# STUDYING SHÔJO MANGA: <br> global education, narratives of self and the PATHOLOGIZATION OF THE FEMININE 

by
ALWYN SPIES
B.A., University of Victoria, 1991
M.A., University of British Columbia, 1996

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Department of $A$ sic $s t v(i)^{2}$
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada
Date 6 (pt $23 / 2(x-3$


#### Abstract

This dissertation takes an interdisciplinary Cultural Studies approach to the study of shôjo manga, or Japanese comics for girls and young women. Audience research is combined with textual analysis in order to explore roles for Japanese Studies in a global context. Building on the large body of Western academic writing on romance narratives and popular culture for girls (Radway 1984, McRobbie 1994, Ang 1996, Driscoll 2002) original ethnographic interviews with shôjo manga readers are linked to close readings of major works by three key artists whose manga are marketed to female readers in Japan - Yoshida Akimi, Haruno Nanae, and Okazaki Kyôko.

Various layers of "narratives of self" are identified within the shôjo manga texts as well as within the ethnographic accounts in the dissertation and academic writing about shôjo manga in general. Personal narratives are utilized to illustrate how the author's own academic writing (and this dissertation) form yet another layer of self-narrative. Connections are then made between these layers and the pathologization of the feminine; the manner in which feminist academics often construct a mature, active or independent identity in opposition to the silly complicit or passive girls clearly parallels the manner in which "the West" constructs its identity in opposition to a feminized "Orient". This then leads to the conclusion that studies of shôjo manga and Japanese popular culture could be used for anti-racist and anti-sexist education - a key component of education for global citizenship.


## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ..... ii
Table of Contents ..... iii
List of Figures ..... v
List of Stories ..... vi
Preface ..... vii
Acknowledgements ..... viii
Foreword ..... ix
CHAPTER I.0.0 FRAMEWORK ..... 1
1.1.0 Introduction ..... 1
1.2.0 Why Japanese Studies? ..... 4
1.3.0 Gender and Japanese Studies ..... 11
1.4.0 Conclusions ..... 21
CHAPTER 2.0.0 MANGA ..... 25
2.1.0 Yoshida Akimi: Banana Fish, Bodhisattva \& Cherries ..... 25
2.1.1 Introduction ..... 25
2.1.2 Banana Fish ..... 27
2.1.3 The Dual Structure ..... 29
2.1.4 Criticism of gender roles ..... 33
2.1.5 Gender anxiety and the Banana Fish short stories ..... 39
2.1.6 Kisshô Tennyo ..... 42
2.1.7 Sakura no Sono (The Cherry Orchard) ..... 49
2.1.8 Conclusion ..... 74
2.2.0 Papa Told Me: Healing Hearts \& the Pathologization of the Feminine ..... 79
2.2.1 Introduction ..... 79
2.2.2 Loveable Lies ..... 82
2.2.3 Growing Up Anti-Sexual: The Pathologization of the Feminine ..... 87
2.2.4 Papa Told Me ..... 91
2.2.5 Alternatives to the Prince ..... 103
2.2.6 Analysis ..... 112
2.3.0 PINKness ..... 116
2.3.1 Introduction ..... 116
2.3.2 Parallels with Third-Wave Debates ..... 119
2.3.3 Reactions ..... 123
2.3.4 A Close Reading ..... 127
2.3.5 Analyzing Pink ..... 146
2.3.6 Exploring the Endings ..... 149
2.3.7 The Male Version - Pink as Porn ..... 150
2.3.8 The Female Version - Pink as Shôjo Manga ..... 152
2.3.9 Male and Female Combined - the Death of the Love Object ..... 155
2.3.10 The Meaning of Pink ..... 158
2.3.11 Critical Reception and Pink as Parody ..... 159
2.3.12 Is Yumi Just a Stupid Slut? ..... 164
2.3.13 The Narrator Effect and Definitions of Desire ..... 166
2.3.14 Conclusions ..... 172
CHAPTER 3.0.0 READER RESPONSE INTERVIEWS ..... 175
3.1.0 Introduction ..... 175
3.2.0 Research Questions ..... 176
3.3.0 Research Design ..... 176
3.4.0 Participants ..... 177
3.5.0 Ethics ..... 179
3.6.0 Findings \& Limitations ..... 180
3.2.0 The Interview Stories ..... 184
3.2.1 Interview \# 1 - Ken'ichi (male graduate student) ..... 184
3.2.2 Interview \# 2 - Yumiko (female graduate student) ..... 186
3.2.3 Interview \# 3-Saori (female Junior High School Teacher) ..... 196
3.2.4 Interview \# 4 - Asami's girls (female high school reading group) ..... 203
3.2.5 Interview \# 5 - Shoji (male high school student) ..... 214
3.2.6 Interview \#6 - Hitomi \& Rie ..... 221
CHAPTER 4.0.0 CONCLUSION. ..... 236
Afterword ..... 246
Bibliography ..... 247
Appendix A - Interview transcripts ..... 266
Appendix B - Documents for Studies Involving Human Subjects ..... 450

## LIST OF FIGURES

## Section 2.2.1

Figure 2.1.1 Action in Banana Fish ..... 30
Figure 2.1.2 Typical Shôjo Manga - Banana Bread Pudding ..... 30
Figure 2.1.3 Girls Are Not Afraid of Blood I ..... 44
Figure 2.1.4 Sayoko as Bodhisattva ..... 47
Figure 2.1.5 The Truancy Officer ..... 54
Figure 2.1.6 Cherry Crayon ..... 56
Figure 2.1.7 Mixed Messages ..... 62
Figure 2.1.8 Penalty ..... 65
Figure 2.1.9 Tomboy ..... 71-72
Section 2.2.2
Figure 2.2.1 Shôjo Manga Healing Guide ..... 79
Figure 2.2.2 Banana Bread Pudding Characters ..... 84
Figure 2.2.3 Banana Bread Pudding in Okazaki ..... 85
Figure 2.2.4 Anti-family ..... 97
Figure 2.2.5 Kitahara-san's Reaction ..... 107
Figure 2.2.6 Making Japanese Culture ..... 110
Figure 2.2.7 Same Hair ..... 112
Section 2.2.3
Figure 2.3.1 The Obi ..... 122
Figure 2.3.2 Pink Covered and Uncovered ..... 123
Figure 2.3.3 Yumi Gets a Lecture ..... 132
Figure 2.3.4 Yumi's Perspective ..... 139, 140
Figure 2.3.5 Girls Are Not Afraid of Blood II ..... 142
Figure 2.3.6 Panic ..... 144
Figure 2.3.7 Nana \& Nana ..... 150
Figure 2.3.8 Sazae-san Hair ..... 154
Section 4.0.0
Figure 4.1 Market = readers ..... 237
Figure 4.2 Changes in ladies comics over time ..... 240
Figure 4.3 Manga as mood inducers ..... 242

## LIST OF STORIES

Female Circumcision ..... 3
Uncle Don ..... 11
Canadian Identity? ..... 22
Blood and Baseball Barbeques ..... 37
Permission ..... 47
Searching for My Mother's Body ..... 64
Don't Get Pregnant ..... 87
Uncle Don Again ..... 91
Over the Hill ..... 102
Born-Again Japanese ..... 111
Superiority ..... 118
Foreign Bodies ..... 126
Real Children and the Quest for Eternal Life ..... 148
Tight T's ..... 166
Taking Turns on the Bus ..... 171
Boy-Talk ..... 235
Dancing in Abbotsford ..... 246

## PREFACE

This inter-disciplinary project was originally conceived of and designed as a multi-media hypertext document. Up until four days before the due date, when the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of British Columbia informed me that it had to be printed out, it had been a CD-Rom with a multi-dimensional network of interconnected audio, visual and text files. As a result, the multi-media metaphor has been flattened and what you are seeing here is a restricted version of the author's original conception. The links have been converted to footnotes, and the sound files have been converted to story scripts (interspersed within pages of text), but the effect is not the same. Because the project was formed around an argument expressed through audio and visual juxtaposition rather than linear flow, there are now places where the reader will have to make conceptual leaps where previously links were explicit.

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## FOREWORD

When I first came to Japan as an eighteen year-old high school exchange student, I instantly became a member of a different class (due to a lack of cultural and linguistic capital, as well as a lack of citizenship and working papers) but my ethnicity and gender stayed the same. What my ethnicity meant in Japan changed (I became a minority), but what my gender meant did not. More precisely, while my gender and its accompanying social status (or lack of status) stayed the same, via linguistic and cultural adaptations, some of its representations and manifestations slowly shifted shape. And finally, because I was not a "real" member of society, my sexuality and sexual orientation became a non-issue. At the time, I was not able to articulate what these shifts were, but I was very cognizant of their effects on my life, my mind and my body. Suddenly made aware that my identity was not fixed, that codes switched, and that I had spent eighteen years oblivious to most of my own conditioning and socialization, I became curious about the connections between ethnic identity, language, gender, education and global migration. Upon return to Canada, I decided against studying science (which I had concentrated on in high school) and chose instead to take a degree in the humanities. Knowing that it was a risky financial investment, I had hopes that it would at least prove to be personally and socially valuable. I wanted to understand, to be able to identify and explain what had happened to me in order to learn how to reproduce these kinds of cognitive and cultural paradigm shifts either in local contexts for people who might never have the luxury of an extended trip abroad or the opportunity for a literal quest in search of self, or to make them happen faster and more consistently for those who were already moving around. What you are reading here, presented as a Ph.D. dissertation, is part of this articulation process.

### 1.0.0 FRAMEWORK

$[1]$ is crucial to argue that reading remains important precisely because it might give rise to thinking, even though it risks proving to be only a useless nothing. We do not have to give in to a future where higher education can only understand itself as a matter of profit margins, efficiency rankings and vocational expertise. Our time will not be well spent merely accepting the corporate terms of the debate about higher education and then endlessly refining definitions of 'graduateness'.

Diane Elan (2000: final paragraph)
[W]e must remember that development is embodied, and our understanding of how women go through their life course can only be clarified and deepened by listening to women's stories surrounding their bodily selves.

Janet Lee and Jennifer Sasser-Coen (1996: 7)

The medium is the message.
Marshall McLuhan (1964)

### 1.1.0 Introduction

It is not possible to study shôjo manga in Canada without questioning the premise of the entire educational endeavor. The fact that a study of shôjo manga, or Japanese comics for girls, does not fit into any traditional academic discipline studied in universities in Canada usually prompts the question, "So why do it?" Thus, every academic paper ever written in English on the subject of shôjo manga has had to start, middle, and end with a vindication of shôjo manga's social, cultural and intellectual value or else disparage them as damaging opiates for the falsely conscious. Instead of following this pattern and trying to explain what shôjo manga are and why they are a good thing to learn about, this project is an attempt to turn the question, "Why study shôjo manga?" around, and to look at it from the inside out. Done in hopes of getting
some kind of glimpse into the "pedagogical black box" that has produced such a question in the first place, I am proposing that instead of trying to answer the question about why one might want to study shôjo manga, it might be more useful to take "shôjo manga" as a platform or a discursive space from which to ask questions such as: what is the point of doing Japanese Studies in the first place?; why should we study other cultures, other genders, other genres, other age groups, other media?; why bother doing humanities?; and why study stories at all?

In order to illustrate how these questions are interconnected, this project takes a modified Cultural Studies methodological approach. Analysis of both primary and secondary texts has been combined with original ethnographic audience research. According to Stuart Hall, cultural studies projects always have a political aim:

It is a serious enterprise, or project, and that is inscribed in what is sometimes called the "political" aspect of cultural studies. [...] But there is something at stake in cultural studies, in a way that I think, and hope, is not exactly true of many other very important intellectual and critical practices. (Hall, 1992: 278)

My aim for this Ph.D. project has been to find effective ways (via Japanese Studies) to implement gender studies and more equitable pedagogical practices into the new "education for global citizenship" drive. A key critical assumption that underlies this methodology is that the thinking skills and values implicit in the practice of audience research (as well as the analysis of its limitations) rely on the same cognitive skills and awareness necessary for the construction of student-centered instructional practices, for the ability to "read" across culture/gender/race boundaries and identify with characters in fictional narratives, and for the ability to communicate effectively in foreign languages or with people from other cultures. These skills
are often listed as important for "global education" yet the focus seems to be more on the "global" and less on the "education". Thus, to illustrate how I think Japanese Studies could contribute to "global education", self-reflective experiential accounts are also included. The articulation of experience is central to the chosen methodology. As Riesmann has cogently argued in her book on the analysis of narrative accounts in ethnography:

All forms of representation of experience are limited portraits. Simply stated, we are interpreting and creating texts at every juncture, letting symbols stand for or take the place of the primary experience, to which we have no direct access.
(Riessman, 1993: 15)

In addition to the stories from the manga and the reader response interviews, personal narratives have also been included to draw attention to the pedagogical issues that while intrinsic to the practice of Japanese Studies, are seldom discussed.

## Female Circumcision

When I was in grade 12, we were all required at some point before graduation to go to the counselor's office and do the Choices Programme on the computer. It was basically a very primitive aptitude/interest index and you punched in answers to questions that assessed your ethical boundaries, your salary needs, your willingness to train etc. and then it spit out a list of jobs for you. Number one on my list was "priest/rabbi." It didn't differentiate between genders because they had been telling us for 12 years that "girls can do anything." I remember laughing at the irony. It was so obvious -- if they had to tell you that
girls can do anything, it meant that the expectation was the opposite. If it were true, they wouldn't have to push it so hard. This was at the height of the Cold War, and my favorite joke was "What's the difference between the Russians and the Americans? The Russians know it's propaganda." It told everyone that my career "Choice" required me to decide if I should get circumcised or not.

### 1.2.0 Why Japanese Studies?

In North American universities, Japanese Studies, as part of "Area Studies", has long been under attack, both fiscally and methodologically. The traditional text-centered programs offered in Asian Studies departments (such as poetry and literature, history and religious studies to name a few) have repeatedly been accused of racism, political naïvete, methodological or theoretical lack, Orientalism, nativism or just plain irrelevance ${ }^{1}$. Post-colonial and post-structural theory have forever changed the way research about Asian cultures is received by the rest of the academy, even if the Asian Studies scholars are themselves conversant in contemporary critical theory (as many are, contrary to the stereotypes listed above). As Kwai-cheung Lo has stated, "When the concept of modernity still implies 'progress' and 'westernization,' any translation or introduction of modern texts is by no means free from cultural imperialism" (cited in Chow, 1995: 176). Moreover, as Harootunian (2000) has noted in his critique of area studies, the need for information about Asian countries as "enemy" cultures has dwindled, since the end of the Cold War, along with funds from federal governments or agencies to support such scholarship, placing many area studies departments between the proverbial rock and a hard place. While demand for Asian language classes seems to be steady (or steadily increasing in many cases) there is an increasing focus

[^0]on vocational or corporate skills (applied or "business" language). In addition, emphasis is placed more on economics and "policy studies" rather than classical studies as part of the new non-area area, "global studies."

If a Japanese citizen did research identical to mine, in Japan, they would be in Human Sciences, or possibly even Education, and not Japanese Studies at all. Of course, part of this is because only "gaijin" (foreigners) do Japanese Studies. For Japanese scholars at Japanese universities studying Japanese "texts" or social phenomena, everything is always already Japanese Studies (and not, significantly, Asian Studies because Area Studies is ethnography and that is reserved for cultures more primitive or less wealthy) and so "Japanese Studies" does not need to exist as such. Thus, it is very easy to explain what Japanese Studies is not, but extremely difficult to define what it is. Thinking about these kinds of issues, is not however, just an esoteric exercise. The fact that "Japanese Studies" does not translate (culturally or linguistically) into Japanese or migrate across national boundaries suggests that there is an asymmetry in the terms (and the discipline itself) that is inherently geographically contextualized. That knowledge is contextual is not a new concept, but I emphasize it here because I am repeatedly finding because of where and how my research and teaching is now situated, that unequal gender, race and cultural power relations are being erased from view by the rhetoric of "globalization", despite the so-called celebration of identities hybridized through certain kinds of cultural, labor and disciplinary migrations.

I came to Kyoto to do the research for my Ph.D. dissertation, and decided not to return to Canada. Currently, I am what is known as a "temporary contract full-time foreign language instructor" (direct translation), a position that is specified for "native" speakers only. I have been hired by Ritsumeikan

University to teach three years of content-based English language classes in the Law Department, and not "Japanese Studies". While the subject of my research has not changed, I find that because of my shift in position from a fieldworker gathering data on the "natives" to a resident "native speaker" (or from the Japanese perspective from a "guest researcher" to "disposable migrant labor") that what I can (or, more to the point, cannot) ethically articulate has changed. Despite the fact that the disciplines I have been trained in (humanities and cultural studies) directly affect what and how I teach and write, because of the shift in my geographical position, the "area" of my so-called expertise has also shifted; because I do Japanese Studies in Japan, I am no longer regarded as possessing valuable knowledge of the "global" or even the, now-outdated, "international". In the first place, it is very difficult for non-Japanese people to get full-time positions at Japanese universities (it is hard for Japanese people too, of course) but a degree in Japanese Studies, because it is not seen as "global", makes it harder to get the more plentiful "native speaker" language positions ${ }^{2}$ that Japanese people are not, by definition and job description, eligible for. Interestingly, I am often asked to teach "global issues" within English language classes, but because of my ethnicity, not because of my academic discipline. Ironically, research about Japan in Japan done by non-Japanese has to be "extra-curricular".

That there is a distinct difference in status between "language instructor" (native speaker or not) and regular faculty is apparent in the larger numbers of classes that language teachers are expected to teach (and then even more if you are non-Japanese). The institutionalized lack of professional status accorded to "native foreign language instructors" within the Japanese academic system" may well be a

[^1]form of "misrecognition", as defined by Nancy Fraser:
To be misrecognized ... is not simply to be thought ill of, looked down on, or devalued in others' conscious attitudes or mental beliefs. It is rather to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction and prevented from participating as a peer in social life - not as a consequence of a distributive inequity (such as failing to receive one's fair share of resources or 'primary goods'), but rather as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of interpretation and evaluation that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem. When such patterns of disrespect and disesteem are institutionalized, for example, in law, social welfare, medicine, and/or popular culture they impede parity of participation, just as surely as do distributive inequities. The resulting harm is in either case all too real. (Fraser 1998:141)

While I am not sure that the cultural and the material are distinguishable in the case of foreign instructors of foreign languages at Japanese universities, and, putting aside, for now, issues of whether highly-educated (elite?) people from wealthy western nations who have migrated in search of higher pay cheques should ethically be allowed to claim "minority" status, human rights apply and thus the application of the term "misrecognition" here has interesting theoretical implications.

This privileging of "content" over "language" is an academic trend that appears to be widespread and is echoed in the privileging of "politics" over "culture". Of course, this is also a heavily gendered binary opposition. Judith Butler (1998), in her article "Merely Cultural" has criticized Fraser for dividing the "cultural" damage (misrecognition) from the material (maldistribution) because it supports arguments by what she calls "the left orthodoxy," who are trying to discredit any new (left) social movements or activism that are not based solely on class analysis (such as those that focus on gender or race for example) as the "merely cultural." The orthodox (scholars) are claiming that "unity" is necessary,

[^2]but blame "cultural studies" and cultural identity movements for preventing it. Butler claims that unity is not possible, unless it is seen as a "mode of sustaining conflict in politically productive ways" and not as a "synthesis of a set of conflicts." She further explains that this pattern is seen in the drives within various academic disciplines to separate race, gender, class and sexual orientation issues or identity politics from their particular research territories:

Within the academy, the effort to separate race studies from sexuality studies from gender studies marks various needs for autonomous articulation, but it also invariably produces a set of important, painful, and promising confrontations that expose the ultimate limits to any such autonomy: the politics of sexuality within African-American studies, the politics of race within queer studies, within the study of class, within feminism, the question of misogyny within any of the above, the question of homophobia within feminism, to name a few. (Butler, 1998: 37) In order to explore these difficult but "promising confrontations" several of the foreign faculty and language instructors started a "Japanese Studies" research group at Ritsumeikan University. Each of the founding members (some "mere" language instructors and some not) had slightly different needs and expectations, but in general we all agreed that we needed (our own) study group, as far removed from university hierarchies as possible, to provide a forum for exploring our changing relationships with the post-colonial theoretical concepts of "Orientalism" and some of its more complicated variants, such as "self-Orientalism", "reverse Orientalism," "self-reverse Orientalism." Because of the (dis)placement of our disciplines due to our geographical and cultural positions, we were finding that the terms were slipping and that we no longer "understood" them (to the extent that it was possible in the first place). Also, we were all,
to various degrees, having problems identifying who the audience was for our research, which was complicating our writing to the point that many of us were having problems writing at all. Thus, we started with Greenaway's film The Pillow Book as a point of reference for locating "the Japanese" in a "Western" context to be discussed by "non-Japanese" in a Japanese context in order to explore the boundaries of (our own) "Orientalism" and its connection to our "misrecognition".

We also wanted to discuss whether or not we, as non-Japanese resident Japanologists, have a "privileged" position from which to speak when we publish research in our native languages outside of Japan. We wanted to know if we gained any status "outside" Japan because our information or our opinions could perhaps be defined as more authentic ("near-native") or more accurate because we live here. Of course, what produced these research questions in the first place was the very plausible anxiety that from a Japanese perspective we were redundant, yet from a western perspective, we had just converted ourselves from being cultural imperialists (extracting anthropological data from unsuspecting "natives" and exporting it to the academic "centers" of the western world, for a profit) to being linguistic imperialists (forcing western languages down non-western throats, for a profit). As Rey Chow (1995) has pointed out, such critiques are in and of themselves problematic because they still assume a greater knowledge or presume the ability to judge. She calls this "the deadlock of the anthropological situation":

In claiming "cultural imperialism" there is a built-in reference to an "original essence"-a kind of nativism that always already reifies (recognizes) the superior position of the "colonizer".

As such, because we are also implicated in the very anthropological situation that would refute our lack of position in our countries of origin (and ironically, especially if we try to publish there), these methodological
and disciplinary "deadlocks" mean that resident Japanologists are likely to be left without any audience for the results of our research, caught in a spiral of double-binds that spell out the worst of all possible academic worlds. In other words, because of the apparent impossibility of "translating" our discipline across global boundaries and against geographically-fixed points of view, our "misrecognition" gets misrecognized.

Even though I chose, in the first place, to study Japanese and do research on Japan because it afforded a series of vantage points for approaching theoretical issues of cultural and linguistic imperialism, as well as the kinds of paradigm shifts (code switching) and pedagogical reforms that are needed to deal with misrecognition and distributive imbalances based on education, gender and sexuality in Canadian society, ironically, my decision to do Japanese Studies at UBC was administrative, not disciplinary. I wanted to work with British-model Marxist Cultural Studies (with a focus on gender), but there is no Cultural Studies department, (nor any Communication Studies, or Media Studies departments) at UBC and the Women's Studies department did not offer a Ph.D. at that time. The Interdisciplinary Studies program was in its infancy and consequently bureaucratically complex, so I decided that the best way to approach the issues I was interested in was to go somewhere where the methodology was not fixed. And since Asian Studies is inherently "inter-disciplinary", and since I wanted to work with Japanese manga, it was the most practical choice. It has, of course, affected the outcome of my research. As a result, I find that the social critique in my writing is based far too heavily on textual details, rather than ethnographic data or politico-economic analysis. This bias has, in turn, resulted in a shortage of historical and class analysis, as well as the superceding of the visual aspects of the text in favor of the narrative.

The reason I have chosen to live in Japan and have knowingly signed a contract for a job that
has a "low status" is not because I cannot find employment elsewhere, but precisely because it complicates paradigms of the (gendered) production and consumption of "global" knowledge (as well as elitist notions of education that divorce form from content) in a way that is theoretically stimulating, and pedagogically motivating. I am finding also, that I can invert the process and teach the same "Japanese Studies" materials, in English to Japanese students (or to exchange students who are in Japan to study Japanese). In fact, by focusing on the very "translation" issues that complicate my research (or, more simply, how audience shifts affect messages), I can create curriculum that deals with social inequities using popular culture texts readily available and easily accessed. The "complications" end up being very useful thinking and teaching materials, though they may do little for a career as a language instructor in Japanese academia.

## Uncle Don

My mother phoned me one day a few years ago to tell me about my Uncle Don's latest story. He had recently retired, and he and his wife were home-schooling two of their grandchildren. He told his granddaughter (who was 7 at the time) that if she studied hard, real real hard, one day, she might become a boy. My mother, horrified, yelled at him, and he couldn't understand why she didn't think it was funny. I was depressed for days. Now I think I was depressed because I have been trying to do it for years.

### 1.3.0 Gender and Japanese Studies

That "Orientalism" is somehow inherent, or institutionalized in "Japanese Studies" is one of the
major logical assumptions underlying my choice of research topic and methodology; the "messiness" of Japanese Studies is precisely why it is interesting and useful, in my opinion. Said (1974) showed that the unequal power relations between the "east" and the "west" are gendered and that the weaker side (the "Orient") gets "feminized". Rather than focusing solely on East/West relations, I would like to pay particular attention to the gendered metaphors that are commonly and unquestioningly used to describe international relations in order to articulate a phenomenon that I have arbitrarily entitled "the pathologization of the feminine". Instead of analyzing how or why Japan is often discursively placed into the "wife" or "female" position in relation to America's "husband" or "male", it is necessary, I would argue, to question the metaphor itself as explaining racism in sexist terms is highly unlikely to lead to any effective elimination of discrimination.

While bias (sexism and racism) may be structurally endemic in Japanese Studies, I do not think that eliminating the discipline/academic area would necessarily eliminate the problem. The need for cultural knowledge and a contextualized and gendered awareness of "Japan" and Orientalism on an everyday level in both Japan and North America indicates that eliminating "Japanese Studies" might be throwing away very good opportunities (or to quote Butler again, "promising confrontations") for anti-racist and anti-sexist education. After many years of studying at universities with people who are grappling with racism and Orientalism on a theoretical level, I am still shocked by the degree of disdain for contemporary Japan that I see in the mainstream press in North America and Europe. Following are some examples and analyses of such press, that illustrate some of the vantage points that "Japanese Studies" has to offer. They also show how Japanese Studies is inseparable from the basic media and gender literacy skills that "Global Studies" should be comprised of, as well as demonstrating the need for Japanese Studies in the
first place.

The first example is a column entitled "Noticed" from The Toronto Globe and Mail. According to common knowledge, and a weekly fashion column in one of the most respected daily newspapers in Canada, the whole country of Japan is sexually repressed:

In famously repressed Japan, where one of the most popular fashion magazines is called Cutie, it is not unusual to come across a proper middle-aged woman dressed in, say, Chanel, carrying a Mickey Mouse purse. The national acceptance of mascot culture from Hello Kitty to Pokemon has made such grinning cartoon fetishes a feature on everything from signs at gas stations to napkins at fast-food restaurants. What is creepy, however, about the fixation with infantile icons is their nasty sexual underbelly. Like Sailor Moon, the foxy fighting schoolgirl in a miniskirt so mini that it stops at her crotch, the heroines of anime share a child/woman cuteness, all gangly limbed and budding breasts. This, in a country where schoolgirls make pin money selling their panties to businessmen on the Internet. (Karen von Hahn
"Noticed: Babydult", Globe and Mail, Saturday September 14, 2002)

Von Hahn is suggesting here that all Japanese women are immature and poorly dressed. "Cute" is patently a four-letter word, signifying an inability to develop properly. All Japanese men are nasty, businessmen and pedophiles. And we know this because of "cartoon fetishes" or Sailor Moon and panty sales for pin money. The columnist laments that while this "babydult" trend, or "being cute until you die" is spreading rapidly in North America, at least there it is applied with irony and encompasses some cultural
resistance or critique - insinuating, of course, that in Japan it is not. If, for argument's sake, the anthropologizing gaze is reversed and von Hahn is taken as a representative of Canadian women, it can easily become "apparent" that she is projecting her own sexual anxieties onto a feminized, pathologized Japan. Her choice of words such as "bellies," "crotches" and "budding breasts" to describe the female anatomy suggests an extreme discomfort or disgust with female flesh, which, if taken out of context and unproblematically read as indicative of the Canadian national "psyche," (as she has done with pop culture in Japan) then it might lead to interpretations of Canada as a country of frigid career woman who really just want to be men. While reversing von Hahn's argument produces an example that seems ridiculous from a Canadian perspective and reveals the bias in the original, this example is actually not far from Japanese stereotypes of North American society (or more simply, North American men) as ruined by strident, overbearing feminists.

To further elaborate, here is another example from the same week in September 2002 but from a different field and a different media form. The following was written by an American financial guru named Dennis Gartman and was included in his exclusive ${ }^{4}$ and influential daily newsletter (called The Gartman Letter) for stockbrokers and financial advisors. Please note that all grammatical and typographic errors are duly replicated from the original:

Japan Gets Serious About Its Demographic Shift: Japan's women have all but dropped out of the marriage market. We've detailed this problem before, but to summarize, Japan's young women, having seen the horrific lives that their mothers lived as their fathers remained too late at work and left all child-rearing

[^3]obligations to their wives along with the obligations for both couple's parents. Further, the father's remained late at night in the cities, spending time with associates rather than with family. Seeing the differences enjoyed by the women of N. America and Europe, young Japanese women have dropped out, and with it, the birth rate has plunged and the demographic shift already extant has become more serious; that is, the nation's drift toward an elderly and declining population has become more severe.

Again, aspects of Japanese women's lives are used as a metaphor for the state of the country. Gartman is assuming that older women in Japan have all led horrific lives and that large (unspecific uncorroborated) numbers of young women in Japan 1) are Japanese but want to be western and 2) are refusing to have children because their mothers had horrific lives. Because Gartman fails to mention that the young women in North America and Europe, of whom Japanese women are supposedly envious; have also "dropped out of the marriage market" in droves, he implies that there is therefore something wrong with Japanese men (to be read as synonymous with the nation state) because they cannot convince Japanese women to get married and have babies. In the final paragraph of this particular entry, Gartman concludes with information that the Japanese government, rather than allowing immigration, is instead trying to institute paternity leaves to shore up its aging and declining population. He suggests that this is silly, and that therefore you should not invest your money in Japan until they reform "properly". Here too, decontextualized cultural information about Japan is (patronizingly) used to evoke the very same sex, gender and aging anxieties that appear in the "Noticed" column above, though for a different audience and a different purpose. In this case, very heavily gendered metaphors of dysfunction (Freudian frigidity
becomes "dropping out of the marriage market") are used to directly influence "rational" economic transactions. While there obviously are complex connections between the social conditions of a country and its economic policies, in this case, counseling everyone not to invest in Japan would actually make Japanese women's lives (more?) "horrific". But the purpose of Gartman's letter is not to improve Japanese women's lives - it is to provide information that will help its mostly non-Japanese readers make money ${ }^{5}$. It only uses Japanese women's lives as an instrument of measure. I wish to focus on the problems with the largely unquestioned and instant "intelligibility" of metaphors that infantilize and feminize Japan and then therefore also pathologize the feminine, rather than the specific content or intent of Gartman's writing. Moreover, it is important to note that Gartman's conclusion may be valid even though his argumentation is flawed. The Japanese government perhaps does need to permit immigration and it might very well not be wise to invest your money in Japan at this time in history, but the projection of the ills of society onto the female bodies of the exoticized, Orientalized "other" is decidedly problematic.

The final example is from a very controversial article published by A.A. Gill in The Sunday Times Magazine in 2001, called "Mad in Japan". As in the "babydult" example, there seems to be a very strong connection made between "deviant" Japanese sexuality, gender and manga. Not only is gender used as a metaphor, but manga is also. Biased and uninformed popular press accounts completely ignore the large

[^4]range of manga genres and types and tend to focus only on pornographic manga directed at an adult male audience. Interestingly, most of these reports are not actually about manga, but just use manga as a metaphor to explain what the author thinks is wrong with Japanese society. In "Mad in Japan," Gill basically says that Japanese culture is strange and sick. In the section on male/female relations, he says that Japanese women have very little choice about the role they play in society and then uses manga to back this up: "Women are either silent housework drudges or sex toys. You see this dehumanizing view of women in manga. Manga are those ubiquitous pornographic comic books."

According to the United Nations (UNDP 2002) Japan is ranked ninth in the HDI (Human Development Index) and tenth in the GDI (Gender Development Index) but jumps to $32^{\text {nd }}$ with regard to the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure). ${ }^{7}$ It may in fact be possible to say that Japanese women have limited social options ${ }^{8}$, but the logic in this part of "Mad in Japan" is faulty because the author has summarily decided that all manga are pornographic, and that this "sexual sickness" of the men in Japan then explains why Japanese women's lives are limited:

Men read them openly on the trains and buses. You can buy them anywhere. [...]

Pick up almost any book at random and be prepared for a sharp intake of breath.

The stories, such as they are, generally involve schoolgirls being attacked and
raped; the scenarios are inventive in their nastiness. Children are abducted,

[^5]gagged in their beds, dragged up dark alleys. The victims are small and defenseless, with unfeasibly large breasts and round, tearful eyes. They are regularly killed or commit suicide. I kept thinking that the last pages must be missing, the ones with the comeuppance, but there's none.

While in and of themselves, the descriptions of the pornographic manga and the problems connected with them are not incorrect, though perhaps exaggerated for dramatic effect. The pornographic manga Gill refers to, do in fact exist. While it is a dramatic misrepresentation to say that all of the female characters in these pornographic comics are killed or driven to suicide, it is fair to claim that most of these manga do not show women as full human beings with dignity and human rights. Also, there are men in Japan who do read these manga openly on trains and in public places, and this probably is psychologically damaging for young women to see. The conclusions that Gill draws from these pornographic manga (and the way he draws these conclusions) are problematic though: "Nothing is as unnervingly sordid as manga, and nothing would so distress the European parents of a daughter. And the Japanese think less than nothing of it."

According to my interpretation of the above passage, it seems that Gill is claiming that the existence of (pornographic) manga proves that Japanese parents do not care about their girl children. It also suggests that these kinds of stories do not exist in Europe and America, when in fact, they do in large numbers ${ }^{9}$. While some Japanese men do buy women and female children for sexual purposes, the issue of the sexualization of women and girls is not just about Japan and Japanese culture; the trafficking of women and children for sexual purposes is a global multi-billion dollar industry. While this does not

[^6]exonerate the Japanese sex and sex tourism industries, it is beyond oversimplification to blame this problem in Japan on "eromanga".

Besides the existence in Japan of numerous parent or feminist groups fighting against pornography, there are thousands of manga for women and girls that are all about self-expression and self-discovery. Stories that help girls to grow up and acknowledge their humanity and human rights are the norm in mainstream shôjo manga. There are even erotic manga for girls that show them sex that is not abusive and that includes the right to pleasure without being objectified. All of these are ignored in articles such as Gill's. Gill concludes that Japanese girls are victims of false consciousness because they go shopping, and act cute instead of fighting back or growing up. He accuses them of only sexualizing themselves further:

How young girls react to the violent sexualizing of their youth is equally
depressing. They consume; they shop with a myopic concentration. [...] This teenage rebellion isn't political or social or even sexual, it's a plastic copy. It's not even active, it's passive and pouting and decorative. These kids are turning themselves into the living embodiment of the manga comic victims: pigeon-toed, mini-kilted, white-socked sex dolls. They are a generation of social anorexics who want to remain provocatively prepubescent.

The author denigrates Japanese women himself by not reading or analyzing or thinking about the manga that they read. Furthermore, he rhetorically traps them by first defining social maturity as "rebellion" and then refusing to see anything outside of his masculinist, Euro-centric definition of the word. This article also dehumanizes Japanese young women by using them and their bodies as a metaphor for what is
wrong with "Japan". Ironically, Gill ends up doing exactly what he accuses the manga of doing: turning Japanese girls into objects for consumption by adult (men). In addition, he places Japanese girls in the same kind of racist and sexist double-bind that both von Hahn and Gartman place them in; damned if they act like "proper Japanese women" and panned if they do not. Note that in all three cases, young Japanese women are rhetorically "denied" a (healthy) sexuality and then this is, in turn, used to explain why they are immature. Using circular logic, these writers seem to want to (or only be able to) see Japanese women (and particularly young women) as passive, docile and sexually abused. Granted, these conclusions might be logical if pornographic manga for men were the only "cultural products" in Japan to analyze, but considering that there are so many examples of popular and high cultural narrative and social "texts" in Japan that belie this, it is almost impossible to read these three examples as being about life in "Japan" at all. Deconstructed further, they turn into studies of North American and European sexuality and nationalism and our continued Orientalist tendency to need "Eastern" examples of decadence and femininity to reassure our "Western" selves of stability and rational progress.

Interestingly, much well-informed Japanese Studies writing also subscribes to the same rhetoric which results in patronizing, feminizing or infantilizing contemporary Japan. Even feminist writers slip easily from discussions of young women and their sexuality to criticisms of "sick Japanese society". Again, these critiques are often through superficial surveys or uninformed sampling of manga. Jaqueline Berndt spoke about this in a session at the Second World Congress in Yokohama on the commercial and sexual exploitation of children in December 2001. Taking an anti-censorship stance in defense of Japanese manga artists and freedom for sexual expression, she outlined how many of the (mostly) North American Japanese Studies scholars writing on manga tend to essentialize Japan, to ignore the
multiplicity of sexualities and sexual expression in Japan (as well as in their own countries), and to apply their own Euro-American Christian moralistic traditions in a way that seems to be less uncritical than calculated to sell books inside their own "scientific community". According to Berndt's presentation (and via Trinh Minh Ha) these scholars end up talking about and not with Japan ${ }^{10}$. Deborah Shamoon (2002), in a recently published paper called, "'Access' and 'aesthetics': Female desire and visual pleasure in Ladies' comics" shows how the American Japanese studies anthropologist, Anne Allison (1996) in her book Permitted and Prohibited Desires follows a very narrow Freudian model of pleasure and conflates male pornographic manga genres with erotic manga genres for women, severely limiting women's agency as readers. Again, this shows that Allison's writing contains (albeit in a much more sophisticated manner) the same faults as von Hahn's, Gartman's and Gill's. Theoretically, this may not be simply ironic. As Derrida has said, "We cannot utter a single deconstructive proposition which has not already slipped into the form, the logic and the implicit postulations of precisely what it seeks to contest" (Derrida in Rubin, 1975). All of these "misrecognitions," "double-binds," "deadlocks," "erasures," and "slippages" suggest the apparent impossibility of "Japanese Studies" (non-Japanese academic readings of Japanese "texts" for any audience) but I think that the apparent impossibility actually shows why Japanese Studies is useful or even necessary, both inside and outside Japan.

### 1.4.0 Conclusions

In the following sections of this dissertation, several different disciplinary approaches and methods for the study of shôjo manga are demonstrated and juxtaposed. Close readings of the works of

[^7]three key shôjo manga artists are combined with analyses of these texts using both Western critical theory and Japanese Manga Studies writings. This is followed by a section analyzing the results of original ethnographic audience research conducted in the Kansai area of Japan from December of 1999 to March of 2001. Full transcripts of these interviews (in the original Japanese language) are also included to provide opportunities to further question and explore.

Shôjo manga has been chosen as the theme for this project because of the vantage point it provides for examining the academic production and consumption process. Due to its lack of intellectual and cultural status (a romantic, visual, popular narrative medium for Japanese girls), yet rapidly increasing global popularity, the study of shôjo manga can function as an imaginary bridge between high and low culture, the academic and the popular, the West and the East, print and image, politics and culture, self and other, production and consumption. While not advocating crossing over to the cultural populism of Fiske et al, this "bridge" is proposed for perspective - to (re) highlight how the terms of the binarisms are (still) gendered and to point out that there is also a parallel binarism between "woman" and "girl" that feminist scholars urgently need to address. Thus, as a feminist scholar in training, my own experiences (in the form of stories) are included in order to illustrate how academic writing is also a narrative of self-production. How this exploration of gender, media consumption and narrative is connected to "Global education" will be further developed in the Conclusions section.

## Canadian Identity?

We read Margaret Atwood's Surfacing in twelfth grade in my International Baccalaureate World Literature
class. We had been reading really interesting novels from all over - Miguel Asturias' El Senor Presidente, Nadine Gordimer's Burger's Daughter, Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart, Besse Head's Maru, and Alan Paton's Cry the Beloved Country - and having really interesting discussions about oppression, suppression, imperialism, racism, and sexism and how they all interconnected with concepts of ethics and politics and poetics. I remember reading Surfacing cover to cover in one night, and being very thrilled over how something about Canada and about women in a "safe" country could be about all the same issues. I also remember being startled at how strange it was to read about something familiar in a class at school it made me see "curriculum" for the first time. I had never noticed or thought much about the content of the classes I took, nor noticed that what I read at home was so different from what I read at school until I took this World Literature class. Even within this class, where the instructor had made a conscious effort to balance the numbers of books by men and women, as well as region, $\underline{\text { Surfacing was different because it }}$ was about "Canadian" identity from a woman's perspective. The contrast between how I felt about Atwood's book and how the rest of my class reacted was shocking. Most of the students in the class were fundamental Christians (Mennonites or Dutch Reformed) and a few others were strongly Catholic. They got very angry about having to read about abortion and refused to participate in the class. I had not found it all that radical or revolutionary since we had just read El Senor Presidente where there were graphic descriptions of torture. One particular scene where a woman has her breasts covered in lime and is forced her to watch her baby starve to death particularly upset me. So I was taken by surprise at how angry Surfacing made everybody. It also confused me because the story is very obviously about how devastating the unplanned pregnancy and abortion were for the narrator and how severe the emotional consequences were. But nobody could or would articulate just what was being threatened, or how or by
whom. The book, and the irrational reactions of my classmates, caused a shift in perception that has directly affected what I study now, as well as what and how I teach.

### 2.0.0 MANGA

### 2.1.0 Yoshida Akimi: Banana Fish, Bodhisattva \& Cherries

### 2.1.1 Introduction

Yoshida Akimi has been creating manga since $1977^{1}$ when she debuted with a short story called "A Slightly Strange Neighbor." A steady stream of bestsellers followed: one of Yoshida's first works, Kisshô tennyo, (Angel of Destiny, 1983-84) won a prestigious manga prize at Shogakukan in 1984; Sakura no sono (The Cherry Orchard, 1985-1986), was made into an award-winning movie in 1992; and her latest series, Yasha, (Demon, 1997 - ) was made into a television drama in 2000. She is best known though, both inside and outside Japan, for her long-running hit series, Banana Fish, which is currently being translated into English by Viz Comics. Banana Fish was published serially from 1985 to 1994 in Bessatsu Shôjo Manga ${ }^{2}$ with chapters regularly collected into books that finally became a nineteen-volume set. The set has since been re-published in pocketbook size as a manga classic.

Yoshida has a wide following of both shôjo manga and shônen manga fans alike, yet regardless of the fact that her drawing style is often described as closer to shônen manga than shôjo manga, she continues to publish her work solely in shôjo manga magazines. According to a 1982 interview in a girls' manga magazine, Yoshida said the following about shôjo manga:

But you know, being a shôjo manga artist is great. Silly shôjo manga -
persecuted by the whole world. So what if it's a kind of masochistic

[^8]pleasure? You know, I think shôjo manga would lose all interest for me if it became "enfranchised", so I probably need to be persecuted. Being a secret shôjo manga artist suits me just fine. Hidden in some little corner of the world, staying out of people's way, I can actually do some pretty outrageous things. Which is really great. [...] So, yeah, you men can just shut up. Girls, let's just have our own fun right here. (Fusion Product February 1982, cited in Manga Yawa 1999, vol. 4: 167)

This attitude is very apparent in the way Yoshida plays with genre and gender conventions in her manga. In this respect, Yoshida Akimi's work shows clearly the influences of the 24 -nen gumi, but it does not exactly fit into the same category. Not all of her stories have male main characters, and even when they do, there are rarely any actual boy-boy sex scenes but there are many boy-girl sex scenes. Her stories are also different in that there are often strong openly homoerotic or homosocial ${ }^{3}$ attractions between female characters, and that the anxiety about female bodies is frequently stated explicitly and not "avoided" through use of male characters ${ }^{4}$. Her frankness about menstruation has made her famous. In many ways, Yoshida's work can be seen as an intermediary between the boy-boy manga of the 24 -nen gumi in the 1970s and the assertively sexual hyper-feminine "new" manga of Okazaki Kyôko and her cohort that appeared in the mid-80s. Takekuma Kentaro, a manga editor and story writer who appeared as a guest on the Manga Yawa show about Yoshida Akimi's manga Sakura no sono, suggested that:

The 24-nen gumi wrote shônen-ai stuff in the 70 s, but that kind of
sexuality, in many aspects, can't really happen. It is only the

[^9]beautiful sexuality of a fantasy world, between beautiful boys, in a far away foreign country. But Yoshida-san, well, she does set her stories in foreign countries but, they're very realistic [in terms of the sexuality]. And, so my impression is that her work is kind of like a bridge between the 24 -nen gumi and the artists who came after, like Okazaki Kyôko and her generation. (Manga Yawa, 1999:135)

In this chapter I will identify some of the "outrageous things" Yoshida does in her work as a method for exploring the mainstream she operates in and against. More specifically, I compare and contrast two of the manga that have female protagonists with Banana Fish, (an action manga with male main characters), in order to show why her work can be seen as a bridge between the boy-boy love comics and the grrl-power heterosexual love stories of the late 80s and early 90s. In the process, questions about how the "persecution" of shôjo manga that Yoshida outlines in the quote above manifests itself are connected to the relationship between genre and gender in Japanese manga discourse.

### 2.1.2 Banana Fish

Banana Fish is a long, intricate action story with a very large repertoire of characters. Set in New York, the principle plot line follows a fight between a young gang leader named Ash Lynx and a mafia boss named Dino Golzine over the control of a synthetic drug developed during the Vietnam War and tested on American soldiers. "Banana Fish" is the code name for the drug and, according to one of the characters, is taken from a Salinger story where it means "the fish of death" (English Volume 1, p.

[^10]107). People who take the drug become paranoid and can be "programmed" to kill (or may kill someone whom they fear), after which they then commit suicide. Salinger's story, called "A Perfect Day for Bananafish" (Salinger, 1948) is about an American WWII veteran who is suffering from what is now called post-traumatic stress disorder and is unable to readjust to civilian life. This veteran makes up a "story" about a fish, a bananafish, who swims into a hole after bananas, but cannot stop eating them and ends up dying because it gets too big and cannot get out of the hole. After telling this story to a little girl he has met at the beach, he goes back to his room and commits suicide.

Volume one of Yoshida's Banana Fish opens with a scene in 1973 in Vietnam where Ash's older half-brother Griffin, under the influence of the Banana Fish drug, goes mad and opens fire on the soldiers in his own unit. The story then jumps to New York in 1985, where a string of suspicious unsolved deaths that look like suicides (but are actually due to Banana Fish) have police stymied. From there, the story progresses in straight time for two (story) years over nine publishing (real) years.

Ash's background is revealed slowly through conversations about his past, usually between other characters. According to these stories, Ash ran away from his Cape Cod home to New York City when he was eight years old. He had killed the baseball coach who had been sexually abusing him, but was not charged because the police found the bodies of many other children in the man's basement. Because of the rumors and the gossip in his small town, Ash's father was about to send Ash to live with an aunt in Philadelphia, but he ran away first. Once in New York, because he was blonde, had green eyes and was very beautiful, he was recruited by Dino Golzine's men and forced into child prostitution. He was very popular at the club where Dino sold young boys to prominent politicians and businessmen, and soon became a favorite of Papa Dino's. Papa Dino then, in Pygmalion fashion, raised Ash into the perfect mafia leader - trained to fight, and properly "educated" to live in style. Because Ash is extremely
intelligent, resourceful and strongly ethical (and supposedly heterosexual), he has rejected this life and is in the process of disassociation from it. When the manga starts, he is attempting to succeed on his own as the leader of a gang of other street kids. Banana Fish is about the 17-year old Ash's attempts at revenge and escape. Despite this, Ash is ultimately incapable of extricating himself from the ties that bind him to the criminal underworld because of his brother's connection to the Banana Fish drug. Like the tragic bananafish in Salinger's story, Ash also is unable to avoid his fate and dies at the end.

### 2.1.3 The Dual Structure

In very broad terms, Banana Fish is a shôjo manga story within a shônen manga frame. Even though it is an action manga, with shooting scenes and car chases and lots of violence, all of the chapters with their temporary solutions to recurring battles work together to form one complete story about the interior lives of the main characters. In other words, the basic plot line regarding the banana fish drug is actually more of a setting than the point of the story. The main focus (in terms of what makes the story move forward) is the relationship between the hero, Ash, and a Japanese youth, Okumura Eiji, who has come to New York as the assistant to a Japanese photographer/journalist doing an article on New York City street kids. Eiji is a nineteen year-old college student who is depressed and unable to figure out what he wants to do with his future. His photographer friend, Ibe, has decided that a trip to America might broaden Eiji's horizons and give him the mental and emotional space to sort out who he really is. Eiji and Ash meet when the photographer interviews Ash and they are all fatefully drawn into the "banana fish" drug mystery. Because of his straightforward honesty and sheltered upbringing, Eiji is trustworthy, and he is the first person with whom Ash has ever been able to relax and just be himself. Eiji is symbolic of everything that Ash has never had and is trying to get. On the other hand, Ash jolts Eiji
out of his shell, providing a reason to live and the motivation to strive and grow up. This dual structure is perhaps the clearest example of how Yoshida's manga "crosses" genre boundaries. The fighting between the various groups never really ends - it just changes shape and pops up elsewhere - but Eiji, through his unconditional love for Ash, saves Ash's soul.

The key to the "shônen frame" lies in the visual representation. Yoshida's drawing style - the lines, backgrounds, and frame breakdowns - is very "masculine." At first glance, Yoshida's drawing has a kind of roughness that, because she does not follow typical shôjo manga artistic conventions (flowered backgrounds, whole page frames, intricate details, tall and willowy characters, thin lines etc.), makes Banana Fish appear to be shônen manga.


