross National Cool that, at least, in cultural terms 'Japan has become one of a handful of perfect globalized nations (along with the United States).'⁷³⁾

The additional hybrid concepts of *glocalization* and *lo-globalization* were invoked to extend existing *globalization theory* to better explain the ramifications of a 'decentered' globalization that not only encompasses Japan but also could accommodate a range of other Asian economies with different cultural histories and geographies. With this array of concepts it has been possible to account for how Japanese *manga* originated and changed over time before describing how they became popularized in Europe and North America, and a veritable latecomer in the export of cultural products to Asia. Also it has been possible to explore the theoretical implications of exporting cultural products from Asia to Japan by demonstrating how *localization* operates at different geographical scales — national and regional — to emphasize that *manga* have to be studied within the economic and political context in which they were created.

A further step forward is to recognize that *glocalization* and *lo-globalization* are essentially urban processes. Within Japan, Tokyo, not Osaka, has been the base of for controlling the transformation of local *manga* into global products for consumption in major North American and European cities (*lo-globalization*). Also Tokyo is the base for directing the export of *manga* through international distribution networks into Asian mega-city regions ranging from Seoul through Taipei, Hong Kong, Bangkok and Singapore to Jakarta (*glocalization*). In turn, these urban centers in Asia are the conduits for the flow of locally produced *manga* products into Japan (*localization*).

Attention here has been focused on *manga* but the findings of this study are more generally applicable to Japan's wider media alliance and raise a series of policy issues, particularly those involving content.⁷⁴⁾ Could *manga* images, for example, provide content for new generations of

71) Lau Kwok Wah, 'Introduction', in Lau, K. W. (ed.), *Multiple Modernities: Cinemas and Popular Media*, in Transcultural East Asia, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2003. p. 2.

72) Williams, D., *Japan and the Enemies of Open Political Science*, Routledge, London and New York. 1996.

73) McGray, D., 'Japan's Gross National Cool', *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2002, pp. 44-55.

74) (1) Rimmer, P. J., 'Osaka-Kansai: The classic national second-city region in a 'global information age'', in Institute for Economic Research, *21st Century Asia: Economic Restructuring and Challenges of Mega-cities*, Institute for Economic

mobile phones? More generally, are exports of *manga*, *anime* and video games simply teen trends in North America and Europe that will be discarded once the temporary fanbase leaves high school? Concerns about the likely longevity of current trends in exporting cultural products, and threats from copycat producers in neighboring Asian economies, have prompted government and private sector discussion about the long-term profitability of Japanese pop culture.

The discussion has focused on sustaining the production of cultural products over the longer-term. As Japanese pop culture spread from the dynamics of the private sector's response to commercial opportunities when the country was experiencing a prolonged economic recession, the Japanese government has not developed a grand scheme for the future development of a 'creative economy', involving the media and entertainment industries. Rather than wait for a bureaucratic response and a discussion of the restructuring of the Japanese publishing industry to make it more competitive, there have been a series of private initiatives by Japanese publishers to sustain cultural production, including Kôdansha's offer of internships to Western artists to refresh their *manga* magazines and then to retail the results in North America and Europe. Hybrid 'World Comics' stemming from this transnational process may be the precursor of a universal style of comics in the twenty-first century that can be comprehended by all readers.⁷⁵⁾

Meanwhile some local governments have sought to revitalize their economies by building museums to honor famous *manga* artists such as the *Sazae San*'s creator's Machiko Hasegawa Museum in Setagaya, Tokyo.⁷⁶⁾ The proliferation of these museums suggests that the policy is too narrowly based and greater emphasis should be focused on clusters of activities. The Japanese government's approach is to capitalize on the importance of 'soft power', arising from the country's culture, to spread its local regional and global influence by attraction and persuasion rather than coercion through the exercise of 'hard power' stemming from the application of military, strategic or economic force.⁷⁷⁾ Already the spread of Japan's culture-based, soft power has been marked not only in proceeds from patents and royalties derived from local and international joint ventures in *manga*, anime, fashion goods, martial arts, movies and television but also is embodied in the cute design of computers and mobile phones.⁷⁸⁾ Seeking to offset the disadvantages of an aging population and language barriers, the government is encouraging Japan's soft power by introducing pop culture studies in schools and universities as a step towards developing media professionals who can deepen content and increase exports of popular cultural products. This Japanese initiative could serve as a model for other economies in its local region.

Research, Osaka City University, 2001. p. 243. (2) Nakamura I., Policies on contents need to be established a new strategy for the "Digital era", Opinions, Glocom Platform, Japanese Institute of Global Communications. 2004. http://www.glocom.org/opinions/essays/20040113_nakamura_policies/index.html.

75) *op. cit.*, 11).

76) JEL, Welcome to *Manga Town*, Trends in Japan, Japan Echo Inc. 1999. <http://web-japan.org/trends00/honbun/tj990624.html>.

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Manga World: Globalization Theory Revisited

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Japan is fast becoming a major node of global cultural production. A host of Japanese cultural products have been created for domestic consumption, including animation, comics, film, music, and television (*localization*). The increasing export of these Japanese cultural products to Europe and North America underlines *globalization* is not merely a Western preserve but incorporates Japan (*lo-globalization*). As Japan has become part of this decentered *globalization*, it is, in turn, exporting cultural products to Asia (*glocalization*). However, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan are exporting their local cultural products to Japan (*localization?*). These developments raise a series of issues: how have local Japanese cultural products originated and changed over time; how have Japan's cultural products become popularized and insinuated themselves so effectively into Western culture; why has Japan been a latecomer in the export of cultural products to Asia; and how can the reverse process of exporting cultural products from South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and other Asian economies to Japan be theorized? These issues are addressed by examining the origins and transformation of Japanese comics (*manga*), their export to the global market, the reasons for their delayed export to Asia and the reverse flow of comics from Asia to Japan.

Key words: comic books (*manga*), cultural products, globalization, glocalization, localization, lo-globalization.

マンガの世界——グローバリゼーション理論再訪——

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日本はグローバルな文化生産の主要な結節点へと急速になっている。アニメ・コミック・映画・音楽・テレビ番組など日本の文化的産物の多くは、国内消費のために創られてきた（ローカリゼーション）。グローバリゼーションを明示するようなヨーロッパや北米へのこうした日本の文化的産物の輸出の増大は、単なる西欧的価値観の保持ではなく日本的要素を組み入れている（ロー・グローバリゼーション）。日本はこうした分核化したグローバリゼーションの一部となり、一転して文化的産物をアジアへも輸出している（グローカリゼーション）。しかしながら、韓国・香港・台湾はローカルな文化製品を日本へ輸出している（ローカリゼーションか?）。以上のような展開は、次のような一連の論点を浮かび上がらせている。ローカルな日本の文化的産物は、どのように始まり時間を経て変化してきたのか。日本の文化的産物は、どのようにうまく西欧文化へ普及し入り込んだのか。日本が、なぜアジアへの文化的産物の輸出における遅参者なのか。韓国・香港・台湾や他のアジア諸国から日本への文化的産物の輸出という逆流過程を、どのように理論化するのか。これらの論点を、特に日本のコミック（マンガ）に焦点をおいて、その起源と変質、グローバル市場への輸出、アジアへの遅れた輸出の理由、アジアから日本へのコミックの逆流入、を検討し論じる。

キーワード：コミック本（マンガ）、文化的産物、グローバリゼーション、グローカリゼーション、ローカリゼーション、ロー・グローバリゼーション