Figure 1: ACTION IN BANANA FISH (Yoshida, 1998:138)

Figure 2: TYPICAL SHOJO MANGA (Ohshima, 1995: 7)

In contrast to the masculine drawing style is the "girlish" content: the depth of characterization, the amount of time spent inside the main characters' thoughts and emotions, the focus on gender and relationships, internal dialogue and constant perceptual shifts are all narrative conventions common to shôjo manga. This particular combination of shônen-like drawing and shôjo narrative patterns is very distinctly and uniquely Yoshida Akimi's own style and there is no one even trying to imitate her - which is rare in the manga world where (financially) successful patterns are often copied. On the contrary, Yoshida's work often earns comments on how "bad" the artwork is. Manga artist and critic Ishikawa Jun (Manga Yawa, 1999: 138-139) has stated that Yoshida Akimi's drawing style has, conversely, been greatly influenced by other successful artists. He claims that her drawing style has changed many times over the years and follows certain trends, which is not meant as a compliment. He also acknowledges though, that it is effective for her stories. These sentiments are replicated by an amateur manga critic on the American Amazon website:

Now, I've read a few comments on the web by people who say that the artwork in "Banana Fish" is lacking. Well, I have to say I agree. It's quite spare. The characters are drawn well, but the art consists of a rather stark contrast between black and white, with little gradation in between. Not necessarily a bad thing, but spare nonetheless. Whether this is an artistic choice by artist Akimi Yoshida, her individual style, or a question of skill, I can't say. But being an art student myself, I can be pretty critical of the composition of a piece of work, and basically if a manga doesn't hook me visually, I might not pick it up at all. In other words, I wouldn't be reading "Banana Fish" if the story didn't grab me by the tail and drag me along with it. The story more than makes up

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\text { for any shortcomings in the artwork. }{ }^{5}
$$

Banana Fish was (and still is) popular with both male and female readers in Japan, despite being classified as a shôjo manga. While never overtly sexual (and perhaps even precisely because it is not overtly sexual), the love that develops between Eiji and Ash is a good example of the "perfect" and "clean" love of boy-boy comics as well as a plausible example of male bonding and loyalty in a standard (male) homosocial environment. A large proportion of bishônen-ai manga follow the visual conventions developed by the 24-nen gumi - the backgrounds are intricate and the drawing lines thin and elegant while the stories are set in European cities somewhere in the past, with long-legged characters from the upper-class or the nobility. Banana Fish follows the narrative conventions of bishônen-ai manga, but not the visual; it is a love story between boys, but it is set in contemporary New York and populated by street kids and mafia gang members with normal-sized legs and gritty, rough backgrounds. The fact that Banana Fish is not immediately visually identifiable as a bishônen-ai manga either mitigates the homoerotic undertones, or at the very least delivers them in a visual grammar that is acceptable and non-threatening for "straight" male readers. It could be a matter of the pacing as well - by the time the love story between Eiji and Ash is revealed as such, readers are already "hooked" on the plot of the action story. While no one could ever suggest that Yoshida Akimi's work is not popular (her manga are still selling in reprint and now all over the world in English, Chinese, Korean, French, Italian and German), everyone does tend to attribute her success to the strength of her narratives. I think that the visual style is not incidental and needs to be considered as part of the narrative structure. It is perhaps

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http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/1569313202/qid=1048958463/sr=2-2/ref=sr_2_2/1 02-4493672-5962554
the play between the form and the content - or the visual grammar and the narrative message - that makes Yoshida's manga enjoyably readable in other languages, and across generations and genders. Moreover, while no one may ever want to imitate her drawing style, the way she has "manipulated" concepts of genre and gender by utilizing a masculinized visual grammar to describe a patently feminized shôjo narrative has affected the field of shôjo manga immeasurably.

### 2.1.4 Criticism of Gender Roles

Returning to Banana Fish, it is important to note that the narrative in the first volume is also masculinized; centered wholly on action, Volume One functions to set the plot as well as to introduce the characters and the intricate background and is different from the remaining volumes. The main "shôjo" story (Ash and Eiji's relationship) does not start developing until the second and third volumes. Interestingly, in the entire first volume, there are no female characters. In fact, including street scenes and backgrounds, there are only images of three women altogether - one woman finds her husband murdered, one girl is pictured standing in the ghetto in the background of a fight scene, and there is a female secretary at the gynecologist's office where Ash gets medicine (illegally) for his brother. This is very uncommon for a shôjo manga, but also perhaps part of why it was so popular with female readers. In a review published in a shôjo manga fân magazine called Pafu (Puff) in March of 1987, a female reviewer wrote about the first volume:

Because there are no female characters (or extremely few), it feels like we girls are being told that there is no room for us to get into the
story. Even if the characters move us, it is difficult to identify with
them. But, precisely because of this fact, a yearning for this distant
world where things like this happen in places we have no idea about, is brought about. [...] Dramas with only males are beautifu!! (Pafu, March 1987, p. 41)

This shows that for Japanese girls accustomed to shôjo manga, the first volume of Banana Fish came across as a masculine story that was hard to get into, but was also attractive because it was "different." Even though there never really are any major female characters introduced, once the story about Eiji and Ash begins to unfold and the bishônen-ai elements become recognizable, worries that the story might not really be for girls disappear. As mentioned in the previous section, this genre "gap" is produced by the visual grammar (the lines and backgrounds as well as the framing or page presentation) along with the topic. There are many shôjo manga that have male protagonists, but they are usually drawn "beautifully" and are immediately recognizable as inhabiting a boy-boy love story for girls. In Banana Fish, Eiji and Ash look masculine, (as does the world they belong to) but their characters are developed enough (or in a familiar enough way) so that readers can form a satisfactory "bond" with them. I think it is possible to argue that this way of developing characters and the readers' expectations of this kind of development are perhaps good general working definitions of shôjo manga narrative conventions. These conventions can be seen by comparing the Puff review (shown above) in Japan from 1987 about the first volume of the Japanese edition to the following review from the Amazon Books homepage in 1999 about the first volume of the English edition:

I'm glad that finally some quality manga for women are coming over to the
states [sic]. I love the characters and the action is drawn well. There are only two actual female characters, so far in 2 volumes, that actually say anything in the manga and they are very very minor. This manga goes into touchy issues
and the story captures your interest. How will the plot develope [sic]? What will happen to our characters? And how will the main characters grow? I enjoyed this manga a lot. I refer it to anyone who is willing to be open minded and ready for something a little different. There isn't much "artwork" as has become accepted of shoujo manga in the states; no random flower petals, no cute patterns in the background. This is all simple blocks with subtle arrangements and contrasts to depict motion and mood. Have a wonderful day! (Reviewer: RoseyJoy@aol.com from Eastern USA! November 14, 1999 Downloaded from http://www.amazon.com on July 25, 2000)

Although very American ("Have a wonderful day!"), this review shows the same kind of uncertainty over genre/gender that the Japanese review did - it is a manga for women but without women in it and without the usual visual indications of shôjo manga. There are not that many shốjo manga that have been translated into English ${ }^{6}$, but, even so, the artistic conventions (if not the narrative structures), seem to be well understood. Moreover, the drawing in Banana Fish causes readers to be conscious of the visual syntax in a way that is not obtrusive but pleasurable (see interview with Yukiko for more). The "touchy issues" and the expectations of character "growth" mentioned in the American review are very interesting. These points explain well the way Banana Fish is able to capture the interest of shôjo manga readers, and are also, arguably, some of the main characteristics of shôjo manga. Common to young adult fiction in North America, the "touchy issues" most commonly found in shôjo manga are sexual coming-of-age problems (in this case sexual abuse) and the growth is usually the movement

[^11]from "girl" to "woman" or, more generically, in the case of bishônen-ai like Banana Fish, from child to adult. While often hidden in what are usually referred to as "silly high school romances," shôjo manga deal with (both directly and indirectly) some very real and difficult social and psychological issues, and, I postulate, assuage a lot of the stress, anxiety and guilt that girls face as they try to grow up in a patriarchal society.

Janet Lee and Jennifer Sasser-Coen in their book Blood stories: Menarche and the politics of the female body in contemporary U.S. society, conducted ethnographic interviews on women's experiences with menarche in order to explore many of these same issues. Lee and Sasser-Coen found, through analysis of dozens of remembered stories about their first menstruation, that American girls often find themselves distanced or distancing themselves from their female bodies:

Young girls are well-attuned to society's ambivalence towards female sexuality, to the normative prescriptions and contradictions of attracting boys sexually, and to pressures to manage boys' as well as their own desires and behaviors. They are surrounded by messages of women as sex objects, yet told to put a lid on their own desires.

This alienation is often experienced as a separation of self from body; it frequently functions as a survival mechanism, although it is just as frequently likely to be self-destructive and manifest itself in the form of eating disorders, addiction, and mental health "disorders." $(1996,94)$

While Lee and Sasser-Coen's research findings are specifically regarding American women, I think that the same processes occur in Japan though they may manifest themselves somewhat differently. Shôjo manga are mainly written and marketed for girls and girls read them collectively - sharing and
discussing the stories together on a regular basis. Shôjo manga can therefore be seen to function to reveal how and in what ways patriarchal society affects women and the way they relate/represent their bodies in much the same way that the menarche self-narratives did in Lee and Sasser-Coen's work. As the above quote shows, distancing oneself from one's de-valued female body can have both positive and negative effects. If what happens when girls read and identify with characters who are boys - and who are having love affairs with other boys - is taken to be a form of distancing from their female bodies, then it follows that shôjo manga could also have both positive effects (survival?) as well as negative effects (addiction?). This echoes strongly the message of most of the critical work written in Japan by Japanese women about shôjo manga - that shôjo manga are both a "medicine and a poison" (Makimura in Yokomori 1999: 252-253). It is also an assumption that is far from unproblematic (McLelland, M. 2001).

## Blood and Baseball Barbeques

When I was in elementary school, my father played baseball with one of my friend's fathers. It was cool because we always hung out together at games and tournaments. One time, her family hosted a big barbeque. They had the best backyard. It was huge and full of big trees with tire swings, a hammock and a tree house. We spent hours and hours running around playing back there and I was really looking forward to the barbeque. My parents weren't really into partying much - maybe because they were older, or something. The way they talked, it was pretty apparent that they had been a lot more social before they'd had kids. Anyways, the whole family went to my friends house and did the family social thing.
to go and get my father for her. I did, and he came back with me. She started talking to him about something - I couldn't hear - and he looked kind of flustered. My father hated public scenes of any sort. They started packing up their stuff and told me to get my brother and sister because they were going home. I was staying over so I got left behind and as they walked out, I could see the big stain on my mother's pants. I was horrified and hoped that no one else had seen. It got even worse. After they left, later on in the evening when we were cleaning up the kitchen, my friend picked up her new vest from one of the kitchen chairs and it had a big brown stain on it. She took it to her mother and they were trying to figure out what it was. I knew, somehow, that I couldn't/shouldn't say anything. I was so embarrassed and disgusted at my mother's lack of control. I didn't want to grow up and be like her.

Interestingly, some readers do not catch any of the messages of "gender criticism" in the story. An American editorial review from a manga website expresses clearly the confusion that results from an lack of familiarity, or lack of access to the repertoire of shôjo manga:

I'm still not positive exactly why Banana Fish is classified as a shôjo manga, besides perhaps the gender of the author, since it so far has nothing to do with females or anything stereotypically female in any way. I guess that's why it's considered kind of ground-breaking. Anyway, it shouldn't and doesn't
really matter. Banana Fish is a brutal and gritty crime epic of intense, tight
storytelling and oddly frank sexuality. (retrieved on April 17, 2003 from
http://4colorreview.com/reviews/4 3 00 01/banana fish/banana fish.shtml

The "oddly frank sexuality" here is referring to the same aspects of the story as the "touchy issues" from the Amazon review above. These aspects, which include such things as sexual abuse, sexual identity,
homosexual or ungendered love and sexual attraction, are, I would argue, representative of shôjo manga. It seems obvious that the point of the manga is to tell readers that gender and desire are not fixed, in the same way that genre is not fixed - that you can still have shôjo themes and sexuality issues expressed in shônen manga form. In other words, both gender and gendered genres are a masquerade, and readers should be free to mix and match.

Surprisingly, the professional manga critics on the NHK talk-show, Manga Yawa, seem to miss this point completely. In one portion of the discussion, the men are wondering why Yoshida has not switched over to shônen manga, since her drawing would be accepted there (Manga Yawa, 1999:167). They gave the example of Takahashi Rumiko, the female manga artist who created the global bestselling boys' manga, Ranma $1 / 2$. The Manga Yawa men seem able only to classify according to "visual grammar" and not narrative content or purpose, in the process revealing an underlying assumption of the superiority of shônen manga and a lack of willingness to question what the readers of shôjo manga and the female artists writing for them might be trying to communicate about. Thus, they cannot see how producing a "masculine" story like Banana Fish and marketing it to girls in a girls magazine could be intended to question those very assumptions and values. As one of the women I interviewed said, genre patterns are only interesting when you "take the formula and turn it on its head" (Yumiko).

### 2.1.5 Gender anxiety and the Banana Fish short stories

Because the characters in Banana Fish are male and the story does not demonstrate its bishonen-ai status via the standard and accepted visual conventions, it is a difficult story to classify and could, arguably, be read in either shôjo or shônen mode. Put into context with Yoshida's other work, and
considering its physical position in a shôjo manga series by a shôjo manga publishing company and in the shôjo manga shelves at bookshops and on shôjo pages of internet book-selling sites though, it is clearly marked as shôjo in its "original" context though.

The shôjo aspects of Banana Fish, or the relationship between the manga and the young female audience implied by the term "shôjo," are clearly delineated in Yoshida's 1994 short story, "Hikari no niwa: The Garden with Holy Light". One characteristic of shôjo manga magazines is spin-off stories (bangaihen). These are short stories - published either in place of a monthly episode, in special editions or after a popular series has ended - that contain the same characters but develop a sub-plot or explain some aspect of a character's life or personality. Often they go back to the character's childhood, or to some traumatic or exceptional event. Sometimes they are just silly and let the character do things out of character. After Banana Fish ended, Yoshida published several short-stories with Banana Fish characters, an indication of how attached fans were to the story and the characters. By the time Banana Fish ended in 1994, because the serialization had gone on for so long, the story itself was taking place seven years in the past. In the story, "Hikari no niwa: The Garden with Holy Light," the publication date and the time frame of the story match again. It is 1994 and Eiji, now twenty-eight years old but still not over Ash's death, is living in New York, working as a photographer and sharing an apartment with Shin (one of Ash's friends, a Chinese-American ex-street gang member). Ibe (the Japanese photographer who brought Eiji to New York) sends another troubled young Japanese person to America for a visit and a break from Japan. This time it is his thirteen year-old niece, Akira. As most anime or manga fans will know, Akira is a typical name for boys. As Eiji explains to Shin in the story, Akira's father and mother are having marital problems and Akira has been blaming herself. Akira's father apparently really wanted to have a son and was very disappointed when his daughter was born. He had only thought of a boy's
name, and without considering any of the consequences, gave that name to his baby girl. It is possible to extrapolate from Eiji's retelling of the story, that Akira's father stopped coming home (implying that he started having an affair) and this happened to coincide with junior high school and Akira's first menstruation. These events became connected in her mind: because she was not a boy, and could no longer pretend to be, her father was rejecting the family. An identity crises ensued, and Akira, unable to accept being a woman, started to "get sick" (most probably indicating some sort of eating disorder). Shin, after hearing this explanation, says to Eiji: "You're really sensitive to people's last-minute SOS signals," as he is thinking to himself, "this is probably the part of Eiji that Ash loved so much." Shin then says that he knows he can never replace Ash, but asks if he can stay close to Eiji. After replying to Shin with the comment, "No one can replace Ash, just like no one can replace you," Eiji turns to Akira and says, "and you are the only you in this world too." He then gives her a hug and continues to explain that Ash's real name, Aslan, means "dawn" which is the same meaning as "Akira. ${ }^{7}$ In the car with Shin on the way to the airport for her return trip to Japan, Akira says, "I think I am really glad that I was born a girl." When Shin asks why, she replies, "Because I can become a great woman and marry Eiji!" Akira goes back to Japan happy and healed.

This scene, and Akira's "reconciliation" with her femaleness, illustrates very clearly what I consider to be the main theme or trope in most of Yoshida's work. Gender anxiety, or an unwillingness to accept a subordinate female role in society, is the key point in almost all of Yoshida's stories with female protagonists. Often, the identity crisis centers on dealing with sexual abuse or the social restrictions that close in on girls when they start to menstruate and must learn to deal with the shame of

[^12]becoming sexualized. These new and inescapable gendered social roles are shown to be imposed from without (or above). While the arbitrary nature of patriarchal society is critically revealed, the crises are resolved in the end by a death and/or a return to "normal" heterosexual gender roles. Any readings of this "feminine" story as capitulation or complicity are complicated by Yoshida's appropriation of a "masculine pen touch" or shônen manga visual grammar. In order to illustrate this further, in the following sections I will introduce two of Yoshida's other stories in which the main characters are female.

### 2.1.6 Kisshô Tennyo

Like Banana Fish, this manga is also a combination of shônen fighting and shôjo development, but in this case, it is about girls who fight and love. As mentioned above, this particular story ran from March 1983 to 1984 in Bessatsu Shôjo Comic, and won the manga prize at Shogakukan in 1984. Much shorter than the nineteen-volume Banana Fish, Kisshô tennyo was collected into only four volumes. It is a supernatural action story about a group of high school students, set in the early '80s during the big real estate boom in Japan. Again, like Banana Fish, it is a rather complicated action and suspense-filled plot with a fairly large number of characters. The two main characters are second-year high school girls - Asai Yuiko, and the new student in her class, Kanô Sayoko. The other principle characters are a boy in the same class, Tôno Ryô, and his cousin Akira who is one year older but attends the same school. Yuiko, ever since being sexually harassed as a young girl, has suffered from "a fear of men" and can't really speak normally to any males other than family members (and even then she is most often shown fighting with her older brother). She avoids the boys in her class, and is always
saying to her friends how much she hates boys because they are loud, dirty, and perverted.

Her "fear of men" is shown as a fear of sexuality and a hatred of being female. The first scene of the story is Yuiko being woken up for the first day of school only to discover that her period has started. She has to fight with her older brother to get to use the toilet first and then does not have time to eat breakfast and is yelled at by her mother. Once she gets to school, she has bad cramps and she goes up to the roof (where no one else goes) to be alone and to rest for a bit. There, she says, "This hurts... really, it's like women are just for THAT... I wish I had not been born female" (Kisshô tennyo, p. 18). It is still very rare for menstruation to be discussed this openly in a shôjo manga, and this is often cited as one of the reasons Yoshida's stories are seen as "realistic" and, ironically, masculine. In any case, it is no wonder that Yuiko is strongly attracted to the new girl in her class. Sayoko is the exact opposite of Yuiko - physically and emotionally strong, self-confident, eloquent, smart, rich, experienced, beautiful - and much more aware of and able to function in the "adult" world.

However, Sayoko too has sexual abuse in her background. She was raped as a child, and though she killed the perpetrator, her old-money family managed to have the whole incident covered up via social connections. Sayoko was subsequently sent away to live with her grandmother. It is only after her grandmother's death that Sayoko returns to her parents' house, which explains why she has changed schools and why she appears at the beginning of the story. Soon upon her return, Sayoko quickly realizes that her family is planning to use her (via an arranged marriage with the Tôno family and their real estate/development empire) to gain power and financial support. Sayoko is incredibly angry, but has certain advantages that make her an enviable heroine: Sayoko's family has long supported a certain Shinto shrine in their town, and, according to legend, in every generation there is a woman born into the family who receives special powers from the god at this shrine. This is Sayoko.

The story can be succinctly summarized as Sayoko's revenge on the patriarchal "male" world (her male classmates and their tough girlfriends, the teachers at school, her traditional family, and the business world that supports them all), and the rescue of girls like Yuiko. Sayoko first fights back like a boy; she blocks punches, hits and kicks, and when a group of boys traps her into the science lab (in order to rape her to teach her a lesson for beating them up and taking away their masculinity), she cuts off the ear of one of her attackers with a scalpel. After she does this, she says to the boys who are standing there in disbelief, "Are you afraid of blood? Girls, you know, aren't afraid of blood at all. We bleed every month..." (Kisshô tennyo, pp. 289, 290).


Figure 3: GIRLS ARE NOT AFRAID OF LOVE I (Yoshida, 1995a:289-290)

Apparently very shocking at the time, this scene is often cited in other manga or writing on shôjo manga. For example, Okazaki Kyôko, pays homage in her manga Pink (1989). Yuiko and her friends do not witness Sayoko's bloody victory, but are, nonetheless, duly impressed by her indomitable fighting spirit. Things escalate though, and the boys bring in outside help from the yakuza. At this point, Sayoko changes strategy and starts an offensive attack - as a girl this time.

She starts by agreeing to date and become engaged to Akira, the ring-leader of the fight, as her family has been trying to arrange a marriage between the two families. She sleeps with him, makes him addicted to her and then starts to make him jealous. She uses her "magic" to attract Akira's father, and then sets things up so that Akira walks in exactly when the father starts to make moves. Akira, in a jealous rage, kills his father and then runs away. She then "arranges" for her aunt (who has been pushing the most for her marriage to Akira and who is also having an affair with Sayoko's father), to get drunk and drown in the bath. Akira returns to town and tries to run Sayoko down with a car, but Sayoko again "manages" to make him swerve and he hits a telephone pole and dies. In the same way that Akira bullied and blackmailed his younger cousin Ryô in life, after Akira's death, his spirit comes back and haunts Ryô. In the middle of the night, Akira's spirit moves Ryô to take an antique hunting rifle from the family's collection to Sayoko's house where, he finds, of course, that Sayoko has rigged the rifle. When Ryô /Akira tries to shoot Sayoko, the rifle backfires and Ryô ends up killing himself. This is the bittersweet part of her revenge - Ryô was a victim of the Tôno family himself, and a good person. He was also in love with Sayoko and he tells her this on his deathbed.

Just like Banana Fish, Kisshô tennyo is full of violence, sexual abuse and anger, but also full
of the possibility of "good" human relationships and positive messages. While the endings of Yoshida's manga are often sad (or at least ambiguous) someone is always "rescued". Readers are left with a sense of hope because someone is always brought back into human society, or allowed to "grow up". So again, Yoshida's stories both do and do not fit standard shôjo manga patterns; unlike most shôjo manga, they are rough (rape, drugs, violence) and almost never have typical "happy" endings, but like most shôjo manga, they are long detailed stories of personal development or growth.

While Sayoko is the main character, or the good luck "angel" or "goddess" (tennyo - literally the woman from heaven) in the title, the narrative stays very close to Yuiko. The main action of the story is focused on Sayoko and her female powers, but more information is given about the thoughts and feelings and motivations of Yuiko. The fighting is done by the central yet distant Sayoko, but the growing up, or the shôjo manga part of the story, is done by Yuiko. I would argue that, therefore, the reader is finally meant to identify with Yuiko and at the same time, in the same way, become infatuated with the supernatural (and therefore inimitable) Sayoko. As the story began, it ends also with a scene between Yuiko and her brother. It is again just before the beginning of school and they are discussing the possibility of another new student coming. Yuiko's brother says that he hopes it is another pretty girl, and Yuiko replies, " Next time, a boy would be good..." indicating that she is "healthy" (no longer afraid of men) and ready to join heterosexual society again.

Like the bodhisattva image at the end of the manga that is meant to represent Sayoko, Sayoko seems to have been sent to earth to "save" girls.


Figure 4: SAYOKO AS BODHISATTVA (Yoshida, 1995: 352)

For all the men that die, many girls get rescued by her powers. Along with Yuiko, one of Yuiko's classmates (who is being picked on by a gang of tough girls) regains the confidence to stand on her own. Also, Ryô 's little sister, whom Sayoko adopts after Ryô 's death leaves the girl with no family, learns to get over her fears and recovers from the asthma that had kept her bedridden for years. While Sayoko "wins" the fight and does not have to die herself, she is not allowed a happy ending - the payment for her power is exclusion from "normal" womanhood, or from happiness with a man.

## Permission

The clothes I wore were strictly proscribed by my peers. Once I wore a mini skirt and one of the boys in my advanced physics class told me it was too short, that I looked like a prostitute. I never wore it again. I
overheard the boys on the basketball team (the girls' team shared a bus with them for out-of-town games and tournaments) joking about how they could always tell when girls had their periods because they wore sweat pants to school. I never wore sweat pants to school again. I carefully alternated between big baggy sweaters with long straight skirts and perfectly laundered designer jeans with jock t-shirts so that I could avoid offending as many people as possible. Long hair in a perpetual ponytail, I was feminine but not provocative, sporty but not dyke, and used brand-names to avoid being labeled a geek. One time I mistakenly wore a bathing suit in public. A group of brain classmates and I were at Cultus Lake, sunbathing after exams, comparing answers, competing like always over who had studied the least but done the best (I suggested that we should use calculus differentials to figure out what the optimum combination would be - then no one would swim with me so I swam back and forth by myself till my fingers went blue and I had to get out - my answer whenever asked "how long did you study?" or "what did you get?" was always "oh, less than you," and "oh, more than you" respectively - geek society can be pretty harsh). As I walked back to the towels, Art Boy (a painter with a thing for religious images and ballet dancers) sat up, put his glasses on and stared and then asked, "Alwyn, do you dance?" When I explained that my muscles came from swimming and playing soccer, he sighed, and said, "Oh well, will you pose nude for me anyway? I want to draw your legs, I need to practice." Youth-group Princess (his girlfriend) sat up, glared at me, and took all the other girls for a swim - quack quack quack. When she'd gone, Art Boy blurted, "I'd get Youth-group to do it, but she's out of shape." All the boys grunted in commiseration. Youth-group's mom made awesome doughnuts. "Well,... I don't know...," I mumbled, unable to face the comments I would get for accepting or for refusing, and knowing that Youth-group controlled all the girls. "Oh," he said like he'd figured something out, "ask your boyfriend and get back to me."

### 2.1.7 Sakura no Sono (The Cherry Orchard)

Sakura no sono was published in four installments from May 1985 to July 1986 in Hakusensha's monthly magazine, La La. The story of four high school girls in the drama club at a private girls' high school, Sakura no sono is a bittersweet coming of age narrative based on an extended seasonal metaphor. Not only are the girls, as briefly blooming flowers, experiencing sexual awakening and a subsequent adjustment to rigid adult female roles, but the school is literally surrounded by cherry trees and every spring the drama club performs Chekhov's play, The Cherry Orchard. The manga itself is very "literary" and the structure is carefully crafted to suggest an effect somewhere between Ohshima Yumiko's Banana Bread Pudding (1995) and Higuchi Ichiyô's Takekurabe (Published 1895-1896 in the literary publication Bungakukai). Each of the four chapters is narrated from the perspective of a different girl. The chapters are given titles using traditional seasonal phrases or markers, following the literary trope as well as signaling a progression through spring. Chapter one is called "Hanahie" which literally means "chilled blossoms" and signifies the start of spring and the cherry blossom season when there are still days of frost. Chapter two is called "Kakô" or "red blossoms" which suggests a ripening or a sexual fullness. Chapter three, "Hanayoi" (literally "intoxicated by flowers") is also indicative of the "peak" period of spring while the final chapter, "Hana arashi" or "storm of blossoms" represents the often dramatic end of the cherry-blossom season when the flowers fall in spring wind storms. The title pages for each chapter are very simple and elegant - in "Japanese style," the titles are written in a handwritten font. The book form of the manga, first published in October of 1986 and still in print as of 2003, has a cover design that is also elegantly traditional. Displaying a form of "Japanese taste" that is not commonly used for manga (except for historical dramas), the word "cherry" in the title "The Cherry Orchard" is written in a calligraphic font with the archaic (literary) form of the character, as it would be for

Chekhov's play. The inside cover and the facing page are a thick glossy paper printed in blue with cherry petals floating gracefully across. The following page (the back side of the blue page) is blank and the next page is also stylishly refined - printed to look like Japanese hand-made paper. It is also full-color, which is not often found in manga books because of the expense. The title, Sakura no sono is written vertically down the centre of the page in a simple bold font with Yoshida Akimi's name appearing below in a slightly smaller type-face. Again, the reverse side of this page is blank and is followed by the chapter title page. This is regular thick unbleached recycled manga paper, but below the title there is a color illustration with very minimalist delicate lines. The back side of this page is also left blank and then the manga starts finally on page five.

After all of these tasteful and time-consuming layers of Japanese paper, the first scene is somewhat shocking. The chapter opens with the narrator, Nakano Atsuko, in her boyfriend Shin'ichi's bedroom. In typical Yoshida Akimi fashion, the drawing lines are not thin and elegant as they usually are in a shôjo manga, and neither are the characters; Atsuko and Shin'ichi are normally proportioned (their legs are not overly long) and have normal-sized eyes, which, together with the thick lines and the symmetrical regular framing, makes the manga seem much more like a shônen manga than a shôjo manga. Atsuko is explaining to Shin'ichi how the drama club at her high school stages a performance of Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard" every spring and that she will play Ania. As they are looking at the script and she is talking about how hard it is to memorize the lines because the Russian names are so long, Shin'ichi suddenly grabs her and pushes her over onto the bed.

The next page is a shot of the school. The voice-over (Atsuko's voice?) explains that the school is up on a hill surrounded by hundreds of cherry trees, and that in the spring it looks as though it is wearing a pale pink crown. There is a shot of students arriving at school in the morning, and then a
close-up of Atsuko's face - and she is not happy. Her friend, noting that Atsuko is down, says, "What's the matter? Is this your mattress day?" To which Atsuko replies, "No, it's not that. And besides, for me it's not 'mattress,' it's more like 'candy cane' (p. 7). This kind of wry conversation about menstruation using pet terms to indicate a preference for tampons over sanitary napkins, while probably normal for school girls everywhere (at my high school we used to call tampons "ammo" because they are shaped like bullets and you insert them into a "barrel") is perhaps not so common for the first few pages of a shôjo manga.

A further contrast to the marked "literary" graphic design of the book itself is the fact that Atsuko uses tampons at all. In 1985 when this manga was first published (and to a certain extent even in 2003), tampons were not commonly used or readily available because there were doubts about health risks as well as the widely-held belief that they were inappropriate for virgins - adding to Atsuko's "bad girl" image. Image is a key word, as readers learn (when Atsuko re-tells the story to her friends) that despite appearances, Atsuko is still a virgin. When the "camera" cut from Shin'ichi's bedroom to the next morning at school, readers missed a fight rather than the expected sex scene. Readers must wait till after school to hear the story, but eventually learn that Atsuko was not expecting Shin'ichi's sudden moves and that she had slapped him. Thus, the theme of the first chapter is Atsuko's ambivalence about the decision to become sexually active. Atsuko must constantly negotiate between social appearances and private reality. Simply having a boyfriend at all makes her conspicuously "developed" in relation to the girls at school who do not consort with boys yet and therefore prone to judgment, and the story follows Atsuko's struggles to separate this external pressure from her own feelings and desires. Furthermore, she feels pressure to satisfy Shin'ichi's "masculine" needs. When she tells the story about the fight to her friends, everyone laughs about how Shin'ichi, rejected by Atsuko, had to spend some
time locked in the washroom. One of Atsuko's friends then comments: "Well, you've been going out with him for over a year, and you kiss all the time and everything. He is a boy after all you know...," insinuating that Atsuko should not have been so surprised by Shin'ichi's behavior. Atsuko replies, depressed, "So I guess this means I have to do it, right?" (p. 14).

Later in the week, Atsuko's sister Ayako, who is ten years older than Atsuko and about to get married, shares the story of her first lover and how she still has feelings for him a decade later. Atsuko cries with her, already nostalgic for her own "fleeting spring," after seeing the inevitability of growing up. Following a sequence of frames where Atsuko is remembering the first time she and Shin'ichi kissed, the story cuts out to Atsuko walking with Shin'ichi to his house after school. In very typical Yoshida Akimi fashion, the conversation is completely unromanticized. Atsuko tells Shin'ichi, "Um, l'm OK with it now" (p. 37). Shin'ichi, having invited her over when his parents were away for the weekend and having already promised that he will not do anything to make her slap him again, does not understand what Atsuko means and asks, "OK with what??" (p. 37). Atsuko is really embarrassed and does not want to explain, but says, "I told my parents that I was staying over at Shimako's house" (p. 37). Shin'ichi understands, finally, that she has decided to have sex, and there are a few frames of red-faced awkward silence. In the margin, there is a note in handwriting addressed to any male readers. Ostensibly direct communication from the author, it reads, "Many boys lose great opportunities like this because of such retarded reactions. Be careful!" (p. 37). Even though this message is directed at male readers, because it assumes that female readers will already understand the story, it creates the atmosphere of a girls' club that male readers are just visiting, reconfirming the "shôjoness" of the story. At the same time, reminding readers of the contructedness, or the fictionality of the story, actually serves to heighten the reality, or everydayness of the situation depicted by denying its romanticization.

This tension is further developed when Shin'ichi, curled up in bed with Atsuko, wakes up hungry and gets up to make them both instant cup noodles. While she is waiting for Shin'ichi to arrive with the most unromantic of midnight snacks possible, Atsuko cries, thinking to herself, "I bet that in ten years, l'll be remembering this evening too" (p. 41). The noodles and Shin'ichi's earnestness keep Atsuko's tears and sentimentality in perspective.

The dramatic irony created by the contrast between sexual (moral) appearances and psychological reality continues through each of the four chapters (or acts) and is echoed in the contrast between the "ugly" drawing style of the characters and the elegant and simple lines and tones of the "literary" background. Thus, the process of engendering femininity is shown as the mental and emotional negotiations of double-binds and double standards and the physical negotiations of social spaces rigidly divided and gendered into interior/exterior and private/public binary pairings.

The second chapter is concerned with sexual double standards and the violent manner in which these sexual codes are enforced by the girls themselves, as well as by male authority figures. Narrated by Sugiyama Noriko, the chapter starts with her refusing to kiss a date goodnight. At school the next morning, after a chilly encounter with a group of classmates, Noriko tells the readers that there are three kinds of girls at her school: one is the type who gets really involved in one thing - such as studying or drawing and has absolutely no other interests; the second, the most common or "normal" type, are the girls who are interested in movie stars and boys but are just talk; the third kind are the girls that the "normal" girls decide are "loud" or party-girls. Noriko belongs to the third group - the bad girls. Similar to Atsuko from the first chapter though, it is only image and Noriko is actually meant to represent a more critical and mature "normal". She has had a boyfriend for over a year but they have never even kissed. Despite this, just because she goes out on dates and has friends who have boyfriends, she is
scorned by the "normal" girls and labeled a "slut".

One day when Noriko and her friends have skipped classes and are at a coffee shop, they get caught smoking by a truancy officer. He sits them down at a table and takes their names, addresses and the phone numbers of their school and their families. As he does so, he comments, "You're just girls, and you're smoking, it's unbelievable" (p.66). The speech bubble for this comment takes up half of the frame, in the background is the truancy officer's chest and arm (his head is cut off) and right in the center of the frame is an ashtray with the officer's cigarette burning. As the representative of the patriarchal establishment, his eyes are never shown - all you can see is his body, or the back of his head, or in one frame, his chin and mouth. Noriko chafes at his hypocrisy and sexism, and quips, "So are you saying it would be OK if we were boys?" For which she earns a scathing response: "No, that is not what I meant. Sluts like you, you'll get picked up by the yakuza and end up as prostitutes!" (p. 66).


Figure 5: THE TRUANCY OFFICER (Yoshida 1986: 66)

This is a severe shock to the girls, who did not see themselves as even delinquent, let alone "sluts".

Afterward, one of Noriko's friends comments, "That guy suffers from a severe lack of imagination, you'd think he'd be embarrassed to say something like that" (p.67). The girls are very aware of the injustice of the truancy officer's remarks which automatically sexualize their truancy just because they are female and not because they were actually caught doing anything sexual. While perhaps out of date, the connection the truancy officer draws between cafés and prostitution is historically founded. In the past, kissaten or cafés were male spaces and any females who worked there - either actual prostitutes or not - were considered morally suspect. See Elise Tipton's article, "Pink collar work: The café waitress in early twentieth century Japan" (2002, paragraphs eight, nine and thirty-eight) for more details. ${ }^{8}$ The girls are ultimately unable to defend themselves from this stigma, even years after the prostitution has moved to the bars and hostess clubs.

The next scene reveals how the truancy officer's thinking is inherently connected to women's sexual role in society. In this scene, Noriko is lying on her bed at home and her mother is trying to convince her to come down and have dinner. Apparently Noriko has had a fight with her father and he has slapped her across the face. She refuses the dinner, but gets up from the bed and goes to the window. Looking out, she sees that the cherry tree in her neighbor's yard has bloomed, and it makes her remember the spring in fifth grade when her period first started. She thinks to herself, "like a smudge of cherry crayon on my underwear, it was such a vivid color, I can see it clearly even now " (p. 70). The

[^13]next frame shows Noriko's legs and the wash basin from the bath. She is kneeling and is emptying the water from the basin. She remembers, "I went into the bathroom and washed my body over and over.

While I washed, I cried." The bottom half of the page is unframed and Noriko face appears, close up.

She is again lying down on her bed, and is crying. She thinks, "Something made me sad so I cried, but I don't know what. I sat there and cried forever, until my hands and feet got cold. That night, I had problems swallowing the red rice"9


Figure 6: CHERRY CRAYON (Yoshida, 1986:70)

That Noriko has gone from being angry about her father and the truancy officer restricting her movement

[^14]in public spaces to reminiscing about her first period makes clearly visible the sex/gender system and maps out for girls the often invisible process by which they come to hate their own bodies. As Lee and Sasser-Coen explain, "Cultural discourses of the body and its menstrual secretions and cycles represent the point where power relations are manifest in their most concrete form" (1996:7).

In the next scene, Noriko is home alone and her boyfriend Shun comes over to visit. She explains that she has been suspended from school, and Shun is surprised that getting caught smoking at a coffee shop is enough to get suspended from a girls' school. He has brought ice cream and they go up to Noriko's room to eat and chat. Shun admonishes, "You know, you really should be more careful. It's dangerous to be hanging out by yourself at night. Some strange guy could attack you" (p. 74). To which, Noriko replies, "The guys who bother girls are the ones who should have to change. There are times when we girls want to be out late at night. There are times when I even want to walk around by myself you know. It's fine, I'm not worried" (p. 74). Shun continues, "Yeah, maybe so, but there are a lot of guys out there who only ever think of themselves, and l'm just saying you need to be more careful!" (p. 75). This does not go over well with Noriko, and she glares at him, asking: "Shun, you're like that too, aren't you? You think you can do anything you want to a girl you see walking around by herself at night because she's cheap, right?" (p. 75). Shun starts to say that not all guys are like that but gives up part way through his explanation and decides to show her what he means instead. He takes his glasses off and then grabs her, forces her to the floor and climbs on top of her. She tells him to stop and when he doesn't, she yells. He stops and says, "If I wanted to do this, I could do it any time. I'm way stronger than you. But I don't do it because I don't want you to hate me. You shouldn't walk all over people's feelings
like that - show some consideration. And next time, YOU buy the ice cream" (p. 75). With that, he leaves and slams the door and Noriko is left standing with her mouth agape and her blouse half torn off.

The next day Noriko returns to school, her first day back after her suspension, only to find that her friends are all upset because of the rumors that have been circulating amongst their classmates about why they have all been suspended: two girls were caught for prostitution, one for being pregnant and Noriko was apparently away to have an abortion. One girl starts crying and they are all talking about how unfair it is to be getting in trouble from all sides. Noriko comments that even though they probably brought it on themselves by bragging about being different, it was still pretty nasty. She adds, "If we're really serious about rebelling, we can't let something this little get to us" (p. 80). One girl responds, "Yeah, it would take a lot of guts to rebel seriously....," while another adds, "and we'd have to take crap from everywhere too."

According to Leora Tanenbaum in her ethnographic and autobiographical book, Slut!: Growing up female with a bad reputation, this type of malicious gossip amongst girls is common in America as well. Calling it "slut-bashing", Tanenbaum interviewed fifty girls and women about their experiences of being categorized and ostracized for alleged promiscuity. She claims that, " $[B]$ ecause girls rather than boys are often on the front lines of slut-bashing, teachers rarely identify the behavior as a form of sexual harassment" (2000:12). Noriko and her friends were harassed twice over - once by the male truancy officer and then again by the other girls at school. Tanenbaum, speaking of her own experiences being harassed by other girls at school, says that in retrospect she can understand well why girls would behave this way: "Looking back, I realize that for them it was a way to deflect attention away from themselves" (2000:18). By calling attention to other girls who either have or who are alleged to have broken fundamental codes of social acceptability (or legitimate gendered behavior) girls are able to
provide tiny windows of freedom from surveillance and sexual judgment for themselves. In her book Promiscuities: The secret struggle for womanhood, Naomi Wolf describes the same "slut-bashing" behavior from a slightly different perspective. She writes that:

Young women tend, in their peer groups, to act out in microcosm the splitting off of female sex from "legitimate" identity that the larger culture is intent upon imposing on them. We learn to identify the girl who most embodies that sexuality and to do to her, in a form of scapegoating that is a ritual to ward off the fate she represents, what the culture is doing to us. (1997:72)

For Noriko, the experience of being verbally attacked by the gossip from the other girls at school, together with getting in trouble in the first place and the argument with her boyfriend Shun prompts her to realize that she has been fighting a losing battle. She then vows to stop being angry with everyone and everything since it is not going to get her anywhere, and decides that she should consider herself lucky to have good friends that she really likes and a boyfriend who cares about her.

On their next date, Noriko finally agrees to kiss Shun and she narrates for the readers: "Shun's lips were warm and they left faint pink traces like cherry petals on the nape of my neck" (p. 84). While it seems somewhat ironic that Noriko's response to being labeled promiscuous (when she was actually trying to rebel against normalized prescriptions for sexual activity) is to become more sexually active, the situation and Noriko's rationale is explained further in the next chapter. When Noriko and her story appear in the next chapter as well, it becomes clear that Yoshida has used this apparent capitulation to create dramatic tension.

Chapter Three is narrated by Shimizu Yûko. She belongs to the first of Noriko's categories from Chapter Two - a serious girl who has one particular interest. In this chapter, Yâko decides to stop
trying to make everyone like her by acting "responsible" and to start doing things that she wants to do, symbolized by a perm that gets her removed from her position as manger of the drama club. This is precipitated by Yûko becoming friends with Noriko with whom she is finally able to discuss the psychological damage, hurt and anger from comments by relatives and boys at school about her early sexual maturation.

The chapter starts with a shot of cherry trees in full blossom and moves to Yûko walking up the hill to school. She bumps into Kurata Chiyoko, one of Noriko and Atsuko's friends and a fellow cast member for this year's rendition of Chekhov's The Cherry Orchard. As she is exchanging greetings and small talk with Chiyoko, she is thinking, "No, this is not what I really want to be talking about," revealing that she has a crush on Chiyoko. Then the scene shifts to after school and a rehearsal for the play. Chiyoko is playing Ranyevskaia, the lead, and is practicing the lines from the final scene of the play where Ranyevskaia is leaving her house for the last time as it has been sold to cover her debts, "Oh my darling, my precious, my beautiful orchard! My life, my youth, my happiness... good-bye!" (p. 92, translation Penguin Classics 1973, pp. 397-398). After the rehearsal, Yûko overhears some of the girls gossiping about Noriko's suspension for prostitution and she reprimands them.

Unbeknownst to Yûko, Noriko is listening. Later, Yûko is borrowing a book from the library and Noriko is working at the front desk. Noriko thanks Yûko for defending her and says, "I would never have expected you to defend me like that, because I thought that you hated me. I mean, I skip rehearsal a lot" (p. 95). Yûko is surprised and stammers that it was nothing, but then asks, "Why does everyone always use honorifics when they speak to me?" (p. 96). Noriko explains that it must be because she is so responsible. As she is walking home after this conversation, Yûko thinks, "Ever since I was a little kid, everyone has said, 'What a responsible little girl'. No one ever said, 'What a cute little girl,' or 'What a
beautiful little girl'. Not once" (p. 97). She arrives at home to find that her cousin Akira is visiting. He used to live with them when Yûko was in elementary school because he had asthma and needed to be closer to the hospital. He has just finished university and his new job is nearby and so has stopped in for tea. Yûko greets him politely but distantly and soon retreats to her bedroom. She reminisces about the time he lived with them and there is another half-page frame of stylized cherry trees with the line, "He was my first love," written at the top (p. 101).

The next day at school, she has lunch with Noriko outside on the lawn. Noriko asks Yûko, "You like Chiyoko, don't you?... I'm not saying you're a lesbian or anything..." to which Yûko replies with another question, "Why did you choose to come to an all-girls school?" (p. 106). Noriko explains that her father chose for her, but that it has turned out to be a good thing because it is nice not to have to worry about boys watching them all the time. She talks about the experiences of friends who are at mixed high schools: "The girls at co-ed schools have a hard time when they have their periods. There are guys who look out for girls walking to the washroom carrying pouches with napkins in them, so they have to wait until no one is looking and then hide their napkins in the washroom for when they need them" ( $p$. 106-107).

This prompts Yûko to talk about her experiences. She tells Noriko that a similar thing had happened to her in elementary school. She was walking to the toilet with her pad wrapped in a handkerchief and a boy grabbed it and waved it around yelling, "What's this??". After Noriko tells the story of a girl who was tormented because she was the first to wear a bra, Yûko coldly proclaims, "I will hate that boy for the rest of my life. I will never forget that time, ever". (p. 108). Noriko says that Yûko does not need to forgive him and asks if this is why Yûko has chosen a girls' school. When she answers yes, Noriko jokes, "Did you know that cherry trees have a male spirit??" In yet another frame full of
cherry blossoms, Yûko's thoughts appear: "So, this school is surrounded by over a hundred men. What a horrible grotesque joke. That's almost as bad a joke as calling this school 'The Cherry Orchard'" (p. 110).

Further strengthening Yûko's disgust with the patriarchal society that surrounds her is a flashback to the day in fourth grade when her period first started. Yûko thinks, "My father looked at me as though I were suddenly different" (p. 110). Her father, shown faceless and sitting reading the newspaper is overheard speaking to Yûko's mother: "That was fast, she's still in elementary school," while Yûko's mother is shown serving a cake with strawberries on top instead of red rice. In the frame with Yûko's mother, there are two sets of conversation - the one on the right is directed at Yûko's father, and the other, on the left side of the frame, at Yûko.


Figure 7: MIXED MESSAGES (Yoshida, 1986: 110)

To her husband, Yûko's mother is saying, "Girls these days are developing earlier," while to Yûko she is saying, "Isn't this exciting, Yûko's an adult now!!" (p. 110). The father's disgust at Yûko's uncontrollable (fast) sexual maturity is juxtaposed with the mother's celebration of Yûko's new reproductive capacity (university students in Japan are still considered to be children socially, so the mother's use of "adult" to a nine-year old can only mean reproductive maturity). Together, these two reactions clearly illustrate the
two roles available to women in a patriarchal society - the socially suspect sexual object, and the officially sanctioned mother. Lee and Sasser-Coen's research revealed just how many young women have reacted to their first menstruation in the same manner as Yûko. They say:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Menarche functions as a crucial signifier of female adulthood, } \\
& \text { reproducing knowledge of young women as both potentially } \\
& \text { reproductive and sexually available, and placing women in the } \\
& \text { contradictory positions of both "madonna" (the reproductive potential of } \\
& \text { menarche) and "whore" (budding sexuality). (1996:88) }
\end{aligned}
$$

That both of these roles are sexual is disgusting to Yûko, especially in fourth grade where she is obviously stigmatized and bullied at school.

The next frames show the reaction and comments of Yûko's grandmother: "She's developed early so you'd better be careful. Men will come on to her, she's got the body of an adult now you know" (p. 111). The implication of this comment is that Yûko and her body (now the same thing) were the problem and not the men. Tanenbaum explains that girls who develop early are often presumed to be promiscuous simply because of the way they look (2000:8). Yûko hated her grandmother for this cold (and unearned) disapproval and her complicity in seeing her as men see her. Following these frames is a completely blackened frame showing incense in front of a memorial photograph. Yûko's narrative appears at the top of the frame saying that she was unable to cry at her grandmother's funeral revealing the depth of her sense of betrayal. The complicity of adult women in transmitting patriarchal conventions is further emphasized by the juxtaposition of the funeral frame with a scene, back in the present, at school, where a female teacher is yelling at Noriko, Atsuko and Chiyoko for not saying the proper greeting at the gate as they leave the school. This greeting, "go-kigen yô," is a school tradition and is an
old-fashioned and feminine honorific form of address used by upper class women.

## Searching for My Mother's Body

Certain images from Surfacing have stayed with me forever. One is the narrator being shut off at the neck inside her head to escape from her treacherous female body, the other is the women's body parts drawn on the wall of the tugboat where the loggers lived ("I was shocked, not by those parts of the body, we'd been told about those, but that they should be cut off like that from the bodies that ought to have gone with them, as though they could detach themselves and crawl around on their own like snails" 129). The other is the actual diving scene where she is searching for her father's body (and the rock drawings) and "sees" her aborted fetus under the water. I re-read it a few weeks ago and had to put it down part-way through because the memories it was bringing back were overwhelming. I can't believe that I hadn't gotten upset by the book considering that my own father had just died a few months before we read it in class. NOW, when I read it, all of it comes back, but not from the memories of my first reading. My parents are the reverse of the narrator's - my father died of cancer and now I'm searching for my mother's body (but figuratively because I see her several times a week). I know my mother has shut herself into her head, and taught me to do the same, so that we can avoid being body parts. No tail-lights flashing here. But in keeping my body from being "co-opted by society" (public property or literally dispersed in bits in the back woods) I've had to keep it from myself too. This has made me very angry. I want my own body back and I want my mother to have hers back too.

As Yûko leaves the school to walk home, she bumps into her cousin and they go for cake
and tea. Again his face is never shown, emphasizing his position as a male authority figure. Yûko asks him if he remembers calling her "an early-developer" (which, as in the grandmother's case, contains a sense of disapproval, or dirtiness) and he does not. It is a horrible shock to her that these wounding words were used so casually by their speakers. She cries right there in the restaurant, bewildering her cousin. This exchange reveals that Yûko's cousin also participated in the humiliating familial conversations about her burgeoning body and that it was this that prompted Yûko to fall out of first love.

After they leave, Yûko unthinkingly returns to school instead of going home. She bumps into Noriko, and they stop to chat. On the lawn under the cherry trees (now in full bloom, about to fall), Yûko explains that she never used to like Noriko and her friends because they could do all kinds of things she could not do even if she wanted to, and she was jealous. Noriko says that she knew already and comments wryly, "There's a price to pay for doing those things though" (p. 123).


Figure 8: PENALTY (Yoshida, 1986: 123)
Yûko then tells Noriko that she thinks Noriko has changed, that she has gotten easier to get along with. Noriko explains, "|'ve decided to take things more positively. I've stopped obsessing about
how no one treats me with respect - instead l've decided to just respect myself' (p. 123). Noriko's decision to look after herself instead of setting up situations where she constantly tested people (knowing that they would fail) is reminiscent of Gloria Steinem's advice in Revolution from Within (1993) to learn to love and respect your (female) self, even if the society around you does not. Interestingly, seeing the decision to "cope" with a difficult situation as resistance is also something that Lee and Sasser-Coen observed in their interviews with women about their menstrual histories:

For some women, most especially those at mid-life and beyond there was a general sense of "acceptance" or resignation to the politics of the menstrual career and female embodiment that ran through their narratives. We had not thought of this as a form of "resistance" until we read Emily Martin's discussion of acceptance, lament and non-action as a way of responding to women's reproductive restrictions. These ways of coping and surviving are important; note how they also serve to subvert the masculinist idea of resistance as oppositional action and behavior. The most important point we can make about this form of 'acceptance" is that it serves as a survival and coping mechanism. (1996:174)

Noriko was finding that when a girl enacts a "masculinist" resistance (skipping class, staying out at night alone, going out on dates, smoking in coffee shops) it actually created more restriction because of the stricter surveillance and disciplining it provoked (in both sexes). Another "sexual" double standard, for girls, both resisting (acting like a boy) and not-resisting (acting like a girl) will bring on the same loss of freedom.

Noriko's disclosure prompts Yûko to talk about her attraction to Chiyoko. She says: "I really do like Chiyoko. She doesn't seem much like a girl, you know, she's not dirty... I wish I could be like that... but more than that though, she looks like someone I used to be in love with. That's probably what it is" (pp.124-125). The word she uses for "dirty" is "namagusa" or literally "raw smelling." This word can also have the same sexual connotations (or associations with female genitalia and sexuality) in Japanese as "smells fishy" does in English. Interestingly, it also contains the meaning "suspicious" as well. In this case, in the way Yûko applies the term, "namagusal" means something akin to "sexual" or "base". Yûko is a perfect example of Yokomori Rika's "anti-sexual shôjo" or the type of young woman who is disgusted by sex and men (and the two are easily conflated). Tanenbaum explains how being called promiscuous can cause this "anti-sexuality":

The "slut" label makes them feel very ashamed indeed. Over and over, girls and women told me about the disgust, guilt, and squeamishness they felt about sex for years. Some adult women, former "sluts," continue to feel uncomfortable with sex to this day. (2000:20)

In Yûko's case, she hates men because they look at her sexually which makes her feel less than human and dirty. Through her crush on Chiyoko, it becomes apparent (again, in the following chapter when it is revealed that Chiyoko is a tomboy) that Yûko has internalized these standards as she finds suspect girls who are "girlie" or "fishy".

The two girls decide after this to go and get ice cream, but Yûko runs back to her classroom for a second. While there, she writes a love poem from the Man'yô-shû onto Chiyoko's desk. The next frame shows the poem, superimposed on a cherry tree in full bloom. The poem reads:

Getting a flower

Of the mandarin-orange
Blown down by the wind

Upon the sleeve, I wanted

To present it to my dear (Suge (trans.) 1991:173)

With this, Chapter Three ends and the narration shifts to Kürata Chiyoko.

Chapter Four begins with a rather frightening illustration of a snapshot of Chiyoko and her friends. The background is black and the representation of the photograph is situated slightly lower than the center of the page. There are five girls in the picture and they are all drawn without faces. Chiyoko is obviously the girl in the center of the photograph because she is the only one with short hair, and she is the tallest. Above the photo is Chiyoko's narration: "It was always like that. Whenever I had my picture taken with my friends, I was the only one who had, at some unknown moment, slouched" (p. 131). Chiyoko's narrative is centered on her insecurities about her body - she is tall and boyish (and usually plays the male roles in the drama clubs productions) but has surprisingly large breasts. Framed by the final preparations for the staging of Chekhov's play, Chapter Four, the last chapter, also focuses on the developing relationship between Yûko and Chiyoko.

Just before the first dress rehearsals begin for The Cherry Orchard, Chiyoko discovers the poem on her desk. Since she is very popular with the younger girls at the school (again, because she is good at playing the male roles in the school's drama productions, she has fans in the same manner as the "otoko yaku" have in the all-female musical review, Takarazuka) ${ }^{10}$ she is not all that surprised by the

[^15]love poem, but wonders who has written it. For this production, Chiyoko is Ranyevskaia and must therefore wear a dress. When she tries the costume on, it is too tight across the chest and she is not comfortable, but the teacher tells her to put up with it because there is no time to make alterations. Apparently this is very difficult for her, as later the drama teacher is shown admonishing Chiyoko to stand up straighter.

In one of the next sequences, Yûko arrives at school with her hair permed. Because this is strictly against school dress codes, she is called to the principal's office and harshly reprimanded. In class, while everyone is looking at Yâko, Chiyoko notices that Yûko is always looking at her, and it makes her rather uncomfortable. That day, after school in the changing room, as Chiyoko is folding up her costume, Yûko approaches and comments about how the dress is too tight for Chiyoko. Chiyoko laughs and says, "Even though I am like I am, I actually have a large chest" (p. 142). Yûko then reaches out and squeezes one of Chiyoko's breasts - for measurement. She says, "Oh, yeah, you're right!", while Chiyoko is left stammering. Yûko smiles and says, "You're about the same size as me. What a relief" (p. 142). To Chiyoko's puzzlement, Yûko explains, "I thought that you looked like a boy, but really, you're very feminine" (p. 143). Yûko has touched a nerve with Chiyoko, but Chiyoko is unable to explain it at this point. The conversation shifts to Yûko and her perm. She explains that she will probably quit being the manager of the drama club, and recommends that Chiyoko take over. Chiyoko says that she not responsible like Yûko, and so could not possibly do it. This is Yûko's trigger point and she says, "I am not responsible. Really. I'm not responsible at all. I might look like I am, but it is only appearances" (p. 146). Chiyoko is left pondering appearances, and as she thinks of the boy she has a crush on, she
comments, "yeah, but appearances are very important" (p. 147). The key scene for Chapter Four follows.

At home now, Chiyoko is lying on the bed in her room wearing her after-school jeans and a sweatshirt. She sits up and goes to the full-length mirror. Staring at her face, and then taking her shirt off and staring at her chest, she remembers her childhood:

Ever since I was little, people have been telling me I'm like a boy. At some point I must have started to believe them. Why is God so cruel? All of a sudden I have a chest twice the size of everyone else on this body with this face. It's so
unfair. I can't stand the way I look - it's like some scrawny starving tree with big bloody apples. Aaaaah, why couldn't I have been a boy....(pp. 148-149)




Figure 9: TOMBOY (Yoshida 1986: 148-149)

They next day at school, Chiyoko discovers that Yûko has indeed quit her position as manager of the drama club. Chiyoko and Yûko go up to the roof to talk about it, and Yûko reveals that the school authorities are making her quit. Because of her perm (delinquent behavior) she is a bad example for the younger girls. She again suggests that Chiyoko take over, but Chiyoko explains that she does not want to deal with the younger girls who get crushes on her because she plays the male roles: "I have no desire to become a Takarazuka star..." (p. 152). This convinces Yûko, and she does not press Chiyoko any more. Yûko responds, "That must suck - I mean you're a girl really" (p. 153).

As Chiyoko is walking home, remembering the love poem on her desk, she thinks, "The phrase 'I like you' is pretty ambiguous, no matter whether it is a girl or a boy who says it to you" (p. 154). She looks up and sees the boy that she has a crush on, but he is walking with a girl. This causes Chiyoko to think again how cruel God is. Her friends notice that Chiyoko is upset and try to convince her that the girl could be his sister or something. One of Chiyoko's friends runs up to the couple to try to find out who the girl is, but Chiyoko turns around and runs back to school. In her classroom she sits, puts her
head on her desk right next to the love poem and cries. The girl had been short, or "properly girl-sized," which feeds Chiyoko's insecurities about being a tomboy.

Lee and Sasser-Coen (1996) noticed also that many of their interviewees commented on being tomboys when they were younger. As with Chiyoko, this strategy had to be abandoned at some point:

Countless women talked and wrote about being "tomboys," and attempting to live their denial by associating mostly with boys and their activities. Of course, for most girls this was ultimately a short-lived strategy, as boys started to reject them once they were marked by the physiological changes associated with an inferior gender. In addition, this strategy also facilitated internalized sexism, as "tomboys" often learned to hate the feminine and all that was labeled feminine in themselves. Nonetheless, it was still a form of resistance, as girls became aware of and began to respond to negative scripts associated with gender. (p. 173)

This both does and does not fit the situation for Chiyoko and Yûko. Both of them may have learned to hate the feminine when their bodies matured and they were made to feel inferior, but Chiyoko has acted like a tomboy with and for girls and not boys, while Yûko has ended up avoiding men altogether in her "anti-sexual" shôjo state. Through their relationship with each other, they both come to accept their femaleness and learn to be happy with themselves, though they do not necessarily "return" to heterosexual normativity.

As Chiyoko is crying at her desk, Yûko walks in with a parcel. Ignoring Chiyoko's tears, Yûko asks Chiyoko to come up to the roof for a minute, telling her to bring her costume for the play. Once
there, Yûko gives Chiyoko the present - a large bow to sew onto the front of the dress to draw attention away from Chiyoko's breasts. Yûko explains that since she had developed early, she has learned very well how to camouflage: "My breasts are kind of large too, and I've had a hard time ever since I was a kid. Everyone kept calling me an early-bloomer and boys I didn't even know would come up and grab me and stuff. I used to think I was bad or something. And I developed a nasty slouch" (pp. 159-160). Yûko's frankness prompts Chiyoko to talk: "For me it's worse because l'm tall. When l'm with the other girls, it makes me stick out even more" (p. 160). Yûko says that she used to be jealous of Chiyoko because she thought that Chiyoko, a tomboy, did not ever worry about these things, and Chiyoko responds, "I wish I were just a little bit more feminine, like you or Atsuko" (p. 161). Yûko says, surprised, "I've never been called feminine or cute in my life - I'm always 'responsible'. And l've never wanted to be called that, ever" (p. 161). Yûko finishes sewing the bow onto the dress and stands up to give it to Chiyoko and notices that she is crying. Chiyoko says: "If I were a little smaller and a little more feminine, there might be a chance a guy would like me..." (p. 162). Yûko looks at her and responds, "Does it have to be a boy? Because I like you. Will I do?" (p. 162). Chiyoko smiles through her tears and says, "Yes, you'll do", so Yûko puts her arm around Chiyoko and continues: "I like you Chiyoko, I really really like you" (p. 163). Chiyoko then says, "Great, say it some more" and so Yûko repeats, "I like you. I like you a lot. It's true..." (p. 163). The next scene shows all four of the narrators in costume preparing to step onto the stage, ready for their new adult roles. The final page of the manga shows the four girls in a frame at the top, huddled together talking while cherry petals float around them. Underneath, unframed, is a scene from the play and the words, "In a place controlled by emotion and ruled by queens with no husbands, these cherry trees were like the crown upon our heads" (p. 170).

### 2.1.8 Conclusion

In many ways, it is possible to argue that Yoshida Akimi has taken the bishônen-ai stories of the 24-nen gumi and made explicit or visible the gendering processes that were being protested via the absence of girls' (sexual) bodies (Matsui 1993, Fujimoto 1998, Ogi 2001). Through the "outrageous" acts of creating bishônen-ai manga with visual representations of boy-boy love that can "pass" for "real" boys (or as shônen manga) as well as shôjo manga populated by girls who bleed and talk about menstruation, Yoshida has drawn attention to a distinct connection between the two types of shôjo manga stories - both boy-boy and girl-boy shôjo manga stories point out the discursive silences regarding girls' bodies. As Lee and Sasser-Coen argue:

This cultural silence and neglect is important for girls and reflects issues of gendered body politics in contemporary society. Girls and women are affected by sociocultural messages about the female body, menarche, and menstruation, clearly illustrating how the cultural and the personal are fundamentally and inextricably linked. (1996: 36)

Connecting this silence specifically to popular culture narratives, Karen Houppert, in her book on menstruation, The Curse, asks the very pertinent question, "What does it mean for a girl, or woman, to say simply, 'This happens to me' and for society to say 'No it doesn't.' Not in movies. Not in books. Not in conversations" (1999:9). Houppert's answer to this question is, "when we don't find ourselves reflected in the culture, we begin to doubt our observations" (1999: 242). When someone like Yoshida Akimi creates stories about girls who menstruate, the "outrageous" noise it produces in the midst of all the cultural silence allows a brief glimpse into the usually invisible subtexts that define "feminine" life in a patriarchal society. Instead of "doubting our observations" or blaming ourselves for being "not normal", Yoshida's stories allow readers (including myself) to openly question what the definition of "normal" is
while also showing which members of society (or what social practices) are involved in re-producing these definitions.

This "gender criticism" apparent in Yoshida's manga also provides opportunities to examine the invisible subtexts that underlie the strictly gendered genre divisions in Japanese manga and Japanese manga criticism. Yoshida's work literally and visually calls into question relationships between form and content, thus making the narrative functions "visible": If it is possible to make a shôjo manga with shônen drawings, then this seems to suggest that the definition of shôjo manga is more than just a visual grammar of flowery backgrounds, big eyes and asymmetrical framing. The fact that male manga critics such as Okada Toshio ${ }^{11}$ from Manga Yawa simply see this as proof that the artist is qualified to graduate up to drawing (real) manga for males is perhaps the reason why (shôjo) manga need to exist as "shôjo" in the first place. This is related to the fact that Okada cannot understand the symbolism of the bleeding in Sakura no sono. In the Manga Yawa session on Sakura no sono, Okada claims to have been so moved that he cried. That said, when the female guests kept bringing up the scenes about menstruation as reasons why they felt that the manga was definitely shôjo despite the drawing style, Okada made comments like: "I felt I was seeing something I shouldn't be," (p.158); And, "Oh, does this mean I shouldn't look happy when my daughter starts?" (p. 123); And in response to a viewer's fax message that said, "I wonder if men can ever really understand the psychology of menstruation. And maybe I don't really want them to," Okada said, "No worries, I don't understand" (p. 57). It does not matter whether these were real opinions or simple macho posturing - they produce the same "silencing" effect that (re)produces "male" as the norm. As Houppert has shown:

[^16][A]s long as not menstruating is perceived as the norm - and why else would we hide it? - women will always be the Other. Hushing up the fact of menstruation facilitates the illusion that it's not happening. Non-bleeding becomes a standard from which all others deviate. (1999: 241)

The connection between Okada's use of shônen manga as a norm and the societal concept of "non-bleeding" as a standard is, I would like to suggest, not incidental and is linked to the "persecution" of shôjo manga that Yoshida refers to in her interview with Fusion Product, cited at the beginning of this section. Okada's work in the production of the role-playing video game "Princess Maker ${ }^{12 "}$ is also not incidental and neither are his comments that the strong, sexually confident, assertive women, like the characters in Okazaki Kyôko's manga, are his "enemy" (Manga Yawa, 1998: 202).

The girls I interviewed had a very different reaction to Sakura no sono than Okada did (see Interview \# 6 - Hitomi and Rie). It is easy, as a researcher heavily invested in content analysis, to get caught up in arguments about the divisions between the manga genres and to forget that Yoshida is not writing shôjo manga for the masculinist manga critics, she is writing shôjo manga for the shôjo manga readers - a larger percentage of whom most likely bleed once a month and, like Hitomi and Rie, rarely get a chance to read and talk about it.

## Dancing in Abbotsford

[^17]Now I look back and realize that I really was a dancer. I danced my way through high school -- plieeing and pirouetting around so fast that no one could pin me down. Even though I often leaked socialist and feminist comments in literature class, I ate with the physics geeks, I played and hung out with the jocks, I took photographs for the annual, I shopped with the Mennonite girls, I took the Goths to sneak into restricted movies in Vancouver (I think I was the only person in my class of 600 who was allowed to drive into Vancouver unchaperoned - I had no problems making friends), and I had a boyfriend that no one knew or ever saw me with - he sent me roses at school regularly and everybody thought I was just the luckiest. I thought so too - no open sexuality to get bashed for, and even any questions of possible sexual transgressions made socially acceptable (he was obviously madly in love with me - flowers cost serious money), no other boys hitting on me (the site of flower delivery was a clear message), and no questions for those in my lit. class about my straightness. The meaning of safe sex in Abbotsford! I wonder what character I am in their stories? Wholewheat Girl? The Queen of Contradiction? One of the physics boys told me at graduation, that of all the girls [in the brain class] / was the one that they'd voted least likely to fart. He probably thought it was a compliment, but I think my relationship with my body, or lack of relationship more like, was visible to everyone but me. I was trying to be everything to everyone.

### 2.2.0 Papa Told Me: Healing Hearts and the Pathologization of the Feminine

### 2.2.1 Introduction

Over the past several years in Japan, there has been much writing and research on shôjo manga that describes them as "healing guides" for girls and women.


Figure 1: SHOJO MANGA HEALING GUIDE
Since sales have been dropping in recent years, this is perhaps an attempt to include shôjo manga in a much wider and lucrative "new age" healing boom that includes aromatherapy and relaxation music.

With respect to shôjo manga, this "healing" is marketed as a method for dealing with depression or other emotional problems due to "the stresses of modern life." Even before it was marketed in this manner,
shôjo manga has long been known for the "dreams" it provides readers - or comforting "possibilities" (kanôsel) raised by happy endings or romance (Thorn, 1993). While the stereotype of shôjo manga is that this hope for the future lies in a relationship with a man, there are actually many different types of stories and sub-genres. Often, the relationship is not the solution to, but rather the proof of, the main character's "recovery" from the problem (usually a lack of self-confidence or some kind of identity crisis). Regardless, since youth in advanced industrial states do face many serious problems attaining adulthood despite high standards of living (Coté and Allahar 1994), this "healing" is not something to be scorned. Nor need it be dismissed simply as marketing, even though it may also be argued that the marketing is the origin of the problems - in the manner of fashion magazines that make readers feel bad about themselves in order to sell the products that will make them feel better.

Apparently in contrast, scholars and critics often condemn love stories for girls and shôjo manga (a genre with a high percentage of love stories) for misleading or keeping girls trapped in patterns of passive behavior that support patriarchal institutions or false consciousness (Christian-Smith, 1990,1993; Willinsky, 1993; Allison, 1996; Kinsella, 1998). Girls supposedly read the manga and learn to think that they must make themselves beautiful to find a man who will look after them, rather than studying (or reading good books) allowing them to get jobs to support themselves. Shôjo manga (or at least the manga that promote self-realization for girls via the sexual acknowledgement of men) are held to train girls to be weak and dependent which may leave them in a vulnerable and often disappointing situation later in life. Dawn Currie, in her ethnographic study of girls' fashion magazines and their readers, Girl Talk, calls this 'the 'doing' and the 'undoing' of the Subject" (1999: 20). Ironically, many women academics and researchers will either start or end their books or papers with their own "confessions" of liking romances or fashion magazines - expressing guilt and confusion over the
pleasure they get from such "obviously" bad products (Radway 1984, Ang 1996, Yokomori 1999). As an example of this phenomenon, Currie quotes Janice Winship's introduction to her research on fashion magazines:

Whether feminist friends voiced it or not I felt they were thinking that if I really had to do research ... I should do it on something more important politically: 'Surely we all know women's magazines demean women and solely benefit capitalist profits. What more is there to say?'(Winship in Currie 1999: 7) While Currie acknowledges this ambiguity (or contradiction) and sees that magazines offer girls a (limited) subjectivity, she too concludes that the magazines replicate the status quo, and that the readers are not resisting social constructions of femininity or female roles. Regarding the manner in which feminist academics tend to study girls, Catherine Driscoll has commented that the privileging of resistance is also a form of compliance or conformity:

Consumption articulates identities and communities, but according to influential models for talking about it, the girl market describes a demographic wrapped up in negotiating their own power and powerlessness through consumption. This idea underlies specific analyses of how girls consume, which also tend to focus on assessing the conformity or non-conformity of girls as consumers or girls as products. This is how the girl market has characteristically worked, but any marketing strategy works by trying to manipulate conformity, including conformity to the image of nonconformity. (Driscoll 2002: 269)

Driscoll is writing with specific reference to gendered marketing strategies and the concept of a "girl
market" within academic studies of economics, but there are interesting parallels to Japanese Studies here - especially the insight regarding the paradox of universal nonconformity. I have often used a similar turn of phrase to counter arguments (by Japanese and non-Japanese alike) based on the binary pairing of "Japanese group consciousness" with "American individualism": If all Americans are trying to be unique, then they are, in effect, behaving as a group. In much the same manner, it is ironic that Japanese academic work is often dismissed as not critical because it does not resist properly, since, from another perspective, this could be seen as non-conformity to "the cult of resistance" that underlies western paradigms for critical thinking and writing. Western enlightenment discourses that define "developed" as "white and male" form the basis of these evaluations of Japanese academic writing and they are often left as unquestioned in Japanese Studies arguments as they are in studies of girls' culture.

### 2.2.2 Loveable Lies

Japanese women's critical writing on shôjo manga reveals much of the same contradiction and ambivalence seen in western women's writing on fashion magazines. Yokomori Rika, in her book I Learned About Love from Shôjo Manga, writes about how she was tricked into believing in "love" by the shôjo manga that she read as a shôjo. In retrospect, as an adult she can now see that this has caused a lot of turmoil and wasted time in her life. When she explains why she read so many manga as a girl, she describes a certain kind of shôjo manga as stories for readers who are afraid of sex. She calls these readers "anti-sexual shôjo" and claims that this anti-sexual phenomenon is observable in a compulsive

[^18]fastidiousness (or neuroticism) about bodies and sexual activity. Using Ohshima Yumiko's manga, Banana Bread Pudding as an example and talking about her own anti-sexual youth, she explicitly connects her taste in shôjo manga to a dissatisfaction with growing up female:

Ohshima Yumiko's manga describe exactly my mental state at that time.

I got kind of neurotic, and for me, an anti-sexual teenager with a
tendency to get stuck on little details, Banana Bread Pudding was an
absolute perfect fit. (Yokomori, 1999: 107)

Banana Bread Pudding is one of the shôjo manga classics from the 24-nen gumi, or the golden age of shôjo manga. To summarize very briefly, it is the story of a high school girl who is afraid of growing up (represented as a fear of sex). Her crisis is exacerbated by the "betrayal" of her older sister, her closest friend and confidante, who has just gotten married and left the family house. The heroine "heals" herself by quitting school and "marrying" a gay man who will never demand sex but for whom the relationship will serve to meet social expectations and help him conceal his homosexuality. The man turns out not to be gay, but to be pretending in order to help the heroine, and they (with a few twists and turns) end up happily living together, as a heterosexual couple, in the end.


Figure 2: BANANA BREAD PUDDING CHARACTERS (Ohshima 1995:125)
The heroine's "anti-sexuality" is clearly described and defined as is the possibility that she may commit suicide if nothing is done to help her find a way to come to terms with mainstream society. Banana

Bread Pudding has become something of a paradigm for neurotic women, or a symbol for women who do not like sex. Okazaki Kyoko makes a direct allusion to Banana Bread Pudding (1980) in her manga Georama Boy and Panorama Girl (1989a: 184) as proof that the main character is unable to find a boyfriend because she is actually afraid of men and sex.


Figure 3: BANANA BREAD PUDDING IN OKAZAKI (Okazaki 1989a:184)
While on the one hand Yokomori claims that time and experience have helped her to overcome her own phobia as well as her dependence on shôjo manga, she explains how she got re-addicted when writing the book explaining this process! In the postscript to her book, entitled "Shôjo manga are the same as drugs - in place of a postscript," Yokomori writes about what happened to her while doing the research for the book: "And because I had so much fun re-reading all the shôjo manga for this project, without meaning to, I ended up strengthening the bonds of femininity!"

In the commentary to Yokomori's (1999) book, the manga artist Makimura Satoru summarizes very well the connection between the good, the bad and the feminine. She states that even though she is a career woman and has dedicated herself to her work from a very young age, she still dreams of romance:

But, no matter how successful my career was, in the corner of my heart
somewhere was always the question, "Isn't it just that you haven't been able to find love?" Even though I looked down on the kind of women who "lived for love" and always talked about how they made me sick, I was always wondering what it would be like to fall in love. Really, I was thinking just like a shôjo! Even though I knew
better! (But it's kind of cute though, isn't it?!) (Makimura, 1999:. 251)
Writing about her own personal experience, she explains that as a woman who grew up reading shôjo manga and then as a writer working with editors and set patterns for stories, she knows and has often been very disillusioned by the "lies" in shôjo manga, but still likes them. She proposes that people tell lies and people want to believe lies because there is a big gap between their self-image and reality that they can't deal with. Some people lie to help themselves feel better temporarily, but they stop lying once they have built enough self-confidence. Others never get that far and keep on lying forever. She then ties this back to manga:

Lies can be both poison and medicine. Shôjo manga are the same. The period when I was a pure shôjo manga reader was fairly short-lived, but there are times even now when I come across something that makes me think, "Wow, shôjo manga really are great!!" When it makes me feel relieved and comforted and re-energized, I think, "This is why I can't quit." I think this comes from the simple attraction of a main character who never gives up hope, or who has a built-in passion for life or something like that. (Makimura, 1999: 252-253)

This explains very clearly why people would want to read shôjo manga (the good), and also why they cannot seem to stop (the bad), and both Yokomori and Makimura attribute it somehow to being female. Shôjo manga may be both poison and medicine, but collapsing this dichotomy neither fixes nor explains the underlying disease. Nor does it explain why a gap between the "ideal" self and the "real" self is readily assumed to be signs of sickness in girls.

## Don't Get Pregnant

When I wanted to go camping with my boyfriend, my mom made me go on the pill. I couldn't jeopardize my education by getting pregnant, even though all I wanted to do was go camping, not fucking. I found the whole process very humiliating, but I did it just to make everyone happy and to get to go camping. I didn't want to go to the old family doctor, so I went to the only woman GP in Abbotsford. It was a lot easier to talk to her. A year or so later, I did sleep with my boyfriend and didn't get pregnant. I kept everything hush-hush so the youth group police wouldn't throw a moral fit on me. In the spring of grade 12 I broke up with my boyfriend (he was getting too bossy - telling me to go to Europe to learn a useful language like French or find my roots in Germany rather than going to Japan like I wanted to) and decided that I didn't want a synthetic body any more. When I went to the doctor to get a certificate of health for my application for the school in Japan, she asked what kind of school it was and I told her that it was a private Protestant high school. The doctor then insisted that the fact that I had been on the pill be put in the letter even though it had been several months since l'd stopped taking them. She said that it was still in my blood. I was so shocked - I was sure that the school wouldn't take me. I couldn't believe that in 1987 I could be punished for not being a virgin. And punished by a woman "scientist". Angry that my ex-boyfriend would suffer no consequences whatsoever while my future, my education, could get thwarted just like that, I couldn't sleep for days. I went back to my old family doctor, and he didn't even need me to explain. He just quietly rewrote the letter for me.

### 2.2.3 Growing Up Anti-Sexual: The Pathologization of the Feminine

Although Freud's "cures" of his female patients have been called in to question, his statement
in the essay "Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes" (1925) that the path from child to adult is particularly difficult for females because they must learn to accept a socially inferior position still seems to be held as true. As Gayle Rubin (1975) so aptly noted, "the psychoanalytical theory of femininity is one that sees female development based largely on pain and humiliation, and it takes some fancy footwork to explain why anyone ought to enjoy being a woman" (1975: 197). Again, while the Oedipus complex is no longer considered to be a universally applicable model, the connection between a society's stories and individual psyches seems to have become rather commonly accepted. Many academics, psychiatrists and literary critics worldwide use studies of fiction to make statements about the culture(s) that produced them. In a study of adolescent novels for girls in the United States, Barbara White has noted that many stories show that the transition from a relatively ungendered and free childhood to a rigidly gendered and socially limited "female" role has been traumatic for American girls. Writing this in 1985, she expresses hope that the feminism of the 70s will make positive changes for future generations of young women:

The fact that the adolescent girl is more essential to the furtherance of patriarchy than the woman past childbearing age should make further novels of adolescence of particular interest to readers who look to fiction for reflection of social change. If the "second wave" of feminism has produced any real changes, it seems that we might find them reflected in the novels of adolescence of the 1990s. Will they continue to portray growing up female as a loss, as the entering of a tightly enclosed space that entails the death of the self? (White, 1985: 197)

While this is specifically about American novels of adolescence rather than Japanese shôjo manga, White has found recurring negative themes regarding becoming adult women that are almost identical to
the themes that both Fujimoto and Yokomori outline in their discussions of shôjo manga. This citation from White's work illustrates two important and connected points: one, that it is necessary to look at "patriarchy" as well as "culture" and "images of women in Japan" in order to understand why there are so many stories in Japan about girls who do not want to become adult women; and two, that the definition of "adult woman" is, via this patriarchy, intricately connected to sexually active physical bodies and the female role in reproduction.

Fujimoto Yukari (1998) describes this from a slightly different perspective. In the chapter where she discusses the reasons for the proliferation of cross-dressing or "transgender" themes in shôjo manga (Ikeda Riyoko's Oscar in The Rose of Versailles is one of the main examples) she points out that "female" (josei) has come to be marked as a "sexual existence" (seiteki na sonzal) and that girls want to dress as boys (or more accurately why girls want to read stories about girls who can become boys by dressing like them) in order to avoid this: "For women, a sexual existence is not always a happy occurrence - sometimes it comes with things like self-hate or fear." She also explains that while girls can actively choose "masculine" or "feminine" roles these days, being female only becomes a problem with (heterosexual) sexual activity:

Let me make this clear, for women, "woman" only becomes a real problem when they are loved by a man, and otherwise, either being a man or a woman is ok - it is possible to become either. (Fujimoto, 1998: 135)

This is a direct translation, and while the terms are not differentiated in the original text, it is clear that the first "women" refers to sex, or humans with female genitalia, while the second "woman" (also appearing in quotation marks in the Japanese version) is referring to femaleness, or the socially negative state of having female genitalia. The term "man" and the third usage of "woman" refer to the
gendered social roles only (no bodily referents). That girls can now choose to a certain extent the gender of their lifestyle is perhaps one of the changes - or benefits of second-wave feminism - that White was hoping for. As Fujimoto has pointed out though, bodies bring you back. The anxiety or disgust that girls learn to associate with the female body because of its social meaning as "seiteki na sonzal" is what Fujimoto asserts is the origin of all the gender-crossing in shôjo manga: "This is really the origin of the crossing of sex/gender boundaries in shôjo manga." In other words, in order to avoid the "woman" problem, or the limitations of the female sex, and protect one's ability to choose a male or a female role in society, you just have to avoid "being loved by a man" or engaging in the heterosexual activity that makes your genitalia relevant. ${ }^{2}$ To summarize, the "sickness" that produces "anti-sexuality" is a double-bind; in order to have social agency, you have to deny your female body. Since both options in a double-bind are not completely attractive, to soothe their troubled souls girls keep reading manga and dreaming about a world where this doesn't happen - where they can be loved for who they are or have a "place to be."

That said, it is one thing to claim that the basic narrative patterns in shôjo manga cause compliance and encourage passivity, but quite another to come up with a successful alternative that does not then encourage the passive adoption of simply a different value system. In the next section of this chapter, I will explore some possible explanations for this ambiguity or contradiction by looking at one particular manga where there is a clear attempt to shift the romantic paradigms and give girls "good" or more active and independent role models. A close reading shows that the "new" set of problems that appear with this alternative paradigm is very similar to the old set. Because the arguments over

[^19]good/bad collapse in on each other (back to Derrida's slippage, Fraser's misrecognition and Chow's deadlock) I conclude that this suggests researchers need to redefine their research questions by perhaps looking more closely at what happens when girls "read" and also at what happens when adult women try to "fix" girls' lives for them.

## Uncle Don Again

I talked to my Uncle Don last summer at the family reunion on the farm, just outside Edmonton. He didn't know that I knew the story about studying to become a boy already and re-told it to me. It seems that after he found out what a reaction it caused when he told my mother, for years he has been telling it to anybody he suspects of feminism because he knows it will piss them off. He still thinks it's funny. My mom skunked him at about 7 games of cribbage in a row, and she sat back, groaned as if she were giving birth and said, "Oooooooh, I think I'm becoming a boy!" His wife thought it was hilarious.

### 2.2.4 Papa Told Me

The long-running shôjo manga, Papa Told Me, has been published in Young You magazine since 1987. Young You has a slightly older target audience - 20-30 year-old women - and the cover reads, "shôjo manga that has grown up." Even though neither the author nor the intended readers of Papa Told Me are technically shôjo themselves ${ }^{3}$, the manga has all of the structural and visual elements of mainstream shôjo manga: intricate and beautiful backgrounds, stylish lines and clothing, and tall, thin,
long-legged characters who live a romantic and stylishly charming urban life. While it is not exactly marketed by the publisher as shôjo manga (the webpage has it listed under "ladies comics" even though the page itself is structured by a pure shôjo manga esthetic), it is usually sold with the shôjo manga in most book shops. The content of Papa Told Me also fits within mainstream shôjo manga patterns according to Fujimoto (1998). The main character is a primary school girl named Chise Matoba who lives with her father in a beautifully decorated apartment in a large city in Japan. As the copy from the November 2000 issue of the magazine shows, Papa Told Me is marketed as a "healing" story:

Front cover: Healing World!!
Table of Contents: To soothe your heart - Chise's world of love

Title Page: The autumn wind...
together with Chise)

Will reset your tired heart!!
While the malaise the manga is meant to be a treatment for remains undefined, that it is social in origin is implied. Chise has a special wisdom and empathy beyond her years. The characters of her name literally mean, "knows the world," and she often points out contradictory aspects of the adult world by being able to take care of herself and by helping other "marginal" people such as weaker classmates at school, people in trouble or homeless people and animals. Because Chise, as narrator, is speaking from the perspective of a child, she is situated outside of the adult world and is able to make critical statements that an adult character would not be able to. Ironically this allows the adult author a powerful position for social criticism through the appropriation of powerlessness. That this is meant to "educate" readers in the mode of "manner" books or Bildungsroman is also made explicit. As this copy from the

[^20]February 2001 issue of Young You shows, Chise is marketed as leader or a role-model for readers:

Front Page: Chise will look at the $21^{\text {st }}$ Century with the same sharp and knowing gaze

Table of Contents: Refresh your heart with this long running series

Title Page: No one can see the future but the promised place of happiness definitely exists somewhere so, let's set out and walk together

This illustrates the "possibilities" (kanôsel) or "hope for the future" shôjo manga themes at the same time that it establishes Papa Told Me as a guidebook or a textbook for the proper way of living. ${ }^{4}$ In April of this year (2003), NHK (the Japanese national broadcasting corporation) started broadcasting a live-action version of Papa Told Me on their education channel. The Japanese government has been running several public service campaigns recently in an attempt to get men more interested in helping with parenting ${ }^{5}$, and perhaps this was a consideration since Papa in this story cooks, cleans, and is willing to listen to his ten-year old daughter. Fujimoto Yukari (1998), in her book Where Do I Belong?: The Psyche reflected by Shôjo Manga (a very thorough thematic and socio-historical mapping of the major shôjo manga since the 1970s) describes Papa Told Me in the chapter entitled, "How to make a happy home." The subtitle for the section on this manga is, "A 'free and creative' single-father household," a citation from the manga itself. Fujimoto praises the manga for being "progressive" and socially critical. She comments on how good Chise is at pointing out the various contradictions and

[^21]hypocrisies of the world of adults. ${ }^{6}$ Nimiya Kazuko (see Pink) also used many quotes from Papa Told Me in her 1999 talk at Wings Kyoto (a women's community center) about how to use shôjo manga to understand gender. She cited Chise's lines from the manga several times as "wisdom" for helping women to eliminate bad femininity (thinking only about sex, love or makeup versus the enlightened type where you focus on work and family too) from one's life.

The manga is clearly questioning the meaning of "marriage" and suggests that alternative lifestyles need to be more accepted in Japan. Chise's mother died when Chise was very young, and Chise's father does not want to remarry. The story covers both the angst of a young girl growing up without a mother and the trials and tribulations of a single father, working and trying to raise his daughter by himself (he is a well-known writer and is able to work at home). The central condition that drives the plot is that the two of them must create a "good-enough family" so that a replacement mother does not become necessary. Concretely, this means that if they do not live up to the ambiguous and somewhat randomly applied standards set by the people around them (seken no me), Chise will either have to go and live with her grandmother or her father will be forced to remarry. The description on the back of the manga reads:

> Even though it is just a single-father family, Papa, a writer and Chise, an elementary school student, manage to live freely and creatively. Sometimes Papa is teased and sometimes tickled by the cute yet clever Chise. They are often judged by those around them because of their different lifestyle, but as long as their hearts are warm, they will be OK!

This captures very well the main social criticism to be found in the manga - that Japanese society does

[^22]not provide space for independent, creative or different ways of thinking or living.
The story first appeared in the initial volume of the Shûeisha monthly shôjo manga magazine, Young You in 1987, and has been being serialized since. Currently ${ }^{7}$, it is still being published, with no announcements of an end in sight. Unlike most long-running shôjo manga, it does not have a continuous plot. Like a television sitcom (perhaps another reason why it was chosen to be dramatized by NHK), the story is presented in chapters that stand roughly on their own and does not "progress" through time - Chise has been approximately ten years old for the entire fifteen years. The narration is closest to Chise, but as per shôjo manga conventions the narration often shifts to other characters for brief periods. In almost every episode, the narrative perspective shifts to Papa's point of view - though the length of this narration varies. There are also regular "guest" narrators, such as Chise's aunt or Papa's editor, and occasionally an entire episode where readers are allowed into the lives and thoughts of a random narrator such as a salesperson, or neighbor that Chise and her father have some sort of contact with. While many different stories have appeared over the fifteen years of publication, one of the more commonly occurring themes has been an exploration of lifestyles that represent alternatives to (heterosexual) marriage. This is apparent in the ongoing fight between Chise's father and Chise's grandmother over the necessity of a new mother for Chise. Added to this is a similar struggle between the same grandmother and Papa's younger sister Yuriko over her decision to work for a while longer and not get married right away. Both Papa and Yuriko are constantly shown resisting their mother's attempts to arrange marriages for them. For slightly different reasons, neither of them wants to get married - Papa because he is supposedly not ready to replace his late wife whom he loved very much and because he wants to spend more time with Chise, and Yuriko because she is really interested in her
job and does not want to give it up yet (the unquestioned assumption being that she can't be both married and working).

This "anti-marriage" theme appears in segments about other characters too. Certain "good" characters are set up as role models, or "older sisters" for Chise and the readers. For example, in Episode Eleven, "Stardust Ribbon", a jewelry salesperson is taking a jewelry design course in the evenings after work. She is very good at design, and because she is just starting to win competitions and sell her pieces at the store, she does not want to go back to her hometown in the country yet, even though her fiancé is getting impatient waiting for her there. She sells one of her pieces to Papa (a present for Chise) and puts a special ribbon on it. A few days later, she sees Chise on the train with the ribbon in her hair and realizes that Papa had bought the gift for his daughter and not for his lover (or wife). This then provides her with the motivation to resist the pressure to return home to get married and to keep designing beautiful jewelry.

In addition, the "bad" characters, or the negative role-model characters who cause problems for Chise and her father are often married women with children. For example, there is the PTA mother in Episode Fourteen who asks Papa for help getting some of her writing published. When he suggests that she do it herself, she gets angry and walks out. This is not the end of the issue though, as she then causes a scene at school with Chise a few days later. Further, in Episode Twelve, Papa and Chise are at a children's art exhibit and they bump into one of Papa's old college classmates who is there with his family. The children (a hyperactive little boy and his spoiled older sister) are stupid and rude, and everyone ignores Chise's drawing because the mother and father (with bad hair, dressed in matching sweaters) are so busy showing off their offspring.

[^23]

Figure 4: ANTI-FAMILY (Haruno, 1989:64)

Everything they do is portrayed as the epitome of poor taste in contrast to sophisticated Chise, on a "date" with her young-looking and handsome father. In all of these examples, there is always someone or some people representing the "normal" or the dominant mode of life in Japanese society who are putting pressure on the main character(s) to get married, or are judging them for being "different". Since this theme comes up many times, and each time the conclusion of the chapter is centered around how the main character avoids submitting to this pressure or judgment (always shown as unwanted "help", hypocrisy or very bad taste), it is quite clear that this kind of rigidly gendered group control is being criticized in Papa Told Me.

Because it is overtly resisting patriarchal rules or the roles available for women in a patriarchal
society, in many ways Papa Told Me could be seen as "feminist," but it is not ever presented that way. Fujimoto (1998) used the term "progressive" rather than feminist, while Nimiya (1999) used "sharp" or "critical." Furthermore, there is always an inherent contradiction or ambivalence included with depictions of alternative lifestyles. Staying outside normal society (or outside marriage) is shown as a difficult, "unstable" or lonely choice and the characters often think longingly about a warm family, even as they make choices that take them away from this possibility. While there are consequences for choosing to stay single, it is interesting that neither marriage nor the romance genre itself is being criticized; the characters are still looking for or dreaming of perfect partners (true love), but not arranged for convenience, out of fear of being different, or not for "right now". They have not given up on heterosexual society or marriage, just on the crass economic and physical aspects of them. Indicative of this is the central role of Papa's relationship with his late wife. Because she is dead, this relationship can never be material or materialistic, nor can it ever be challenged as a romantic model. This shows that Papa Told Me contains identifiably feminist themes within a shôjo manga love romance structure or frame: depending on one's perspective, the good within the bad, or the bad within the good.

An "anti-sexual" theme is also apparent in this manga. Considering that the author is an adult and the magazine is targeted at readers who are twenty-five years of age, that a ten year-old girl can be a healing guide makes it abundantly clear that the social and emotional problems have something to do with the definition of "adult." The neutral connection between the word "adult" and a biological "sexually mature" is obvious, but there is also a negative social connection between the word "adult" and "sexual activity." It is interesting to note that the word "adult" in English can be ambiguous as it means both "grown-up" and "pornographic" (as in "adult video" or "adult magazine"). This problem has been averted in Japanese as they have imported the English word, "adaruto," to refer to the pornographic, leaving the

Japanese word "otona," unsullied. Through the fact that Chise never has to grow up, along with the chapters about the hard-working older sisters, it is also obvious that the author is exploring ways for girls and women to find satisfaction with their lives outside of arranged (or practical) marriage patterns. This is apparent in the way that Chise's body is drawn in the manga. Her infinite fashionable wardrobe and plethora of beautiful "little things" are representative solely of her taste and ability to express her self and never for the purpose of attracting male sexual attention. Because she is always ten years old, possibly troublesome ambiguities are thwarted. Another aspect of this search for alternatives to marriage can be found in the idealized father-daughter relationship, though troublesome ambiguities are more likely to surface here.

The relationship between Chise and her father is shown primarily from Chise's point of view. It is non-sexual but "monogamous" as Chise's father refuses to remarry and spends all of his free time with Chise. She therefore has a monopoly on his affection. Papa is fully satisfied by this relationship and does not seem to want or need a sexual partner. On a surface level, it is easy to see why girls who in real life almost never get to see their fathers would want to read a story about a father who thinks only of his daughter. On a deeper level, in many ways, it can also be read as a perfect Freudian fantasy for frigid or phallic women. Because there is no mother to compete with, Chise has a very privileged position between adulthood and childhood. Chise gets to be loved and be pure; without having to have sex or deal with a difficult adult female body, Chise is able to avoid the typical role of "mother" (with bad hair and an ugly attitude) but still have a "husband" to herself. Unlike the characters in the boy/boy comics, she nevertheless gets to remain female and is able to enjoy the esthetically pleasing cute and feminine material aspects of society (private school, nice clothes, perfect hair, a pleasingly decorated
apartment, beautiful teatime experiences) ${ }^{8}$ all while having complete access to and control over the Papa phallus. Readers, via Chise, get to have their cake and eat it too. They get an adult mind and critical perspective with a non-aging, uncontested (asexual), pure and esthetically pleasing "body-less body".

In Japan where the age-limits for study, work, and marriage are openly and strictly regulated, the attractiveness of such a situation should be immediately recognizable, as should its "healing" potential; as Ralph (1989:6) states in her study of Victorian coming-of-age stories, "Everyone, whether a child or adult, can identify with a character struggling to develop into an individual human being." This does not appear to be the case with shôjo manga though. Some readers cannot in fact seem to identify with the characters attempting to become human beings if they are female. Literary critic Sekikawa Natsuo (1996), critiques Papa Told Me in his book Chishikiteki taishû shokun, kore mo manga da (To the intellectual masses, comrades, this is manga too). He starts the chapter called, "Profession, writer. Lover, his daughter," with the following:

A member of the writing profession has lost his wife at a young age and lives with his elementary school-aged daughter in a condominium in the city, and the manga describes this everyday life in a calm and sweetly stylish way. That probably is all the explanation necessary, but there are some things that bother me about this manga. (p. 200)

Writing as if Papa is the main character, Sekikawa does not look at anything from Chise's perspective. He proceeds to explain that, as a writer, he knows that it is not possible for a non-fiction writer to make

[^24]as much money as Papa seems to, or even if handsome, to be popular enough for readers to line up for autographs. He adds that having a daughter who fills all the female roles - wife, date, friend, mother, plus secretary and wardrobe consultant - may be every middle-aged man's secret desire, but is extremely unlikely to happen. Citing an episode in the manga where Papa's old friend from university comes to visit and complains about how depressing it is that Papa, once part of their "love and revolution Hemmingway club" is now at home "cutting daikon and running a vacuum cleaner," Sekikawa points out that it is very strange for a grown man to live without sex. He ridicules Chise's vow to create her own revolution with Papa:

This is only readable because we know it is fiction. Or it is forgivable because it is obviously a pipe dream. Moreover, this kind of pipe dream is a shameless collage made up of fragments from the cheap and petty idealism of modern Japanese people. (p. 203)

The "modern Japanese people" to which Sekikawa so contemptuously refers remain unidentified yet vaguely feminized in contrast to the "brothers" or "comrades" to whom his book is addressed. Without further explaining what this idealism is, Sekikawa points his attack more specifically at the readers of Papa Told Me. The fact that Chise can never grow up (or as Sekikawa succinctly phrases it, will "always remain free of body odor") is explained as a form of "Chibi Maruko Disease" or "Sazae-san Syndrome," where a wife who will never ask for sex and daughters with massive Electra complexes who will never find boyfriends or have lovers is something attractive. Again, this is viewed from a male perspective wife and daughter rather than husband and father. Sekikawa claims that the young men (whom he asserts without proof to be in their thirties) who like Papa Told Me are "aging adolescents who completely escape from any contact with adult women (including sex) and wish for a life with a childish
mother that is somehow beyond social censure." Female readers, on the other hand, just want to be able to "live out the rest of their lives being considered cute by the people around them," or are refusing to grow up. He does not question why they would refuse, nor see that his own condemnation of the feminine (in men and women) could be part of what causes young people to want to read manga like Papa Told Me. Sekikawa concludes that stories like Papa Told Me - where everyone is escaping from sex - are probably in resistance to the preponderance of sex and sexuality in the media in the 1990s, not noting that this same theme has appeared in shôjo manga since the 1970 s and that Papa Told Me has been being published since 1987.

## Over the Hill

It's so ironic. I spent the first 30 years of my life bitterly paranoid about getting pregnant and trying to reassure all the people around me who were even more afraid of me getting pregnant that I wasn't going to get pregnant, and now, all of a sudden, everyone is asking me why I don't have children. Isn't it time??? You need to plan these things you know. People talk about hating getting older, about wanting to go back. For me, the thought of going back to junior or senior high (even back into my skinny little hard-body) is more painful than I can stand. The thought of even experiencing it again vicariously through children I might have has been a most effective form of family planning. I also can't imagine having to socialise children (which is why I can't teach high school either). Being an adult, even a female-not-quite-adult, is infinitely less humiliating, less horrible, than being a teenage girl.

### 2.2.5 Alternatives to the Prince

At this point, I would like to do a close reading of one of the chapters from Papa Told Me in which there is a "guest" narrator. Because this particular episode shows a woman who chooses a career instead of looking for love, it is possible to use a close reading to look at the consequences of certain ways of showing choices and illustrating possible roles for girls to follow as they grow (or try to resist growing) into women through reading shôjo manga.

In "Episode Thirteen - Working Girl" (Volume Three), Papa's editor, Kitahara Hitomi is one of the narrators. The chapter starts with a dream-scene from which Kitahara-san wakes up and realizes that her junior, a young woman named Takanawa-san, has caught her napping on the job. Takanawa-san is a typical "princess"; beautiful and from a wealthy family, she has entered the company via her father's connections in order to find a famous husband and to gain some experience in the working world so that she can be a more understanding housewife and a better mother. She comments to Kitahara-san that staying up all night for work is not good for her complexion and that since Kitahara-san is already "over the hill," she should be extra careful:

T : I think your dedication to your job is admirable, but you should be more careful.

K: Huh?

T: You know, the very worst thing for your complexion is lack of sleep. Especially since you're a bit passed your....

K: Passed my...? Well, um, I guess... (Haruno, 1989: 102)

Kitahara-san's reaction is anger, but she does not express this directly to Takanawa-san. Instead, a few minutes later, she thinks to herself:

> And she thinks it's possible to be an editor and worry about your complexion... The twit. I don't care if she is the precious daughter of some big shot banker. If she just wanted a little quick educational field trip in the corporate world, she could have picked a more appropriate place. (Haruno, 1989: 103)

That the two women are meant to be seen as mutually exclusive opposites, or rivals, is established at this point, with Kitahara-san being the admirable "head" and Takanawa the not-so admirable "body". From Kitahara-san's dream (she is chasing after Papa), readers also learn immediately that Kitahara-san has some "hidden" interest in Papa: "I was caught napping at my desk so I guess I can't say much but still... And that dream was really awful too. It's embarrassing how easily it can be interpreted" (p. 104).

In one of the following scenes, Kitahara-san visits Chise and Papa's apartment. She is delivering a box of his new books and bumps into Chise in the lobby, saying goodbye to her aunt, Yuriko. Kitahara-san at first thinks that Yuriko is Papa's girlfriend because she has just heard rumors at the office from co-workers who supposedly saw Papa walking somewhere with a beautiful woman. Also, Yuriko says "Thanks for all your help, as always" (itsumo osewa ni natteorimasu) which indicates a close relationship to Papa. This possible misunderstanding is eliminated when Chise explains that it is in fact her father's younger sister, and Kitahara-san's relief again emphasizes her interest in Papa.

That Takanawa-san does not understand what work is or what an editor does becomes very clear in their next scene together, where, in the lunch room, she comments that since Kitahara-san does not actually write reviews (or criticism), it does not matter if she has not read everything herself and so should not have to be reading all the time. This is very insulting for Kitahara-san because she is proud of
being professional and is very dedicated to her job. They then have a conversation about Papa.

Takanawa-san is annoyed that Kitahara-san did not take her along the day before to deliver the books because she has not seen Papa since she first joined the company. After Kitahara-san explains that Takanawa-san didn't get invited because she had taken the day off work (the insinuation here is "skipped out"), Takanawa-san comments that Papa has almost perfect points. Kitahara-san asks what she means by "points" and Takanawa-san explains that the points are marriage points - he's tall, good-looking, and has a good income. She then goes on to explain further that aside from the fact that he is self-employed which is not so stable, the only "problem" with him is the existence of Chise. Since the readers and Kitahara-san are Chise fans, it is quite apparent by this that Takanawa-san is meant to be the enemy, or the negative role model (showing what not to be). Kitahara-san is quite shocked by this and asks her when Papa said he was going to marry her. Takanawa-san says, "That comes next, and it depends on my effort" (Haruno 1989: 132). Considering that the reader knows Papa would never marry someone like Takanawa-san, her comment makes her seem conceited and extremely self-centered (over-confident), or even dishonest in that she would try to "trick" a man into marrying her. In most shôjo manga, love is supposed to be "natural" or predestined, rather than planned or something that you can put effort into (Fujimoto 1998, Yokomori 1999). Love that is constructed or assembled is dirty compared to "true love". The following conversation is central to my argument, so I will quote the text in full:

K: l've been meaning to talk to you about this for a while now, but don't you
think your point of view is rather narrow?? I mean, these days men and women have so many options for their lifestyles and relationships, right? You can be colleagues or friends in all kinds of ways. Don't you think it's kind of
boring to measure the whole world according to marriage??

T : Well, that makes sense on the surface, but...but isn't it really just kind of pathetic? It sounds like an excuse.

K: What kind of excuse?

T: An excuse to yourself because you can't find anyone to make you happy. Of course maybe a strong person like you can be happy on your own and take care of yourself, but someone normal like me couldn't even hope to imitate you. Sorry, but I have to go to a meeting for the next PR shoot.
[Takanawa leaves and Kitahara thinks] Don't just storm in and stomp all over someone's heart like that - with a smile on your face. (Haruno, 1989: 133-135)

As the facial expressions suggest, Takanawa-san has obviously hit upon a truth, or touched a sensitive point for Kitahara-san.


Figure 5: KITAHARA'S REACTION (Haruno, 1989: 134)

As the readers were "shown" before that Kitahara-san is attracted to Papa (even though she is not willing to admit it to anyone), it becomes very apparent here that Kitahara-san is also harboring some ambivalence about her choice to be a career woman rather than a wife/mother; she has not been able to completely give up on romance or the desire for "happiness" through falling in love and getting married.

The manga then shifts in narration back to the main characters - this time the point of view is closest to Papa. After saying good-night to Chise, he takes a break from struggling over the postscript to his next book (where he has to write about himself which he is, being humble, not good at) and is thinking about Kitahara-san's suggestion that he write a love story about his late wife. He thinks to himself: "Even though I am not very good at it, I'm going to have to write it someday. It will probably be a
while yet, however, there will only be one copy in the whole world. I'll make just one copy. For just one reader." This is set forth as an example of real or perfect love on several levels. Not only is his love for his late-wife important enough to warrant a book yet still painful enough for him to avoid writing it, but he would be willing to go through this for Chise and Chise alone. There is also irony here in the use of the metaphor of a writer's relationship with the reader as a form of "love" that would ideally be personal, exclusive, or "monogamous." It can also be read in Lacanian terms (where the phallus is defined as the control of language or logos) as more proof of Chise's control of Papa or a male role in society.

In the next scene, the narration has shifted back to Kitahara-san. She arrives at her office one morning to find that Takanawa-san has quit to get married to the heir of a very wealthy family.

Kitahara-san's boss thanks her for "babysitting" - infantilizing and ridiculing (devaluing) the feminine while clearly marking Kitahara-san as something other than this. This is emphasized by the fact that he calls her "Kitahara-KUN" and not "Kitahara-SAN." The tags after names are required forms of address in Japanese. Unless you are family, extremely close friends with someone, a sports coach, or an army sergeant you would never say a name out loud without some sort of tag attached. Like everything in Japanese, there are differing levels of politeness, closeness and gender. "San" is the most universal tag and it is polite on an everyday level and ungendered. "Kun" is a strongly gendered tag that is used for little boys, or male peers with whom you are fairly familiar. When a male colleague uses the tag "kun" on a woman's last name, it means that she is literally "one of the boys" or an equal member of the group. Some university professors use the tag "kun" for the female graduate students in their seminars as a sign that they are accepted, or equal. While well-intentioned, it indicates very clearly that the standard, or universal, is "male." Smart or educated women who work hard can become "honorary" men ("kuns"), but as Papa Told Me tells us, only if you are not "girlie girl" like Takanawa-san. Kitahara-kun replies to
her male colleague's query by stating emphatically that she would have loved to have knocked Takanawa-san over just once, even if it meant getting fired. She speaks of violence towards women, earning herself a position in the "old boys club" and claiming the right to speak her mind over the body of her female colleague. This message is then immediately undermined, or softened, as readers are allowed into Kitahara-san/kun's thoughts:

But, you know - people like that might be the real strong and smart ones. The clumsy girl takes off her glasses and suddenly becomes beautiful and gets loved by a prince. Because l've grown up with shôjo manga, I seem to have gotten used to thinking like this. Even though I have lots of other dreams and know this one won't come true. I can't seem to grow up, even now.

It is important to note that Kitahara-san describes her hidden desires for "love" as immature and shôjo-like, or as being unable to grow up as it is almost identical to Makimura Satoru's comment on her ambivalence towards women who "lived for love" as outlined in the "Loveable Lies" section above. There is also some wonderfully self-reflective irony in the fact that the message about shôjo manga being dangerous for growth is being presented in a shôjo manga that is marketed as a healing guide. In many ways (especially for an outside reader like myself) the next scene is even more ironic. Kitahara-san gets handed the manuscript for Papa's postscript which he has delivered personally. It thanks her by name for helping to motivate him to write, which makes her very happy. In the next shot, she is in the restroom, washing her face and thinking: "Go ahead and be happy, Takanawa-san. Marry your prince and make lots of babies. Me, l'm going to... I'm going to make Japanese culture!' (p.144).


Figure 6: MAKING JAPANESE CULTURE (Haruno 1989: 144)

She has enthusiastically and stridently replaced the "dream" of the production of children or a maternal/feminine identity with the motivation for the production of cultural goods or a national/masculine identity. But, of course, because it is not entirely possible to simply switch terms, there is immediate "slippage." Kitahara-san wonders why Papa has bothered to drop off the manuscript himself - and thinks that maybe it is because he is meeting the beautiful woman again. Ironically, the reality is that he has made a date with Chise. There follows a scene with Chise and Papa together at the park, and then to finish the chapter, a shot of Kitahara-san thinking to herself: "But I don't care. He can have as many girlfriends as he likes. Let's get back to work!" Even though there is slippage or ambiguity present, it is contained or framed at the final point by the positive admonition, "Let's get back to work" that, also, incidentally, directly addresses the reader.

## Born-again Japanese

There are two (extreme) types of Westerners in Japan. One just goes there to make money and fuck everything Japanese (literally or figuratively, take your pick) and then go home; the other is looking for real culture (as opposed to the fake new stuff back home) and becomes so good at everything Japanese (the language, tea ceremony, calligraphy, aikido, eating all the fermented nasty-smelling things the other type of foreigner won't go near) that they are born-again and stay forever. Currently, I'm having an identity crisis. I don't want to be either. A friend of mine converted. She married her Japanese boyfriend and moved to company housing in the industrial wasteland outsideOsaka - baptism by fire. Anyhow, she had a baby a few months ago and just the other day, she sent me an e-mail complaining about how she'd had a bad "gaijin" day - even though she speaks perfect Japanese she'd had a bazillion people insistently forcing their bone-head English on her, the local cultural centre phoned her, forgetting that she'd even had a baby (or just assuming that western women don't give a crap about their babies and don't breast feed etc.) and asked her to teach English classes again (they'd never do that with a Japanese woman) and she'd had at least 10 "Oh! Your Japanese is so0000 good" conversations. In a row. In one day. She wailed (or at least I read the e-mail that way), "how come l'm still a gaijin when I'm a mother?????" like DNA worked in reverse and having a Japanese baby would make her Japanese. Or the role itself would give her membership in Japanese society when nothing else has. It seems that the sacred role of "mother" in Japan is only extended to those women who give birth who are born the first time round with Japanese genes.

### 2.2.6 Analysis

If, as "Kitahara-san" has told us, shôjo manga affect the way girls grow up, then it is interesting to look at what choices this particular manga offers girls for adult roles in its dichotomization of Kitahara-kun and Takanawa-san. The drawing style and the characterization are very important to note here also. Not only are the two women set up as opposites in terms of goals and personalities but they are also physical opposites. While Kitahara comes across as hard-working, thoughtful, and smart in contrast to her foil Takanawa, who is portrayed as lazy, self-centered (mean) and shallow, Kitahara is also drawn in a masculine fashion in opposition to the feminine Takanawa. In this particular scene, (probably for emphasis as she wears skirts in other scenes), Kitahara is shown only in pants and shirts with glasses and flat shoes. Her hair is also very short and if you compare her images with Papa's, their hair is almost identical.


Figure 7: SAME HAIR (Haruno, 1989:129)

It is a particular feature of shôjo manga that the male characters look feminine, but, in this case, Kitahara is drawn almost identically to what is normally taken as "male" in shôjo manga. The only
difference is little earrings and a slightly smaller waist. Without following the narration (knowing the main story and the characters), it would not be readily apparent that she is to be "read" here as female.

Takanawa, on the other hand, has long, perfectly styled hair and is always shown wearing skirts and very feminine blouses with big collars or bows. She does not wear glasses and in one shot she is shown wearing a pearl necklace. Even though this episode of Papa Told Me is obviously trying to give girls a positive and emotionally complex role model, because it establishes it visually in terms of male and female, it makes femaleness - or femininity - into the enemy. There is an underlying disgust with female bodies here - a shame or an awareness of a lack of respect from "others". As shown very clearly in the male boss's comment about Kitahara babysitting, for all that Takanawa was "popular" with the men in the office, she was not regarded as either a full member of society or an adult. Papa Told Me also contains the "fastidious neuroticism" or the "anti-sexual shôjo" as outlined by Yokomori (1999) in the portrayal of the character Chise - especially with regard to her estheticized "problems" with average mothers or obviously sexually active women and her idealized "non-sexual" relationship with the father/phallus. Ironically, in trying to give girls positive (active) images or role models of mature women who are appreciated for their minds and their work, this shôjo manga is also teaching them to feel that their bodies are sick, or are a disadvantage. It is an inherently mixed message - in order to be a "good" (a smart, independent, adult, or active) woman you have to be a masculine woman rather than a feminine woman. The denial of social agency in rescue-by-marriage stories and the denial of bodies in rescue-by-career stories ("boy-girl" and "girly-girl" roles) may be different models, but as different extremes of the same dichotomy, they both the pathologize "female." Because they imply that there is something wrong with women, both of these choices make it quite clear that "male" is still the definition of "mature adult".

Education philosopher, Jane Roland Martin's book about women's quest for equality in academia, entitled Coming of Age in Academe: Rekindling Women's Hopes and Reforming the Academy, shows how women in the academy have internalized this definition and the effects it has on both students and professors. It is interesting to note that Martin calls her book a "coming-of-age" story like the healing shôjo manga, she speaks in terms of dreams and hopes for the future. Perhaps another form of romance, she defines as "living contradictions" the kind of paradox that can be seen in Papa Told Me. Kitahara is a well-educated editor for a major publishing company and in order to be accepted as an "equal," she must behave like a man. Yet the manga is trying to show girls that they can be girls and still have dreams.

The fact that these contradictions and paradoxes consistently re-appear whenever "girls" culture is discussed suggests that there are some problems with the questions being asked. One problem is the assumption that girls copy their lives directly from shôjo manga, which leads to the arguments over which messages/images girls should be given (for example either career images or marriage images). The corollary of this is the assumption that the readers are the same thing as the characters and that therefore an analysis of the characters and plot in shôjo manga is the same thing as analyzing shôjo. Shôjo manga are not case studies - it is crucial to consider the added process of reading that often gets erased from "sociological" studies of manga. Reading is not necessarily passive nor rational. Instead of asking which messages shôjo manga ought to give, it might be more productive to look at what messages girls are taking (what it means to "read") and how they are doing it. Valerie Walkerdine, in her article about girls' romance comics in Britain, has eloquently argued that the way girls read or need these texts is not in a "straight" or purely guidebook manner, and that therefore researchers should look at more sophisticated psychological models for analyzing audiences and
gender education:
If fiction therefore presents fantasies by the use of textual devices which engage with the desires of the reader, this would suggest a very different understanding of the development of gender than the one which is most commonly asserted. Those approaches stressing roles and stereotypes suggest a girl who is already rational, who takes in information, or takes on roles. By contrast, psychoanalysis offers a dynamic model in which there is no simple or static reality perceived by children. (Walkerdine, 1984: 177)

Related to this is the fact that through this question of which messages to give, we (adults, instructors, researchers, parents, feminists) are trying to fix girls' lack of agency for them. In attempting to rescue girls from themselves, we only add to the double-bind and double standards that are causing the gender anxiety or disgust with the female body in the first place. Because it is prescriptive and based on assumptions of "sickness" or "ignorance" that suggest yet other value hierarchies, anything that tries to "fix" or "educate" girls, no matter what the intentions are, has the potential to be both a poison and a medicine. Moreover, even if researchers do look at the girls themselves and how they read, the questions that motivate the research need to be re-thought as well. As Driscoll states, "more consideration should be given to what about girls impels ethnographic research and why evaluations of agency and conformity continue to be at issue when they have been abandoned as counterproductive in studies of women" (Driscoll. 2002: 169). This is complicated by the fact that girls do not stay girls for long - once they grow up, they supposedly have the same chances for authority and agency as the women who are writing the books about girls, or, like Kitahara, are "creating culture."

### 2.3.0 PINKness

### 2.3.1 Introduction

In comparison to the manga of Yoshida Akimi, Haruno Nanae (Papa told me) and many of the "canonical" 24-nen gumi artists like Ohshima Yumiko, Okazaki Kyôko's work marks a significant and influential shift in narrative pattern, drawing style and attitude towards sexuality and the female body that occurred over a period of time from approximately the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s ${ }^{1}$. Okazaki started her career drawing illustrations for pornographic magazines ${ }^{2}$ but ended up publishing her story manga in a variety of relatively alternative manga magazines for both men and women. Because Okazaki did not adjust her stories to gender or narrative expectations for the magazines she published in, her work fits in everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Thus, despite the fact that most of the main characters in her manga are young women (and often teenagers), it is not surprising that debates in Japan continue over whether Okazaki's work (and the new genre or sub-genre it represents) can actually be called "shôjo" manga. While neither Okazaki herself nor any of the female characters in her stories self-identify as feminist in any way, there are striking parallels between some of the recurring themes in Okazaki's work and what is (controversially) being called "third-wave feminism" in North America. An exploration of whether or not Okazaki's work can be considered feminist is undertaken here, not with the intention of answering the question, but of making visible the terms and assumptions underlying the question.

Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards' book, Manifesta, was published in 2000 and is arguably the "seminal" text for third-wave feminists. One of the most important points of similarity

[^25]between what Baumgardner and Richards have attempted to delineate as a generational "wave" and the new style of narrative that Okazaki represents, is that they both insist on calling themselves "girls" or "girlies" and claim a strong affinity with certain kinds of music, especially rock:

Girlies are girls in their twenties or thirties who are reacting to an antifeminine, antijoy emphasis that they perceive as the legacy of

Second Wave seriousness. Girlies have reclaimed girl culture,
which is made up of such formerly disparaged girl things as knitting,
the color pink, nail polish, and fun. They also claim their right to a
cultural space once deemed the province of men; for example, rock ' $n$ ' roll... porn, and judgment-free pleasure and sex. (Baumgardner and Richards, 2000: 80)

In Okazaki's case, the word "girl" is expressed by the phrase "onna no ko", and when used for people who are in their 20 s and 30 s is also an attempt to re-value the colour pink, intricately connected to music, and related to consumer lifestyle choices displaying taste or "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1987).

According to interviews and articles, Okazaki was very interested in punk and new wave music and put allusions to bands like the Slits ${ }^{3}$, as well as artists like Kim Gordon ${ }^{4}$ from the band Sonic Youth (sometimes called the godmother of the Grrrl movement) into her manga ${ }^{5}$. While the new aesthetic Okazaki helped found seems to have similar roots to the third-wave movement in North America, in Japan it appears to be regarded more as anti-feminist than a new form of feminism. For example, in a

[^26]"dictionary" of key words for understanding Okazaki's work, Kitakawa Takeshi (Manga Yawa 1998) has written about how Okazaki uses the word "girl" to show the struggle for a kind of girlness, which is differentiated from maleness, "pedantic, uptight feminism" (his words) and the social smarts of OLs. In the entry for "Girls (onna no ko)", Kitakawa states that this fight is: "... a refusal of society's role for 'women' and a battle to survive as they are, as girls" (Manga yawa, 1998: 248). ${ }^{6}$ In Baumgardner and Richards' case, the word girl is a "re-appropriation" of an epithet used to belittle women. Much like the controversy within African-American communities over the hip-hop generation's re-appropriation of the word "nigger", there are many feminists who strongly disagree with this usage of girl, as well as the values it espouses and the other accoutrements of the aesthetic/movement as they claim it is too easily co-opted for commercial purposes.

## Superiority

The girls I went to high school with were all perfect - religious, cute, sweet and caring towards everybody, active in youth group, sewed all of their own clothes, and had great hair. One day, sitting in the lunch room after we'd presented our debates in English class, we had a conversation that changed my life. Somebody had done a debate about who was superior, men or women - trust Abbotsford - and we were discussing this. One girl, after sitting and listening for a while said, "You know, I really think men ARE superior, so why debate it?" And all the other girls agreed. I couldn't see how they managed to get out of bed every morning if that was what they really believed. I stopped eating lunch with them. I

[^27]stayed in the physics room every day with the $D \& D$ boys.

### 2.3.2 Parallels with Third-Wave Debates

A recent series of posts to an academic women's studies list ${ }^{7}$ exemplifies this controversy. In response to an announcement of an on-line article called "Women Now Empowered By Everything A Woman Does," a parody of feminism in the satirical newspaper, The Onion (http://www.theonion.com/onion3906/women now empowered.html ), Bronwyn Winter (2003) wrote that it was not feminism, but the "pseudo-post-feminism" of Kate Roiphe, Catherine Lumby and Madonna fans that is available in the popular press. To which Simone Roberts (2003) agreed and added:

They're taking a shot at the idea that wearing a half-shirt with Whore written on it is somehow an act of defiance and liberation. Far too ambiguous to be clearly so, far too easily co-opted back into a capitulation to sexist modes of desire and identification.

This, in turn, prompted an angry reply from "marissa" who explicitly identified herself as a "young" feminist. I quote at length:
[...] I take issue with your comment about women who think that
"wearing a half-shirt with Whore written on it is somehow an act of
defiance and liberation." This comment seems to conflate and
condemn two (or more) overlapping but different phenomena among

[^28]young women-wearing provocative clothing (a pretty widespread phenomenon among feminists, non-feminists, and proto-feminists alike), and scrawling sexist epithets on their bodies, a practice that Kathleen Hanna (lead singer of Bikini Kill and now of Le Tigre) originated and young riot grrrl feminists popularized in the early 1990's. This practice was meant to unsettle and humiliate the (sexist and sexualizing) viewer who considered young women "whore[s]," "bitch[es]," and "slut[s]," and to assert solidarity with other grrrls/women who had control over their own bodies. No wonder it was so popular among straight and queer grris alike.

As a young feminist who identifies very much with riot grrl politics and aesthetics, I would ask you to consider whether the clothing that you wear--suits, dresses, jewelry, or anything else--is personally empowering to you, expressive of who you are, and/or could be said to "capitulate" in some way to sexism or to "sexist modes of desire." Are these qualities mutually exclusive?

I'd also like to ask members of the list to stop assuming that ageism towards young women is appropriate on this list. (marissa 2003)

Here, the appeal to identity politics as a rhetorical maneuver is notable. Winter and Roberts deflect the attack on "feminists" away from themselves by invoking an "other" feminism which they then discredit as "pseudo." Furthermore, in summarily rejecting popular forms of feminism as superficial (the "merely cultural"?) they are claiming a privileged position for their beliefs that always already grants them the
right to claim their position. Ironically, this is a form of authoritarian argumentation often employed by white men protecting their patriarchal canons ${ }^{8}$. In response, Marissa's utilization of the same ad hominem attack, while effectively calling attention to Winter's and Roberts' hypocrisy, keeps the discussion focused on the personal rather than the logical. She not only assumes that both Winter and Roberts are of an older generation when she claims that their (discriminatory) opinions are related to ageism, but also does not therefore challenge the academic elitism their argument is based upon.

> In Japan, Okazaki Kyôko's work causes contention and debate similar to third-wave feminist "texts" in North America because of the same unsettling "new" use of sexist or misogynist language and imagery. One of Okazaki's most well-known manga, Pink, contains everything from Baumgardner and Richards' list except the knitting: the color pink, nail polish, fun, rock ' n roll, porn, and judgment free sex. Combining feminine and masculine manga genre conventions (grammar and syntax) in a manner overtly critical of mainstream roles for adult women, Pink was originally serialized from February to July of 1989 in Magazine House's New Punch Zaurus, a somewhat alternative or intellectual men's magazine that has since ceased publication. Pink was published in book form in September 1989, and by 1998 reached its $35^{\text {th }}$ printing. It is the story of a 22 year-old woman named Yumi who works as an OL by day and a prostitute at night. As what was then called a hotetoru-hime, ${ }^{9}$ (or a Turkish Princess)

[^29]Yumi worked for a "manager" who would introduce her, over the telephone, to clients who had called in from their hotel rooms. The story is set in the late-80s economic "bubble economy" and is a complex exploration of gender and consumer culture. This purpose is made explicit by the author as the obi (advertising band around the book) reads "Love and Capitalism" in big block letters.

Figure 1: THE OBI


The copy underneath reads, "I want what I want. I hate what I hate. A fairytale of love in
post-postmodern society with Yumi, an OL who is also a prostitute, and who lives with an alligator"
(Magazine House, 1998). This obi has apparently been used since the first publication in book form,
though at one point it was bright pink. An interesting aside - when the obi is removed from the cover, it reveals Yumi's pubic hair.

[^30]

Figure 2: PINK COVERED AND UNCOVERED (Okazaki, 1989)
At the time, any publications (drawings, photos, film) showing genitals or pubic hair were illegal, as this was the sole criteria for "obscenity"; violent or graphic sex scenes were not socially damaging as long as genitals and their hair were hidden from plain view. ${ }^{10}$

The "fairytale" aspects of the story all center round the image of the prostitute as princess created by the euphemistic hotetoruhime. It is here, in the language of the everyday, where much of the criticism and irony is generated. In the afterword, Okazaki (1989) explains, citing French New Wave cinema director, Jean-Luc Godard, that she (too) thinks, "all work is prostitution". She describes her story as: "the adventure and everydayness of 'love' and 'capitalism' where a woman born and raised in the ennui of Tokyo falls apart like 'normal' (like Zelda Fitzgerald?)."

### 2.3.3 Reactions

I was first introduced to Okazaki's work at a Manga Studies meeting in Kyoto in 1999 where

[^31]two graduate students gave a presentation on Pink. Several of the men in the group mentioned that they did not usually like shôjo manga, but that they were surprised to find that they had liked Pink. They commented that it was more realistic (using the English loan-word "riaru") and specifically linked this to the sex scenes. They also mentioned that they liked Okazaki's drawing style because it was much less "pretty" than shôjo manga and in many ways closer to shônen manga - plain lines and uncomplicated backgrounds with few flowery details. Interestingly, they interpreted the main character, Yumi, as a "bakaonna," where I had read this character as consciously resisting sexual double standards and critiquing the creation of a devalued sexual underclass. The epithet "bakaonna" literally means "stupid woman" but it has the same sexually promiscuous connotations that "dumb blonde" or "slut" does in English. There is no male corollary. While the phrase "baka na otoko" meaning "a man who is stupid" exists, "bakaotoko" (the noun) does not. ${ }^{11}$ Since the men in the study group did not seem to be able to read (or to want to read, or to bother to read) any of the criticism of the trafficking of women or Japanese masculinity, I was left with the impression that they were reading Okazaki's manga simply for the sex. It is this tendency of male fans (and critics, as I will show later) to see Okazaki's work as pornography and miss the gender criticism that causes some Japanese feminists to openly criticize Okazaki or to dismiss Okazaki's work. In turn, it is the denial (and often by older scholars/researchers) of female readers who identify with Yumi because she refuses/defuses the label "bakaonna" in her assumption of an active sexuality, where the resemblance to the North American third-wave movement is most apparent.

At a lecture on shôjo manga held at a women's center in Kyoto, the mere mention of Pink

[^32]caused an unpleasant incident with one such researcher. The event was advertised as a two-day workshop that would use manga to read and understand gender. After the first lecture, all of the participants were asked to go home and read some manga and then come back the next week with one manga they thought was useful for thinking about gender to recommend to the group. Incorrectly assuming that the use of the English word "workshop" meant discussion between participants, I suggested Okazaki's Pink thinking it would provide a contrast to mainstream shôjo manga that might help define the genre for people who were new to manga or who were returning after having read them (uncritically) as children. Furthermore, Okazaki's citation of Godard's "all work is prostitution" would provide an interesting way to look at the trafficking of women, or how women's sexuality is devalued yet fetishized by patriarchal capitalism - tenets of gender studies. The lecturer, Nimiya Kazuko, a manga critic and freelance writer of self-help books for women got very angry at my suggestion and said that she thought Okazaki's work was extremely dangerous because it was too convenient for men and their interpretations of women as sexual objects. With permission from the organizers, I had been making an audio recording when this exchange happened. At the time, I felt that she had been extremely condescending, dismissive and, frankly, racist in her immediate assumption that I could not understand because I was a foreigner. I was not given a chance to respond to any of her points, which, considering that I was not expecting an authoritarian transmission approach at a community women's center, frustrated me. It was also ironic that the organizers let Nimiya berate a participant in an extremely confrontational manner when the recommendation process was not meant to be a test but was purportedly a community-building exercise. In retrospect, after carefully listening to Nimiya's tone and re-reading the tape script as well as the official summary of Nimiya's presentation, it is clear that Pink complicated the definition of femininity that she was trying to instill in the other participants. It is also
very clear that she had taken "all work is prostitution" to be "all sex is prostitution" - a decidedly different message from either Okazaki's or Godard's.

Godard himself used images of "the prostitute" as a metaphor for the cinema and its relationship to capitalism. While this was effective for critiquing the constructedness and commodification of the cinema, as Laura Mulvey shows, it has also left him open to criticism for objectifying women:

Furthermore, while Godard was capable of defetishising the cinema and illuminating the fetishistic imbrication between woman as appearance and the dissembling nature of the late capitalist commodity, his iconography of the feminine on the screen was never freed from a fetishistic gloss. (1996: 88) When Okazaki re-used the same iconography in a comic book in Japan, this fetishistic gloss was imported yet transformed as well. Following a close reading of Pink, I will explore how this iconography, or the eroticized female body and the accessories signifying its femininity, makes Pink contentious, misread (taken directly as fetish rather than "defetish") and remarkably relevant even years after it was first published. Central to my analysis are questions about whether or not this "fetishistic gloss" can be re-appropriated and defused, whether or not the story is "feminist," as well as whether or not these questions are relevant or even appropriate in a Japanese context.

## Foreign Bodies

One time when I was living in Sendai, I had to go to immigration to get permission to work on my student visa. I had been on one certain type of student visa for 6 months while I went to a language school, and
had been accepted into the local national university as a research student so I needed to change my visa. It was spring break so I went home to Canada and did the paperwork there, but needed to get the work-permission form done in Sendai. I ended up being taken to a back room and interrogated for 3 hours because they didn't believe that l'd come back to study and not just to work, and wouldn't count my first six months on the other visa as proof. I was speaking to them in nice polite honorific Japanese and they were speaking back to me in normal-speed-rough-man talk and I was understanding everything. I asked them at one point how many English conversation teachers they knew who could do that, but they still wanted to harass me. I started to understand why my Fillipina friends called the place "The Tower." If I had wanted to work and not study, it would have taken me less than half an hour to find a company that would sponsor me, so why would I go to the bother of finding a personal guarantor and the pain of getting a student visa? I'm white, educated and from a first world country, why would I want to overstay and work illegally in Japan? Anyhow, I didn't end up getting permission and had to explain my way out of their question about why my guarantor wasn't going to pay for my tuition (like my Japanese host-family should be expected to pay for my education?) when he had apparently signed a form saying he would. I was completely exhausted and very upset. I stopped at the washroom on my way out. In the corner of the toilet stalls in Japan there is always a little mini trash-can for the disposal of menstrual products. In the Sendai Immigration toilets there are white metal containers with instructions in English for the foreign women; they say, "FILTH, " in big black capital letters.

### 2.3.4 A Close Reading

While Okazaki borrowed the idea of the heroine as prostitute critiquing capitalism from Godard, the "everydayness" and "adventure" (from her afterword) appear in the story as a unique mix of gritty
reality and over-the-top fantasy that is immediately recognizable as Okazaki. The "reality" is manifested in a very "matter of fact" approach to the visual descriptions of nudity, various bodily functions, and sex, while the "didactic" fairytale frame is an evil stepmother revenge story that is a composite of Disney, the American Dream and the brothers Grimm. Both parts borrow from the dominant discourse (visual as well as textual) of mainstream Japanese manga genres - the "reality" from men's pornographic manga ${ }^{12}$ and the "fairytale" from girls' romantic manga. The irony and social criticism that this amalgamation produces is only available to those readers who are somewhat adept at the grammar of both men's and girls' manga genres, as the story makes fun of their artistic and narrative conventions at the same.time as it depends on them to deliver its (gendered) critique of urban Japanese life.

True to shôjo manga conventions, Yumi is young, beautiful, slim, fashionable and rich. The only thing that is really average about the heroine is her boring, low-paying office job, and this is where the "everydayness" starts to leak into the fairytale. Yumi comes from an extremely wealthy family: their house is large and beautifully decorated and Yumi's father has a company car and driver (though neither what kind of company, nor his position are explained). Yumi lives in a stylish apartment by herself even though her family lives in Tokyo because she does not get along with her stepmother, and her stepmother does not get along with either Yumi or her pet alligator. While Yumi's father gives her money every month for living expenses and she has her salary, she wants the economic freedom to buy beautiful things and to support her pet. The basic premise of the story - that Yumi sells her body in order to buy flesh for her pet alligator - is, alone, a very sharp and ironic interpretation of women's role in a consumer society.

[^33]Capitalism is defined in Pink through the circulation of "meat". The constant consumption of flesh, as food and as sex, shows the conflation of desire, hunger and ambition that forms the basis of Okazaki's critique of the "bubble". society. This is also connected to Okazaki's definition of love. She says in the afterword to Pink, (after first explaining that all work is prostitution), that:

> All work is also love. Love. Yes, love. "Love" is not as warm or as fuzzy as it
> seems when people talk about it normally. Probably. It's more like a formidable, fierce, frightful, and cruel monster. So is capitalism. (1989: 255 )

The food chain, or the interconnected series of events where the characters (and monsters) alternately consume and then are consumed, fuck and then are fucked, then forms the plot for the story. Much like American daytime soap-operas, shôjo manga that is published serially in magazines tends to have romantic plots that twist, jump or switch abruptly between episodes via the introduction of new information or sub-characters, with previous minor actors or events being quickly forgotten or left behind.

A lot of the shôjo manga plot twists tend to be melodramatic and completely "unrealistic" in a way that has become a characteristic feature of the genre. ${ }^{13}$ Pink is no exception and is particularly complex because the characters are all interconnected (or cross-connected) to show the "circulation" of love as capitalism. The fairy-tale trope or motif is carried the whole way through the story and is supported by textual and visual allusions as well as "magic" events and a third-person narrator's "voice" that appears rather randomly with comments or explanations. Aside from the title pages for the chapters, the "narrator" often comes out with little comments, or references to Western fairytales at strategic points. They are usually twisted, or mixed up somehow, and tend to foreshadow bad events. For example, in chapter seventeen, when unbeknownst to Yumi (but known to the readers) the evil stepmother is having

[^34]the alligator kidnapped, this message appears: "When they made a mistake and took the wolf to be their mother, it was the seven little billy goats that got eaten, right?" Mixing the Billy Goats Gruff and Snow White and the Seven Dwarves with Little Red Riding Hood, the narrator is telling the readers directly that the alligator is going to be "consumed". The stepmother has it killed and the skin made into a suitcase and a bag for Yumi. Another example of the fairy-tale trope can be found in a scene in chapter six where one of Yumi's customers (an impotent old man) gives her a bean, tells her it is magic and to plant it and make a wish when it flowers, and then runs off with her bag and wallet and all her clothes while she is in the shower. Yumi goes home and plants the bean, which sprouts, grows, and flowers in a matter of minutes. When the flower appears, she makes a wish, as the old man instructed. Of course, it eventually comes true. Ultimately though, in betrayal of the expected fairy-tale (and shôjo manga) happy ending, the relationships in the story spiral on to disaster.

In the first scene of the first chapter, Yumi is having a conversation with her coworkers about her pet alligator when a call comes in and she goes to meet a client at his hotel. On the way, she stops at a flower shop and buys herself twenty long-stemmed pink roses. In the following scene, Yumi goes to the customer's room, but between "takes" there is a still - the top of the page consists of an unframed close-up of a rose, with the comment (Yumi thinking), "I just love pink things. They kind of breathe happiness, don't they?"(1989: 6). The rest of the page is framed and the narrative progresses in standard sequential and chronological order. Because of the big flower, readers versed in shôjo manga grammar will be expecting some kind of romantic love scene. Usually, when flowers suddenly appear in the background or on the edges of a page, it signals the arrival of the main love interest, but not in this case. After the man scolds Yumi for being late, the next frame shows Yumi's feet, facing down, in
between the man's, facing up. His legs are hairy and unattractive. Yumi is thinking, "These kind of guys are always perverted and not very good at it" (1989: 6). The next frames show Yumi performing fellatio (the man has a pot belly) and then a close-up of Yumi's face as the man ejaculates on her. The next page shows Yumi sitting on the bed, and the voice of the man, who is off-frame, probably getting dressed. He asks her how old she is, and when she tells him that she is twenty-two, he gives her a gratuitous lecture. A speech bubble, disconnected from the man's body contains his words, "How long are you planning to keep doing this?" in a frame next to Yumi's rather startled face. The next shot shows the man's face as he is sitting in an armchair smoking a cigarette. He keeps speaking: "Have you even thought about your life? It's not good you know, you've got to get more serious." The next shot is Yumi again, but from further back. She is still sitting on the bed, nude, with a very surprised expression on her face. She is thinking, "What the hell is this guy? A retard?" as he continues his tirade, "have you even thought about getting married?" The next frame is Yumi from the side, eyes still wide, with her thoughts appearing behind her, and both of their speech bubbles in front. He is saying, "Most of you young people these days don't think about anything but what you look like and how to spend money." Yumi replies, "Ah, um, really?" but is actually thinking, "pretty righteous coming from someone who just fucked me." In the last frame of the sequence, in another headshot, Yumi is shown smiling politely with a drop of sweat to indicate that it is forced. His final comment is, "Hm, I guess this kind of conversation is a complete waste on a girl like you"(1989 7), to which Yumi just laughs nervously.


Figure 3 :
YUMI GETS A LECTURE (Okazaki 1989: 7)

Following a few transition frames with station scenes, Yumi is shown standing in the train going home. She is also being transported back into her other, public, self: an OL returning from a date
after work? After the absurdity of her client's double standards, she is thinking about the apparent incongruity of her double role in life: "I bet no one on this train would ever look at me and think that I sell my pussy ${ }^{14}$ for a living. It's strange isn't it". She then starts looking at the women around her and finds herself making nasty comments in her head - "she's ugly" or "that one looks stupid" (1989: 8)- but then stops, realizing that she is feeling mean because the client had been so critical of her. There is a flashback image of the man's naked torso, frontal and standing, with the back of Yumi's head just visible in the bottom of the frame. This shot is from slightly further back than the frame in the original sequence and it is revealed now, well after the event, that he had been controlling Yumi's head movements by yanking on her hair while she performed fellatio. Off the train now, Yumi is walking and thinking, "Just because he has such a small ego ${ }^{15}$ doesn't mean that he has the right to spread it around. He deserves the death penalty." The next shot is in her imagination and is frameless and mostly empty space. At the bottom of this space, Yumi's alligator is chewing on the man's hairy leg - with the rest of the body missing and blood pooling around. Along the side it says, "Food for my alligator!! Pet food!! I'll make you into hamburger" (1989: 9). At home finally, she gets ready for bed and for the office the next day. Looking at her roses, now in a vase on her table, she thinks, "As long as money will buy me beautiful things like this, I can do any amount of work". Another frameless flower shot ends the page, again with Yumi thinking, "I really love the color pink" (1989: 13).

In the second chapter, the evil stepmother is introduced when Yumi goes to meet her at a cafe after work in order to receive her monthly allowance. Throughout the entire manga, this woman's real name is never revealed - Yumi calls her "stepmother", Yumi's boyfriend Haruo calls her "that lady"

[^35](literally "Auntie") and Keiko, Yumi's younger halt-sister, of course calls her "mother". ${ }^{16}$ While it is standard practice in Japanese to use titles or positions instead of names, in this case, because there is no one in the story who is close enough to this woman to use her real name, her portrayal as a stock character or stereotype is facilitated. On occasion, the narration of the story shifts to her, and readers are let inside her thoughts, but only a few times and only to foreshadow what is coming for Yumi.

This meeting at the cafe is obviously unpleasant for both of them, as almost every frame shows that they are not saying what they are thinking. They are both trying very hard to annoy each other, as well; the stepmother has come to the meeting wearing Yumi's mother's kimono, and Yumi purposefully drinks her juice very slowly and refuses to leave until she's done. Yumi's stepmother also speaks in a kind of ultra-feminine honorific register that, because readers have been told this woman is a second wife and because of the kimono and jewelry, comes across as the pretentious, pseudo-upper-class accent of the nouveau riche. Added to the comments of the customer in chapter one, this image, plus the fact that the only thing the stepmother has to say to Yumi is, "Why don't you get married?"(1989: 18) suggests that the only way for a woman to make a "decent" living is either by being a prostitute or by getting married. Okazaki seems to be showing that both are forms of trafficking women's bodies (or the exchange of meat) and thus, "love and capitalism".

In chapter three, Yumi, while in the lobby of an expensive hotel after leaving a customer, accidentally catches her stepmother with her "boy-toy,"17 a poor university student named Haruo who aspires to be a famous novelist. Yumi follows Haruo to his apartment and introduces herself, and asks him out. At first she sleeps with him just to annoy her stepmother but then Yumi and Haruo actually fall in love with each other and move in together. Haruo has been sleeping with Yumi's stepmother for

[^36]money, while she married Yumi's father (who is much older) for his money. There is a pun, repeated several times, that is based on the verbs for "to buy" and "to keep as a pet" (they are both pronounced "kau" but written with different Chinese characters). Yumi's father - who only ever physically appears in the story once, in a flashback and from behind in partial silhouette - had apparently been "keeping/buying" Yumi's stepmother from well before Yumi's natural mother died.

Haruo has a girlfriend as well. Her name is Saiko ${ }^{18}$ and she is a classmate from university. She, more than any other character in the story, is meant to represent "average" as she is always trying to "keep" Haruo by cooking for him and (force) feeding him. The first time she appears, she coerces Haruo into sitting with her and eating a lunch she has made. The conversation here is telling - she is completely self-centered and has no idea what Haruo does or what he wants to be. The couple beside them is discussing the novelists Louis-Ferdinand Céline and Shimao Toshio, and Saiko says, "Eeew. Those people are discussing literature. How depressing." To Haruo's, "Oh, really?" Saiko continues, "Yeah. Books are for losers. Novels are just sooo not cool anymore. The world is full of great magazines, TV and manga - who needs anything else." Haruo laughs it off, but there is a drop of sweat on his forehead that shows he is covering up and is uncomfortable with what Saiko has said. The next panel shows a close-up of Saiko's (slightly goofy) face with Haruo's thoughts written (without a speech bubble) down the right-hand side of the frame. It says, "Saiko, an English Lit. major who is surprisingly good at skiing, cooking and fellatio, has no idea that l'm a novelist"(1989: 65).

Aside from the obvious juxtaposition between the wholesome and the not, as well as the fact that Haruo thinks he already is a novelist, Okazaki is making fun of the fact that Japanese university

[^37]students can get a degree in literature without reading any novels ${ }^{19}$. The next time Saiko appears, she has used a hidden spare key and let herself into Haruo's apartment, uninvited. While he was out, she cleaned, did his laundry and cooked a meal for him. And then waited. When he returns, this is supposed to turn him on and make him love her, but it just annoys him. He has completely fallen for Yumi at this point and was only stopping in at his place to pick up a change of clothes before he headed back to Yumi's. As he sweats his way through dinner, Saiko brags about how good she is at making pasta. When Haruo finishes, he stands and prepares to leave, thinking, "How come girls have no compunctions about using this kind of frilly violence?"(1989: 78) He tells Saiko that he is going to work, and she secretly follows him to Yumi's. Yumi is out with co-workers and Haruo is supposed to go over to feed the alligator. Just after the alligator finishes eating, the doorbell rings, and thinking it is Yumi coming home, Haruo opens it. It is Saiko, and she starts screaming to be let in. He allows her inside in order to stop her from waking the neighbors, but hides the alligator in the bathroom first. Saiko says she is not angry, because they weren't really going steady anyhow, but then takes her clothes off and says she wants to have sex with him in his other woman's apartment. Haruo, of course, complies. Afterwards (there are no details shown, just a shot of the two of them in bed), Saiko gets up to go to the toilet while Haruo drowses. There, she encounters the alligator and passes out from the shock, naked, on Yumi's bathroom floor. At which point, of course, Yumi arrives back home. Furiously angry to find that Haruo has slept with someone in her own bed while she was at work, she threatens to feed the still

[^38]unconscious Saiko to the alligator. Haruo begs her not to, and Yumi tells him that since he let Saiko see the alligator, and he is supposed to be a writer and therefore creative, he has to find some way to get Saiko to forget everything, or she will have to feed both of them to the alligator. Haruo takes Saiko back to his apartment in a taxi and gives her some drugs. While she is passed out, he drinks copious amounts of alcohol and spreads the empty bottles around the room. In the morning he tells Saiko that she drank too much and passed out. And he worries to himself that he has no talent as a writer, because the most creative thing he could come up with was a "wake up from a drunken dream" scenario.

In chapter fourteen, in another detailed sex scene with a client, Yumi is much more clearly marked as meat. While Haruo is feeding whole chickens to the alligator, and waiting for his "hardworking princess" (1989: 161) to come home, Yumi is with her customer. The scene takes four full pages, and is set in an expensive-looking hotel room. Yumi's legs, in garters and stockings are shown with the back of a man's head in between them. In between licks, he asks Yumi, "How many dicks have been stuck into this dirty cunt, huh?" Yumi, surprised, answers, "How would I know?," but this seems to earn her yet another lecture. As he is performing various sexual acts, he continues berating Yumi: "Quit saying stupid things you idiot. Keep your mouth shut, bitch. Dogs can't talk, now, can they?" When Yumi politely answers, "No," he gets going again: "I told you to shut up you idiot. Get it? You're meat, a cunt, a worm, less than an animal. Can meat from the butcher shop speak? Can a cunt chat? Do worms talk?"(1989: 162). When Yumi once again inadvertently answers, "No," he yells: "Look, l'm telling you not to bloody say anything!! Put some effort into your job - let's get some rhythm going here. Fuck like you mean it. An idiot like you, with a brain full of maggots like yours, you better just think about my dick." At which point the conversation ends. As Yumi is lying on the bed after, she thinks, "He was a rude son of a bitch,
but good. I came for real"(1989: 163). He had left immediately after (leaving lots of money) but Yumi drowses for a bit. When she finally gets up, she opens herself a beer from the mini-bar and turns on the TV. Surprisingly, the man who had just been with Yumi is the guest on a talk show and it appears he is some kind of expert on saving endangered animals. Yumi watches and thinks to herself, "Wow, choice words from a guy who was just saying things like, "You female dog, lick my dick, lick my butt hole." But then she thinks, "Yeah, but he's right - the poor animals"(1989: 165). On the side it says, "I felt bad for wanting to buy a rabbit-fur coat." The next frame contains a close-up of a wallet on a table with the comment, "But then I remembered the guy's alligator-skin wallet, stuffed with money, and it made me laugh" (1989: 166).

Neither language nor images like this would ever appear in mainstream shôjo manga. In Pink, all the sex scenes, even the ones with Haruo, are shown from a third-person perspective, like a camera in a porn film, with Yumi's naked body (along with her story) obviously meant for consumption by the readers. Which is not to say that this kind of story would ever appear in a mainstream men's manga either, because there is always some kind of ironic commentary (Yumi's thoughts, or some kind of visual juxtaposition that shows what is happening from the woman's perspective) that subverts the pornographic paradigm. While the ability to express an ironic contrast between thoughts and words is one of the structural strengths of manga as a medium and is universally utilized in all manga genres the same technique was used by Godard in his films with characters (or sometimes Godard himself) muttering in voice-overs that only the audience could hear:

In Sauve quipeut the prostitute, Isabelle, acts sex with her client, Paul, while her interior monologue can be heard on the soundtrack. Constance

Penley commented: 'Isabelle, at the moment when she is presented
exactly as the inevitable icon of the pornographic love-making scene, the close-up of the moaning woman's face serving as the guarantee of pleasure, is heard thinking about the errands she has to run.' Godard is illustrating a gap between the visible and the invisible, an external artifice that engages belief and an interiority that demands knowledge. This gap in men's knowledge of women's sexual pleasure reinforces the castration anxiety provoked by the female genitals, separated, as they are from female reproductive organs, lacking a visible 'sign' of pleasure. (Mulvey, 1996: 93)

The reinforcement of the castration anxiety that Mulvey delineates here also explain how Yumi's comments can be seen to subvert simple pornographic readings of Pink.

In the sex scene with the animal rights activist, aside from the obvious irony of the wallet, there are also visual shifts in perspective that can also be "read" ironically. For example, the first page of this particular sex scene is literally framed by two shots that can only be from Yumi's perspective.



Figure 4:
YUMI'S PERSPECTIVE (Okazaki, 1989: 162-163)

The first shot is the floor lamp, the curtains and the hotel room ceiling as seen from the viewpoint of someone on the bed. It's skewed in a way that matches the position of Yumi's head in the next frame where she is shown in full. The last shot is the same part of the room, only wider and centered - as if Yumi has straightened herself out on the bed. The fact that Okazaki lets readers know (via visual cues) that there is a switch in genre conventions happening signals ironic play that implicates both typical men's and girl's manga styles. Furthermore, the images are fragmented in a manner that also calls attention to the construction of the visual story and undermines the pornographic effect. Thus, it is frequently difficult to determine at first glance what is being represented in certain frames.

Often it is the alligator that propels the manga straight back into the realm of a "feminine" fantasy. One day while Yumi is having lunch near the office with her coworkers, one of the young women looks at the menu and compares OLs to the hamburger value set: "This B lunch set (hamburger steak, fried fish, spaghetti and rice with coffee for 800 yen) is just like us. [...] Day in and day out, no big
deal, completely interchangeable, neither good nor bad, just a boring menu" (1989: 153).After lunch, Yumi gets yelled at by one of the older men in the office because the tea she has just served him is too hot. As she is walking down the hall with the rest of the tea she has to deliver, she thinks, "I don't mind this boring job, or this B-lunch life. I don't care, because I have an alligator - a strong and cold little dinosaur who eats everything up"(1989: 156). Considering that Yumi and her coworkers are constantly warning each other not to eat too much because they will get fat, the attraction of being able to eat people who make you angry is instantly understandable. On a more political level, if, as Gayle Rubin (1975) has said, patriarchal capitalist societies define women as sexual objects for exchange between men, then Yumi's fantasy about consuming those who would consume her (the men and women who try to control her or treat her as less than human) becomes much more significant.

There are several other scenes that would not appear in any other genre of manga - either male or female, for any age bracket. One such scene is in Chapter Eight where Yumi masturbates while thinking about her mother. Another is in Chapter Sixteen ("Bloody Lovers") where Yumi is menstruating and shows Haruo what it looks like when she inserts a tampon. In contrast to Yoshida Akimi's discussions of women's bleeding, Okazaki actually draws sheets and pajamas with blood on them. Yoshida Akimi's mere mention of menstruation in Kisshô tennyo made her famous in 1983. In one particularly dramatic scene, the heroine cuts off the ear of would-be rapist and says, "Girls are not afraid of blood. After all, we bleed every month." In this scene in Pink, Okazaki makes a clear allusion to Yoshida's scene and the dialogue.


Figures 5:

Again, like the nudity and the sex scenes in other parts of Pink, Yumi's blase attitude and casual comments keep the representations of her bleeding from being fetishized. It is not meant to titillate, but to show how ridiculous it is to either hide it or to eroticize it. Connecting this back to the consumption of (female) flesh, Yumi even makes jokes about how she is worried the alligator might think that she is meat for him to eat because of the smell of her blood. Further connecting attitudes and mainstream representations of menstruation and women's bodies to "love and capitalism" is the sex scene between Yumi and Haruo. In Japan, because of impurity taboos, it is not common for women to have sex while they are menstruating, so when she and Haruo decide to just spread a towel on the bed
and have sex anyway, it is already breaking all shôjo manga conventions. But Haruo's comment that, "[His] dick, going in and out of a pussy full of blood was just like a sausage covered with ketchup" (1989: 193), also pushes beyond what men would be likely to write about their own bodies. Yumi and Haruo end up having sex all afternoon, and when they finally surface (for food!) Yumi looks at all the balled-up tissues strewn around the room and exclaims happily, "How beautiful! It looks like a rose garden!" (1989: 198) The red blood and white semen on the tissues have mixed into Yumi's favorite color, pink, and an ironic reference to the flowers of shôjo manga.

In one of many stabs at the Japanese literati, Haruo literally cuts and pastes words from other books and "writes" a novel which then earns him a prestigious literary prize and a very large sum of money. When Haruo's novel is finally finished, the first thing he and Yumi do, after sending it in to the contest, ${ }^{20}$ is go out for a steak dinner. It is during this celebratory dinner that Yumi tells Haruo about how her mother had hung herself and Yumi was the one who found the body. Yumi says about the shock, "I was so surprised. That someone who was that beautiful could look that horrible." She points with her knife and fork to the (rare) steak on her plate and adds, "Kinda like this..." (1989: 205) She says her mother was not happy and the implication is that she had not been happy with her husband and his affair. Haruo loses his appetite and so Yumi eats his steak too. The final scene of the chapter is a cut-out to a Tokyo street scene with the following narration in the top right corner: "That night, while the hard-working Cinderella and the Prince were out devouring meat, the alligator was taken away by the bad guys" (1989: 206).

[^39]Yumi is very upset when she gets home and finds her alligator missing. Falling into a deep depression, she completely loses all of her appetites, even for shopping. When she makes a mistake photocopying and gets yelled at in the office, she looks around and comments to herself that her coworkers all look like zombies and she cannot understand how they bother to stay alive with such a boring life. She has always coped by imagining feeding them to her alligator, but now he's gone and she has to deal with everything by herself. She realizes quite quickly that she is not so strong on her own. Representing this realization is a visually striking sequence ${ }^{21}$ where Yumi suffers from a sudden and severe panic attack.


Figure 6: PANIC (Okazaki, 1989: 216)

[^40]In the first frame of the page she is in the middle of crowded Shibuya, a major shopping area, and is shown standing in front of the landmark "109" department store, thinking, "Aah, it's starting." In the next frame, only Yumi appears, all the other people and buildings have disappeared. She is small and hunched over in the center of the frame with white space all around, with her thoughts, "another attack", on the right side (which gets read first) and then on the left, "why am I here?" Then Yumi herself disappears and all that is left is blank space. Outside the frames is more thinking, "Like, why am I standing here?" Inside the first completely blank frame is, "Why why why?" and "how come, how come how come?" The next image-free frame contains the words, "I don't understand, I don't understand, I don't understand, I don't understand. My head is getting full of question marks." The bottom right says, "What should I do, what should I do, what should I do, what should I do". The last one says, "I'm afraid, I'm afraid, I'm afraid, I'm afraid" (1989: 216). The facing page is unframed and Yumi is sitting at the bottom, legs splayed, one shoe off. Her face is in her hands and her Chanel handbag is lying open beside her with her expensive makeup spilling out. Because there is no background drawn in, it is not possible to tell where she is. She is thinking, "Somebody help me please" (1989: 217). At this point Haruo, the prince, arrives home and readers realize that Yumi has managed to make it back to the apartment and has not fallen apart on the street in Shibuya. Yumi tells Haruo that she has finally had enough of living in a place without alligators and that she wants to move somewhere tropical. Haruo then tells Yumi that his novel has won the prize and that they can move to an island in the South Pacific somewhere with the 30 million yen.

The next day, a parcel arrives with an anonymous letter and a suitcase, a handbag and a belt made out of Yumi's alligator. Yumi quickly deduces who was responsible and in a rage, takes a baseball bat to her stepmother's head. When blood starts flying, Keiko grabs Yumi and stops her. She
says to Yumi, "She may be a dirty scheming bitch, but she's still my mother" (1989: 236). This logic reaches Yumi, and, after smashing a vase of flowers, she runs out. Following this, Yumi recovers quickly. She quits her day job and spends her time shopping for her new life in the South Pacific while Haruo runs around being interviewed about his novel. On the day that they are to leave, Haruo goes to one last interview while Yumi is to meet him at the airport after. But the taxi that Haruo is in gets into an accident and he dies, leaving Yumi waiting at Narita Airport.

### 2.3.5 Analyzing Pink

Okazaki's work, while not perhaps consciously feminist, has been influenced by the same "pop feminism" that is apparent in the manga of Yoshida Akimi and Haruno Nanae. In general, this manifests itself as the right to be a person, or have a self, often appearing as "self-confidence" or "self-esteem," ${ }^{22}$ and contains the underlying assumption that society does not value girls and so they must learn to value themselves. As Driscoll (2002) has commented:

No girls or women's magazines exist in a prefeminist state. These genres are all affected by the now inevitable question of whether and how a woman is employed, feminist critiques of beauty culture, and other feminist propositions or practices (which does not mean they take a predictable position on these issues). Feminism itself belongs to the popular cultural field, a point feminist discussion of popular culture often seems to ignore even in fields where the influence of feminism is most palpable.

Whether explicitly feminist or not, Okazaki's Pink is a reaction to the same social circumstances, the

[^41]same double standards and double binds, the same patriarchal power structures (and their connections to capitalism) that academic feminists are reacting to in their writing. As per Butler's (1990) warning, in the same way that (we) Western feminists need to avoid the colonizing impulse inherent in our assumptions of a universal definition of patriarchy, (we) academic feminists need to face the patriarchal impulse inherent in the assumption that feminists own the fight against the oppression of women.

In Pink, this "pop feminism" or "girl power" takes the form of a (self) critical view of the shôjo manga genre and the romance industry itself, which is apparent in the unhappy ending. This is probably one of the main reasons why it is often excluded from the shôjo manga genre. The unhappy ending to Pink was not in the original New Punch Zaurus version; when it was in the men's magazine, Yumi and Haruo happily flew off into the sunset. Unfortunately, Okazaki was in a traffic accident in 1996 and has been unable to work since. In a coma for an extended period, Okazaki is conscious now and apparently regaining her ability to speak. Nevertheless, it may never be possible to ask her directly why she changed the ending of the story for the book version (assuming she has an answer and would be willing to reveal it in any case). Within the manga industry, it seems to be a well-known fact that editors have less say over the books than they do over the magazine formats. Because only manga that have already proven popular in the serialized magazine format get collected into books, authors are apparently in a stronger position to assert their opinions an editors have less need to control the product or protect profit margins. Furthermore, because of the tight deadlines for magazine publication, artists often do not have time to revise or edit and because it is serialized cannot assess the story in its entirety until after the final installment. Thus, they often make changes and adjustments for the book form. This makes it possible to speculate that Okazaki either simply changed her mind about how it should end, or
the original editors asked for a happy ending which she changed when the book came out. Okazaki did say in an interview for Pepper Shop ${ }^{23}$ in $1994^{24}$ that she never planned her stories but wrote them chapter by chapter. For various reasons, often out of her control (such as magazines being cancelled or going bankrupt), stories that were supposed to run twelve times would get cut to ten or so. Because Okazaki did not have her stories planned in advance anyhow, sudden cancellations never bothered her at all, and she would just add extra chapters on to the stories when they came out in book form. While this seems to suggest that Okazaki just changed her mind about the ending for Pink, I think that it is important to note that the first (magazine) version was marketed as "male" manga while the book form, with the unhappy ending, is now sold with "female" comics. According to Seika University's shôjo manga expert, Matt Thorn (1999, personal correspondence), in the 80s and early 90s, no shôjo manga magazines (or even ladies' comics magazine) would publish Okazaki's work, so she had to publish in "men's" esoteric magazines like New Punch Zaurus or else in fashion magazines like Cutie.

## Real Children and the Quest for Eternal Life

I remember having a debate with very Catholic and very anti-choice high school classmate right before Geography class.. I told him if the pro-life lobbyists cared so much about children they should be out there helping the kids who were already born and suffering for it, instead of wasting valuable time harassing people at clinics. I couldn't see the point of talking to him about the topic at all because he

[^42]was so dogmatic (and I wasn't!) but he kept picking at me and I didn't feel like taking crap from him either. I stuck to a safer argument about how authority and responsibility went together so pro-lifers should take care of the children they were insisting should be born. If they could make someone give birth, then they should help feed clothe and raise the product. He didn't like losing the argument and so just kept yelling, "No we don't, no we don't have to" over and over. It took me a few minutes to realize that he really didn't think the conversation was done. He didn't mean real children at all (human beings with needs and rights), but "conceptual children" - symbols of (his) eternal salvation and patrilineal power. It made me realize that not only are children not really people, but mothers aren't either. If you become a mother, you are stuck being a public symbol/vessel forever. Can't study your way out of that one. It was right about the time in our Geography class that we were learning about the Club of Rome and how perpetual economic growth is not physically possible. The teacher talked about how the desire for perpetual growth AND the opposite of this, saving things so future generations could exist, were BOTH selfish. He asked us some questions. If you really wanted to save the environment you'd refuse to have children. There are enough of them now, why have more? Because you want YOUR children to carry you forward to the next generation (it's not just any generation that you're saving things for). This selfishness was forgivable - the typical response was, "Yeah?" Everybody wants to live forever, and besides, we have better genes, we're the IB class. The next question was a bit different. Why not use up all the resources now? You won't be there so who cares if the human race dies out? The godlessness of it shocked and silenced the whole class. And I got addicted to paradigm shifts.

### 2.3.6 Exploring the Endings

A distinction between the magazine and the book based on the gender of the readership is, of
course, contrived as many women (of assorted ages) read men's comics and some men read women's comics, but the genders/genres are at least temporarily necessary for exploring possible interpretations of the ending. In the following sections, I take the different endings and interpret them according to standard genre conventions in order to critique the definitions of as well as the implications and repercussions of gendered genre codes.

### 2.3.7 The Male Version - Pink as Porn ${ }^{25}$

While the book has a decidedly unhappy conclusion, in contrast to Nana from Godard's film

Vivre sa vie (1963), Yumi the prostitute is not gunned down by her pimp at the end.


Figure 7: NANA \& NANA (http://www.bfi.org.uk/collections/release/vivresavie/)
(Okazaki 1989: 219)

[^43]In more "pink" irony, it is not Yumi who is "martyred to female liberation in the face of patriarchy," ${ }^{26}$ it is Haruo. Having Yumi die at the end would have been a much more conventional ending - with Yumi joining a long line of sexually aggressive women who pay for their transgressions with their lives. It would then fall into the porno or eromanga plot pattern that Gill (2001) outlines in "Mad in Japan" where some poor, pathetic, powerless and socially marginalized "girl" figure gets sexually (ab)used and then she either gets killed or kills herself. In this type of story, the girl's situation is often explained as the result of or as a metaphor for the sickness of modern society. Readers can then feel good about feeling sorry for the girl (identify with her or exercise their social conscience) at the same time as they can take pleasure in identifying with the man who can have her - a kind of double catharsis? - which, not unlike the Victorian novels of punished sexual women (Tess, Emma, Anna), also lets the good reader feel righteous at the end. Yet when read with a happy ending and as if for a male audience, having Yumi and Haruo take off together with Haruo's money fulfils the other side of the pornographic paradigm: Yumi has sex with the customers for money to have beautiful and expensive things (and for the readers to have fun), but this does no harm to her or society as she gets safely "married ${ }^{27 n}$ after. Either way, the threat to society posed by women's sexual liberation (or agency) is mitigated while the "benefits" are temporarily enjoyed. If Yumi was a prostitute without penalty and without becoming properly "coupled" (the property of one man) at the end, it would disrupt the status quo. Claiming prostitution as liberation is problematic, but I think here it is more Yumi's ability to move back and forth (at will) between the categories of "good girl" and "bad girl" wherein liberation lies, with the prostitution simply an easy-to-read signitier of the "bad". Moreover, the juxtaposition of "prostitute" with "OL" makes clear the point that both

[^44]are based on the sexual objectification of women and that the distinction between "good" and "bad" is rather arbitrary - a point signalled by the fact that Yumi gets patronizing lectures from her "customers" in both settings. This could be read as a justification for prostitution as easily as a vilification, especially if Yumi did get married at the end.

### 2.3.8 The Female Version - Pink as Shôjo Manga

If taken as shôjo manga or as marketed for a female audience, having Yumi die at the end would make Yumi the vehicle for banishing the specter of abjection - following a fairly common shôjo manga plot. Midori Matsui, in her application of psychoanalytic theory to the comics of the 24 -nen gumi, discusses the abyss of the abject with regard to Takemiya Keiko's The Poem of the Wind and Tree. She claims that the story is a Bildungsroman in frame and pornography for girls in content. The sexualized character, Gilbert, dies a nasty and degrading death in the final scene of the manga - raped, drugged and prostituted. Matsui explicates:

Girl readers, partially identifying with Gilbert to satisfy their own libidinal drives through him, ultimately kill off the abject part of their own femininity in order to be accepted by the patriarchal culture that acknowledges the emergence of the phallic subject as the only legitimate constituent of its symbolic order. (Matsui, 1993: 186)

A happy ending for Pink would, however, also show a comforting return to normal following a brief and exciting foray into the world of sexual power and sexual appetite. ${ }^{28}$ Readers get to enjoy the thrill of

[^45]transgression, or to satisfy their curiosity about the other side of the good gir//bad girl double bind.

Furthermore, they get to imagine having male agency via Yumi's actions and words, and in consuming the images of Yumi's naked body, the power and pleasure of reading porn, which the happy ending would then frame, making the prostitution and the nasty clients "readable" and non-threatening. Matsui claims that "such a use of desire within the legitimate structure of an 'educational' fiction [the Bildungsroman liberates girls while letting them stay within the dominant hierarchy" (1993: p. 187). With Pink, where the main character is female and not male as in Takemiya's Poem, I think that readers can only be "liberated" (briefly) precisely because they get to stay within the safe predictable narrative territory of shôjo manga.

That said, there is a marked turning point where the story starts to follow standard shôjo manga patterns. In Chapters Ten and Eleven, Yumi and Haruo fall in love and Yumi's stepmother finds out. At first Yumi claims to want a fashion-magazine lifestyle and that she is willing to prostitute herself in order to achieve this aesthetic, but in a typical shôjo manga plot maneuver (reminiscent of fictional narratives by Yoshimoto Banana and manga by Ohshima Yumiko) she moves into Haruo's dumpy apartment and, with Haruo and her half-sister Keiko, and finds happiness in creating her own warm and loving family. ${ }^{29}$ This is clearly signaled by visual references to Hasegawa Machiko's Sazae-san ${ }^{30}$ - the ultimate symbol of the normal happy Japanese family. With her hair suddenly (and very temporarily) like

[^46]Sazae-san's, Yumi's first morning at Haruo's apartment is spent making breakfast and doing all the housework - while cheerfully exclaiming to herself how much fun it is to wash dishes and do laundry.


Figure 8: SAZAE-SAN HAIR
(Okazaki, 1989: 116)

(Hasegawa, 1997:3)

That Yumi and Haruo's lifestyle is set in direct contrast to Yumi's stepmother ${ }^{31}$ with her beautiful house, boy-toys, botoxed face and a husband that she openly admits she does not love, is pure shôjo manga. ${ }^{32}$ Natural or true love, the only kind that will show you that you are "being loved for who you are" (affirming your selfhood) is one half of an aesthetic insisting that "real love is not contrived" (like an aesthetic...). This, of course, twists round and contradicts itself often. For example, Yumi's stepmother, with her hatred of young girls who have stolen her place in the mirror, shows also that there is a time-limit for women's ability to attract men "naturally", which creates anxiety and threatens to

[^47]disrupt the romance. This is why it is comforting when Yumi retires and settles down before she becomes too old. That she is able to "quit" being a prostitute but not able return to an "untainted" social position is made clear when Haruo becomes famous and nosy journalists follow Yumi, take photos of her, and confront Haruo in hopes of a scandalous scoop. The threat of the (patriarchal) double standard (which is also expressed by Yumi's client in the first chapter) is turned into a test of Haruo's loyalty when there is a happy ending following. Proving that he really does love Yumi for what she is, Haruo punches the reporter who tries to prevent him from getting to the airport on time. If shôjo manga are seen as a (Bildungsroman-esque) narrative which provide a positive "self-affirmation" for female readers, then the possibility of flying off to a free social space or tropical island (with alligators) is necessary to mitigate the denial of agency in a system with such clearly gendered double standards.

### 2.3.9 Male and Female Combined - The Death of the Love Object

But, in the extant format, it is Haruo who dies. That the main male character gets consumed by the "system" at the end suggests the subversion of the mainstream deployment of female sexuality as a metaphor or a measure for a society's health or as the abject that must be refused to validate the symbolic. And while not an expert on mainstream male pornography, I have never heard of a porn narrative where the hero dies at the end. At the same time, because Haruo dies and cannot therefore be the vehicle for proving the heroine's innate loveableness or reflecting her attainment of a self worth loving, the shôjo manga reading is also made impossible. Thus, both of the gendered/genred readings collapse, thwarting coldly and cleanly any hopes for sexual/romantic fulfillment. This demonstrates clearly Okazaki's statement in the after notes that love is "a fierce, frightening and cruel monster". Haruo
had to die: only by declaring that there is no place outside of the cycle of consumption for men as well that they too have a best used by date - is Okazaki able to connect the love(s) with the capitalism.

Furthermore, Pink, through its juxtaposition of flower shots with money shots, is suggesting that pornography and romance stories may actually be the same "self-centered" narrative. They are both linear narratives of development wherein the hero/heroine proves their right to exist while everyone else in the story exists to acknowledge this. The recognition of agency in a shôjo manga discourse is framed by the grammar, "I am being loved for who I really am," and in a (male) pornographic discourse as, "I can come on your face." It is therefore possible to read the paired narratives together as the story of capitalism. That Okazaki's capitalism is a "western" story is more than apparent in the poster images on the chapter title pages. ${ }^{33}$ In a literal frame to the manga, cartoon representations of American icons of femininity such as Tinkerbell, Barbie, Marilyn Monroe, coloring book princesses, ${ }^{34}$ and Snow White are alternated with visual allusions to Godard films and bondage photographs of women by John Willie. ${ }^{35}$

Again, it is important to note the visual continuity in the juxtaposition of cute "eminine" (fantasy) and sexy "masculine" (pornographic) narratives. Okazaki undermines any possible shôjo-esque

[^48]romanticization of the foreign by showing that there is no "outside" of Japan to escape to - not only can Yumi not live happily ever after on an island (because she was still depending on men to get there) but women outside Japan are defined by the same good feminine/bad sexy dualism. The importation of Godard's iconography does not just serve to critique or complicate Godard's notions of modernity (although it can be read that way, especially from a Western perspective), but also to complicate Japanese notions of patriarchy as indigenous and the commonly-held belief that the sexes are equal in the West. Karen Kelsky (2001), in her book Japanese Women, Western Dreams, outlines how this unquestioned assumption has led to a fetishization of white men and a "turn to the foreign" as a means for resisting rigidly gendered social roles in Japan. Analyzing a series of ethnographic interviews with Japanese women who live or have lived abroad, Kelsky claims: "What is repressed is any recognition of continuing inequalities in American society, as well as the power relation embedded in a reliance on a Western country as a model for uncritical emulation." Okazaki has dealt more directly with the attractiveness of the "internationalized" lifestyle that Kelsky's study documents. In her 1992 manga, Kiken na futari (A Dangerous Pair), one of the two main characters laments her fate: before she could become a "career-girl in Marunouchi who looks great in Donna Karan" (or an office worker for a foreign company in Tokyo with an expensive wardrobe of foreign designer clothing) she ended up being an extremely talented bar hostess. As a single mother deserted by her boyfriend, she needed the money. Though she had given up on her dream she occasionally pretended to be sending faxes to her imaginary boyfriend in New York. In this manga, the criticism of gender roles in Japan is obvious, but it also contains a recognition of the fantasy elements of the internationalized lifestyle. This recognition is also apparent in Yumi's final thoughts, set against the backdrop of Narita Airport, the liminal and eroticized gateway to the foreign. Yumi's sister Keiko is waiting with her, and comments that Haruo is
really late. Yumi, not knowing that he is dead, thinks, "Yeah, but in my alligator bag is a fabulous swimsuit and my manicure turned out perfect today and when I imagine the blue sky over the southern islands I get all excited. I wonder if this is what it feels like to be waiting for ultimate happiness?" Then the narrator's voice fades in and out with a comment: "And so I thought as I waited for Haruo" (Okazaki 1989: 254). This final comment reveals the narrator to be Yumi, presumably from the future and still alive though her love object has died. Having life go on despite an unhappy ending shows that both the masculine and the feminine linear self-love stories are doomed to fail. Furthermore, by showing that it does not matter much if they fail, Okazaki may also problematizing the concept of "development" itself. Thus, "love and capitalism" becomes, as the obi declares, a "post-post-modern" fairytale or a story about the unrealizable dream of social mobility and a modern subjectivity.

### 2.3.10 The Meaning of Pink

The question that remains then, is what does Pink, the story that contains and contextualizes the porno/shôjo threads, mean? Okazaki has said in an interview that she had no idea how Pink was going to end as she was writing it - she just had the characters in mind (Pepper Shop interview 1994 reprinted in Kawade yume mook, 2002: 64). Furthermore, in a different interview, she said that she was going to call it "Love and Violence" because she wanted to pair "love" with something that was usually considered the furthest away from it, "but somehow the story just ended up being called Pink" (Gekkan kadokawa August 1990 cited in Kawade yume mook, 2002: 190). ${ }^{36}$ On the cover of the book form of Pink, is a simple line drawing of Yumi in pencil on a white background. Naked and kneeling on a bed, her eyes are closed and she is leaning forward in a provocative manner. The only color is a bit of yellow

[^49]in the shadowing, the dark pink of Yumi's lips and the light pink of her nipples. Her breasts are poking through the lettering for the title, so literally as you read the word Pink you also read the color pink through Yumi's pink nipples.

In addition to "femininity", there are many possible readings for the symbolism of the color pink in this manga: female labor (secretarial work, prostitution, marriage); the fruits of labor (roses and meat rather than roses and bread... ) or the economic power and freedom to choose a culture or a lifestyle (pink power?); the female body itself (as the color of flesh and blood with its own desires and appetites); confidence as self-control and/or self-love (a re-evaluation of being female); or a re-evaluation of the feminine or a feminine aesthetic (stylishness); youth and cuteness (girl power). Similar to the way that "girlie" in English can mean both "girlish" (as in "girlie-girl") as well as "erotic" or "pornographic" (as in "girlie magazine"), pink could also be interpreted as "erotic" or "pornographic" from an association with the Japanese phrase, "pinku eiga" (literally, "pink movie," the English equivalent of which would be a "blue movie"). As the cover art clearly displays, this appears to be from the color of skin or women's sexual organs. ${ }^{37}$

### 2.3.11 Critical Reception and Pink as Parody

Okazaki Kyôko's manga drawing style and narrative style (especially her use of language) were very new and unique when she first started publishing. There were other artists, like Sakurazawa Erika (with whom Okazaki worked as an assistant for a brief period at the beginning of her career) who

[^50]were pioneers and there is a whole generation of young artists who have continued in this style. It is now mainly marketed to a female audience, but at the beginning, as mentioned earlier, Okazaki and her cohorts often published in men's magazines as well. While Okazaki's manga are still extremely popular with both female and male readers, (even with people who are much too young to have any memories of life in the 80 s) and there is a large body of critical writing, critical reception varies wildly ${ }^{38}$. With Pink in particular, there seems to be a very clearly gendered split in interpretations and evaluations.

Not only was Okazaki an illustrator for pornographic magazines before she started drawing her own stories, but she claims to have spent a lot of time reading boys' and men's manga from her father's barbershop, after spending elementary and junior high school in the 70s (in a period now known as "the golden age of shôjo manga") absorbed in the shôjo manga classics. Her drawing style combines elements from all these genres, as does the narrative. Though Okazaki's stories almost all have female protagonists and mainly narrate aspects of women's (or girls') lives, there seem to be enough visual and textual references to all manner of manga, movies, literature and music in her work to keep most readers engaged, even if they miss a huge part of the story because they read in only one genre/grammar. With Pink in particular, it seems that many male readers, perhaps because they are not versed in shôjo grammar and cannot then therefore recognize or read the parody and homage of classic shôjo texts, tend to read the story straight. That said, however, reading Pink as straight shôjo causes problems as well.

On August 27, 1996, Manga yawa did a show on Okazaki Kyôko's Pink. The regulars that

[^51]evening were the main host, Ohtsuki Takahiro (a professor of ethnology), Ishikawa Jun (a manga artist, novelist and TV personality), and Okada Toshio (a writer/critic and computer game creator). The guests were three women: Kayama Rika (a psychiatrist), Takami Kyôko (a writer and TV/radio personality), and Togawa Kyôko (an actor). What follows is a translation and analysis of parts of the dialogue from the 1998 Kinejun mook: Manga yawa Vol. 2 that illustrate the gendered (or gendering) split in readings of the manga Pink. Please note that the speakers' names appear labeled with their gender and a number to avoid confusion.

In this particular Manga yawa session, the scene where Yumi moves in with Haruo (or where there is a sudden change to shôjo manga mode) seems to have caused problems for the male readers. The host, Ohtsuki, has not even noticed the switch in Yumi's thinking:

Ohtsuki (M1): It's like all of her desires are affirmed, like completely shamelessly, as much as she likes. Exactly like the frame we were talking about before: "I want to live just like they do on TV and I want to live just
like in An-an. ${ }^{\text {.39 }}$ (Pink: 113)

Kayama (F1): But, she doesn't really want to live like that.

Takami (F2): She does not want to live like that.

Ohtsuki (M1): Oh, really?

He has failed to recognize the shôjo "warm happy family" trope, which the women have clearly observed.
They describe this to him, and also note the self-reflexive parody included:

Kayama (F1): All things considered, her family seems to have
completely fallen apart, but there she is, trying to make a new family with

[^52]her boyfriend and her half-sister and isn't that like she's just trying to get as much happiness out of things as she can?

Takami (F2): At the same time, I really like how she's kind of making fun of herself too. Like she's saying, "Look at me, look at what l'm trying to do!!"

Then Ohtsuki (M1) says that it's his role to play the devil's advocate and he asks for proof from the text - because he thinks there is nothing written in the text that will concretely show this. Takami is unable to explain exactly why she has got the impression that Yumi is making fun of herself, and claims that it requires "competence on the reader's part". There is actually proof in the text that Yumi is making fun of herself; after spending the morning playing housewife (with Sazae-san hair) and daydreaming about having enough kids with Haruo to start her own baseball team, Yumi says that she's had fun but needs to get back to work and phones up her pimp to ask for some customers. Because this is something that Sazae-san would never do, the contrast is amusing. It also shows that Yumi clearly steps out of the dream housewife role and gets on with her "reality." She may or may not really want to have the happy-family life as she may or may not really want to have the An-an (fashion-magazine) life, but she definitely knows she does not have either. Yumi also knows that she needs to work more because she has just been evicted from her own apartment (and had all of her clothes and possessions destroyed) due to a major accident with an overrunning toilet.

Togawa (F3) does not speak of the reference to Sazae-san in the manga, but identifies the ironic distance in Yumi's attitude. She describes this as Yumi "talking big"40 - that Yumi's had a really hard time, all things considered, and that she's actually looking at her life pretty objectively. I interpret

[^53]this to mean that Togawa (F3) thinks Yumi is dreaming about having the fashion-magazine life to cover up for the fact that she really wants the warm happy family but can't get it - or talking big to protect herself or to avoid self-pity. Kayama (F1) seems also to agree with this as she adds that she thinks that lots of girls in Yumi's generation really just wanted the simple things in life but ended up sabotaging themselves by doing things like starring in porn flicks. The problem with this reading, as Ohtsuki (M1) has inadvertently pointed out, is that there really is not much in the text that would show that Yumi also really wants the Sazae-san life, other than this brief moment of playing house. There are no more scenes in the manga after this with Yumi doing any cooking, cleaning or mothering - the funky hairstyle disappears immediately as well. In other words, not only am I not sure that "Yumi" has done the sabotaging here, but I am also not sure that it is Yumi's life that is being sabotaged. Through parody, I suspect that Okazaki is sabotaging the shôjo manga archetype and questioning both the possibility of the warm happy family and the independence of the material-girl life. This may also be a citation of Godard, re-interpreted into a Japanese paradigm. According to Mulvey's (1996) analysis of Godard's view of femininity, he used the prostitute and her transformability to show the "falseness" or the seductive constructedness of the cinematic form:

In Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle, Juliette/Marina Vlady is a working-class housewife who becomes a prostitute in order to buy consumer goods for herself and her family. She thus condenses into a single figure a metaphorical analogy of commodity and a metonymy, shopping. She also, of course, shops to produce the desirable surface, the 'look' that comes with make-up and clothes, which then, in turn, implies the seductiveness of an eroticized surface that implies something hidden, a secret or mystery. (p. 79)

In a similar manner, I think Okazaki is using Sazae/Yumi as prostitute to reveal the constructedness of happy family narratives, as well as indicating the relationship between shopping and femininity. Yumi's desirable surfaces are certainly eroticized. The question that remains is whether any hidden depths are implied.

### 2.3.12 Is Yumi Just a Stupid Slut?

The next section of the Manga yawa (1998) discussion has the subtitle, "Is Yumi just a bakaonna?" Missing all of the criticism of the circulation of flesh/trafficking of women, Ohtsuki (M1) and Okada (M2) just see Yumi as an example of a bakaonna, and seem to be therefore denying that the story has any meaning or message at all. Ironically, the women, in defense of Yumi and their readings of the story as meaningful, are in effect also being forced to prove that they themselves are not also "bakaonna".

Ohtsuki (M1), continues questioning the possibility that there is another level of meaning to be read from the text. He asks everyone to imagine what would happen if a woman over sixty years of age were given the manga Pink, and then asks if they think this hypothetical woman would be able to read this alleged sub-text, or would she just read it straight and think Yumi was stupid. To which, Takami (F2) wittily suggests that Uno Chiyo ${ }^{41}$ would definitely understand, but this does not go over well.

Ohtsuki (M1) dismisses Uno as atypical and, continuing with his point, says he thinks Yumi is not so bright. Okada (M2) then says, "Until I arrived here today, I really thought this was just a story about a 'bakaonna', or one of those stupid stories about all kinds of pretty things - not for me at all." Ishikawa

[^54](M3) jumps in at this point and says that he thinks Yumi might be faking being dumb a bit, but really is not stupid at all. To which Ohtsuki (M1) again asks for proof from the text. Takami (F1) suggests the scene right after Yumi finds out her customer (the one who called her meat and said she was lower life form than a beast) was an animal rights activist with a big alligator skin wallet. In this particular scene, Yumi is walking home by herself in the dark, looking at the lights in people's windows and at the stars. She thinks to herself that she would like to go to a different planet and then wonders if there really are aliens. Then, she ironically thinks, "Hmm, while l'm wandering along alone at night thinking about romantic things, some psycho could rape me and kill me. It's possible. In this world, anything could happen, anything at all. All kinds of horrible things, all kinds of beautiful things... I want to eat something sweet"(Okazaki 1989: 113). Okada (M2), absolutely unable to see any irony here, says he thought that "her operating system froze when it got to something difficult that it couldn't deal with and she just rebooted up into a different system". Ishikawa (M3) argues that this scene actually proves that Yumi is very aware of her own tenuous position - and that compared to the truly stupid characters in the manga Be-Bop Highschool (a really famous boys' manga from 1984) who do not value any kind of awareness at all, she's very intelligent.

It is actually rather difficult to prove that it is Yumi who is producing the irony - and if Ohtsuki had been asking about the role of the narrator/author, it would have been a very sharp question. But by taking Yumi simply to be a greedy, stupid slut, Ohtsuki (M1) and Okada (M2) are in effect saying that they are unable to understand what the story means, and since this does not then cause them to re-read until they can get a message (or think about what the title means...) or try to understand why women like the story so much, it shows a basic assumption that there is nothing there to understand. This then
suggests that the women who read it and like it are just proving that they are (illogical) women. What both Ohtsuki (M1) and Okada (M2) say comes across as macho posturing, where they prove that they are men because everyone knows that men cannot understand (silly) feminine manga. In many ways this is more of a "gendering" reading than a gendered one, neatly exemplifying Butler's concept of "the discursive limits of gender" and (via Foucault) the genealogical possibility that gender roles are the cause of gender and not the effect (Butler 1990;1993).

## Tight T's

A friend who has just finished her Ph.D. and has become a sessional tells me that in her first set of class evaluations, someone complained about how distracting and inappropriate her tight $t$-shirts were. Profs can't have tits. She went to the massage therapist because of shoulder problems and the therapist figured out right away that it was because she was hunching over hiding her breasts. I guess they get a lot of that at the UBC massage therapy clinic. Now she's getting treatment for too much testosterone. She started to grow a beard. She's been studying too much.

### 2.3.13 The Narrator Effect and Definitions of Desire

The impression that Yumi is just "playing" dumb could very possibly be an awareness of an "outside" narrator since it is not always made explicit whether Yumi herself is enjoying the irony her lifestyle points out, or if she is simply the vehicle for transmitting irony to the reader. The fact that there are regular appearances of an omniscient narrative voice-over, as well as episodes where the narrative shifts to Haruo's perspective, creates a gap between readers and Yumi that is frequently remarked upon.

Often cited as a kind of coldness, or a distance, it is here that the author (or "Okazaki's") message is situated. Juxtaposing love with something it is not normally related to (love and violence, or love and capitalism) provides a critical perspective that screams of parody and a critique of love. Both of the narrative types that Okazaki combines in the story - the female audience/ shôjo manga and the male audience/pornographic manga - tend to assume the (im)possibility of women's sexual agency while men's is never overtly questioned. The unquestioned acceptance of this norm (or the double standard) and its absurdity is clearly made fun of through the parody of "love" genres in Pink. By making what is taken for granted in both genres visible, Okazaki is taking the thinking produced by the 24-nen gumi, the opportunities that they created with the critical logic of the boy-boy comics, and turning it around on itself by adding the female bodies back in. Furthermore, with Yumi's ironic comments to the readers during the sex scenes ("who is this retard?") and through Haruo's death, Okazaki is also showing that the male Bildungsroman fails as well, effectively redirecting the debate away from the impasse of feminine subjectivity to the issue of the Bildungsroman itself.

That readers must constantly keep consuming these stories of development because the warm glow of self-affirmation (both kinds) fades quickly, suggests an economy of desire that is remarkably "feminized". Elizabeth Grosz (1995), in search of a future for lesbian desire (rather than the origins of lesbian identity) questions the possibilities for a feminist theory of desire that is able to escape the bounds of psychoanalysis and when "redoing the social and cultural order" to avoid supporting the very "truths and orthodoxes" (the active/passive, lack/acquisition binarisms) that feminists are trying to overcome. She starts by problematizing the definition of desire as negative, inherited from Hegel via Freud and Lacan. I quote at length:

Now this notion of desire as an absence, lack, or hole, an abyss seeking to be
engulfed, stuffed to satisfaction, is not only uniquely useful in capitalist models of acquisition, property, and ownership (seeing the object of desire on the model of the consumable commodity), it inherently sexualizes desire, coding it in terms of the prevailing characteristics attributed to the masculine/feminine opposition - presence and absence. Desire, like female sexuality itself, is insatiable, boundless, relentless, a gaping hole, which cannot be filled or can be filled only temporarily; it suffers an inherent dependence on its object(s), a fundamental incompletion without them. I would suggest that this model of desire is in fact coded as sexual polarization. Where desire is attributed a negative status, it is hardly surprising that it becomes attributed to femininity. Moreover, it is precisely such a model, where desire lacks, yearns, seeks, but is never capable of finding itself and its equilibrium, that enables the two sexes to be understood as (biological, sexual, social and psychical) complements of each other - each is presumed to complete, to fill up, the lack of the other. The model of completion provided here is congruent with the logic regulating the goal posited by Aristophanes's hermaphrodite. Such a model, in other words, performs an act of violence: for any consideration of the autonomy of the two sexes, particularly the autonomy of women, is rendered impossible. It feminizes, heterosexualizes, and binarizes desire at an ontological and epistemological level. Its activity is merely a reaction to its perceived shortcomings, its own failure to sustain itself. 177

The desire that is depicted in Pink is precisely this model. It also explains well why Yumi is unable to
achieve any autonomy, or to escape from the good-gir/bad-girl double bind. A reaction to the pathologization of the feminine that results from the sexualization of desire, and the coding of the feminine as absence forms the core of the narrative in Pink. This is most apparent in the gendered binary pairing of the "self" narratives as well as the constant consumption that is used to show the link between capitalism and "love". While Grosz continues on to argue that there is hope for change on a daily level through a change in the way we see things, Okazaki's interpretation is much more bleak. For her, there is no material or conceptual way out. Yumi does not get anywhere - she ends up pretty much where she started, minus the alligator and her day job. Again, according to Matt Thorn, the definition of shôjo manga includes hope and optimism for the girls who read them, and therefore, Okazaki's work cannot be considered part of the same genre. He also says that, while he thinks Okazaki's work has had a negative influence and spawned a whole new ugly and nihilistic genre, her stories had a deeper meaning that has since been lost:

> I have always felt that there was a hint of optimism or hope in Okazaki's stories - that she was telling the stories almost as parables, in order to encourage readers to make their own lives meaningful - but I rarely find any kind of optimism in the manga of her imitators. (1999 personal correspondence)

I also do not see Okazaki's work as negative, although I do not necessarily agree that it is hope that she is creating. Rather than patronizing parables, I think she reveals the connection between genre and gender (story and social roles), or between patriarchal social systems and the feminine self, in a way that assumes female readers do not (or should not have to) feel ashamed about being female (and sexual). Instead of saying, "don't give up, you too can become something," to me she seems to be
saying, "it's not you - you're fine - it's bigger than that". And while I agree that few of her followers have reached her level of critical thinking, I would also argue that the new genre is not as "ugly and hopeless" as Matt Thorn has described: "If shoujo [sic] manga magazines become filled with nihilistic stories of rape, abortion, anorexia, prostitution etc. where will Japanese girls be able to look for inspiration?" Just as rape fantasies that women have do not necessarily mean that they wish to be raped, the imagining of the worst (via a vicarious narrative experience where the reader does not always or only identify with the heroine) can also be seen as a form of everyday survival and everyday pleasure for the disenfranchised. I therefore do not agree that Okazaki necessarily has a negative influence on readers.

Interestingly, this "damage" discourse is seldom invoked with regard to adult readers. Even while in a room full of adult women (most of whom were in their forties and fifties), Nimiya Kazuko said she would not recommend Okazaki's manga because the lifestyle depicted was not possible for most girls. It seems that everyone is assuming that girls have problems with their lives and identities because they are female and they use what they read to help find solutions - but this assumption may actually be causing the conditions that it predicts. Approaches that would deny girls intellectually engaging stories in order to protect them from our ghosts may be re-creating the problem and perpetuating oppression. Furthermore, girls do not read everything as directly parallel to reality. While not a representative sample, the girls I interviewed were perfectly aware of the difference between fiction and reality. Most of them were also able to articulate why they wanted to read things they knew were not real. Even though this new type of manga is not offering "hope" ${ }^{\text {"2 }}$ in the form of a mainstream shôjo manga happy ending, it

[^55]may still "help" girls deal with the devaluing of femaleness, femininity and girlhood in a patriarchal
society. It still provides a psychological and emotional space for engaging with issues related to feminine development. Moreover, it allows space for girls to reflect upon many of the penalties, consequences and complications in contemporary society of a sexually active life with a female body.

## Taking Turns on the Bus

All the way through elementary school, my best friend and I went skiing together on the weekends in winter. Either her dad or my dad took us. We often met up with this boy from school and his friends or cousin and ended up bombing around together because we liked the same trails and the same jumps. We all thought it was kind of cool that it was a "mixed" crowd but generally, we couldn't stand each other - we certainly never hung out together at school. One weekend, we planned a trip on our own. We'd worked everything out - we were going to take the Greyhound first thing in the morning, the shuttle from the lodge to the hill, then do the whole thing in reverse in the evening. It was our usual group, but then at the last minute my best friend couldn't go - something to do with her grandma. When I told my mother that my friend wasn't going anymore, my mother said I couldn't go. I was surprised because I was the "responsible" one of the group - the one who kept everyone else out of trouble. When I asked why, my mother said I couldn't go skiing with two boys. At another why, she said, "You can get pregnant now you
enlightenment in the present moment. Many religions are based on the notion of hope, and this teaching about refraining from hope may create a strong reaction. But the shock can bring about something important. I do not mean that you should not have hope, but that hope is not enough. Hope can create an obstacle for you, and if you dwell in the energy of hope, you will not bring yourself back entirely into the present moment. If you re-channel those energies into being aware of what is going on in the present moment, you will be able to make a breakthrough and discover joy and peace right in the present moment, inside of yourself and all around you. (1991: 42)
know!" I was twelve and had just started to menstruate and I couldn't believe what I was hearing. It was so unfair that my icky period meant being restricted from skiing too. Not to mention silly - you can't get pregnant from skiing - you have to have sex. My mother didn't ski, didn't understand the attraction of it at all, and obviously had no idea what ski hills were like - even if I did want to fuck the two boys, which I definitely didn't, there was nowhere to do it nor anywhere where they could rape me if that was what she was worried about. So I said, "What are they gonna do - take turns on the bus???" and got my ears cuffed in reply. And spent the entire weekend in my room sulking instead of skiing.

### 2.3.14 Conclusions

In Pink, Okazaki attempts to defuse the stigma of "bakaonna" or defetishize feminine sexuality through parody. That critics such as Nimiya Kazuko insist on reading this as false consciousness or patriarchal complicity is unfortunate. Nimiya is a freelance writer focusing mainly on manga for girls and women. She is one of a very small group of women working in an extremely male-dominated industry - there are very few female literary critics in Japanese publishing and even fewer female manga critics. For her, Okazaki's work may very well be inconvenient and the typical "male" interpretations of Pink as porno would effectively work to deny or negate much of what Nimiya is striving to achieve for women and their manga. I do not wish to add to any repudiation of Nimiya's work because I think her aims deserve support, but I am nevertheless afraid that her methods may be self-defeating in the long term as she is overly focused on the "top" (the male critics) while ignoring the girls who read manga like Pink and understand their irony and the criticism of patriarchy.

While I agree with Nimiya that an author cannot control the uses to which their writing is put, I think that the angry reactions, ambiguities, contradictions and contested readings reveal the social
significance (power?) of that which Okazaki (and other Grrls) are trying to reclaim. Quoting from philosopher Jacqueline Zita's work on drag queens in her article entitled, "Stripping, Starving, \& the Politics of Ambiguous Pleasure," Katherine Frank (2002) discusses how she developed an awareness of gender as performance by working as a stripper. She aptly expresses the ambivalence inherent in much third-wave writing on these issues:
"No one really owns the signs of femininity," Zita argues, even though these signs are abused in reality and embedded in a host of pre-existing social relations and inequalities. Nevertheless, it is possible to reclaim them. Isn't it?

Whether or not Okazaki's work has actually managed to reclaim anything (so far) remains beside the point, as there is meaning in the attempt. The paradoxes and contradictions produced in and around Pink, should be neither surprising nor grounds for dismissal in a post-Butler intellectual field. The reactions by established feminists to the "gender parody" (Butler 1990) apparent in "whore" t-shirts and Yumi's story, as well as "male" readers who cannot recognize this as parody (or who have never had to think beyond their own point of view and can see the references to the misogynist dominant paradigms but not the signs of their subversion) only show how important and theoretically promising such phenomena are. Assuming that students, average workshop participants and typical readers (those in the "girl" position) can only process happy endings, hope, and positive models that must be chosen for them and transmitted by an expert risks replicating the very dominant paradigms that feminists are supposedly fighting. Moreover, refusing to grant difficult or "dangerous" manga membership in the shôjo manga genre, or a position on an introductory reading list denies the power girls already have, and suppresses the pedagogical and critical potential of texts like Pink because it denies opportunities for
dialogue and discussion.

### 3.0.0 READER RESPONSE INTERVIEWS

### 3.1.0 Introduction

According to Spivak's definition of "transnational literacy" in her article, "Teaching for the Times", teaching effectively in the humanities requires the crossing of narrow disciplinary boundaries in our teaching practices (1995: 191-2). She advocates through this interdisciplinarity a focus on "feminism in decolonization" rather than "the metropolitan feminist focus on women in development". With specific regard to the study of women, Spivak states that scholars of decolonization literature (a term she prefers to "post-colonial") need the help of feminist historians and social scientists: "...[W]e have to learn inter-disciplinary teaching by supplementing our work with the social sciences and supplementing theirs with ours" (1995:192). In an attempt to explore possibilities for such approaches to research and pedagogy in Japanese Studies, one section of this research project was devoted to ethnographic audience research.

In many ways, this audience research was not done to define or understand the audience, but to call into question the discourses surrounding academic production. len Ang, in her book Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World, claims:

Our curiosity about the audience is never innocent. Specific interests and orientations, material and intellectual, generally shape the perspective from which we come to define our object of study, and the kinds of knowledge - their form and content, their scope and substance - we pursue. (1996: 66)

In order to explore and critique my own situated "interests" in shôjo manga and coming of age stories for girls, a somewhat non-traditional ethnographic approach was attempted (Murdock 1997). Thus, the contradictions and complications (messiness) are intentional, and part of a process that is necessary in order to problematize power structures between the researcher and the researched, or between

Western feminist Japanologists and Japanese shôjo manga readers. As Bourdieu (1984) has said, cultural analysis should aim for results that produce questions rather than accomplished facts.

### 3.2.0 Research Questions

In order to contextualize the current writing on the alleged "therapeutic" or "damaging" effects of shôjo manga, I wanted to find out how Japanese girls felt about being girls, and if or how this was related to their reading of shôjo manga. These are the specific research questions addressed in the interviews:

1. What draws readers to shôjo manga.
2. How important is this reading, and where does it fit in their lifestyle or self-image.
a) With what criteria do readers choose the shôjo manga they read.
b) How do they attain the shôjo manga they read.
c) How does this compare with other genres of manga they may read.
d) How does this compare with other forms of narrative they may consume.
e) Do readers identify with characters, and if so, which ones and why.
f) Are readers finding or creating subtextual, contextual, or resistant readings.
g) Do they import anything from the manga (information, fashion style, language, attitude, drawing style) directly into their lives.
h) Which elements of the manga are they focusing on when they read.
3. How do readers experience and express the connections between this genre and gender.

### 3.3.0 Research Design

Eight sets of interviews (including one "pilot" interview) with shôjo manga readers were conducted over a period of sixteen months from December of 1999 to March of 2001. Two types of interviews - unstructured individual interviews and semi-structured focus group discussions - were conducted. The main reason two types were chosen was to allow flexibility for cultural differences. For individuals, I was afraid that my foreignness would affect the interview process adversely by causing
the interviewee to focus on "defining" Japan for me (which is interesting in and of itself, but not what I wanted to concentrate on for this particular project) and so I thought that groups would distract attention away from me. On the other hand, I was not sure that the "peer pressure" in groups would allow interviewees to answer questions openly. I hoped that any biases produced via the instrument structure would become visible through a comparison and contrast of the results from the two interview types.

The interviews were done in a variety of places. For high school students, all interviews were conducted in seminar rooms at the students' schools with permission from the school administration. Any adults who volunteered were given the option of choosing the interview venue themselves and most chose either my house or theirs. Interview lengths varied according to interviewees' schedules and level of interest. Individual interviews were one to two hours long and usually consisted of just one meeting. Group interviews were conducted in three to five separate sessions over a period of time because participants needed time to read the manga. Each session was approximately one to two hours long. For the two high school group reading sessions, I had students bring manga to show me for the initial organizational meeting. I chose materials for the first reading session, but had group members choose materials for subsequent sessions. The total number of sessions was also left to the participants to decide. The university student reading group decided from the outset that they wanted to discuss the works of one particular manga artist, and they came for one all-day marathon session. All interviews were conducted by me in Japanese, digitally recorded (audio only) on mini-disc and transcribed by Japanese research assistants. Excerpts have been chosen and translated (by research assistants and by me) and are included in the sections on each interview. Full transcripts of the interviews (in the original Japanese) are in Appendix B.

### 3.4.0 Participants

All participants in this study were collected via the snowball method. I had high school
teachers I knew introduce me to other teachers and students ${ }^{1}$, and students introduce me to their friends. I also gave presentations on shôjo manga at several academic conferences and as a guest speaker in university classes, and found volunteers when people came up after to ask me questions. The university students I interviewed were all found that way. In several cases, they brought along friends to form a reading group. The only non-student I interviewed was a woman who was the daughter of the friend of a friend, but she became a graduate student a few months after the interview.

In all cases except one, participants volunteered because they were shôjo manga fans and wanted to talk about shôjo manga with me. The exceptional case was one of the groups of high school girls - they volunteered in order to avoid homeroom, as their homeroom teacher was the manga club leader and was willing to let the girls speak with me during several (60-minute) "long" homeroom sessions on a Friday afternoon. The girls in this group read manga occasionally but were not all that interested and preferred to talk about TV shows or movies. Subsequently, their interview provides little data about shôjo manga but gives a very useful baseline for comparison.

It was much harder than I expected to find high school students to interview. I arrived in Kyoto in September 1999 and new to the city, it took four full months to find and make connections with high school teachers and their classes and clubs. In the end, only three out of the eight interviews were with high school students. Because students in Japan are kept so busy at school, it was almost impossible to find people not in manga or anime clubs who were willing or able to make time to talk. Even students who were in the manga or anime clubs (and thus were very interested in talking about manga) were not able to find time outside of their study and extra-curricular activities to meet with me.

Almost all of the interviewees were female. This was a result of the selection methods, but also reflective of the shôjo manga audience. One of the high school student interviews was with a boy

[^56]in grade eleven. He was a member of the anime club, but also was an open shôjo manga fan. Several of the other members of the club also read shôjo manga and would talk about it, but were studying for entrance exams and thus unable to volunteer. I attended a few of their club meetings and spoke with them informally about manga, video games (narrative based role playing games) and anime. Their club was all male (even though the school was partially co-ed) and many of them openly read and shared shôjo manga and shôjo (teen romance) novels as well as other types of anime, fiction, and manga. There were two male participants in the university reading group as well. They were not particularly shôjo manga fans, but were fans of the manga artist Okazaki Kyoko and, together with a close female friend, wanted to talk to me about Okazaki's manga. I had spoken about Okazaki's work in one of my popular culture classes and afterward one of the women in the class came to talk to me about this. She was an Okazaki fan and wanted to know about my research. When I explained that I was doing interviews, she got very excited and asked if she and her friends could volunteer because they always talked about Okazaki's manga together and they were all interested in ethnographic research. It turned out that her friends were both male.

### 3.5.0 UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENTS FOR STUDIES INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

This research project followed all requirements and guidelines set forth by the Office of Research Services and the Ethical Review process at the University of British Columbia. As such, this project conforms to University Policy \#89: Research and Other Studies Involving Human Subjects. All participants were voluntary, and unpaid. Informed consent forms were provided in Japanese and signed by all participants. If participants were minors, permission forms were signed by their legal guardians. Any interviews of high school students were done on school premises with the written permission of the school administration and were supervised by the principal or the head teacher. Students were made explicitly aware that their participation in this project would not affect their grades
or standing at school. All participants were told that they could choose to stop participating at any point, before, during, or after the interview process, and were given telephone, postal, and e-mail contact information for the interviewer and the interviewer's supervisors in Canada and Japan. Because ethical reviews and legal forms such as these are not in common usage in Japan, this paperwork tended to frighten rather than reassure participants, so an extra explanation letter was included, in Japanese, that explained what informed consent forms were intended to do and why they were required at universities in Canada. Please see Appendix A for copies and Japanese translations of forms. In the following report, all personal and institutional names have been changed to protect the privacy of the interviewees.

### 3.6.0 Findings \& Limitations

I am not sure that the research I have done can actually be considered "real" ethnography. Like much of the ethnography included in Cultural Studies research, the sample is not representative and the observation not thorough or sustained enough to make any comprehensive conclusions about a definitive "community of shôjo manga readers" in Japan. Graham Murdock, in his article "Thin Descriptions: Questions of Method in Cultural Analysis," has called for a more "elastic" approach to the definition of ethnography in order to make room for the realities of academic production (limited research funds and time for in-depth fieldwork) while still encouraging or allowing for the collection of data regarding "extended accounts of people's beliefs, responses and experiences" (1997:184). As such, my use of focus group discussions and individual interviews, which would usually be considered (merely?) qualitative research, can also, according to Murdock's use of the term, be considered a form of "ethnography". Following Geertz, Murdock claims that the main point of doing research into the "conceptual worlds" of others is not to produce definitive answers, but to provide more egalitarian opportunities for "conversation" (1997: 185), and this, I am confident, has been accomplished.

Unfortunately, the physical and discursive act of "writing up," tends to disrupt any of these egalitarian aims to "fieldwork" which is, as Murdock has clearly argued, a "profound paradox at the heart of the ethnographic endeavour." In trying to analyze lived experience abstractly, Murdock claims that "subjects become objectified" (1997:187). One of the participants in this project revealed some extremely personal experiences. While trying to write about it, I felt this "objectification" very strongly. I did not want to turn the participant's pain into "material" for an argument, but could not decide if it would be more insulting for the participant to have given me their words and then to not use them. I have included very briefly some of the things that this participant said, but will never really feel comfortable with the process.

Further complicating matters is the fact that even given a representative sample and a perfectly rigorous research instrument, interviewees are also "representing" their lived reality as they speak it to you. Again via Geertz, Norman Denzin (1997:5) explains this issue:

Traditional ethnographers have historically assumed that their methods probe and reveal lived experience. They have also assumed that the subject's word is always final, and that talk directly reflects subjective and lived experience. The literal translation of talk thus equals lived experience and its representation. Critical post-structuralism challenges these assumptions. Language and speech do not mirror experience: They create experience and in the process of creation constantly transform and defer that which is being described.

Stories of stories about stories, the interviews I have conducted, translated and re-written here are built of many layers of representations. These stories, like other forms of narrative, do convey information that deserves to be heard and do reveal valuable information beyond the reach of my editorial control. While the interview narratives may not be any more "authentic" than my own personal stories and opinions, or of my own readings of the manga texts, they can work to provide a context or a perspective
that allows my own textual readings (and the self-narrative produced by this dissertation as a whole) to be problematized or to produce questions in what I hope is a productive manner.

The first question they produce is one regarding this very concentration on narrative. I found consistently that all interviewees chose their manga according to the drawing more often than according to the story. Thus, one of the major limitations of this study is a bias towards narrative or textual analysis. The manga l chose to discuss with the students (which "led" the data from the outset), as well as the manga I analyze in the other sections of this dissertation, have been greatly affected by this bias. Now that I have four more years of reading manga in Japan behind me, and having learned what I have learned from this project, I would choose the manga much more carefully, have a wider range of genres and drawing styles and have all the participants read the same ones, consistently.

This tendency towards studying the more specialized "literary" manga is not just mine, but seems to endemic to academic Manga Studies inquiry. Nakamura Toru, the Assistant-Chief editor for shôjo manga at Hakusensha, explained to me that researchers (in Japan) tend to focus more on the content of the manga, ignoring the medium itself and its marketing, not to mention the readers' tendencies to choose manga according to form (personal communication, December 2002). This is explained further in the diagram in Figure 4.1.

Furthermore, more information about class and the political economy of the manga industry is necessary to thoroughly analyze the data that was collected. That said, most Japanese high school students have no access to information about their family financial situation, and little interest. They would not know how or why they should answer such questions in the first place, which poses another set of ethical quandaries. The study would have to include interviews with parents in order to do this, though this would make it extremely difficult to find teenaged volunteers, as they tend to not want to have anything to do with their parents. I did manage to meet with one parent and found that the comparison between her information, and information about the family provided great perspective on
her son's (self) representations and explanations of school and family relations. This is another area that I might like to explore further in the future.

While the deeper psychologies of the reading process are not to be discovered by a few hours of randomly unrandom interviews, this data does show clearly that there is a culturally specific and highly gendered "interview" paradigm in operation: the girls refused to answer direct questions and the boys would do nothing but. I now make a once-a-month radio show for a multi-cultural radio station in Kobe and do interviews on a regular basis. Repeatedly I have found that if I use the Japanese word "inta-byu-" (interview) when I arrange meetings for recording conversations, I get a stiff, formal and sonically boring result. The content, as well, tends toward "objective" short responses with "answers" rather than experiences, feelings or "complications." There is also a tendency to respond with clichés and generalizations because the respondents seem to feel that this is what they are supposed to do. If I ask people to tell me stories and then retreat and refrain from asking questions, respondents will "narrativize" their information and automatically include experiences, which results in a much more interesting and animated recording. It is important to note that the high school girls did not respond well even to this - I had to give them information about me first, to tell my own stories, before they would add theirs. The more questions I asked (even to "request" stories), the further they retreated from the discussion. There are several places where the girls responded spontaneously (often because of topics brought up by other participants and in complete disregard for my presence in the room) and I have included these moments in the English excerpts as often as possible.

The high school students were all greatly affected by the age difference between themselves and the interviewer. If I could do this research over again, I would have high school students do interviews or run discussion groups on their own and record them. Unfortunately, in order to conduct Bourdieu-like research, a Bourdieu-sized research budget is also necessary!

As well, the transcripts are in Japanese and I have only been able to translate (and have
translated) illustrative quotes, so editorial decisions have played a large role in the stories that have been produced. As Catherine Riessman has said in her book, Narrative Analysis:

The anticipated response to the work inevitably shapes what gets included and excluded. In the end, the analyst creates a meta-story about what happened by telling what the interview narratives signify, editing and reshaping what was told, and turning it into a hybrid story, a "false document". (1993:13)

I have tried to make the hybrid aspects of the interviews as transparent as possible, and to thus be false on purpose, rather than trying to hide the deception. The stories are therefore, and from the outset, meant to be used as illustration and entertainment as well as context. For those who can read Japanese, I recommend reading the transcripts in their entirety.

### 3.2.0 The Interview Stories

### 3.2.1 Interview \#1 - Ken'ichi (male graduate student)

The "pilot" interview was with a graduate student whom I met at a Manga Studies research meeting. Ken'ichi, in his early thirties, is a manga fan as well as a young academic who both does research on manga and teaches with and about them in his university lectures. It was a "practice" interview because Ken'ichi does not read or particularly like shôjo manga, but I had no one else to interview yet, so he volunteered. The interview was held at a noisy coffee shop and I was not yet used to the recording equipment and lost all of the recorded data when the batteries died on my MD recorder. I had made thorough interview notes though, and this explanation is based upon them.

Because we were members of the same study groups, of different genders and in an open public space, it was impossible to talk about personal experiences. As a result, the "interview" turned
into an instructional session - where Ken'ichi taught me about (men's) manga. It was patronizing, and he actively resisted any efforts I made to direct the flow of the conversation. I wrote in my notes that I could not tell if this was a gender problem, or a gaijin problem, or some kind of problem with the way I was phrasing my questions in Japanese. In retrospect, it was most probably a combination of all three.

Ken'ichi explained to me that as a teenager he had read mostly manga and not many novels. Now that he has become an academic, this is embarrassing for him because "reading equals education". Since Ken'ichi is also involved in the movement to have manga included in Japanese university curriculum and in the creation of a manga canon, at the time, I interpreted this equation to be an explanation of his motives for attempting to "elevate" the academic and social status of manga and manga studies. This was corroborated by his surprise and answer to the question, "what kinds of stories do you wish existed?" Ken'ichi replied, "I am not dissatisfied at all with what is offered now." I had on other occasions reacted rather badly towards his aversion to shôjo manga as well as his unquestioned assumption that "good" manga was "male" manga, and it was hard for me to keep the interview free from judgment.

That said, I was very interested in Ken'ichi's research because he is trying to analyze why he likes manga and is using his past reading experiences as the main source of data and inspiration. He said that he is doing this analysis by looking back at his "path of choices" (sentaku no michi). His basic research question is "how did I get to this place?" and "what is this place?" Making a clear distinction between "reality" and "realistic stories" (the kind he prefers), Ken'ichi said that he uses and has always used manga for hints for living. This assumption - that manga stories can affect your life decisions - that seems to underlie his choice of research questions. Since I was trying to find connections between people's lives and their reading, I decided to press ahead in the search for high school girls to interview.

While the audio data from Ken'ichi's interview has been lost, the lessons I learned about
interviewing Japanese people about manga was recorded in detail in my field notes. I cannot now tell whether these points were from questions that worked, or from questions that did not work, but it most definitely helped me to improve my interview skills. Here is what I wrote: 1 ) do not ask questions using the words "influence" or "identify", instead ask questions about favorite manga, or manga that they re-read or are keeping permanently; 2) do not ask people direct questions about their personalities, instead ask them to compare themselves to a manga characters and then ask "why"? 3) do not interview people with personal connections; and 4) find a private space in which to conduct interviews or refrain from interviewing people who can only be met in public places.

### 3.2.2 Interview \#2 - Yumiko (female graduate student)

The first interview I did after the pilot interview was a month later. It was with a Japanese woman who was completing her graduate studies in Canada but was visiting Japan for the winter break. Yumiko had been in North America for about six years. I had known her since she first arrived in Canada, but this was the first time we had met in Japan. Yumiko came to stay with me on her way to her hometown, and kindly volunteered to be interviewed. She has been a shôjo manga fan since childhood and still reads them as an adult (in her 30s). Always recommending various shôjo manga classics for me to read to balance out my predilection for current drawing styles, Yumiko had already spoken to me about shôjo manga many times in the past. In fact, it was Yumiko who first introduced me to Yoshida Akimi and her work. This interview, because it was with a female friend that I had often spoken to in the past, was much more comfortable and productive than the first interview. Even though Yumiko speaks perfect English, the interview was conducted in Japanese because it was easier to talk about manga in Japanese and we were in Japan. Even though I was the interviewer, Yumiko, more experienced with shôjo manga and a native Japanese speaker, had much more cultural and linguistic capital than I. Thus, she took control of the interview from the beginning and did not need to be asked many questions. That
said, she was very concerned that she was speaking about the "right" things for me and carefully listened and attempted to answer the questions that I did ask. After the interview, she said that it had been "fun" and did not feel like research, but more like the kind of conversation about manga she would. have with friends and fellow fans.

Yumiko grew up in a house full of books and surrounded by family members who read. As a child, Yumiko's parents would buy her any books (including picture books) that she wanted, but not manga. As entertainment, they were to be paid for out of her (very limited) pocket money. This meant that Yumiko very seldom bought manga magazines or manga books, instead borrowing them from older siblings, friends and classmates or reading old ones that people had left behind in the children's room at a local community centre. Thus, unable to choose which manga she was getting, Yumiko read widely at first and then slowly "specialized" in certain kinds of shôjo manga as she got older, found a specific cohort, or group of friends who shared these specialized interests, and had more pocket money to spend.
[...]Around the time I started junior high, I ran into this girl from school, who I'm still friends with now, at a bookstore on the way home. She was in the same class though we'd never spoken to each other, but you know how you kind of say 'hello' and ask the other person what they're shopping for. And would you believe we both happened to be after the same manga. And that was the day it first went on sale. And that bookstore was the biggest outlet for that magazine in our city. At the time there was like a two day delay, so for example if a magazine went on sale in Tokyo on the 20th it'd be available in our city on the 22nd, something like that, and it was like we were both looking for it, and so we ended up just standing there yakking away, like: "You read this? You read that?"; and then like, "That was also really good," and, "I don't have that one"; or "l've got the comic, l'll lend it you." We'd be going on about
stuff like that and other friends would be like, yeah I like that too, and so we got this sort of group going. A bunch of weirdos, to be honest. We'd get together and talk about that kinda stuff, like about why something was good, and then a new manga group or something would like come on the scene, and l'd go 'I like what they're doing much better than so and so,' and someone else would go, 'what's it you like about them?' and because l'd have to explain it to them, l'd have to think about why I liked it.

Manga therefore were an important medium for exchange and conversation building amongst her peers. Furthermore, she claims that because she became a shôjo manga "fan," at an impressionable stage in her childhood, has continued to read and socialize around shôjo manga in this manner all of her life to date. Even in Canada, as an adult in a Ph.D. program, Yumiko was always lending manga to people, borrowing others in return, and having detailed and passionate conversations about them. The major difference between then and now though, is that in junior high school the social aspects were more important than the content of the manga. She and her closest group of friends preferred the more alternative shôjo manga, but still shared and talked about the mainstream ones with their classmates:

I really think looking back now that it was that - just being able to share the same things, regardless of actual likes and dislikes - that really made us aware of our relationship as friends. [And even if they weren't my favorite,] it wasn't like I hated Kyandei kyandei or hated Eisu wo nerae. They were fun too. In contrast to the mainstream shôjo manga stories Kyandi Kyandi or E-su wo narae, the story that first truly captured Yumiko's interest (to the point that she became aware of the author's name and still remembers the name of the manga), was Yamagishi Ryoko's ballet sṭory, Arabesque :

It was totally different and so really interesting, for me anyhow. It was real shôjo
manga, but the things it showed were somehow different from the others and so I still
remember it. Yeah, it was so interesting. And all those unpronounceable Russian names - I tried hard to memorize them!

Yamagishi is one of the members of the 24-nen gumi, and Yumiko has here described the explosive effect of the new bishônen-ai (boy-boy love) style of shôjo manga writing that appeared in the 1970s a period now nostalgically called the "Golden Age of Shôjo Manga."

Yumiko further defines this new-found taste as a preference for the non-mainstream shôjo manga found in the magazine Shôjo komikku (by Shogakukan). This "difference" is set in opposition to the magazines, Ribon (Shueisha), Nakayoshi (Kodansha) and Ma-garetto (Shûeisha) which Yumiko described as "typical" or "predictable" (like the manga Kyandi Kyandi above). This is also perhaps a retrospective re-interpretation, defining her in-group according to the assumed characteristics of the various magazine subcultures. As Matt Thorn (1995) has described in his shôjo manga webpage, there are certain "personality types" that are commonly held to correlate with one's preferred magazine. Yumiko also reflected that the 24-nen gumi artists who are now considered classic, such as Hagio Moto, Ohshima Yumiko and Takemiya Keiko, were all publishing in Shôio Komikku in the period when Yumiko became a dedicated reader. She was particularly attracted to the boy-boy love stories (bishônenai) of Hagio Moto:

A: So you preferred the bishônen stuff?

Y: Yeah. They were interesting. Usually when manga are about girls it always ends up being a romantic comedy, but when it's boys, especially like with Tôma no shinzô, the emotional relief or healing you get from those is I think much much deeper than what you get from average Japanese literary fiction. So I figure that it's because there were stories like Tôma no shinzô and Pô no ichizoku, both by Hagio Moto, and then also 11 nin iru!, when I was going through puberty that I've probably stayed interested in manga 'til now, and I bet the people in Japan who
are going on about shôjo manga now are probably people around my age who read that kind of stuff when it first came out. So, the influence from the bishônen stuff has just been huge. Because, well, until they came out, the common perception was that manga was for kids and that you'd make the switch to "real" literature, or novels, when you grew up, but even when you'd finished with manga and went to make the switch, you found there wasn't anything similar, or if there was it was just the same, not better. You end up thinking like, if that's the case, then manga's better in terms of expressiveness and stuff, and so chances are that's why these people are still talking about shôjo manga .

When asked, since she liked stories with male protagonists, if she also read shônen manga, Yumiko strongly asserted that she hated shônen manga. She explains why here:

Okay, first of all, the drawing in shônen manga is rough. I hate that. I don't know if it's lack of ability or what, but I hate the fact that it seems to be all adrenalin. Well, with shôjo manga in some ways there's a formula (oyakusoku) - the big eyes and stuff, which some people can't get used to and really hate - but the panel layout and stuff, and even if the artist uses tone, they decide themselves, and draw the backgrounds and things. You can control the expression by whether you shade solidly, and then even further with the kind of dots you use - there's "mazo" (masochist) dots and "sado" (sadist) dots. And so while on the one hand there is a standard formula, how [the shôjo manga artists] deviated from that and still managed to get their message across was what attracted me. (pause) The problem with shônen manga is that that [experimentation] was not there. So basically, I never got into shônen manga because of the bad drawing skills. Also, the story - though maybe it was different with seinen magazines -
the story in shônen magazines is too simple. And then the girls that you get in shônen manga are not human. They're Barbie dolls. And that bored me.

I also asked if she had ever gone through a period when she preferred stories with female protagonists, and she explained that she had not. When I then asked about the possibility that the male heroes of bishônen-ai manga might not be "real" boys, Yumiko clearly differentiated between the sex/gender of the characters, and the gender of the story. She connected this to the reasons she thinks men cannot read shôjo manga and why women cannot (or do not like to) read shônen manga:

A: Was it ever like the protagonist had to be a woman, anything like that?

Y: Never anything like that. On the contrary, like with Tôma no shinzô, it's a guy.

A: But is that really a guy? (laughs)

Y: Basically, the point is not that it's real guys or girls, but whether you can identify or not.

A: But shônen manga didn't do anything for you.

Y: That's because I can't empathize. Probably because it's portrayed from a guy's point of view, that's why I can't get into them. There's that and then it could have something to do with the fact that the girls in them are totally unbelievable, like there's absolutely no way anyone's like that. Because I feel the reason why guys don't understand shôjo manga has probably got something to do with the guys in them appearing unrealistic to guys.

Superficially, this appears to be a contradiction - Yumiko says that it does not matter whether the character is a "guy or a girl", but then she says she cannot identify with characters in a story told from "a guy's point of view." Upon reflection though, "guy" and "guy's point of view" are differentiated which seems to suggest sex/gender distinctions; if the first "guy" is taken as sex, or a physically male body, then the second - "a guy's point of view" may be seen as "gender" or a gendered social position.

Trying to understand what Yumiko meant by "interesting" and to further explore what she "empathized" or "identified" with, I asked about other things she liked to read:

Y : I was also into foreign shôjo novels ${ }^{2}$, and children's literature and shôjo manga too - as far as I was concerned, to me they were all same category.

A: What was all the same about them?

Y: They were all the same in the sense that I read them because they were interesting, they were fun to read, and it relaxed me to read them. [...] Also, even with Berubara ${ }^{3}$ and stuff, or with anything really, once you read one thing and find it interesting you want to get your hands on more stuff, right. Though they might've been separate to begin with, they become like a net, everything ends up being strongly connected, like for example with me ... for example l'm into Pô no ichizoku and so I get interested in anything British, though I couldn't tell you whether it's because I was interested in British children's literature before reading Pô no ichizoku that I liked Pô no ichizoku. They're probably both just in a category that interests me, and then other interesting stuff springs from there, and like the strings end up getting tangled, and you don't know what came from where in the end.

Still looking for more clarification, since genre was not the only factor, I asked if there was any other way to categorize her reading choices.

A: Is there are clear pattern to the stories that interest you?

Y: I'm still not quite sure about this, but with manga everything's clear-cut. I hated
the stuff for kids, the stuff that had 'for kids' written all over it. If you're going to use

[^57]a formula it's not going to be interesting unless you do what Ichijo Yukari does in Yûkan kurabu and take the formula and turn it on its head. So one thing that puts me off ladies comics is that they never get away from the formula, mostly. The biggest reason why I hate ladies comics, though, is because people with no drawing ability are doing them. So the pictures need to be decent. And while the story doesn't have to be like literary fiction or anything, I need a decent narrative. Also, bits that I read and go 'yeah that's right' and bits that catch me by surprise where it's like 'oh really?', which sounds kind of funny to put it like that, but there's ones that get me thinking later, like they give me a totally new outlook on things, or they put into words what l've been thinking all along without realizing it, there are ones like that. Also, my [childhood obsession] with British stories - anything like that that allows me to relate back to those old memories I find interesting. I guess you could say there's something really solid about that stuff. Also, anything that fully expresses what the author has to say - I mean stuff that's been done with the audience fully in mind, rather than just spewing it all out on the page unprocessed. Instead of just looking at Yumiko's choices for patterns, I also asked her how she felt about the time, energy and money she had invested in reading. She unhesitatingly answered that she felt very positive about the role her reading played in her life:

A: Do you feel like you've benefited in some way from what you've read?

Y: The feeling of having benefited? Just the buzz I got from reading, the thrill. The ambivalent feeling of just wanting to get to the end as quickly as possible but then realizing when you get there that a magical time has come to an end, there was definitely that. So it was the actual time spent doing something that was important to me. So like I didn't care what it was, whether it was films or music or
shôjo manga or books or pictures, as long as it allowed me that time.

When asked if she re-read certain manga, or chose certain manga for certain moods, Yumiko replied in the affirmative:

For example, I didn't bring it today, but you know how you can still get Dôbutsu no

O-isha-san, right? There was one volume that l'd always read when I had to write a term paper in English, and in it there's this really kind of spaced out grad student called Hishinuma who can't go anywhere during summer vacation because she's writing her dissertation, like the lab work's all done but she's getting nowhere with the paper because she has to write the paper in English, and there's an episode in there, right, where Hishinuma complains that, "If I have to write in English I wanna get an American to write a paper in Japanese," and so whenever I had a term paper to write but couldn't get at it, l'd always read that beforehand and l'd be like, if Hishinuma can do it, so can I. It wasn't always the case, but there were also ones l'd use like chants to cheer me up, and also, you know when you're having a hard time and you're like which way do I want to go. Today I want to have a bit of a cry, or no I don't need that, I want to feel better. If I read a book when l'm feeling like that, like Pô no ichizoku for example, I know which parts are going to make me cry, but I read them anyway. Even when I'm worn out, and it's like the world'd be better off without me, there's that bit at the end, right, where Yuri is saved. So l'd read all the way to that part, and then the seminary in Bonn, in our group saying 'I want to go to the seminary in Bonn' was used (laughs) to mean like you wanted to go and get spiritually enlightened. And after reading that l'd feel so much better, like so that's how people get on with their lives, by letting bygones be bygones (laughs). Apart from that, I read manga
just simply because they're beautiful. For instance there'd be like this one line l'd want to read or l'd want to hear. Also, if it was like a scene from one of Hagio Moto's manga, just being happy to see that one section of that one picture. And, this was much later but you know Gin no sankaku, that one of Hagio Moto's serialized in an SF magazine, right. That for me, more than any literary fiction . . . I mean, like totally unrelated mosaics that when I look back now were each beautifully complete in themselves. [...] So stuff like that, in your average shôjo manga or your average popular novel there's nothing like that right. Although for me, shôjo manga was just part of one category that taught me that everything comes to an end and that time moves on, and it just so happened that people like Hagio Moto and Yamagishi Ryoko were making some of the stories I read.

Yumiko summarized her shôjo manga reading habits with this comment on how manga support her: I read whenever there's a hurdle to overcome or something. Other than that just whenever l've got time. So, how can I put it, like a boyfriend or a husband, someone like that'd probably fulfill the same role. It's just that, well, I don't have one of those, do l? (laughs).

She quickly added that, while she did not know if boyfriends or husbands bothered to fulfill these roles for women in reality, but that she knew that shôjo manga gave her the energy she needed to live. For clarification, I asked if she meant that she felt shôjo manga made her what she is, and she replied:

Well I think that's definitely true. It's just that when you look at it the other way round, and l'm well aware of this myself, but it's because l'm too self-contained right, which is a problem though. Anyway for the time being I'm happy the way things are 'cause it's not affecting anyone else (laughs), and so like I actually have a lot of friends like that. Friends of mine that got into writing shôjo manga,
and are still doing it, or are involved with dojinshi ${ }^{4}$, they for better or worse are highly self-contained. But then I'm the same, as are other friends of mine. Even so it's weird though, right, how some of them have gotten married, had kids and are like you're average housewife, and others are not like that.[...] So like my attitude's, 'l'm happy so let me be'. Though people who prefer reality seem to find this state of mind pathetic, that's fine with me, and while I think we'd be in real trouble if the whole world was like me, who cares if there's a few?

From this, it is clear that she is somewhat defensive of, yet satisfied with the role reading shôjo manga plays in her life.

### 3.2.3 Interview \# 3 - Saori - Female Junior High School Teacher

This interview was with a young woman (around 30 ) who is the daughter of a good friend of the mother of a good friend of mine. Saori has left the regional city where she was born and raised and now lives in the Kansai area. At the time of the interview, she was a junior high school teacher, but was planning to quit in a few months time in order to return to graduate school. She had studied Japanese Literature as an undergraduate (and was teaching Japanese at the junior high school) but was going to study clinical psychology in hopes of becoming a counselor. Saori had just gotten married the year before and said that she had a very unique husband who supported her decision to go back to school and who did lots of the housework so she could study for entrance exams. I had never met Saori before, and we arranged for me to pick her up at Kyoto station.

I was not sure that conducting the interview in my private space would be productive, but there was no where else to go that was quiet and comfortable at the times when both Saori and I were available to meet. It turned out to be a good choice, as Saori took the opportunity to explore my small

[^58]apartment - looking into bookshelves, choosing music to listen to, checking out my spices in the kitchen which you have to walk through to get to the toilet where you can see all of my laundry hanging up - providing a kind of reciprocal exposure that worked to balance the asymmetry of the interview process. Saori was really nervous when we met at the station because she had the image of the interview as a kind of test - where I was going to ask her all kinds of difficult questions about Japanese culture. She said that she could not prepare and she was worried that she would not know enough. I had to explain that I did not want to find out about shôjo manga from her, but more about her and her thinking processes.

Unfortunately, we never really got past the warming up stage. As Bourdieu has said, the only non-violent form of interviewing takes place between peers (1996: 18-21), but in this case, we were far too similar and ended up having a conversation about Japanese literature in order to get to know each other rather than playing the proper roles and discussing manga in order to do research. As such, I talked far too much and did not ask proper follow-up questions about the manga that did come up. At the time of the interview, I had not read Okazaki Kyôko's work yet, nor had I read much of Uchida Shungiku, so it is apparent looking at the transcripts that I did not have enough background knowledge to ask good questions in any case.

While this interview does not reveal much about manga, it contains some important examples of Saori's experiences as a girl in high school. She brought up the topic of how much she had been influenced by her mother's strength and independence. My mother and her search for self-esteem via feminism have also influenced me greatly and we ended up comparing stories about high school and girls who were not as assertive as we were:

S: [...] Yeah, it's real weird. What was really weird for me when I was in my teens,
looking at the girls around me, was for one thing that they had no self-esteem, and
that even though they had no self-esteem they were completely unaware of it, and
the fact that having self-esteem was seen as being cheeky was really weird. That really of course got to me, at the time.

A: I was also real angry at stuff like that when I was in high school.

S: You probably can't make a simple comparison, but if you're a boy having self-esteem's a good thing, and yet why is it that if you're a girl you're not allowed to have self-esteem? Just like wanting to do the things you want to, or giving your opinion, without necessarily being arrogant about it, basic stuff like that, and yet why can't you say it, it's not like you're trying to pick a fight or anything.

Following this, I related a story about teaching summer school at a high school near Vancouver. I taught ESL to a group of Japanese short-term exchange students and had been shocked at how passive-aggressive the girls were. They responded to everything with a wall of boredom, and the harder I tried to find something they wanted to do, the thicker the wall got. The boys did not want to do any school work either, but if I suggested something like soccer, or a game, or a video, they would get interested. The girls, though, seemed to be very invested in projecting an image of being bored to death. Saori and I discussed how this might be because girls get criticized for being unfeminine if they respond, so they protect themselves by being cool and not responding. I had no idea if this is true or not, and neither did Saori, but she added:

S: What I was also told a lot when I was in my teens was "you're cheeky for a girl" (onna no ko no kuse ni) when someone was shocked even if I just gave my opinion.

Probably people like that think unresponsive girls are the norm that they were shocked just because I said something.

This had happened a long time ago, but Saori was still pretty angry about it - her tone of voice here was bitter.

At this point, I actually remembered that I was supposed to be asking about manga and I
asked Saori about the manga artist she had mentioned liking when I spoke to her on the phone to arrange the interview:

A: You were saying you liked Uchida Shungiku's manga, which parts?

S : She writes a lot about sex right. And it's got an interesting feel to it, because the sex you get in shôjo manga, is [...]completely platonic, or if it's not that, it's the stuff you get in ladies' comics, which l'd have to say is close to porn, it's one or the other.

A: Extremes. Like there's no middle.

S: In that sense she's, although not really in the middle, I sort of feel that in that sense, there's kind of something interesting in the way she portrays sex.

A: You often hear people say [Uchida's] stuff is realistic, and that other shojo manga's not. [...]

S : With manga reality's not really an issue though.

A: Yeah, I guess nothing's realistic (laughs). So going on about why this one's realistic and that one's not is pointless.

S: It's just that - the atmosphere, if you can say it's the atmosphere - is perhaps similar right. It's just that with shôjo manga, sex is of course taboo, you could say. I mentioned that there were some new shôjo manga that had fairly graphic sex scenes and suggested that things might be changing.

S: That's true but I think it's probably a recent thing that this kind of stuff's started coming out. Really, in the last 10 years or something like that. Like with real shôjo manga before, they weren't portraying the feelings of women like us who are a bit older, but more like the moods of girls, and then there were Sci Fi, and then suddenly it jumped all the way to porn. I sort of feel that, rather than stuff like that,
we've probably finally started to get manga that cover the middle ground, like from shôjo to adulthood.

A: And not all adults necessarily want to read porn, right.

S: I wonder why this new stuff [like Uchida Shungiku's manga] came about. It might just be a whole other genre.

This is very interesting because it shows who the market might be for this "new genre" that Uchida Shungiku, and I would argue, Okazaki Kyôko belong to. It is not something that I felt I could ask the people I interviewed, but I suspect that readers who are not sexually active are not able to read (or are not interested in) the social criticism these manga contain. Saori's comments are especially interesting when compared to Rie and Hitomi's reaction to Okazaki Kyôko's Pink, and one of Okazaki's short stories (see Interview \#6). Had I known better at the time, I would have read some of Okazaki with Saori to discuss this further.

It is also interesting that Saori, like Yumiko, re-reads manga from the 24-nen gumi.

A: What're you reading now?

S: I haven't recently being reading anything new, but rather Hagio Moto's old stuff, which I quite enjoy. I kind of like her.

A: What parts?

> S : Umm. She's kind of also quite literary, right. And she's also got like a tendency to delve into dark stuff, into her heart, which is sort of quite interesting. Also, there's that, do you know Takemiya Keiko? I also sort of quite like her. She's still drawing now, though she's been around for a fair while, she's also interesting. [...] Before, I used to read a lot of SF and history, stuff like that, but recently l've been kind of finding stuff that's supposed to portray the feelings of women the same as us quite interesting. Though she's kind of open and not as dark as say Hagio Moto, the way
she portrays stuff is interesting.

I found Saori's comments about "women the same as us" to be both flattering and revealing. Not only showing that she included me in "us", this comment draws a direct link between the 24 -nen gumi and this "new" genre of sexually descriptive manga. This connection, though not explicitly explained, could be some kind of narrative effect, some kind of feeling that gets captured by both of these types of manga that is not connected to the drawing style. Whatever this "something" is, it is what keeps Saori from including Uchida's sexual expression in the "porn" category. While Saori thinks it might be a new genre, she is still, here, including it in the "shôjo manga" category. It is "shôjo" manga for "adults", rather than "shôjo" manga for "shôjo".

Saori had spoken often that day about how she had been reading a story written by a woman who was autistic and who had not been diagnosed until she was an adult. Obviously she was not heavily autistic since she was able to write her own story, but she had a very intereṣting "insider's" perspective on how society treats the mentally handicapped that had moved Saori. Saori compared the feeling from this book to that of other books about mental disorders by people who did not have direct experience, and we slipped into a rather extended attack of Oe Kenzaburo. Focusing on the way Oe portrays women in his novels and how he uses his handicapped son as material for his stories, both Saori and I criticized Oe for his sexism, selfishness and elitism. The content of the criticism, while not ? necessarily inaccurate, is also not very sophisticated. It felt good to be sharing it with someone though, and the first time I read the transcripts, I found that it had been therapeutic as well for the research assistant who had transcribed the interview! She had been unable to stop herself from participating in our discussion, and had added her own comments in. She had even put them in brackets with her name after to properly identify that it had been added after and that they were her opinions:

S: For example, when authors write about like schizophrenia or autism I don't
really find it interesting.

A: You mean like Oe Kenzaburo.

S: Ah, yeah right (laughs) this is getting off the topic a bit, but with Oe Kenzaburo, his son does have a brain disorder or something, which he writes about, but when I read his books, there's a part of me that can't help thinking the stuff about his son's simply fodder for the story.

A: It's just so egotistical. (I really think so too! How could that get the Nobel Prize?

I hate him / Miho)

S: Yeah right. It's almost like his son's brain disorder exists so Oe can write about
it. Compared with that, the stuff [l've been reading lately by handicapped people themselves] that describes the writer's own personal experiences, what they've seen through their own eyes, is much more interesting.

A: I see. That's why I also hate the women in Oe Kenzaburo's novels. For the same reason. They're just material for the story too, not real people. (That's so true. They're just there for men to feel good about themselves, totally. His stuff really pisses me off / Miho)

S: Yeah right. It's like he's using his son's brain disorder as fodder, and the same goes for the [women]. So at first glance it seems, because the words he uses are difficult, like he's writing about something really clever, but I really wonder. I sometimes think that if you take away the difficult language - the apparently literary or philosophical expressions - you're left with surprisingly little really. When he got the Nobel Prize, I couldn't help thinking, why?

A: Me too. (Me too! I'm so glad it's not just me that thought so! / Miho)

The most interesting aspect of Miho's commentary is that Saori's answers read as if she is answering Miho, even though the two have never met and never will. I find the layers of textual interaction here
fascinating.

### 3.2.4 Interview \# 4 Asami’s Girls - Female High School Reading Group

I met with this group of five girls three times - once when their homeroom teacher introduced me to them, and then twice more for recorded group discussion sessions. Their homeroom teacher, Mr. Hasegawa, was in charge of supervising the manga and anime club and had been introduced to me by the vice-principal who was an acquaintance of mine. Mr. Hasegawa agreed to let the girls meet with me during their long homeroom time on Friday afternoon. The girls were not particularly avid manga fans, but being able to miss homeroom sessions was attractive. Just finishing their first year (grade ten), the school the girls attended is a very academically low-ranked, expensive private school in an area next to a "buraku" district. The school administration prides itself on "discipline" and the conduct and appearance rules are strictly enforced ${ }^{5}$. The students are not allowed to bring anything to school that is not school-related - so cellular phones, walkmans, magazines and manga were forbidden. Because they had to read the manga I brought in order to participate in the interviews, for a couple of weeks they were allowed to keep the manga in their classroom and to read them during the breaks. Apparently all of the boys in the class read the manga too, as they were left on the teacher's desk for the entire three-week period that I was visiting for interviews. The school had been an all-boys institution in the past, but, like many high schools in this city, has had to become co-educational in order to stay competitive in a shrinking market. It was explained to me that city officials allowed boys' schools to admit female students but capped the numbers because there are so many girls' schools that protested sharing their enrollment pools. So only about five percent of this high

[^59]school's population was female, and they were streamed into the "international program" rather than the "regular program" classes, which are still all male. These international classes are the standard Japanese high school size of forty students. Of the forty students, less than ten are girls, and so they have tended to form very tight-knit social groups. This group of girls was no exception. I spoke to them about life at school, and from the stories they told, it is not an exaggeration to say that they were dealing with severe sexual harassment. They basically could not walk anywhere in the school by themselves as the boys would make comments (such as, "your tits are bouncing, get a better bra") and would always try to sneak into the washrooms when the girls were in there. There were also no sports teams and very few clubs for the girls to participate in. The girls thus did everything together, as a group including the interview.

Most of the girls seemed to come from working class families. It is not an easy thing to acertain in Japan, as everyone will say they are middle class even if they are not. Of the five girls, three were going to work for family businesses when they graduated - one a hair salon, and two others restaurants. One girl was planning to go to a two-year college, and the other girl was planning to go to university and wanted to be a doctor. She was going to move to the science class in the new school year. This was a bit of a late decision, but she seemed very determined. Her marks were good and she was going to special cram schools in the evenings and was doing well there too. She said she did not even mind the thought of spending a few years after high school cramming to get into a good school, now that she had finally figured out what she wanted to do.

The girls were not avid manga fans, but they did read manga occasionally as one of any number of ways to spend time when they were alone, along with watching TV, listening to music, and reading fashion magazines. They all also mentioned reading a lot of manga with their classmates in junior high school. The group dynamic was much more interesting than the discussions about manga, but an analysis of this is beyond the scope of this project. There was one girl, Asami, who was
obviously the leader and who did most of the speaking. She was tall, pretty and very assertive. Every time I asked a question in an attempt to get more than a superficial answer, Asami would change the subject. Several of the girls seemed to be more interested in the manga and had things to say, but Asami always prevented them from influencing the conversation. Two of the girls came up to me after the interview was over (and Asami had left) to recommend manga to me that they had been unable to talk about during the interview. They were quite obviously afraid of her, and considering how smart she was and how sharp her tongue was, I cannot say that I blamed them! I found with this group of girls, just like the girls in my class in Canada (see the discussion in Interview \#3 - Saori), if I asked direct "teacher-like" or even "interviewer" questions, I got ignored, or a very terse, superficial answer. They controlled me completely. If I gave them some kind of personal comment, experience or story and then sat back, they would either run with it, or else make fun of me. It was quite frightening, and it took almost two years for me to summon up the courage to listen to the interview again and to read the transcript!,

That said, it is not nearly so bad in retrospect. Even though Asami would disagree with the other girls, which stopped them from explaining things any further, Asami's criticism of the stories and life in general was really wise and observant, if not kind. And while the other girls did not get a chance to discuss much, at least their differing opinions were there reflected in Asami's reactions. Because of the acoustics in the seminar room where the interview was recorded and because the girls would often talk simultaneously, it was almost impossible to tell who was speaking, other than Asami who dominated all of the discussions. Thus, there are no names in the interview transcript, or in the excerpts included here except for hers. Instead I have given numbers to differentiate between the people who are speaking in that particular thread of discussion, but each thread is numbered separately. This means that, for example, the girl who is number one in one thread could be number four in the next. When I was not sure if it was a new person speaking, I gave the line a number with a question mark. In some cases, it was completely impossible to differentiate and speakers have been marked with a bullet
point.

The conversation never stayed focused for longer than two minutes and would fly around all over the place. They also spoke in thick Kansai dialect (which gets lost in translation), and often made fun of me for speaking with a Tokyo accent. The transcript is very funny because the conversation often shifted to things that neither the transcriber (a local) nor I could follow. Thus, large sections of the conversation have had to be omitted for purely practical reasons and such places are marked with (? ) in the Japanese or (CUT) in the English translations. The topic of the cut conversation (providing we could ascertain it) has been provided. Here we are talking about several of Okazaki Kyôko's short stories from the manga, Untitled (1998):

A: Did everyone read this story?
Asami: Yes, I read it. I don't remember anything though.
2: Wasn't it like a diary? It was like, this happened, then this happened, then that happened. That's what it felt like to me. I didn't understand what the author was trying to say though.

3: There was one part I think I didn't get. The bit after that bit - at the end.

A: They don't all connect to each other, right? They're short stories.

3: They don't connect, but I think this one shows where those people met.

That's the part I don't really get.
(CUT - conversation about Prada bags and wallets)
A: Who else was it who said they read the story again? How was it?
4: I don't know, I didn't really get it.
(CUT - conversation about oil absorbing tissues, TV shows: Beverly Hills
90201, Ally McBeal, Full House, Sabrina, Alf, X-Files and ER etc.)

Both times I met with the girls to record the conversation, we met last period Friday afternoon
and the girls used the time while we were talking to put on their make-up and get ready to go out. This is part of the reason why the conversation shifted so often - someone would take out some grooming tool, or make-up, or bag, or wallet and everyone would stop and talk about it. It would have been an amazing interview to video tape, as they were using special glue to glue their socks (called "loose socks") to their legs, and using another kind of glue to glue their eyelids into "double lids". This glue is called "ai puch" which is the Japanese pronunciation of "eye petit". The girls could not afford the plastic surgery to have their eyelids altered permanently and so they would take the tail of a comb in one hand, the glue applicator in the other, and poke and prod their eyelids back and stick them into place. Since both hands were busy, they had to get each other to take turns holding the mirror.

They claimed to be "non-experts" and so were not therefore really qualified to help me with research on manga. The conversation quickly turned to the kind of people who are manga experts, like the boys in the manga and anime club that their homeroom teacher supervised. They seemed to see, as do many people in Japan, that too much manga reading was anti-social:

- People who only read manga kinda scare me.
- "Only" is not good, eh.
- I think it's OK if you like manga AND you have other things you like to do. It's kind of hard to deal with people who are only totally into manga.
- Sometimes I talk to people who are totally one-sided like that. I wish they would learn to like other things too.

Because they themselves did not read much in any one area, but rather sampled lightly over a large area of pop culture genres and media, the girls had a very interesting over-view. They were keen observers and did not try at all to impress me. And if they thought my comments or questions were stupid, they said so. One of the girls had asked me what things I had gone to see in the Kansai area, and I mentioned that I had just gone to see the Tezuka Osamu Museum in Takarazuka City. This
sparked a discussion of the all-female Takarazuka Review. When I compared the Takarazuka fans to manga fans and said that I was shocked at how much time they wasted standing around trying to get autographs, Asami tipped her head to the side, looked at me, and commented, "Hm. But if it weren't for those people, nobody would bother to draw manga for us at all, right?"

The Takarazuka discussion led to a conversation about YAOI manga - one of the girls said that she had friends who made dôjinshi and that they had passed around computer-made copies in class in junior high school. We then talked about female impersonators on TV and then moved on to talking about male impersonation:

A: The other way round happens too, right. There are lots of [stories] where girls dress in guys' clothes, and pretend to be guys.

Asami: Like they want to be guys? I get that, totally.

A: In what way?

Asami: Like, I sometimes think that I wish I were a guy, or something like that.

A: At what times?

Asami: All the time.

2: Me too.

Asami: I think that maybe guys think they're way stronger than girls. I think they are often, physically, but the times when they make me feel like that, I think like, "don't fuck with me!", right? And then I wish I could be a guy. I think, "I wanna win too." And I get really pissed when they make fun of me.

2: 1 just basically think that guys' clothes are cool. Their shoes and everything. But when I try to get some, I can't - I always get told by the clerk, "The sizes start at 26 ," and so I have to give up.

The juxtaposition of the content with the context of this discussion - the girls were talking about wanting
to be boys while gluing their socks to their legs - was jarring and extremely thought provoking. Considering also the sexual harassment that they dealt with on a daily basis, I felt very naïve and un-worldly in comparison. They were "doing" girl while talking about "undoing" girl (Ussher, 1997) and in a manner that showed a very practical awareness of the politics and implications of an "embodied" social position.

Talking about the manga, Kareshi Kanojo no Jijô - a mainstream love-romance shôjo manga that the Shoji (in Interview 5) introduced to me - one of the girls pointed out a scene where a boy confesses his attraction to one of the main female characters and commented that she thought it was really sweet. Asami disagreed, and said that she thought it was really boring to have the guy confessing to the girl:

A: So you think the girl should make the first move?

Asami: Nah, I dunno.

2: I like the stories where the girl chases and chases and then finally gets the guy at the
end.

Asami: You're one to talk, you should try that yourself!

2: It's just my taste, you know?

Asami: When it really comes down to it, I don't really like romance stories I guess.

A: Why?

Asami: I dunno, they're fake. I get embarrassed, when I read them, sometimes. The stuff people say is so fake. No one says crap like that for real. Ever.

2: Don't they talk like that just because it's in a manga?

Asami: Yeah, but I imagine that it's normal people. So it kinda turns me off. I like these
[points to Okazaki Kyôko's short stories] modern ones better. They're more interesting.

A: How are these more modern?

Asami: I dunno, that stuff could really happen. Stuff that can really happen is more interesting. The stuff that's realistic and could actually happen.

A: So these ones [points to Kareshi Kanojo no Jiî̀ are not realistic?

Asami: I dunno if that's not realistic or what, but, nothing ever works out that well in real life, I think.

A: So life is not this smooth for you?
Asami: Nothing good happens to me.

2: No kidding.

Asami's use of the word "modern" (gendaitekl) to mean "up to date" is interesting here. First of all, Okazaki's manga were ten years old, and the manga she was arguing were "out of date" were less than a year old. The fact that she was also quite sure that this kind of situation is not realistic hinted at sexual experience that some of the other girls in the group did not seem to share.

For the second interview, the girls brought in manga that they liked so that they could show me. Somebody had apparently brought in a racier one (I think girl \#3) and it was getting passed around the circle while we talked. I did not notice until one of the girls asked a vocabulary question:

Asami: [Laughing] What's this? No one says this stuff out loud. This guy is perverted.
2: What's "onani"?

Asami: "Onani"? It's masturbation. Self-consolation, self-consolation.

2: Did you know about this, this "onani"? (turns to 4)

3: You know, right? (to 4)

Asami: Of course, she does, she's a genius. (hinting that she's good at it, as well as that she knows the vocabulary)

A: It's Latin. From the word, "onanism".

Asami: [completely ignoring me!] That, you know that, I'll explain. [laughing and while making a gesture with her hand she makes some sound effects] It means shi ko shi ko [laughing].

3: You still don't get it? Guys, like, when they imagine things or look at a picture, will, you know, meet their own needs.

4: Yeah yeah.

A: How did we get to this discussion by looking at shôjo manga?

Asami: From this book [shows me the manga]. Well, basically it means having sex by yourself.

4: Yeah yeah.

3: Un huh.

2: I still don't get it. I never read stuff like this, so maybe that's why I don't know these things.

Asami: Read, read. You should read Elle Teen, yeah, Elle Teen. It'll get you so worked up, your nose will bleed! [laughs]. At my junior high school we had a whole box of them, all the girls brought them. Everyone was reading them.

3: Like, what's this "LT"? [She's mis-heard the name!]

Asami: Don't you know? It's like a porn magazine for girls. But the stories are all made-up.

There are several pornographic manga magazines for girls available at mainstream bookshops. Two of the big publishers, Kodansha and Shogakukan produce them: Kodansha does Dessert and Shogakukan, Petit Comic. Several of the pornographic publishing houses also produce them, and this is where Elle Teen fits. Nakamura Toru, an Assistant-Chief editor of shôjo manga at Hakusensha says that these pornographic shôjo manga are being read by girls in their early twenties (personal
communication, 2003. See Figure 4.2). Asami said she and all her friends were reading them in junior high school, but she is the only girl I have ever met who admitted to it. They must sell well though, because they are prominently displayed with the other shôjo manga at almost all of the bookstores.

Regarding another one of Okazaki Kyôko's short stories that is being passed round, this conversation occurred:

1: Wow, that's dangerous. She's carving the name of the guy she likes right into her arm with the pin from her name tag.

Asami: People really do this shit.

A: Have you ever done this?

Asami: l've seen people doing it.

2: Me too, l've seen it.
[everyone laughs, they're obviously referring to something they all know about, have some kind of inside joke about, or else are lying].

2: But l've never done it.

Asami: If you ever did it, you'd have to carve at least 5 names in at once!

1: Wow! Look, is she slitting her wrists?! Cool! Other people's misery is like so interesting!!

Not only is there another example of Asami's sharp wit, but from this and the previous quote, the range of reading interests is very apparent. Some of the girls were much more interested in the "egu" or the dark and grotesque than the romantic. Several of the girls were also into horror manga, and they all professed to liking horror films. One of the most memorable comments about these horror stories was that they thought horror manga were much scarier than horror films because you could imagine much worse things than you could show on film.

Finally, Asami had some very interesting observations to make about romance comics and sexual
economics in contemporary Japan:

Asami:I don't know if it's just me or what, but you know, these days, isn't it the guys who are more into romantic love than the girls? I mean, look at the "kogyaru" - the chicks with the super-black [tanned] faces - they're always saying they don't want boyfriends and shit.

2: I want one, I think I swing this way.

3: Just playing around is a lot more fun.

Asami: Like, the guys who work in host bars, they're always saying they want real girlfriends and stuff. I think because guys are way more into romantic love, it's probably the guys who are more into reading shôjo manga romance stories. I mean, when it comes down to it, the "kogyaru" just want friends to have fun with, right?

A: Why do you think it's gotten like this? Why are guys more into romance?

Asami: Guys maybe have a lot more stress.

3?: Frustration, it's sexual frustration.

Asami: Girls, when it really comes down to it, can always just get married, but guys don't have that escape route. They have to work and have to graduate from a good university, and I don't know, but maybe they can relieve some of that stress with romance.

A: And girls don't get stressed? Are they that much freer?

Asami: Well, it's not like they don't have stress, but somewhere, somehow, at the back of their mind, they always think that [they can just get married]. And maybe they get rid of their stress in other ways, like talking to their friends and stuff.

This contrasts well with the next interview - a boy from the anime/manga club at Asami's school who was very interested in romance stories.

### 3.2.5 Interview \# 5 - Shoji (male high school student)

Shoji attended the same high school as the girls in Interview \#4. He was introduced to me by the teacher in charge of the anime and manga club at his high school, Mr. Hasegawa ${ }^{6}$. When I went to one of the manga club meetings to explain what I was doing and to look for participants, Shoji volunteered for an individual interview because most of the club members at the time were third-year students about to graduate and did not have time to meet.

Shoji was in his second year of high school (grade eleven), and was planning to go to university to study computer science when he graduated. He was in the special university preparation class for the sciences and was doing well at school. A self-professed manga junkie who also openly bought and read shôjo manga, I met with Shoji three times - once when Mr. Hasegawa brought me to the anime club meeting, once at school for a recorded interview, and then once at his home when his mother invited me for lunch. Shoji's father is a doctor and has his own clinic and the family house was large and elegantly decorated. Shoji's mother is a housewife, but is heavily involved in volunteer counseling and was doing a lot of reading and research on domestic violence. We spent an hour discussing how she has never been interested in manga, but enjoys film the same way her son seems to enjoy manga. She mentioned that she was not all that happy with her son's choice of schools (their older son had gone to a much more prestigious high school) but she recognized that Shoji had his own pace and felt strongly that he should take responsibility for his own future.

The recorded conversations with Shoji were much more awkward than the conversation

[^60]with his mother. He was a confident, out-going boy, but he only answered the questions and nothing more - thus, from the tapescript it looks as if the interview was completely "controlled" by me. Since Shoji would never add anything extra, ask any questions of me in return, or volunteer to talk unprompted; he would answer my question (very thoughtfully and thoroughly) and then he would stop and wait for the next one, so I had to take on a more "traditional" interviewer role even though this was not what I would have preferred. This was not because Shoji was reluctant to speak with me (he was upset when I said that two interviews were enough) but probably because of a preconceived idea about what an "interview" is supposed to be. It also had something to do with the fact that I was an adult, a foreigner and female - all things that would make it impossible to even pretend to be "friends". This "distancing" is very apparent in the language of the interview, though it is not possible to tell whether it was in deference or in defense. Unlike all of the other people I interviewed, Shoji spoke little slang and used very little of the Kansai dialect. While he was normally an extremely articulate and careful speaker (from what I saw of him interacting with his fellow club-members and his teacher), it was fairly clear that he was adjusting the register of the conversation and his speech patterns - speaking politely and flattening his accent - for my benefit.

At the anime club meeting where I first met Shoji and he volunteered to be interviewed about shôjo manga, I had asked him to recommend some of the manga he liked, so I could read them and get ready to talk to him about them. He instantly reached into his school bag and pulled out two shôjo manga that he and the other boys in the anime club were currently into. One was called, Minto no Bokura (We're Mint) by Yoshizumi Wataru (published by Shueisha "Ribon Mascot Comics") and the other was Kareshi Kanojo no Jijô (Boyfriend Girlfriend Situation) by Tsuda Masami (published in Hakusensha's "Hana to Yume" series, and usually called, Kare Kano, for short). Both of these shôjo manga are mainstream love stories serialized in mainstream shôjo manga magazines. They also both have very similar drawings - cute, rounded lines, "pretty" backgrounds and big eyes. I asked the boys
if all of the shôjo manga they liked had the same drawing style. Pulling several current shôjo manga out of mybag, not to be outdone, I showed them some manga with other drawing styles. They had not read them, and said that they would never choose them on their own because they did not like the drawing. It was "too old" for them. Because of this, when Shoji and I met for the interview, I asked more about how he chose the manga he read:

A: So basically, the standard by which you choose is the drawings, right? So, is this because the pictures control your mood?

S: First, I divide drawings into those I like and those I don't. Having drawings I like will make a good story better, but even if I don't like the pictures, a really good story-line will make an OK read. In the same way, a bad story with picture I like is OK. However, if a story I don't like is told with pictures I don't like, I don't feel much like wanting to read it.

Shoji either did not know how to, or did not like to explain why he liked certain styles or drawing lines, but he could explain very explicitly which ones he liked. The question about what the drawings do was left unanswered. This happened a lot in interviews, and if I asked further, most people usually answered, "nantonaku," or "just because". Visual taste is difficult to articulate.

I also asked Shôjo how he became interested in manga:

S: Up to [grade 4], I'd liked plastic models that I could tinker with and things like that, more than novels and manga. That's why I got into Gundam, and then into watching anime.

A: Oh, so you've been watching anime for a while, then?

S: Since Sailor Moon started, maybe...

Because of this reference to Sailor Moon, I asked Shoji about the shôjo manga he read, and he said that he was more into shônen manga than shôjo, but that he read a fair amount of shôjo manga as well.

Interestingly, the shônen manga he liked and brought to show me were all "love comedies" that are relatively close to shôjo narratives and not the robot kind of shônen manga like Gundam. He talked about how these romance stories for boys were "unrealistic" - giving an example of a story about a relationship where the boy and the girl were always hitting each other. He said that boys and girls are always slapping each other in real life, but lightly (on the arm etc.), and in jest. In the manga, the boy and the girl would hit each other (at the same times or in the same situations that occur in normal life), but really hard - and yet they always recovered immediately and never got hurt. So the psychology was real, but the actions were extremely exaggerated and slapstick, like Bugs Bunny, or Tom and Jerry. I asked him why he liked such stories:

A: So, when you're reading that sort of unrealistic story, what are you looking at? What's enjoyable? What's interesting for you?

S: It's exactly because it's unrealistic - so it makes you think "wouldn't it be great if it really went like this..." or, looking at the way the characters behave, it makes you think "it's not like that!" or "Yeah, that's right". Also, finally being convinced by the story is pretty good fun.

We talked for a while about the shônen stories that he liked, which kinds of characters, what kind of endings, and then I asked if he had different criteria for shôjo manga, and he explained:

A: Up to now, you've been talking about manga which has a boy as the main character, right? If you think about stories with girls, what type of main character do you like? S: All sorts, I suppose... Whether it's a heroine or a main character, there are all sorts of personalities I like: feisty, outgoing, introverted. But some of the introverted types are too dark...sometimes, characters are so psychologically deep that I really can't understand them...

A: In shôjo manga, there are both realistic and unrealistic stories. How do you
differentiate them? For you, Shoji, what's "unrealistic"?

S: The story-line?

A: And the main character, or anything...

S: If I have to choose one or the other, l'd say shôjo manga are unrealistic in general.
Maybe this is a prejudice... The artists of the shôjo manga I buy tend to the fairly unique ones - the artists who are also drawing shônen manga, or authors who draw shôjo manga that're a hit with a male audience as well....

A: For example?

S: Sailor Moon - that was really popular with boys.

A: Why do you think it was popular?

S: Because it portrayed strong women?

## [...]

A: How do you think that shôjo manga which are popular with boys and those that are popular with girls, differ?

S: Well...

A: First, are they different? If so, how?

S : (pause) The drawing, and also the way they portray the male characters - maybe that's the difference...

A: For example?

S : (pause) Even in love-romance manga, in general, boys always appear, right? In this [points to Kare Kano] they're pretty main, and in Sailor Moon, too, the male characters are fairly active... Oh, and in the manga that Clamp $^{7}$ draw, either the hero

[^61]is almost always a man, or the men are more active...which is to say, I mean, the heroes are men..

The sort of shôjo manga that men don't really buy so much are the ordinary love stories. I mean, the ones that completely get into the female psyche and where the male characters are really one-dimensional - where it's only about whether or not they like the girl, or are attracted to the girl. In [Kare Kano], there are whole chapters where almost all the time it's completely about Arima, right? So I guess the ones that are popular are the ones that bring the male characters right out to the front, or where the male psyche is portrayed well. I think that might be the difference.

A: So, do you mean that men will only buy comics where male characters are main? S: Yeah. I guess so. The shôjo manga that have sold well up to now have also been well-thought of by boys, too. In general, of these shôjo manga, most of them have had male characters that were fairly prominent.

A: Ok then, how about those manga when women take the lead roles and the story is completely about their psychology? What do you think of them?

S: If the story's really interesting, it doesn't matter to me whether the main character is a man or a woman...

A: So, if the main character is a women, you don't have any problems getting into the story?

S: Not at all.

A: When you read, you get right into the characters' state of mind, right?
$S$ : When it comes to getting right into a character's mind, if the male psychology is shown well, men are easier to get into. If it's just women's psychology that's shown, I tend to look at the female characters rather objectively, like, "Ah, so this is how women
think..." but I can get pretty convinced...

What Shoji has said here is strikingly similar to what Yumiko said in Interview \#2, except from a differently gendered position. Shoji also seems to be saying that the physical sex of the character does not matter, but that the gender, or socially situated psychological role does. He did not want to read the stories about "only women's psychology" which seems to suggest the stories that are dark and depressing (or realistic!) about women's gendered lives. And I am fairly sure, but could not ask, that the "too old"- ness of the manga that I liked, was a result of characters who were sexually active and where, as in Pink, the sordid or "objectifying" side of male-female sexual relations was openly portrayed. I felt that it was too violent to ask interviewees to read stories that they would not choose for themselves and had said openly that they did not usually like, although it would have been very interesting to know what Shoji would think about Sakura no sono or Pink. Through doing this ethnographic research with Japanese subjects, I have found that that asking Japanese students to read stories or watch movies that they do not like or do not normally watch is a very effective tool for teaching critical thinking. Making students analyze WHY they hate something, or why some kind of story bothers them, it also a very quick and simple jumping off point for leading them to see the contructedness (and arbitrary nature) of genre conventions. Most students, as with the interviewees in this project, are not really able to analyze the structure of the stories they consume, or have not been trained to do any deeper readings that look at how the structure and the content are interrelated. I find it fascinating that this level of discursive violence (making them read, forcing them to see) is acceptable in "education," but unethical and inappropriate in "research".

One of my final questions to Shoji was about whether or not he felt that reading shôjo manga helped him to "understand" girls better. Here is his response:

S: When I think about it, the reason I got into shôjo manga is largely because my environment as a kindergarten student was unique...that's why I read the sort of
girls' manga I do. When I was in kindergarten, I didn't like running around that much. That's why I got fat - sitting in my room all the time reading books, playing with blocks, doing origami, playing cat's cradle...That's the sort of stuff I did, and because of it, when I started kindergarten, I didn't really play tag outside that much. Because I decided to stay inside the classroom all the time, I played with the girls quite a lot, or rather, they made me play with them...I got forced into playing house a lot, you know? Nearly all my time in kindergarten was spent playing house and things like that, so I reckon I'm pretty in touch with girls' feelings. Even if I so say so myself...

This is a fascinating reversal of the "tom boy" stories that girls tell about their childhoods (Lee and Sasser-Coen 1996:107). Shoji, though, is proud of himself and the person he is becoming.

Interview \#6 Hitomi \& Rie (female $2^{\text {nd }}$-year high school students)

A woman I met at a Japan Foundation function had been teaching at a private high school and she introduced me to the school's principal. He, in turn, asked the students for volunteers during an assembly, and Hitomi and Rie volunteered. They were second-year (grade eleven) students at the time and were both planning to go to the university connected to their high school. This meant that they did not have to write entrance exams, but only needed to keep their grades up in order to go to university. They were starting to worry slightly, but compared to other students facing months of preparation for exams, they had a lot more freedom and time for outside activities.

We had six sessions together and each session was approximately 90 minutes. Both girls were avid readers - of both manga and novels - and liked very much to talk about the stories. They hung out with a group of other manga readers in the library, of mixed ages and genders, and seemed very socially oriented. When I asked what they did in the library when they met their friends, Hitomi and

Rie explained that they often drew, or read stories together. Hitomi pulled out a stack of computer print-outs and showed me a novel that someone from the group was writing and that they were all reading together. The group members also shared their books and comics with everyone and talked often about the content with each other. While Hitomi and Rie were completely involved in manga, they did not belong to the manga club though, because it was too "nerdy" for them. They did not have any harsh edges (and were not into make-up and going out) like the girls at the other high school, but they were far from "otaku" as well. In other words, they were pretty normal, socially well-adjusted, bright, motivated sixteen-year-old girls at a fairly good high school, guaranteed a spot at a fairly good university.

Hitomi was much more into romances and shôjo manga, while Rie said she read men's manga and boys' manga more often. She said that she read the men's manga magazine Morning on a regular basis. When I asked her what she liked about it, she said she liked it because it was a completely different world from the one she inhabited, adding:

R: Well, the protagonists are almost always guys and they're cool. You know like, the way they move and stuff. (pause) You know how with shôjo manga, it's nearly always a love story right? It's not like that, you know, there's like proper fights, stuff like that.

Well, I guess shônen manga's like that too, but...

A: So, when you read, and the protagonist's a guy right, do you like get inside his head? ... or like, ...

R: ... umm, no, it's not really like that, I look at it all quite objectively.

She liked to experience the male working world, but did not seem to "identify" with the male characters. That was what happened when she read shôjo manga, but lately she said she found them irritating.

This did not seem to bother Hitomi at all - their friendship did not seem to depend on being exactly the same and Hitomi obviously did not feel threated (or offended) by Rie's dismissal of the shôjo
manga that Hitomi liked. There were quite a few types of manga that they both read and enjoyed, somewhere in between the really romantic stories and the real fighting stories. And they were both willing to read anything, even if they did not really like it. I asked if they had ever been embarrassed, or ashamed to admit that they really liked to read manga, and Hitomi answered:

No, not really. Whenever I see someone who just that reads books and has never read manga, though, it's like wow, yeah, respect. But I don't really think that reading manga is bad or anything. Because manga really do have a lot of good points too.

They also both talked about re-reading some of the manga they had read when they were younger, like the immensely popular children's manga and anime, Anpan-man (a very moralistic walking talking bean-paste bun). Rie commented on how she liked to watch it to make fun of it now, and Hitomi said she could not believe that she never used to see all the contradictions - like why the bad guy was so smart yet always had to lose. Hitomi joked about what it would be like if all the bread characters were human, and they started laughing riotously over a discussion on why only the cheese can't talk.

The conversation slipped naturally to Sailor Moon, another manga/anime that the girls had been very absorbed in when they were younger:

A: Did you read a lot of Sailor Moon when you were in elementary school?

H: I read it, I read it. The animation too like, `cause the animation started around when I was in first year elementary school, and kept going till around the end of junior high, and `cause it basically kept going all through the time when I was the age for watching it, l've basically seen them all, yeah.

R: I probably (H: you watched them?) was into reading the manga and stuff until around third or fourth grade, but I was already sick of looking at that stuff by then, and like after that I pretty much hated Sailor Moon... like gradually 'round then you
know, Sailor Moon started to put me off (laughs).

A: What about it?

R: Like, you know...the way the story always developed the same, yeah, I hated that.

A: And, that was around grade three?

R: Yeah, grade three or four.

A: And, what did you read then?

R: Around then I was reading, you know, the usual love stories.

A: Ah, I see. And, what would you think if you read Sailor Moon now? Kind of a strange question but, anyway (laughs).

H : I think I could still read it straight. Yeah, just like it is.

R: Me, it'd be a little more, you know, diagonal (laughs).

A: Like Anpan-man (laughs).

H\&R: laugh

I loved the comment about "reading diagonally" and have borrowed the phrase many times since.

While both girls had read a lot of shôjo manga in elementary and junior high school, Rie was by far the more adventurous reader. Apparently Rie had taught herself to read at the age of three and has not looked back since. She really had read a lot of manga - she knew about all the classic 24-nen gumi shôjo manga texts, as well as the classics from all the other genres. She told me that some bookstores treat the manga in the "bunkobon" size ${ }^{8}$ like books and not manga. This meant that they did not put plastic wrap around them, which allows readers to do "tachiyomi" or to stand and read the stories without buying them. Manga can be read very quickly, so in order to keep people paying, the

[^62]booksellers have to put plastic around them so they cannot be opened in the store. Rie said that she had spent hours standing in the bookshops reading the bunkobon manga, and because only older "established" manga were made into bunkobon, she ended up reading much more widely than she might have done otherwise.

Thus, Rie knew quite a lot about Yoshida Akimi and her manga and was very happy to read Sakura no sono, even though it was old. Both girls came back the next week, having read it and were not that excited about it. I asked them if they were interested in "first experience" stories, and Rie said not really while Hitomi said she read them. Rie said "romance" was not really connected to her life, so she did not find these kind of stories attractive. Hitomi disagreed with Rie's use of the phrase, "kankeinal" or "irrelevant".

R: Romance's not really a big part of my life.

H: I'd read them, I guess, yeah.

A: But, rather than ones like this, ones with a bit more of a happier feel?

H: Yeah.

R: I'd read them anyway, but they're still not, like, relevant.

H : I don't think they're not relevant.

A: So you think they are relevant?

H: Whether they're relevant or not, is not the point I think. It's just like this's the way it is in these stories

Hitomi here is pointing out the genre conventions, and is very aware that the romances she is reading are not necessarily how life will work, or how her life works now. But she seems very confident in her right to enjoy them anyhow.

While the girls were not all that thrilled with the sexual awakening aspects of Sakura no sono, the menarche stories seemed to really release something. Rie was comparing Sakura no sono to

Yoshida's Kawa yori nagaku, yuruyaka ni and saying how she thought it was just the female version. She made some comment about how Yoshida's style was so easily identifiable (they were both reading her latest manga, Yasha, because it was being serialized in one of the magazines they liked to buy) and Hitomi asked what this style was because she had not read any of Yoshida's older work. After talking for a while about the drawing and whether it was shôjo or not, we started to discuss how there were so many female protagonists who hated being women, and the following conversation ensued:

H : I hate being a woman too.

A: Really?

H: Yeah. Like, l've wanted to be a guy since when I was little.

R: Me too.

A: What do you hate about it?

H: Like, dad doesn't like women, and so he's like, can't you be a little more, like a proper lady, or (R: Yeah, I get that) where're your manners, I get stuff like that, and also guys, like on May 5th Children's Day, boys get to wear armor, and I wanted to wear that armor. (A: really?). And it's like why can't girls wear it, and like with the hoko (festival carriages) at the Gion Festival, once a woman got on the Moon hoko, and even though they'd been no problem before, it fell down the moment a women got on it, and so ever since they won't let women ride the hoko, there's that like, legend? (R: Tradition.) there's that tradition, and I really really wanted to ride them, and I was like why can't I.

R: Also, also, also, the music practice, that was all just guys right?

A: Yeah? At the Gion Festival?

R: Right right right.

H: Right right right right. Like, gu...(R: From way back) guys are supposed to be
like the closest thing to a god, and when it gets to like one month before the festival, just the guys, they go to someone's house, someone in the chonai (neighborhood), they get together, all of them, just the guys, and do the housework and the laundry and the cooking, like all the fathers, and grandfathers, and their kids, all just guys, they get together, it's like that (A:Really?), because they do that .... Yeah. I can't remember, do they go to school? Or do they get out of going?

R: They go, for what it's worth.
$H:$ They do go do they?

R: But, like you know, even at our (H: yeah, but) school (H: Huh.) when it gets to before the end of first semester, the guys living in a neighborhood that has a hoko, it doesn't matter whether there's tests or anything, all they can think about is getting ready for the festival.

A: Really?

H: Really.

R: I was like, my older brother of course, you know even though he got into fights all the time, and mucked around and stuff, everyone was like you know, he's a guy so it can't be helped, though if I did the same things, it'd be like, why do you do that stuff when you're a girl, and if I got in a fight and stuff I really got in trouble. Because I kinda, you know, got in fights and stuff with guys, and if I wasn't `specially careful, l'd of course get it from my parents, and it's be really like, you know (H: Reaily?), If only I was also a guy, you know (A: Hm).

H: It gets to me how like, whenever there's a distinction between male and female, female always lose out. (R: Yeah.) I wonderd like why is male stronger,
$`$ Cause I was stronger in fights and stuff, back then.

R: You know how around the last year of elementary school girls are bigger
right, so, like, why was it like that, like I really hated it.

H: Yeah. I was also so much stronger in like fights, and so I really hated that
having to be on the losing end. It really got to me.

A: What about when guys got bigger?

R: When I look at them now, I have to have to look up.

H: Yeah.

R: Huh.

H: It's like, but when we started junior high, it was me who was taller.

I really wish that I could put a sound clip here, because the speed and the tone of this conversation was incredible. It was the most sustained and spontaneous speaking that either girl did during the whole six sessions.

After this rather passionate outburst, I asked if there was anything else they did not like about being female, and, because of Sakura no sono, they immediately started to talk about menstruating and their experiences with menarche:

A: Yeah, so are there any other inconveniences?

H: Umm...

R: Menstruation (laughs).

A: Yeah.

R: You know by yourself, having to worry about becoming anemic is a pain, and you
can't go in the pool.

H: Yeah.

A: At elementary schools in Japan, do they have the proper facilities and stuff?

## R: What kind of facilities?

A: Like trash cans and stuff, and also (R: They do) yeah.
$H$ : They have the basics.

R: They have that stuff, and well, they also go over it a bit in health class.

A: Hm. It also like came up in here right, there was one part like about menstruation. (R: Right right right). This part here, there's a little bit isn't there? (R: At the beginning?) Yeah. There's not much right, stuff about menstruation in shojo manga. (R: No there's not) Why do you think that is?

R: Umm, I wonder why. (H: There's not much...) Like that's, because, everyone thinks it's like dirty, maybe? My mom, when I started, made sekihan (red bean rice). I really didn't want that, and I didn't want dad and my brother finding out, and you know, the neighbors finding out, 'cause I didn't want that, 'cause I didn't want them knowing. I said please don't do it, but mom, she didn't listen and made sekihan anyway (A: haaa...) yeah, and so I was like, I hate this.
$H$ : When I started, I didn't know whether I really had or not, and so no one did anything. And when my little sister started, like, she was like "I hate sekihan, don't do it!" (laughs). So it wasn't sekihan.

A: Oh. But, you celebrated it in another way, if celebrate's the right word (H: Did you do something?) there was nothing? (H: But like...), anyway, instead of sekihan? H: Yeah.

A: Where I come from, Canada, they don't do anything. So like making sekihan, things like that, at least celebrating it, I thought that was kind of cool. (H: Huh.) It's probably better than having nothing. Yeah, but, everyone finding out, I can see what you mean there though.

H: Yeah well, it still doesn't make me very happy.

R: The mother of this friend, who used to live near us was someone who was totally, you know unfazed and stuff by that kind of thing, and you know, so like when her own kids got their period, she would, you know, talk about it to the neighbors like it was nothing, and even though my mom was like, "why does she talk about that there," she still insisted on making sekihan. I didn't get it.

A:Really.... I really think, that it's quite a, you know, important turning point in your life. But, it just doesn't get talked about. Don't you think that's weird? (H\&R: Yeah) Even back home, how can I put it, it doesn't come up in novels much either.

R: Umm, in you know, essays and stuff written by women it sometimes comes up. Yeah, but, if that's all there is, it's not really...

A: Yeah. With friends and stuff, do you talk about it? About menstruation and stuff, or no?

H : We don't really talk about it like when we get it and stuff, but we do say stuff like "what am I going to do about PE class?" (A: Oh yeah) that kind of stuff.

A: So do you skip class?

H: PE, if it's just a normal class you go, but if it's the pool and stuff I guess you've gotta take it off.

R: But, with the pool, you know it's not like the teacher really checks up on that stuff, right? So like, people who hate swimming class, you know, if they put down having their period as the reason for skipping class, nearly everyone, you know in the pool class ,you know, (A: every month (laughs) no not every month, every week!) only five or so would turn up, and everyone else skipped class.

H: But, in high school, if there are more people skipping than turning up, they say
something right, the teacher. (R: Yeah.) (A: Huh.) And like, they ask what day you are and stuff.

A: Really?

R: As a quick check. .

A: Huh.

R: But I like the pool, so I don't really mind.

H: Huh. I like the pool but l'm not really fond of getting into my swim suit.

A: (laughs) I know what you mean.

R: I like, not like the school swim suit, but those ones that cover up everything, your legs and stuff (H: What ones that cover up everything?) the suits like spats, that come up to around here. I like those ones.

A: I've got those. Yeah.
$H$ : The ones like when you go scuba diving?

A: But, the top's normal. (R: Yeah.) No arms. (R: Yeah.)

R: Recently, they've been selling them in normal stores I think.

A: Like the ones for like triathlons maybe?

R: Though, you know, l've heard they keep your thighs and stuff from freezing. Like apparently you can swim for hours. Now, even the ones for racing are, you know, more than ones with high levels of the water resistance, and exposure, those ones, yeah, are good so people say. I hate getting into my swim suit, I really do.

A: Hm.... and, have you ever been told that 'cause your woman you can't do something? Like, something was not allowed cause you're female, or something? H: Umm, with manners, if I go to dad, "you're doing it too" he goes, "You're supposed to be a women right." He's like "I'm a guy, and so it's okay."

R: Like when I was in elementary school, `cause I was always getting involved in, you know, scuffles, that was like, you know the teachers didn't really, they didn't say this kinda stuff all that much, but you know, the boy I was in the fight with would also get told off, but the teacher'd be like, "You, you're a girl, so act a little more ladylike."

A: Really. When I was in elementary school right, I was always playing soccer. And, like there weren't many girls that liked soccer, so in the end, it'd be all boys, and l'd be the only girl, and `cause I was always in boys' groups, playing soccer. I took quite a lot of flak from other girls. The boys were like, who cares. They didn't see me as a girl at all. Like, I was just one of their soccer buddies. But when the girls saw what I was doing they'd be like, "you're just pretending to like soccer so you can be with the guys," I'd get that kinda thing a lot. And, it wasn't`cause I wanted to be with the guys that I did it, it was `cause I liked soccer, you know? I was like, who do they think they are? At first, I was really quite shocked, like, what's so strange?

R: Also right, like I didn't really like how girls, like, you know, how when there's a break everyone goes to the bathroom together, I hated like that.

H: Yeah, I don't get why girls want to go to the bathroom together either.

R: You think right, there's no way l'm going with them.

A\&H: Yeah.

R: But, now, when I go someplace, I might say, let's go together, but, back then, I really really hated that. And, even now, yeah, if there's guys around, it's like, they might say something again, and I end up going by myself.

H: Ah! That's right our horrible, our school trip, to Okinawa right, and, I was the only gir! to go mountain climbing. (A: Huh.) (R: That's right, different courses.) Just me and

Anne-sensei.

R: It was divided into different courses, four courses, and each day divided in four for doing stuff...

H: There was one where you did stuff in those groups, and so, like, there was one where you did something in the water, and Nao did cooking, and I was like let's explore the Okinawan forests (laughs), and me and Anne sensei were the only women that did it. (A: Really?) Yeah, and so I was like, oh no! what am I gonna do? I wasn't really like, although I did go, let's do this, let's do this, to my friends, I wasn't really like, oh so they're gonna do that and so will I, and so thought I might as well go where I want to go. R: I also really thought that I should go where I wanted to go, but like everyone decides together where everyone's going, and next we're getting streamed - into science or arts, but that's also, yeah, like you know, of course, (H: So and so is...) so and so is... (H: If I was by myself l'd be a little worried, if none of my friends were doing it, there's like that) I think that definitely you need to decide your own path, and I want to decide by myself, and that's what I did, to suit myself, you could say, what do I want to do? (A: Yeah.) but I really don't get it why people need to decide together. `Cause they don't want to be left on their own, maybe, though I think if there's something you really want to do, you should do it.

H: I don't really care even if it's all boys and I've go no one to talk to.

They were not interested in the sexual aspects of the story, but they were certainly interested in the critique of gendering and how it was connected to their bodies. Thus, it is not surprising that they hated Okazaki Kyôko's Pink.

Whereas Sakura no sono had started this incredibly close and rambling sharing of experiences (the girls even stopped using honorifics with me that session) Pink shut them right up. They really did not like it, and I stopped trying to get them to think about the story almost immediately
because it seemed quite cruel. I had not even meant to read it with them, but it happened to be in my bag the previous day (a friend had returned it to me on my way to the girls' school) and Rie had found it when she was digging around to help me set up the recording equipment. She immediately asked to read it, and of course, Hitomi wanted to as well. I warned them, but they insisted they liked to read all kinds of things. They were both very disappointed with the unhappy ending:

A: So, what did you think of this? You read this right?

H: Umm..., the mom's horrible.

R: Like the ending's a let down.

H: I was like, Eh? ! You're joking! I didn't think it'd end like that. Though keeping
it going any longer might have been like you know. I was like, Eh, ????

A: You didn't like that?

H: Umm..., like, yeah, I didn't like it.

R: I was a bit surprised.

I then asked them what their definition of a happy ending, or a normal ending for a shojo manga was:

H: Umm..., two people's, you know, if it's one of these love stories, two people's feelings for each other become settled, and ahh, it's like you know that even after you leave them, everything's gonna work out. Like there'll be no separating these two now.

A: So, it's become stable (H: Yeah.) their relationship, (H: Yeah.)

R: [Pink] is like, going from fantasy back to the everyday at the end.

Rie had been busy thinking about what Pink was showing her about happy endings, and had answered a slightly different question from the one I asked. What this shows, more than anything else, is the enormous potential for teaching critical thinking skills using popular culture.

## Boy-Talk

Just before I came back to Japan to do my research, I participated in a panel discussion at an Institute for Asian Research conference about bridging the gap between the humanities and social sciences. It was the only presentation that included people from the humanities in the whole "interdisciplinary" conference, and only three people attended. All seven of us, 4 presenters and three attendees, were women. We were in the small seminar room and because of the space and the gender and number of people, we had a rather amazing discussion about interdisciplinarity and research and teaching. The comfort level was high and the jokes witty and cutting. We laughed loudly and frequently and didn't even notice that the time was up until someone knocked on the door to tell us to come out for dinner. We exchanged e-mail addresses and talked about creating an on-going forum for practical discussions about interdisciplinary methodology and pedagogy. I heard at dinner, later in the evening, that our voices and laughter had been loud enough for the people in the big, well-attended room next door to hear us. Apparently a prominent professor had been interrupted by our too-muchness and had asked, "I wonder if they're talking about boys?"

### 4.0.0

 CONCLUSIONAbout 700,000 children and women are trafficked around the world annually for a yearly profit of approximately $\$ 7$ billion.
"Violence" Colors 56, May 2003

Why do so few feminist scholars consider the study of education to be a serious intellectual endeavor? Why is it so hard for academic feminists not only to give education its due but to do any female-associated research topic scholarly justice?

Jane Roland Martin, 2000

The manga that have been included for analysis in this dissertation were not meant to be "representative" of shôjo manga as a genre, nor was this project meant to provide a definition. Rather, it was designed to provide a demonstration of how diverse and complex the social practice of reading shôjo manga in Japan is. The close readings and analyses in Chapter Two, and the ethnographic accounts in Chapter Three, do show generally that "shôjo manga" in Japan seem to be defined by the reader groups that use them. Those in the industry claim that the definition of shôjo manga is manga that can be bought in the "shôjo manga section" of the bookshop, or the manga that can be found in "shôjo manga magazines" (Nakamura, personal communication, 2002).

# The market $=$ The readers市場 $=$ 読者層 



Figure 4．1：THE MARKET＝THE READERS

They are then further categorized according to form（mainly drawing style），and finally（content）narrative type． Drawing styles can vary，as Yoshida Akimi＇s work shows，but may or may not fall into one of a few successful styles that change slowly over time．According to various Japanese manga scholars，critics，editors，the participants interviewed，and my own reading，it is possible to claim that shôjo manga usually include a＂search for self＂，often deal with internal，psychological or emotional issues and usually involve some form of romantic or sexual love．Within these guidelines，there seems to be a passionately contested field of further categories－ from＂high＂literary to＂crass＂pornographic－in much the same manner as print fiction or visual cinema．That said，those who like to read manga care deeply about these types and differences，while those who read
casually barely notice them. Almost every young (approximately under 35) person I have spoken to, claimed to have gone through some period in their childhood when they interacted with their peers around the shared reading of manga or when they had been passionate about some kind of manga, though their tastes may have changed as they got older.

Many adult women I know, and many of the undergraduate students I teach at university (male and female) still read shôjo manga and still share and discuss manga with their friends. Students, once they find out what my research is, will often recommend titles or come to my office to borrow or lend manga. The students do not think it strange for me to be doing research on shôjo manga, but my Japanese colleagues in the Faculty of Law do. According to Japanese scholars who do research on manga, it seems to be somewhat of a cliché for foreign women to come to Japan to study shôjo manga.

Other than Matt Thorn, an Assistant Professor in the Manga program at Seika University, everyone I have met or heard of who is doing academic research on shôjo manga in Japan is female, and a majority are foreign and publishing in English. Many Japanese women scholars also publish research on shôjo manga in English either while at North American or British universities or after returning to Japan. This, while anecdotal, is significant. Fusami Ogi, a professor at Chikushi Jogakuen University in Fukuoka wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on shôjo manga in comparative literature at SUNY Stone Brook. She has since published a paper called "Female Subjectivity and Shoujo Manga". In this article, she claims that there is a new genre of manga for women that fits between "ladies comics" and "shôjo manga". She argues that this new genre is a form of resistance to rigid patriarchal gender roles in Japan, and that it shows that Japanese women do not want to quit "shôjo" if it means becoming "ladies":

The category shoujo functions as an ideological apparatus for women to be free from social obligations such as marriage. Women's world of manga began with the term of shoujo.

Even a new genre for adult women has been formed out of shoujo manga and seems to be
still part of shoujo, which could escape from the reality and social obligation. Shoujo still functions as an important aspect of comics for women. When will women in Japan escape the world of shoujo? The Japanese society imposes many problems on women although women are trying to get out of the category shoujo, which they claim ignores "reality." However, women continue to question the disconnection between the category shoujo and themselves as adult women, allowing them both to think of their actual lives from the point of view of a shoujo who has not been involved in social obligations yet, and to imagine themselves as a shoujo. In that sense, the category shoujo still gives female readers a performative power by promising to show another perspective which is the reality in which they live, in a process of their search for their own way of living. (Ogi, 2003)

This is similar to my argument in the section on Okazaki Kyoko's Pink, although I framed it as a form of "third-wave" feminism. Okazaki's work clearly marks a return of the body into manga for young women. According to Nakamura Tôru, a shôjo manga editor who used to work in the field, ladies comics circulation numbers started to decline severely and the market became even more segmented after the Japanese economy slowed down in the late 1980s. As a result, there is a new trend towards narrative-based manga for women that is not marketed as pornography, but is still more sexual than shôjo manga. See Figure 4.2.


Figure 4.2: CHANGES IN LADIES' COMICS OVER TIME

Both Ogi and I are assuming that readers project their dissatisfactions with being female onto (or into) the texts that they read, while the ethnographic interviews show that readers do, in fact, use the manga they read to deal with problems and issues relating to social gender roles. Both of us thinking that a shift from the bishônen-ai boy-boy manga to a "young women's" manga is a positive step towards acceptance of female bodies can also be seen as "heterosexism." With specific regard to bishônen-ai manga, Mark McLelland, in his
article $^{1}$ on male homoeroticism in girls' manga has criticized our typically academic interpretation: The usual argument is that these beautiful young men are projections of the largely female audience's own femininity, the idea being that in a society as sexist as Japan, women can only identify with truly autonomous figures in male form. Yet, I remain sceptical of academic analyses which attempt to explain this extensive and complex product of women's culture since they tend to pathologise both the women readers and Japanese culture in general (McLelland, 2000c); such explanations can be reductionist and deny the complexities of both desire and identification. (2001: conclusion, first paragraph)

While I agree that much of the writing on boy-boy shôjo manga in English does tend to pathologize both the readers and Japanese culture, by rejecting the criticism of sexism as a whole, McLelland is failing to acknowledge all of the beautiful girls in girl-boy (heterosexual) shôjo manga who are also "projections of the largely female audience's own femininity". Not all shôjo manga are bishônen-ai, nor do most manga readers only read one genre or sub-genre. According to Hakusensha shôjo manga editor Nakamura Tôru, shôjo manga readers tend to read widely across the subgenres and will buy certain magazines (which are clearly divided into subgenres or sub-markets) at certain times to fit certain desired moods (personal conversation, May 23,2003), see Figure 4.1.

[^63]

Figure 4.3: MANGA AS MOOD ENHANCERS

In other words, McLelland risks throwing the proverbial baby out with the bathwater when he disregards the fact that the homoerotic bishônen-ai manga are a sub-set of shôjo manga. While he does not exactly seem to be denying the existence of patriarchy in Japanese society, because he neglects to acknowledge the gendering of the genre itself (and thus its patriarchal context), his argument slips dangerously close to cultural populism (Mc Guigan 1992). Furthermore, McLelland also fails to calculate the gender of the academics that he criticizes into his equation - most of the academic writing done on shôjo manga is by women (both Japanese and non-Japanese) who are operating under the same sexist social restrictions and patriarchal discourses as both the readers of and the characters in the manga; As a result, his own explanation is, ironically, reductionist and denies the "complexities of desire and identification" in women's academic writing about Japanese shôjo manga - another "extensive and complex product of women's culture". Instead of dismissing the academic arguments about the projection of femininity onto male characters as pathologizing Japanese women and Japanese society (which many of these arguments undeniably do), a much more fruitful endeavor would entail
exploring how this pathologization can be seen as a projection onto a projection, because it is not just specific to academic analyses of bishônen-ai manga, but is apparent in academic analyses of romance stories (see Ang 's 1996 critique of Radway) and almost any and all work done on girls' cultures (Driscoll, 2002).

McLelland's argument, as outlined above, risks amplifying the silence around female bodies and menstruation that Yoshida Akimi's manga shows so clearly, because he does not question the "femininity" that is projected - he only questions the projecting. Lee and Sasser-Coen delineate very clearly why the femininity might need to be projected:

Since "woman" is over-represented by the practices and values of sexuality, menarche takes on loaded meanings that have consequences for women and their everyday lives, scripting relations of power into the discourses and practices that surround women's bodies. The themes explored here are themes of the body and of body politics; bodies contextualized in a society that devalues and trivializes women. Adult womanhood carries with it the stigma of the inferior sex, a lower status in society and certain restrictions on body, mind and soul. (Lee and Sasser-Coen, 1996:109)

Is it any wonder that "women" want to stay "shôjo" like Chise in Papa, or like the adult readers of shôjo manga? And how could female academics be unaffected? It is not as if we can step out of patriarchy in order to study it. In fact, it may be the attempt to get an objective stance that is creating the pathologization of our research subjects. According to Martin, for women in academia, the pathologization of the feminine becomes internalized and is built into the education system:

Why can't a woman be more like a man? An educated woman in the public arena not only can be like a man, she must be. This is what the education-gender system mandates. [...]

And women who make the academy their home have an added burden. We are in the unenviable position of transmitting to future generations the very educational ideology
that turns women into living contradictions - into people who are and are not women; or are and are not men. Like any other guild, the academy charges its members an annual fee. One portion of the admission price that men and women alike must pay is complicity in this process. (Martin, 2000: 50)

The "complicity" that Martin defines can also be seen as a result of "buying into" a narrative of development - or believing that you can study yourself into a higher social status. Karen Kelsky (2001) openly criticizes "international" Japanese women who learn English to "escape" from Japan, but it is more than possible to make the same argument about any education for women, and even more so for those who are also studying "foreign" language and cultures, or who do research on women from other cultures, like those of us in Japanese Studies. Kelsky quotes Mayfair Yang saying, 'Liberation is always a prelude to a new insertion into another mode of power' (Mayfair Yang in Kelsky, 2001: 247) and to put it into a slightly different context, it is possible to see how Western women academics "study up" at the expense of the Japanese women they do research on, even though they claim to be doing otherwise. Driscoll (2002) argues strongly that even within the same culture, feminist scholars doing research on girls do the same thing - they construct their identities as feminists (they create narratives of independent selves) in opposition to the conformist girls who do not resist enough. Zizek claims that this is a major flaw in the construction of cultural studies as radical or socially activist: What if the field of cultural studies, far from threatening today's global relations of domination, fits perfectly their framework, in the same way sexuality and the repressive discourse that regulates it are fully complementary? What if the criticism of patriarchal/identitarian ideology betrays an ambiguous fascination with it rather than an effective will to undermine it? There is a way to avoid responsibility and/or guilt by emphasizing in an exaggerated way one's responsibility or too readily assuming guilt, as in the case of the white male politically correct academic who emphasizes the guilt of racist phallocentrism and uses this admission of guilt
as a stratagem not to confront the way he as a radical intellectual perfectly fits the existing power relations of which he pretends to be thoroughly critical. (Zizek, 2002:30)

## Dancing in Abbotsford

Now I look back and realize that I really was a dancer. I danced my way through high school -- plieeing and pirouetting around so fast that no one could pin me down. Even though I often leaked socialist and feminist comments in literature class, I ate with the physics geeks, I played and hung out with the jocks, I took photographs for the annual, I shopped with the Mennonite girls, I took the Goths to sneak into restricted movies in Vancouver (I think I was the only person in my class of 600 who was allowed to drive into Vancouver unchaperoned - I had no problems making friends), and I had a boyfriend that no one knew or ever saw me with he sent me roses at school regularly and everybody thought I was just the luckiest. I thought so too - no open sexuality to get bashed for, and even any questions of possible sexual transgressions made socially acceptable (he was obviously madly in love with me-flowers cost serious money), no other boys hitting on me (the site of flower delivery was a clear message), and no questions for those in my lit. class about my straightness. Never mind that I hated roses and conversations with him bored me to death - he was useful. The meaning of safe sex in Abbotsford! I wonder what character I am in their stories? Wholewheat Girl? The Queen of Contradiction? One of the physics boys told me at graduation, that of all the girls [in the brain class] I was the one that they'd voted least likely to fart. He probably thought it was a compliment, but I think my relationship with my body, or lack of relationship more like, was visible to everyone but me. I was trying to be everything to everyone.

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## APPENDIX A

## Interview \＃2

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オ=Alwyn Spies
\({ }^{'} Y=\) Yumiko
Interview length \(=75\) minutes
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$(L)=$ laugh
$(P)=$ pause
Transcribed by Sakai Miho

オ：じゃあ最初から。
Y：何でしょう（L）。
オ：私も何でしょう（L）。なんかどうすればいいのかなっていつも思っちゃう。私さ，人と話すのが好きだけど，レ コーディングするのが失礼かなって感じするから。やだなこれ，ただの話したほうがいいなって。

Y ：でも録つとかないとね。
オ：だめだね。まあしょうがないから。
Y：はい。何からお話すればいいでしょうか。
才：自分の話。お願いします。
Y：自分の話ね。それとマンガの話？でなくてもいい？まあだいたいどっちも両方とも関係あるんだけど，そうねえ，
自分の話って何？出身地は，から？
オ：ううん。好きなように。自分のストーリー。
Y：自分のストーリーね。だからまあ普通に育ったと思うんだけど，普通の人より本とかマンガとか読むのが好きだ ったのかな。あとは，だいたい物心ついた時から絵本とかそういうの読んでたね。うちの家は本も読んでたね。う ちの家は本はいくらでも買ってもらえる環境のところだったんで，で昔から友だちの家に行っても友だちとコミュ ニケーションとらないで，そこの家の本棚見に行って，読んだことない本があったら読む，っていう，評判の悪い子供だったわけ（L）。だから最初に最初にマンガとか読んだのは自分の家じゃなくてそういうところだったと思う のね。らちの親は絵本とか児童文学みたいのは買ってたけど，マンガっていうのは買ってた記憶がないから，だか らそらいうところに行って読んでて，でまあ，あの時代だからそこの家のお兄ちゃんが置いてたマンガとかお姉ち ゃんのマンガとか，そういうんだと思うんだけど，特に憶えてるってのはないのね。ただ，何だろうね，多分，今 にして思うとあれは細川千栄子，とか，わたなべまさこ，とかっていう感じの，すっごいオーソドックスな，双子 の兄弟がいて，で，何でか知らないけど運命のいたずらで一人は貧しい家の養女かなんかになって，一人はお金持

ちのお嬢様のままで，みたいなああいう。それが何かのはずみでお互いに知りあうんだけど，なぜかまわりの人は あれだけ似てるのに双子だって気がつかなくって，っていう。そういうのを読んだのがあって，そしてそれ以外に屯，うーん。あとほら，小学校に入った時から小学 1 年生， 2 年生， 3 年生っていうシリーズがあるの。あれは何 でか買ってたのね。それでその中にはいろんなそういう，算数の勉強，足し算のしかたとか，1年生で習う漢字と か，そういうの以外に，マンガが入ってて，だいたいあの当時は藤子不二男の，もうどらえもんになってたのか， それともオバQだったのかそのへんは憶えてないんだけど，あれが全部小学館の小学 1 年生とかには入ってた。 オ：それは家のほうが。
$\mathrm{Y}: ~ ら ん, ~$ 家が買ってた。親はそれは，マンガを買わせるって意識じゃなくて，いわゆる学習書，だからうちはその小学何年生ってのと，あとは学研の「科学と学習」シリーズっていうのと，あとはどっかの児童文学のところが毎月送ってくる，そっちも読んでて，で，それも読んでて。小学1年生の中には，それ以外にいわゆる「バレエもの」 というカテゴリーになる（L），なぜか貧しいヒロインがバレエの才能があって，でバレエ団にお手伝いしながら習 える，っていう，どうやって小学生が勉強しながらお手伝いしてるんだろう，っていつも思ってたんだけど（L）。 で，そこのバレエ団には才能はあるんだけどいじわるな女王様みたいな人がいて，っていう，そういうのも読んで たんだよね。そのあたりは多分みんなと一緒みたいな感じ。

あと，友だちの家に行ったら「なかよし」とか「りぼん」とか，そういうのがあって，読んで，でもそこでは「あ あこの人が面白いな」とか「いいな」とか思った記憶があんまり．．．というか，名前は，一条ゆかりとかいがらしゅ みことか，その当時の人たちっていうのは入ってた。あっそうだ，あの時りぼんに山岸涼子が「アラベスク」つて いうバレエマンガ描いてたのよね。あれはすごい違ってて，すごく面白かったの，私にとっては。本当の少女マン ガで，一緒なんだけど，描いてるところがちょっと他のと違って印象に残ってたのよね。そう，あれは面白かった な。（P）で，発音できないロシア人の名前を一生懸命憶えてね。 オ：じゃあ，普通の少女マンガに飽きてたの？

Y：いや飽きてたっていうんじゃなくて，それももちろん好きだったんだけど，今から思うとそれよりは，いわゆる 24 年組の人が描いたのとかが．．．だから多分それより少しあとだと思うんだけど，少女コミックのほうが，私は友 だちがりぼんとかなかよしとかマーガレットとか，あの頃は週間マーガレット，週間少女コミックって言われてた んだけど，読んでた中で，一番少女コミックが私は面白かったの。でも，よく考えると，その頃はまだ自分たちが描きたいのか，なんだかわかんないけど，典型的な少女マンガを描いてたんだけど，萩尾望都もいたし大島弓子も いたし竹宮恵子もいたのはやっぱり少女コミックだったのね。（P） Y：だから，その頃印象に残ってたのはやっぱり「アラベスク」と，あとは大島弓子の「ジョカへ」っていうのはす ごい面白かった。あれは今読んでも面白いと思うし。才：何が面白かった？

Y：ストーリー展開が，いわゆるお約束じゃなかったところが面白かったの。他のっていうのは3ページくらい読む と，あ，この子がヒロイン，この子がヒーロー，この子が仇役，で，どういうパターンで動くかっていうのがバリ エーションはあるけども，枠の中から出ないっていう感じがあったんだけど，「枠からは出ていく」みたいな。だか

ら「アラベスク」なんかが面白かった理由っていうのは，嫌われる役の女の人が出てきても，なぜその人が主人公 を嫌うのかっていう必然性がちやんと描いてある。それまでっていうのは，意味もなく嫌うわけじゃない。ライバ ルになる子っていうのは，ただいじめる，理由なくいじめる。生意気だから，とか貧乏だからっていうのがすごく ステレオタイプなんだけど，そうじゃない理由で。だから，こういう事情だから，つていうのがわかるとか。あと主人公も内面の中で変わろうとしていくつていうのがちゃんとていねいに描いてある，つていうのがすごく面白か ったんだと思う。多分その頃はそんなこと全然考えないで読んでたと思うんだけど。だから，普通のお約束のはつ まんなかったんじゃないかな，やっぱり。

オ：そういうこと，いつ気付いたの？
Y：いや別に，好きだなって．．．何でもとにかく私は本を読んでたから，別にそれが少女マンガとか小説とかそうい う内訳は自分の中でしたことなかったのね。ただ読んでた，と。その頃はまわりに友だちで同じようなのが好きだ って人がいなかったから，勝手に読んでたと。

だから小学校に行っても友だちの家に行ったら読んでて，そのうちこっちが，あそこのあの子はあれをいつも買っ てる，ってのがわかるから。だから必ず何日に発売ってのがあったら次の日に行って読んでて，本人より先に読ん でたりしたから。

オ：でその友だちたちと，読んでることについて話してた？
Y：話してたっていうか，むこうは何でゆみちゃん遊んでくれないの，ってぶーぶー言ってたから，彼女達は何で買 ってたんだろうね，今にして思うと。

あとは，らちの近所に児童館みたいなところがあって，そこは何でか知らないけど，子供が学校が終わったら遊び に行くようなちょっとした公園になってて，そこの中に家が建ってて，畳の部屋と床になってて，劇をしたりイベ ントしたりできるところがあって，そこのところに，多分近所の人がいらなくなったマンガとか子供の本とかを置 けるスペースがあって，そこはもう本当にいろんな本が置いてあったのね。児童書もあるしマンガもあるしってい らね。だからその子たちが買うのをやめるまでには，私はそこにあるのを覚えちやって。だから若干月がずれる， オンタイムじゃないけど， 1 週間おくれとか 2 週間おくれとか，せいぜいひと月おくれとかでは読めてたわけね。 で，そうしてる内にだんだん，ああ私はこの雑誌が好きとか，この人が好きとかいうのがわかってきて，で，その頃に週間少女コミック，月刊少女コミックに描いてる人が読んでて楽しいから，その頃おこづかいが500円？ 1年生の時100円で，プラス100円だったのね。2年生の時なら200円プラス100円だったから，買いたか ったんだけど，ひと月にそれだったらマンガ買ったら消えちゃらじゃない。だからそこで読んでたって感じ。当時やっぱり，さっき言ってた萩尾望都。萩尾望都はね，その頃「ポーの一族」描いてたの，月刊少女コミックに単発みたいな感じで。で，あれに「入った」って感じだったのね。で，竹宮恵子はその頃は，私の印象だから多分前後してると思うんだけど「ファラオの墓」描いて，その前には「空がすき」とかそういうの描いてたのかな。い ろんなの。だからその頃までは．．．ラーん，どうだったんだろう．．．山岸涼子はそのあとあんまり見なかったんだけ ど，あれは私が5年か6年のときに「花とゆめ」つていう，今でも美内すずえ先制が「ガラスの仮面」描いてるの かな（L）。あそこに「アラベスク」の二部を載せたのね。それまではりぼんに描いてたほうの第 1 作っていうのは，

ほんとに少女マンガで，でもちょっと違う，だったんだけど，第二部のほうは少女マンガって言うよりは，まあ少女マンガなんだけど，主人公の女の子がどんなふうにバレリーナとして成長していくか，途中からただ技術だけじ やなくて，どういう風に表現していくかとか，演技力とか，表現力ね。だからどういら風に解釈するか，それをど ういう風に表現していくか，そういうところで葛藤が出てくる。で，他の全然関係ない人に「あなたが踊っている のは，そんなのじゃない」なんて言われて悩むみたいだね。 オ：それが「花とゆめ」のほうの．．．

Y：「花とゆめ」の第二部のほうの。第一部のほうは本当に少女マンガの典型みたいだったんだけどちょっと違う， みたいな。
やっぱりその辺が面白くって，他の，萩尾望都だってそうだし，竹宮恵子，竹宮恵子は私から見ると，私はやっぱ りね，萩尾望都と山岸涼子のほうが好きなの。竹宮恵子は何かね（P）話は面白いんだけど，最初とかすごく？？な のね。で面白いんだけど，長編描いてる内に最後が疲れてしまって，ほら，まん中で盛り上がった時に，これくら いのところまで行ってくれるんじゃないか，ってところまで行かなくって，ちょっと失速してバーンアウトしてし まうところがあって，それが私はちょっと。
オ：がっかりするでしょ。
$\mathrm{Y}:$ がっかりするのよね。期待が大きい分がっかりするの。
才：無理して終わらせるような。
Y：そうそう。だから無理して終わらせるのが，これなんかもそうなんだろうけど，編集サイドの事情とか，ページ数がもらえないとか，あとは本人が煮詰まっちゃって描けないとかいろいろあると思うんだけど，ただ期待してる分だけ「違う」っていうのが私の中にはあるのね。ただ，萩尾望都と竹宮恵子というのはある種ワンセットになっ てるところがあって，例えば二人ともいわゆる美少年ものになってて，必ず主人公とそれに対する相手との二人の少年の葛藤みたいなのがポイントになってくるところがすごく面白いんだけど。
オ：じや美少年の話のほうが好きだった？
Y ：うん。面白かった。だから女の子が出てきたら必ずラブコメになってしまう，っていうのがあるけど，男の子だ と，特に「トーマの心臓」とかだと，あれの救済とか癒しと何とかっていうのは，私はへたな日本の純文学とかよ りずっと奥が深いと思うし。だから私は思春期に「トーマの心臓」とか「ポーの一族」とか，萩尾望都の描いたも のなんだけど，あと「11人いる！」もそうね，ああいうのがあったからここまで多分マンガが好きだっていうの を引きずってるんじゃないかと思うし，今日本で少女マンガがどうのこうのって言ってる世代の人っていうのは多分，私と同じかちょっと上かちょっと下っていう，多分リアルタイムでそのへんを読んでる人たちだと思うのね。 だからそこからの影響力がすごく大きかった。で，それまではマンガっていうのは子供が読むもので大きくなった らいわゆる文字のほう，小説のほうにいきます，って言われてたんだけど，マンガが終わってそっちのほうに行こ うとしても，そっちにそれだけのものがない，か，あったとしても同じ。それだったら表現力とか何とかからいっ て，まだマンガのほうがいいんじゃないかっていうんで，ずっと引っ張ってきてる可能性があると思うのよ。 オ：少女マンガのほうが好きだった？少年マンガとか，いろんなものを読んできて，何が良かった？

Y：あのね，まず少年マンガはデッサンが粗い。これが嫌いなの，あたし。デッサンカがないっていうか，勢いだけ で描いちゃってるところ，あれが嫌いなのね。で少女マンガはある意味で，お約束と言うか，目が大きいとかね，慣れない人はすごくそれを嫌がったりするけど。コマ割りとか，あとこれなんかトーンかけちゃってるけど，どう いうのを入れるか，自分で描いたりするじゃない，後ろのほうとか。ベタにするとか，点でもマゾ点とかサド点と か，これとこれで表現力が違うとか，逆にある意味で定型のお約束みたいなんだけど，それをいかに逸脱してそこ でも表現をあらわすことができるかっていうのがやっぱりすごく魅力的だったのよね。（P）だから少年マンガって いうのはそこが。私がついていけなかったっていうのは，少年マンガはとにかくデッサンカがない。で，ストーリ一が，まあ青年誌だったら別だったのかもしえないけど，少年誌だと単調。あと少年マンガの中に出てくる女の子 が人間じゃない。お人形さん。ていうのがつまんなかった。

オ：いつそれに気付いた？
Y：ただ読まなくなったってことで，あとで考えたらそうだった。
オ：じゃその考えたのはいつ？
Y：だからこういうのを考えたのはいつかというと，中学に入ったくらいで，今でも友だちなんだけど，本屋さんで偶然会ったのね，中学校の帰りに。クラスは同じだけどそれまで全然話したことがない子で，でも会ったら一応こ んにちわ，とか言って「なに買いに来たの？」くらいは話すじゃない。で，たまたま二人とも同じもの買いに来て たの。で，その日が発売日だったの。で，そこが○○で一番その雑誌が出てくるところだったの。それまであの頃二日遅れとかがあって，例えば20日に東京発売だったら22日に○○に来ます，みたいなのがあって，二人とも さがしてて，えつ，つていう風になって，そこでわーっと立ち話みたいになって，あれ読んだ？あれ読んだ？って いうふうになって，それで「あれもよかったよ」「あたし持ってない」「あたしコミック持ってるから，じやあ貸す わ」みたいな感じで。その子とそんなこと話してたら，別のところの友達とかが，ああ私も好き，つて言って，何人かのグループみたいになるのね。まあ変わり者のグループなんだけどね，はっきり言って。そこでそういうこと話してて，何でいいんだろうね，とか，なになに派とかができちゃって，私は絶対あっちのほうがいいと思うけど，何でそっちのほうがいいと思うの？ってことになって，と言うことはその人に説明しなきゃならないから，何で私 はこれが好きなんだろう，とかっていう。

オ：じやそれまでは全然誰とも話してなかった？自分の読んでることとか。
Y：だからみんなが他の人の読んでるような，例えば「エースを狙え」とか「キャンディキャンディ」とかが流行っ てたから，そういうの借りていいね，とか良かったね，とかって話はしてたけど，内容はあれだし，その頃の子供 のおこづかいって，さっきも言ったけどすっごい限られてるから，だから私は「キャンディキャンディ」や「エー スを狙え」は友達から借りて読みたいし，読むのは好きだったけど，自分のそしいお小遣いをさいてまで買いたい とは思わなくって，で自分の乏しいおこづかいをさいて買ったマンガって言うのは他の人に見せても，それこそ面白かったって言らけど，彼女達が思ってる正統的な少女マンガ，だから「ベルばら」も私は借りたの。買ってない の。私が一番最初に買ったのは「ポーの一族」。（P）だからそのへんだったのかな。 オ：それ中学校 1 年生のとき？

Y：「ポーの一族」買ったのはずっと前だけど。
オ：でもその話。友達とか。
$Y$ ：中学二年。（P）
だから中学1年のときの友達とかは，他のマンガとかは貸したり借りたりしてたんだけど，そんな感じじゃなくて友達で仲良しの人が一緒に本をシェアすることが仲良しの意識みたいな。あの当時っておトイレに行くのも一緒っ ていうのがあるじゃない，日本って。

オ：日本だけじゃないよ。
Y ：カナ゙ダも？だからそら言う場合ってとにかく，好きとか嫌いとか別にして，同じものをシェアすることで友達と しての意識を高めるみたいのがあったと今にして思うのね。

別に私だって「キャンディキャンディ」が嫌いだったわけじゃないし「エースを狙え」が嫌いだったわけじゃない し，面白かったと思うし。

オ：2年生の時にグループ作ってから，それからずーっと少女マンガ？
Y：いやだから，そこは少女マンガだけじゃなくて，だから私はそこの友達からつじくにおが面白いよ，つて言われ てつじくにお読むようになったし，つじくにおもそうだし塩野ななみもそうだし，それ以外の例えば「ポーの一族」 にかぶれるってことはイコールイギリスにかぶれるってことなのよね。だからそこからイギリスへの興味になって， イギリスの中でも，ああこういうマージナルなとこに？？があったりスコッツがあったりするのか，っていうんで， そっちのフォークテイル読んだりとか，あとジェームスジョイスとか，あの時は全然わけがわかんなかったんだけ どね，多分今でもわかんないけど（L）。
オ：同じ同じ。それが中学から？
Y：だからそれまでにもいわゆる名作みたいなもの，夏目漱石とか森鴎外とかは小学校の後半ぐらいから読みはじめ て，らちは世界の名作とか日本の名作の全集みたいのが，親も好きだったから揃ってたのね。だからそういうの読 んでたんだけど，その中でも「そっち関係」の。だから「ポーの一族」に凝った時は，もうそれはイギリス関係の， トマスハーディから，ディケンズも読んで。ディケンズはまた違ったけどね，パターンが。でもほら名作全集には必ず入ってるでしょ？シェイクスピアも読んだし，あの辺にあるの全部読んだんだよね。オースティンも読んだか な。

オ：女性の作家のほうは？イギリスの。
Y ：女性の作家は，あの時は読んでない。だからそういうのと一緒にいわゆる日本で言う少女小説みたいな，岩波み たいなシリーズ，だから「リトルウィメン」みたいなのも読んだし，私は昔からイギリスの児童文学が好きだった から，（英語わからん）「リトルプリンス，リトルプリンセス」でも私一番好きだったのは「シークレットガーデン」 あれを読んだあとに Wuthering Heights行ったのね。（この辺文学の話で盛り上がる。略）
だから私は岩波のシリーズ，あとは子供用の小さいのがあって，それは好きで図書館で借りたりして全部，欲しい のはそろえてる。（略）

私の父親が何でか知らないけどテレビの前に「福音館書店」つていう日本の出版者が翻訳したのを出してたの。あ

れ買った理由ってのが，あれのイラストがガーシュウイリアムスっていう人で，あの人が描いたピクチャーブック で「ラビッツウエディング」っていうのがあって，日本語では「白いウサギと黒いウサギ」ってのがあって，要す るに白いウサギと黒いウサギが結婚する話なんだけどね。それが私は小さい時に大好きで，ストーリーというより イラストレーションがものすごく好きだったのね。小学校 1 年生かな 2 年生かな，親が私がその絵を好きなのを憶 えてて，父親と一緒に本屋に言った時に「同じ人が絵描いてるのがあるよ，読んでみる？」って言われて，買って読んだのがあれだったの。（略）

そう言う感じの，いわゆる向こうの少女小説みたいのにも入ってて，児童文学みたいのにも入ってて，少女マンガ にも入ってて，私にとってはカテジリーとして全部一緒だったわけ。

才：何で全部一緒だったの？
Y：面白いから読む，っていうのでは一緒で，で，読んでて楽しい，読んでてイライラしない，っていうのが。だか ら変な話だけど，小学校のときから，誰がトランスレーターかっていうのをちゃんと見てから買ってたの。へたな人いるのよ，やっぱり。そしたらその人の日本語読んでるだけで耐えられないのね。オリジナルがいいか悪いか知 らないけど，あの人が翻訳してるなら絶対大丈夫っていうのがいるのね。逆にその人が翻訳してるものっていうの は多分オリジナルもいいだろうと。あとは「アーサー王シリーズ」ね。

で，日本のも読んでてそっちのも読んでて。
オ ：その違いはどう考えてた？
Y：マンガか本か，ってくらいしか考えてなかったけど（L）違いっていうのはどういう違い？
オ：例えば「ベルばら」つてフランスの設定だけど日本人が描いてるでしょ。でも本当のアメリカの設定でアメリ カの人が描いたものとか。

Y ：そんなのはあんまり気にしなかったと思うね。面白いかどうか。あと私にとって一番大きな違いは，本だと親が無条件にお金出して買ってくれるんだけど，マンガはおこづかいでかいなさいって言われるから。本の場合は多少当たり外れがあるかも知れないけど，全部買ってあとで取捨選択ができた。マンガの場合は自分の自腹を切らなき やいけないから，絶対好きなもの以外買えなかった。そこが違ったかな。

あと，ベルばらとかでも，何でもそうなんだけど，ひとつのものを読んで面白かったらその周辺部さわってみたく なるじゃない。そのへんが，最初の頃は別々だったのかもしれないけど，網の目みたいになって，全部が強くコネ クトして，例えば今私の中で．．．例えば「ポーの一族」が好きでイギリスものが好きになってっていうのもあるんだ けど，「ポーの一族」を読む前から私はイギリスの children＇s literatureっていうのが面白かったから，そっちの影響で「ポーの一族」が好きになったのかどうか，っていうの聞かれてもわからないのね。ただ多分両方ともが私 にとって面白いと思えるカテゴリーの中に入ってて，両方からその面白いものがだんだん派生していって，糸がぐ ちゃぐちゃになって，どこがはじまりでどこが終わりかわからないようになっているみたいな。 オ：今になってみれば，その面白さってパターンあるの？
 いうお約束のものは嫌いだった。逆にお約束するんだったら，一条ゆかりの「有閑倶楽部」みたいに徹底的にお約

束を逆手に取るくらいでないと面白くない。だからレディースコミックっていうのがいまひとつ乗れないのは，あ れはお約束からぜったい出ていかないでしょう，ほとんど。あとレディースコミック嫌いなのは，デッサンカがな い人が描いてるからなんだけどね。だから，絵がまずしっかりしてないとだめ。で，ストーリーが，別に純文学と かみたいでなくていいんだけど，私は narrative がしっかりしてないとだめ。あと，読んだ時に「そうなのよね」 と思える部分と，「ああそうなんだ」とびっくりする部分，というとおかしいけど，あとで考えさせられるもの，そ れは自分にとって全く新しい視点を与えてくれるものである場合もあるし，自分がずっと思ってて気がつかなかっ たのを言葉にあらわしてくれてる場合もあるんだけど，そういうものがある。あとは，この期に及んだらイギリス ものとか，そういう昔の思いでのところにフィードバックできるもの，つていうのは，無条件で面白いなって思う。骨組みがしっかりしてるっていうかな。あと，作者の言いたいことがちやんと表せてる，表せてるっていっても， raw material のままでバーンと出すんじゃなくて，そこでちゃんとオーディエンスのことも考えて描いてくれてる ようなもの。

才：主人公が女でなければ，とかいうことはなかった？
Y ：そんなのは全然ない。逆に「トーマの心臓」とかは男の人だし。
オ：でもそれ，本当に男なのか（L）
Y ：だから逆に本当の男とか女だとかじゃなくって，自分が感情移入できるかどうかっていうのがポイント。 オ：でも少年マンガが面白くなかった。

Y：感情移入ができないからだと思う，それは。多分男の子の視点で描いてるから，そこが入れないんじゃないかな。 というのと，出てくる女の子が「絶対ないよ，こんなの」みたいな，嘘みたいなのだからかもしれない。だから逆 に男の人が少女マンガがわからないっていらのは，多分男の人から見てリアルじゃない男の人が出てくるからじゃ ないかな，って気がするから。

才：というと，identification ができるような主人公があって，それで話があんまり普通じゃないのが面白かった。 Y：うん。

オ：じや読んでて，何を求めてた？何で本を読んでた？
Y：楽しかったから。だから何で本を読んでたかって聞かれたら私はそれしかない。読んでて楽しいから。 オ：何か得てるという気持ちがあった？

Y ：得てるっていう気持ちはね，ただ読んでてワクワクする気持ち，ドキドキする気持ち。とにかく早く最後まで読 みたいんだけど最後まで読み終わるとすばらしい時間がなくなってしまうっていうアンビバレントな気持ち，その へんがやっぱり。だからその時の時間事体が私にとっては貴重だったと思う。だからそれを与えてくれるものだっ たら，それが映画であれ音楽であれ少女マンガであれ本であれ絵であれ，私は何でもかまわないから。 オ：何か考えさせてくれるような。
Y：そうそう。何か考えさせてくれるような。それでひとときでも幸せになれるもの。だから私の友達でちゃんとま ともな人生を歩んでる人がいるのよ，ちゃんと。絶対あの人は老後年金もらって安泰だろらな，みたいな。だから そういう，それだけで幸せになれるものが，私は誰にでもあると思ってたんだけど，彼女は「これだけあったらそ

れでいい」と思えるものって別にないって言うのね。だから私はそれがないっっていうのが不思議なのね。みんな日本人って，例えばその子だって昔は「エースを狙え！」読んでよかったね，なんて言ってるんだけど，今もう一回買って読みたいとは思わない。でも私は例えば，もし好きだった作家で亡くなってて，売ってたらやっぱり高くて も買らと思う。その人が好きだったら。で，それは私だったら当たり前だと思うんだけど，彼女はそこまではしな いって言うし。だから私，ベストセラーとかっていうのは面白いから好きで，買って置いといてもう一回読みたい って思うのかと思うけど，そうでもないらしいね，どうも。それが不思議。私は持っておきたいし，持ってて例え ば，それこそちょっと depressed した時に，これを読んだら絶対元気になれる，こういう時はこういう本を読めば いい，音楽はこれがいい，っていうセッティングが，ここまで長く生きてくるとね，あるんですよ，やっぱり。 オ：もらちょっと具体的に。

Y ：例えば，今はないんだけど，今でも「動物のお医者さん」ってあるじゃない？あれで英語の term paper 書かな きやいけない時っていうのは必ず読むのがあって，あれの中でS さんっていう院生のぼーっとした女の人が自分の dissertationを書くので夏休みどこにも行けなかった，つて言ってて，実験のほうは終わってるけど論文は進まな い，なぜなら論文は英語で書かなきやいけないから，つて言って，S さんが「私だって英語で書くんだからアメリカ人には日本語で論文書いてもらおう」って文句言ってるエピソードがあってね，term paper 書きたくなくって書か なきやいけないって時は必ずその前にそれを読んで，「S さんだってがんばったんだ」みたいな感じで，さあがんば ろう，みたいな感じで。いつでもそうってわけじゃないんだけど，そういう応援歌みたいなかんじで使うっていう のもあるし，あと，つらいなーっていう時，自分でどっちに行きたいかっていうのあるじゃない。ちょっと今日は さめざめ泣いてみたいなとか，いやそうじゃなくて元気になりたいな，とか。そういう時に本を読んだら，例えば「ポーの一族」なんて，どこまできたら自分が泣くかなんて分かってるんだけど，読んじゃうのよね。あれって自分が疲れてても，もら私みたいな人間なんていないほうがいいんだみたいな感じになった時，最後にほらユーリが癒されるじゃない。だからあそこまでずーつと読んでいって，ボンの神学校，私達のグループでは，ボンの神学校 にでも行こうかっていうのはひとつの（L）悟りを開きに行きたいみたいな感じのコノテーションで使われてるわけ ね。で，よかった，って思って，今まであったことはあったこととして，こうやって人間って生きていくんだな， みたいな感じで（L）。

あとはそれ以外に，ただ単に美しいから。例えばこのひとつのセリフを読みたいとか聞きたいとか。あと，萩尾望都のマンガのシーンだったら，この絵のこのセクション，それ見てるだけでいい，みたいなのがあって。で，だい ぶあとになるんだけど「銀の三角」ってSFマガジンに載せてたのがあるのね，萩尾望都ので。もう私はあれは，ど んな純文学よりも．．．なんかね，全然関係なかったモザイクがひとつひとつあとから思うときれいにまとまっていっ て，っていう。でも，最後になったからといって．．．だから普通のお話っていうのはきれいに $100 \%$ まとまるでし よ。それがすこし残ってるのね。だから始まる前と始まったあとっていうのは世界は同じ世界ではないっていうの が，そこですかるみたいなね。 オ：今の表現は良かった。説明が。


も私にとって，すべてが終わるとか時が移っていくのを教えてくれたひとつのカテゴリーの中に少女マンガがあっ て，そういう人たちの中に萩尾望都とか山岸涼子とかそういう人がいたつていう。（P）

オ：ていうと，自分が困ってる時とか決めなきやならない時とか，今からどうしようかっていう時ってあるでしょ。 Y：何かステップする時とかに読む。それ以外にもとにかくヒマだったら読むけど。だからなんて言うのかな，逆に， ボーイフレンドとかご主人とかいる人っていうのは，そういう人がそういうことをしてくれてるのかもしれない。 ただ私は，まあ，いないから（L）

オ：私いつもマンガ読むよ（L）。
Y ：だから逆に，そういら人たちが本当にそういうことしてるかどうか私はわかんないけども，自分にとって必ずェ ネルギーを与えてくれるものであるわけね，私には。（P）

オ：じゃ，今の自分になったっていうのは．．．
Y：まあ絶対そうだと思う。ただ逆に思うと，自分でもわかってるんだけど，あまりにも自己完結してるからね，こ れはいけないんだけどね。まあとりあえずこれで幸せで他人に迷惑かけてないんだから（L）だから逆に，そういう友達が多い。少女マンガに入ってて，今でもしてるとか，同人誌活動してる友達っていうのは，いい意味でも悪い意味でも自己完結度が高いのね。私もそうだし，他の友達もそうなんだけど。それでも結婚して子供を産んで，普通の奥さんしてる人もいるし，そうじゃない人もいるし，っていうところが不思議なんだけどね。 オ：私もこの間言われた。夏につき合ってた人にね，オールウィん頭の中に住んでるじゃん，自分の作ってる話と か読んでる話とかが現実より楽しいんじゃん，って。そっちのほうが悲しい，私「うん，いいことじゃん」て思っ たんだけど（L）。
Y ：だから私は，私は幸せなんだからほっといてちょうだい，って。だけど現実のほうが好きって人にはそれはどう も気の毒だと思える現象らしいんだけど，私はそれでかまわないし，世の中全員が私みたいだと確かにいけないと思うけど，こういうのが一人くらいいたっていいじゃん，と思ってるから。

オ：一人じゃないよ（L）。
Y：あ，よかった（L）。だから私にとっては今でも少女マンガっていうのはそうだし，で，少女マンガっていう枠組 みでなくって，私にとって「あの人の描いたマンガ」っていうカテゴリーなのね，逆に。だから逆にね，萩尾望都 とかは持ってこなかったのね，カナダに行く時に。何でかと言うと，入っちゃうと出ていけなくなるっていうのが わかってるから。だから逆に，カナダに持って行くのは，川原泉。

オ：知らない。
Y：面白いよー。読んで。萩尾望都とかはリアルタイムで読んでたんだけど，大御所で知る人ぞ知るみたいな感じで。 で，この人も花とゆめに描いてる人なのね，というか，描いてた人なのね。今描いてない可能性があるんだけどね （L）

私はこの人の特徴と言うのは，「恋愛ものがかけない少女漫画家」なのね。でも面白いの。
やっぱりね，私は，絵がすごくいいか，言葉づかいがすごくいいか，どっちかがないとダメなのね。で，川原泉っ ていらのは，絵ははっきり言って下手なの。下手なんだけど，セリフまわしとかが絶品だから，私は好きなんだと

思う。あと，言葉がね。「甲子園の空に笑え」とかね。でもね，よくよく読むとちょっとフェミニズムっぽいの，こ の川原泉っていうのは，今にして思うと。「甲子園の空に笑え」って単行本があるんだけど，それって高校の生物の女の先生が，田舎の私立豆の木高校っていうのに赴任して，誰も人がいないから野球部の監督になるっていう。 オ：女の人が男の社会に入るのがフェミニストっていう．．．

Y：らうん，違う。そうじゃないんだけど。ただその中で面白いのは，最初面白かったんだけど，なんかのはずみで県の代表になって甲子園に行って，旅館に泊まるじゃない。そしたらそこに東京なんとか学園というのの，いつも優勝候補のところと同じところに宿泊するっていうんで，そこの監督っていう若手の男の人が出てくるんだけど， いや私豆の木高校の，って言ったら，その男の先生が「おたくは野球の指導者の層が薄いんでしょうか」って言っ てむっとして，「こういう奴ってどこにでもいるんだよな，男の社会に女が入ってくるだけでむっとするような心の狭い奴って」とかいうのが，ちゃんとネームとして入ってるのよ。

才：面白いね。読みたい（L）。
Y：で，そうなってて，最後の決勝戦のところに，そのふたつの高校が定番として当たるんだけども，そこで女の監督のほうは，へたな欲を出さなくてもいい，あなたたちはあなたたちのままでそれでいいんだけれども，今日も運 がいいといいね，とか，楽しいといいね，とか，幸せだといいね，とか，私そこ読んだだけでもうわーっときちゃ うのね，必ず，毎回。

才：それはカナダに持っていった？
Y：らん，これはカナダに持っていった。その最後の，いつも運がいいといいね，楽しいといいね，幸せだといいね， っていらところの，置いてるところのセリフのところとか間とかがすーごく好きなのね。で，そのあとでね，そこ で優勝しちゃうと，「お話」じゃない。そうじゃなくつて，その東京の有名野球名聞校の監督が，君たちの高校の野球はとても素晴らしいんだけどそれは夢であって，これは夢でなくって現実なんだから，っていうようなセリフが あって，結局そっちが勝つ。でも最後には勝ったとか負けたとかじゃなくって，なかなかいい夏だった，とかそう いうのでぽんと終わっちゃうのね。

だから私はそういう点では，カナダに行く時に持って行こうと決めたのは川原泉で，川原泉を持ってったのね。あ と非常に個人的な理由で「動物のお医者さん」も持ってったんだけどね（L）。前にKさんと話してて大笑いしたの があるんだけど，何巻目かで学会発表のエピソードがあって，主人公の男の子 2 人のスーパーバイザーが漆原先生 っていうちょっとアクの強い先生で，漆原先生と仲の悪い先生って言うのが出てくるんだけどもその先生たちがけ んかしちゃって，けんかのあとにその 2 人の男の子のうちのどっちかがプレゼンテーションしなきやだめっていう んで，でもそれは 2 人の関係なんだから僕は関係ないですよねって言ったら「関係あるわよ，だってなんとかくん漆原先生の学生じゃないい，ってことは漆原先生の子分なんだから」つて言われて。で 2 人で読んでて「これから就職したって，どこのあれに行ったって，漆原先生の子分だって事実は一生ペったりくっついて離れないのよーと かって言って，そしたらそこで「そうか，漆原先生の子分だったって罪は一生消えないのか」つていうさ。大笑い に笑ってさ，Kさんに言ったらKさんが「えー，じゃあ私 B 先生の子分だったって罪は一生消えないの？」とかって

言って（L）。

Y：だから日本だとそうなのよー。だからそこ読んで大笑いして，だから私達もなんとか先生の子分だった罪は一生消えないのね，つて言ってね。それも持って行ってるけどね，個人的な事情で。

そんなもんかな。あとは，ほんとに話せって言ったらいっぱいあるんだけどね。きりない。
才：今考えてみて，自分の選んできた人生，というか自分のストーリーでしょ？何かに影響されたと思う？

Y：それは，絶対影響されたと思うのは，とにかくまわりの友達の中で私だけだったのね，英文科に行く理由ってい うのが，この本を原書で読みたいから，っていうので。だから私他の人がどういう理由で進路を決めたのかってい うのが全然分からないの。

オ：（略）

Y：だから例えば私は絶対読みたかったのは「○○物語」あれにもはまったのね，児童文学のときに。（このへんよ くわからんので略）

でね，あの時に思ったんだけど，私男の人はいわゆるステレオタイプなヒーローがけっこう好きなのかも知れない。 だってアーゴンが一番好きだったんだもん。だからBA の時のthesis，「あなたがアーゴンが好きなのはよくわかる んですけど」つて言われて。全然ロジカルに説明できてなかったらしいんだけど。ちょっと女の人の使い方は「○ ○物語」はいまひとつってとこがあるんだけども。
（略）
あと日本のだと折口忍の「死者の書」。
（略）
これはね，たいてい少女マンガ系に入ってる人は一回ははまってる，みんな。だいたいはまるツボが似てるのよ。 オ：これ小説でしょ。

Y：小説。少女マンガの好きな人ってけっこう音楽とかもあれだし，小説とかも好きな人多いんだけど，1個だけっ てことはないのね。でも好きな方向性，ディレクションが似てるのよね，みんな。

オ：何で1inguistics のほうに入った？何で文学とか．．．
Y：それは一番大きかったのはBAの時に「OO物語」でthesis書いたんだけども，客観的に分析ができなかったの ね，はっきり言うと。もう主観的になっちゃって，分析しようと思っても「だって好きなんだもん」としか言えな い（L）。で，ああだめなんだな，と思って。でもやっぱり研究なんかしたいなと思った時に，だから私言葉も好き なのよ。何でこの言葉じゃなくってこっちの言葉を選ぶことによって話がこんなに素晴らしくなるんだろう，って

いうのあるじゃない。このひとことが入ることによって物語の流れが全部違うとか。で，あと日本の場合ってさ，漢字を変えるだけでイメージが変わるっていう。そういう細かいところの違いっていうのがすごく好きだったから， で，言葉に興味があったし，あとその外国人に日本語教えた時に自分が知らないことが多すぎたから，絶対にこれ はちゃんとシステマティックに勉強したいなと思った。

オ：本を読むのとか考えたりするのは趣味として．．．
Y ：そうそう。使えるし。だからデータとか取るのでもどうしてもコンテクストがほしいなって思ってるから今みた いに（閆き取れず）だってコンテクストがないと何でこれがないといけないかってわからないからね。 いいよーこれ。

オ：うん，読む。
Y ：私友達と一緒にふたがみ山まで歩きに行ったんだもん。バカだよね。（略）
青池保子の「エロイカ」っていらシリーズあるの知ってる？
青池保子っていうのは昔はほんとに典型的な少女マンガ描いてたんだけども，プリンセスっていう雑誌で．．．．（略）
「イブの息子たち」っていらのがプリンセスっていう少女マンガに連載してたの。あれって．．．細川千栄子がまだ「王家の紋章」を書いてるのかもしえない。これはなにかっていうと，ほんとにもうコメディなのね。で，出てくる男 の人たちが全部多イ，っていう（L）。それも全部世界中の有名人が出てきて，その人たちがみんなゲイで，狂言回 しの男の人が 3 人いて，一人が詩人か小説家で，一人が composer かつ pianist，で一人はポップアイドル，って感 じで，で，この 2 人がゲイでポップアイドルの男の子を狙ってる，みたいな（L）それが何かのはずみで全然関係な い parallel worldみたいなところに入ったら，そこに来てる人はぜんぶグイで，で女の人が出てきたとしてもみん な性格的に問題がある女の人ぱっかりで，っていう，ギャグだったのね。で，それはそれで笑える面白いお話みた いなんだけども，それのあとに「エロイカより愛を込めて」っていらのがあれになるんだけど，これは多分人気が あって。

Interview \＃3

オ＝Alwyn Spies
$S=$ Saori
$P=$ pause
L＝laugh
Interview length $=90$ minutes
Transcriber：Miho Sakai

S：「この先生やってて，はじめは楽しかったんだけど，神戸の小学生殺した事件知ってますか？あれによく似た事件がたまたま私の勤めてた中学校であって，それは人を殺したんじゃなくて学校に放火したんですけど。その思考回路がすごく神戸のあの事件の男の子と似てて，そういうケースがよくあったんですよ。だからもう，これは教育 の範囲じゃどうにもならないかなあと思うことがあって，心理学をやりたいなあと思ったんですけど。
オ：私，文学部なんだけど，やってることはだいたい似てる。研究書に書いてあることとか，若い人たちが読んで ることとか，ギャップが大きすぎて，なんでこんなに，お互いに，上のほうが下のほうを理解しようとしてないと いうのは。だから，状態をつくってる子供達を非難してるのはどう見てもへんだと思って，どっちかというと見て るのが心理学的な考え方．．．

S：文学と心理学が少し重なったような。
オ：社会学も入ってるし，Cultural Studies とか。若い女の人たちが食べないとか，ダイエットばっかりしてると か，そういうようなところとか，体についてどう考えてるかとか，不安とか不安定とか。

S：その時も，はじめは心理学に興味持った時は，えらい大学の先生が書いたような本とかを読んでて，でもなんか こう，実際に現実におこってることとずれてて，確かに先生の言ってることは正しいし，うまく整理はされてるん だけど，でも現実はそれじゃもううまくいかないよ，ということがあって，それで実際に自分がやって見たいなと いうふうに。

オ：だから先生たち怖がってるでしょ。（L）
S：かもしれない（L）
オ：ばれてる，っていう。
S：それはそうなのかな。
（P）
オ：じゃ何を教えてたんですか？
S：国語と，あと学校の事情によっては社会とか。先生があんまりいないんですよ，滋賀県で。ほんとは先生の数が いるんですけど，子供が今減ってきてますよね。先生を採用しちゃうとあとで困るから今採用してないから，今の段階では先生が足りないのよ。それで国語なんだけど社会やれ，とか，国語なんだけど英語やれとか，もう無茶苦

茶。
オ：大学も最近その話聞いてるんだけど。生徒たちが減つてるから，人気がありそうな授業しなさいという。 S：そうそう。最近は子供の数が減ってきてるから。

オ：それくらい減ってるのかな。
S：すごい減ってる。私の頃はちょうどベビーブームで，生まれた時の病院でさえ赤ちゃんのベッドがなくて，私は廊下で寝かされてたとか。私が生まれて，たまたまその時父が出張でいなくて，帰ってきて生まれた娘を見ようと思ったら産室に娘がいなくて，どこだどこだって探したら，廊下で寝てたとかって。私すごいよく泣く子だったか ら，連鎖反応で他の赤ちゃんが泣くらしいんですよ。で，うるさいからとかいって（L）そのくらい場所がなくって， で，幼稚園入るにも幼稚園もないし，受験も厳しくて，って，そういう世代だったんですけど，今はもう教室がど この中学校行っても余ってる。 2 部屋とか 3 部屋とか。で，それが物置きになってたりとか。
オ：大学の時，日本文学でしたよね。
S：はい。
オ：で，中学校教えててどうだった？
S：なんかもう，文学以前。今の子って本も読まないし，日本語がしゃべれない。なんて言ったらいいんだろう，き ちんと文章としてしゃべれなくて，単語単語でしかしやべれないから，意志の疎通がなかなか。こっちがかなりも う想像力で補わないと何を言ってるかわかんない。あとは，今日本の詰め込み教育がすごい批判されてて，初等教育のところであんまりがつがつさせないで，ってことをやってた反動で，基礎学力みたいなものがぜんぜんないか ら，昔だったら当然書けたような漢字が書けないとか，昔の子供だったら知ってたようなごくごく基本的な日本語 を知らないとかで，教科書を読むとか読まないとか以前のところでつまづいてる子がけっこう多くて，教科書を読 む段階まで持ってくのが大変な感じですよね。

才：じゃ自分の中学にいた時とやっぱり違う？
S：やっぱり学力はかなり落ちてて。でも国語だけじゃなくて数学でも社会でも何でもそうだけど。もともと文部省 は詰め込み教育をしないことで落ちこぼれを作らないつもりでいたのが，初等教育をいいかげんにしちやったもん だから，かえって落ちこぼれをたくさん作っちゃった感じで。だからもう本当にごくごく基礎的な，昔で言ったら「読み書きそろばん」に当たるようなものができてないから，中学校に入ってちょっと抽象的なことが入ってくる ともらぜんぜんわからなくなって，落ちこほれがかえって増えるような，そんな感じですね。英語とか数学とかいうともら場合によったら授業が成り立たないくらい学力が落ちてますよね。もう強烈な感じで すよ。

オ：中学校は大変でしょう。
S：大変ですね。精神的にも荒れるし，今の子はなんて言うか体は大きいんだけど心の発達があんまりしてない感じ の子が多いんですよ。そのバランスが自分でもあんまりとれてないから，それが突発的に暴力を振るったりとか， キレてナイフ振り回したりとか，そういうのがあるかもしれないですね。 オ：今はまだ教えてますか？

S：今は勉強だけ。勉強してあとは時々アルバイトしてお金稼いで，学費がいるから（L）。
オ：じやどうやって決めたんですか，仕事をやめてまた大学に戻るということ。
S：まず大学に戻りたいと思った理由。まあ心理学がやりたかったからっていうのと，あと，教えることも面白かっ たんですけど，あまりにも子供達の心理的な危機みたいなことを見てしまうと，学校教育だけではそういうのは対応できないんじゃないかなって思ったのが一番のきっかけかな。あとは，もともと心理学が好きだったから，実際 に社会に出てみてもっとやりたいなって思ったという単純な理由とかもあるし。そんな感じだな。

そうですね。あとは，これはものすごい卑怯な意見かもしれないけど，結婚してしまって，いざとなったらダンナ に稼がせて，っていら気分も半分あったから，つてのもある。すごいこれは卑怯な意見かも知れないんだけど。 オ：でも食べていけるから，じや何やりたいかなって。

S：そうそう，食べていけるから，ってのがあって。
オ：ある程度安定があって。
S：そうそう，あったから。それもあるかもしれない。言ってみれば今日本ではカウンセラーって仕事はすごく不安定だから，で，卒業したからってその先の就職先があるとも限らないから，そういう意味で生活が安定したからっ ていうのも確かにあるかもしれない。

オ：だんなさんはそれについてどう思ってますか。
S：あんまり言わないですね。彼のお母さん事体が私に似てて，結婚してから学校戻って幼稚園の先生になった人な んで，だからわりと当たり前だと思ってるみたい。

オ：家の家族には多いですよ。お母さんのお姉さんとか，けっこうパターンが。
S：今はその，それでいいんじゃない，って感じですね。いずれ出て働いたらまた協力もするし，って感じで。そう いら意味では理想的っていえば理想的かな。

オ：なんかやりたいことがあるといいですよね。
（P）

S：そのへん難しい。自分でも悩んでるのが，やりたいことがあるって言いながら実はダンナの稼ぎをあてにしてる ようなとこがあるから，これでいいのかなと思うことはすごくあって。ただ今日本で社会人で大学戻ろうと思って， しかも女でってことになると，そういう安定がどっかでないと，ほとんど食べてくことができないからって現実も あるから，そのあたりすごく自分でも矛盾を感じることはありますね。前までは自分で生活もできたし，自分で職業もあったし，そういうのが当たり前なのに，今はたいして職業もないし，で，大学に行ってるってったって，そ れが本当に職業に繋がるのかっていうのも難しいし，そのあたりすごく悩みますよね。やりたいことある反面，で も現実自分がなにやってんのかって言ったら，まだ大学院行きたいと思わない自分のほうがよっぽど社会に貢献し てるし，そういら悩みってのはすごくありますよね。自分でもすごく矛盾感じてる部分があって。もっと気楽に奨学金借りれるとか，もっと気楽に戻れるとかいらのがあったらいいなと思うこともありますけど，まあないものは ないからしょうがないし，すごい今は矛盾を感じでますね，そういう意味で。 オ：私もいくらでもしたいことがあるから勉強したいと思っても，奨学金もらってなかったら私，絶対してないと

思う。どっかで自分で食べていけるような仕事してると思う。だから私ラッキーで，お金もらってるから（L）でき るっていうような。

S：そのあたり難しい部分ありますよね。
ほんとのこと言えば私としては，働きながら通えるとか，働きながらなんかできるとか，そういうのが一番いいん ですけど，なかなかそれをやろうと思うと，ほとんど無理に近いかなっていうのありますよね。あっちをやろうと思えばこっちを捨てなきやいけないとかいう感じで。私自身はけっこう働くのが好きなんで，ほんとのこと言えば働きながら勉強するってのが一番よかったんですけど。

方：でも日本ではあんまりそういうの，ないでしょ。
S：ないですね。
オ：だからこう，いろいろ生かしてくれないでしょ。
S：そうですね，もうほんと，やめるかどうするか，つてことになるし，で，やめたら今度生活はどうするの，つて ことになるから，なかなか難しいですね，そのへんは。

カナだとかってどうなんですか。けっこうそういう奨学金もらえたりとか，そういうことはよくあるんですか？ オ：今は減ってるんですけど，景気悪いし。でも働きながら勉強するのは普通ってみんな思ってるんですよ。大学生もほとんど自分で払ってやってるから，ひとつの学期でずっと休んで働かなきゃとか，そういうのは多いから，全然平気ですよ，そういうのは。

S：いいですね。私もそういうのが本来はいいと思う。
オ：あんまりみんならるさくないし，会社のほうとか，つきあってとか飲みに行こうとか，そういうのはあんまり ないし。勉強してるとか言えばいろいろわかってくれるみたいで。

S：そうですか。日本ではまず無理ですね。
オ：あと夜のほうの授業とか。
特に先生たちのために，小学校とか中学校の先生たち，修士とかとるために授業ほとんどタ方とかのほうで。あと夏の学期とか。

S：そうか，日本だったら学校に行ってたらまずそれはもう，ほとんど不可能に近いですね。実際は中学校とかって，定時が 8 時くらいから 9 時半くらいなんですよ。そんな 4 時半なんて絶対無理だし。

才：私びっくりしたのが，図書館がね，早く閉まる。なんで国立大学のが 5 時に閉まっちゃうなんて。 5 時以降に勉強できないっていうのはすごいでしょ。

S：そうですね。ほんとなんて言うか，学生と社会人っていうのがものすごい分断されてて，もっとこう，あっち行 ったりこっち行ったりできればいいんですけど，それができないですよね，ほんとに。

オ：私は思うんですけど，それは内容と資格の問題。内容考えたら誰でもいつでもできるでしょ。自分のためとか社会のために知識増やせばいいでしょ。でも資格だったら違うでしょ。資格だったらやっぱり，たくさん人がする と価値がなくなるとか，いろいろ考えて，全然そんな用途関係ないですよね。

S：そのあたりほんと難しいというか，もう悩みながらですね。（L）すっきりした答えが出ればいいのにとか思いな

がらいつも。なんでこんな，どっちかひとつを選べみたいなことを言われなきゃいけないのかな，とは思いますね。 オ：よく言うのが，結婚するのか仕事するのかとか，最初から女か男か，そういうような道みたいなもんで，なん で私決めなきやとか，私もずっと悩んできて。

S：本来はなんていうか，私の理想としては，結婚か仕事かとか，子供か仕事かとか悩むんじゃなくて，うまくすれ ばそれは両立できることなのにな，と思うんですけど，どうしてもなかなかうまくいかなくて，それで頭にくるこ とがよくある（L）。なんでそんな簡単に二者択一をしなきやいけないんだろうと思って。

オ：でもわりに，そういうふうに全部できてるような女の人たちいますか？
S：そうですね。私の母親がそれに近いかもしれない。ずっとそんな両立はしてなくても，子育てに専念する時もあ っても，途中から仕事はじめたりとか，ああだこうだって，全部やりたいことやってるから。まああの年代の人に してみればすごい両立はしてると思いますね。そうだなあ，とりあえず全部好きなことやったんじゃないかな，彼女は。

まあ母親とか見てると，そういう意味では自分がラッキーだったなと思うのは，あんまりそういう母親持った人っ ていないですよね。だから何かする時に，私だったら両立できないことはおかしい，とか，両立できるはずなのに， って発想で見るから，全部やろうやろうって風に発想をもって行くから，そうじゃないお母さん持った子だったと したら，壁に当たった時，ああやっぱだめなんだ，っていうふうになってしまって，その時その時は脳みはないか もしれないけど，これが 10 年経ったり20年経ったりした時に，何も残らないんじゃないかなって思うことがあ って，そういう意味じやまあ，これは自分を慰めてる部分もあるんだけど，私は壁に当たった時に，なんでこんな ことが許されないんだろうとか，なんで両立ができない社会なんだろうとか，怒りが持てるだけまだいいかなって思らことがある。だから今はだめでも，例えばこれを5年間がんばったりとか10年間努力をしたらなんとかなる んじゃないか，とか，そういうのは母親を見てて，あああの人もできたんだから私もまあできないこともないんじ やないかな，つていう。そういう意味ではラッキーかな，とは思いますね。
（P）
そういう意味では母親がひとつのモデルになってるっていうか，あの年代の人でもあれだけのことができたんだか ら，自分も少なくともあのくらいは努力すればできるだろうってのが，そういう気持ちはありますよね。 オ：同じ。私の母親もすごく強くて。まわりのおぼさんたちむ，母のお兄さんたちの奥さんたちとか，すごい人が いっぱいいるから？？がいっぱいという感じで。けっこうみんながんばってるから。好きなことやってるし，ちや んと責任感とか，ちやんと社会にいろいろやってるとか，面白いですよ。すっごい私恵まれてると思う。 S：そうですね，そういう意味じゃ。私はどうかな。うちの母親方の女の人はみんな強いんですよ。だからそれが当 たり前だと思ってずっと来てたから，社会に出てからとか，学生のときもそうですけど，あんまりにも女はこうあ るべしとか．．．もっと不思議だったのは女の子事体がそれをもう当たり前だと思ってることがすっごい不思議で。な んていうか，自分の人生なのになんで，たとえばボーイフレンドの言ったこと鵜吞みにしちゃらとか，なんでそこ で悩まないんだろうとか，なんでここで一言言わないんだろうとか，それがすっごい不思議でしたね。才：私も高校の時 1 回，まわりの女の子たちと一緒に昼食べてて，国語のクラスで debate やってて，その debate

ではどっちがえらい男か女かとかそういうくだらない話題で。で，その女の人たちが，やっぱり男だって平気で言 ってたの。それでそんな自分のこと嫌いになってなんで自殺しないの，どうやって毎日起きてて自分の顔みて学校 に来れるのかとか思って。不思議だね，平気でそんなふうに考えてるのは。自分が価値がないと考えてるでしょ。 でもそれでも平気で生きてるって。別に自分が強くなるとかそうじゃなくってただ自分が価値があるという。 S：自尊心を持つっていうのか。そう，それがすごい不思議。私が 10 代のころすごくまわりの女の子たち見てて不思議だったのは，まず自尊心がないってことと，自尊心がないのにぜんぜんそれに気がついてないってことと，自尊心持つっでことイコール生意気になっちゃうってことがすごく不思議で。すごいやっぱり頭に来てましたね，あ の時は。

オ：私もすごい高校のとき怒ってたのね。
S：それは単純な比較はできないかも知れないけど，男の子だったら自尊心もつのはいいことなのに，なんで女の子 だったら自尊心もったらいけないの，とか。別にいばったりすることはなくて，ただやりたいことやりたいとか，自分の意見を悥うとかいうのは，当たり前のことなのに，なんでそれを言っちゃいけないんだろう，なにも喧嘩売 ってるわけじゃないのにとかっていう。 オ：私びっくりしたのは，2年くらいバイトとして高校のサマースクールみたいの教えたのね。日本から来てる留学生たち，短期留学 1 ヶ月半くらい，夏にカナダに行ってる子たちに英会話教えてて，その時その女の子たちがび っくりするほど何にも反応がないし，なんかしたいことありますかと聞いて，みんなの前で英語をしやべるとか一切しなかったのに，話題がないのかなと，じゃカナダに来て何がしたいの，「別に」で，興味とか趣味とかあります か，「別に，買い物くらいかな」それしかなくて，何でも「別に」。反発もないし反応もないし何もなく，あんたた ちどうやって生きてるのかな，とか思ってきて，だって男の人たちがすごいかわいくてらくらくで，「先生これつま んない」「じゃ何したいの」「外行ってサッカーやりたい」「うん，じや行こら」つて。別に私むりに英語を教えるの も嫌だから，つまんなかったら私もつまんないんだから行こうよ，それ反発してもいいよ。それだったら生きてる， って感じでいいなと思って，その女の人たちすごい不思議で，びっくりしてて。やっぱり自分を大切にしてないと いうような。私にそれ見せてるだけかも知れない，その態度とか。よくわかんないんだけど。

S：たぶん彼女たちは自分で考えるとか自分の意見を言うとか訓練されてないんじゃないかなと思うことがあって。 オ：うけもない。だから言っても言わなくても同じだから。だからさっきと同じ，男の人が自尊心をあってもいい けど，女の人はない。そこからきてるのかもしれない。
S：そう，それはある。私とかも 10 代くらいの時にすごく言われたのが，自分の意見を言うだけでも驚かれて「女 の子のくせに」って言われたことがあって，たぶんそういう人たちは無反応な女の子たちが標準だと思ってるから私が何か言うとそれだけでびっくりしちゃうような。

オ：私は意見言っちゃだめとか言われなかったけど，意見を言ってむこうが，ね，A1wyn スカート短すぎるんじゃな いとか言われて，直接意見言っちゃダメとか言うのはダメだとわかってるから言わない。だから別な方向に，あん な意見言うような人なら女っぽくスカートはいてるもんじゃないという，逆の方にくる。でもやっぱり同じでしょ。女のくせにという。女じゃないくせになんでスカートはいてるのとか言われたり（L）。

S：はっきり言うんだったら女じゃないし，男みたいなもんだから女らしい格好はするなっていう。 オ：色っぽいスカートはいてるのはダメ。頭があるなら足出さない（L）。こんな考え方ってあるの，って思っちや ったのね。

S：それはカナダで？
オ：うん。
S：どこでもそういう考え方はあるんだよね。
でもカナだの女の子のほうがもっと意見は言うし活発な感じですか？
オ：ある面ね。「活発」というのは価値があるからみんな活発に見せようとしてるけど，ある程度決まってる。活発 というのはこれこの範囲，意見はこれくらいだったらいいというような。それ異常だったらいろいろ言われる。

S：じゃこういう枠があるからあわせてるという。
才：枠が日本と違うんだけど。でも枠はある。と，私は思うんですけどね。自分の意見だけど。
だから私こんな研究してるのね。若い人たちが何読んでるかとか，比較してとか。だって私すごい似てると思う。 むこうと日本と。若い人たちはだいたい同じような枠があってその枠に入るかどうかとかそういうことがあるから，読んでる話とかの共通点が多いんじゃないかなって，とかいろいろ。まだよくわかんないけど（L）いろいろそのギ ヤップとかは見てて矛盾してるところとか見てから入って，まだ結果わかんないんだけど。でも実際，今 1 月から高校生たちインタビューするようになってる。実際にいろいろ読んでる人たちと話して，どう考えてるのかとかい ろいろ聞くのが。今の文学者たちとか，本だけ見てるでしょ。本だけ見て読んでる人のことについて想像するでし よ。あんまりあってると思わない。すごいずれてると思うね。だから実際にそういう人たちと話したいなと思って。 ちょっと説明しにくいけど。でもほんとに心理学に似てる。社会学とか。やっぱり文学のやり方物足りない。テキ ストだけ見ると物足りない。解釈とか。

S：日常と違う世界のとこでの解釈だけが空回りしてるような。
才：でも社会学部だったら，テキストの読み方が物足りない。だからちょうど間。ミックスしてるみたいな。
$S$ ：社会学だともっと現実的なこと。
オ：するはずなのに，やってない（L）。て気がするけど，私は。すごい物足りないって感じ。
S：そういう意味じゃそうかもしれない。でも社会学とか心理学とか教育学とか。
オ：ミックスしてるみたいな，すっごいミックス。interdiciplinaryそのまま（L）。
S：なんか文学だけって感じではないですよね。
（略）
オ：文学部だから，社会学部だったらいろんなやり方とか教えてくれるでしょ。でもそういうこととか全然，自分 で本読んだり，いろんなやったことある人たちと話したりして。

S：自分が文学部にいた時にやっぱり物足りなかったのが，今言ってたことで，ほんと本を読むだけに終わってしま うというのが面白くなくて。本読むのはすごくいいんですよ，文献を購読したりとか深く読んでくというのは，た しかにすごく大切なことだし，面白いんだけど，じゃそれが何になるの，っていったときに，ものすごい（P）あん

まり自分達の心の問題とか自分達の生活とかとはあまりにもかけ離れたところで，例えば日本文学やってても同じ言葉を使ってないような，うまく表現できないんだけど，そういうのがすごくあって。だからあんまり私は興味持 てなかったですねそういう意味で。ゼミとかやってても，深く読んでくのはすごく面白くて自分で調べたりとか， ああいうのはすごく面白いのは面白いんだけど，じやそれで（L）じゃ例えば自分が研究者になるとか，こういう世界で例えば 20 年とか 30 年とかやることを考えたら，まあ社会出たほうがいいや，ってのは思いましたね。才：私も何回もそれくり返してる。どうしようかって。だからもらちょっと「使える」ようなとか意味のあるよう な文学を勉強したいとかつくりたいとか授業やりたいとか，人のもうちょっと心理学みたいなのを，ほんとに自分 のこと考えるように，どちらかというとグループカウンセリングみたいな授業を教えたい。文学として，本を使っ て人のいろいろ考えるように。media studies でもいいし，マンガでもいいし，pop cultureでもいいし，film studies でもいいし，高校でもいいし大学でもいいし何でもわかんないけど。

だから教育といろいろの間。
S：どうしても混ざってきますよね。
オ：混ざってるのね。
S：ほんとそのあたりが，文学は私すごく難しいなと思うのが，あまりにもテキストだけに片寄っちゃうと，人間の心から離れていくし，かといってあまりにも現実的になってしまうと文学じゃなくなってしまったり，文学じゃな くなるとは言わないかな。あまりにも現実すぎると今度はまた文学としての意味もなくなってくるから，そのあた りのバランスをどうとっていくかっていくのがすごい難しいなと思う。

オ：でも現実的っていうのは，どう思ってますか。
S：例えば，心理学的なことを書くから，心に触れるからっていうと，じやすぐ心理学に入ってしまうとそれはもう心理学であって文学でなくなってしまうし。難しいけど。

オ ：最近それ考えてるから聞いた。いろんな人と話したりしてて，この本は現実的だから好きだとか，この本は現実的じゃないから好きじゃないとか，現実的じゃないから好きだとか（L）いろんな人がいるんだけど，みんなによ って現実っていうのは違らでしょ。だからこれは現実的な本っていうのは，全部ずれてるから。どういうふうに現実ってのは考えてるかって。

S：なんか今心理学の本とか読んですごく思ったのが，やっぱ心理学と文学ってすごく重なってますよね。
オ：私もすごいそう思う。だって，人間の心について書いてる。それが fiction で書いてるんだけど，心理学者は non fiction で同じようなもの書いてるから。case studies のほうの心理学者たちの書くものは小説だよ。（L）読 むと楽しいでしょ。小説とかわんない。

S：へたな小説より面白いし。そのあたりが難しいっていうか，面白いなと思うんですけど。
現実的っていうとちょっと言葉がおかしいかな。なんて言ったらいいんだろ。らまい表現ができないんですけど。 オ：私も，答えがないよ（L）。ただどう考えてるかって知りたかっただけで。面自い問題って思っちゃって。

S：そうですね。でも大学で文学の授業やってて，私が最終的にこういう世界はやってけないなと思ったのが，あま りにもテキストに片寄りすぎてるっていう。なんか死んでしまってるっていうのかな，なんていうんだろう，本来

心について，人間の心とすごい重なりあうはずなのに，死んでしまったことを根掘り葉掘り分解してるような，解剖してるような，なんか死体の解剖みたいな。

オ：面白い表現ね。
S：なんからまい表現がないですけど（L）。
古い小説だからとか新しい小説だからとかいうんじゃなくて，私達と接点のないようなところでほじくり出してる ような，そういう感じがすごくあって。

才：そういう本が現実的っていう。
S：自分と気持ちが触れてる，現実的っていうと．．．お医者さんが心を見るような，そういうのになると現実的すぎ る。だから例えばノイローゼだから楽あげましょうとかいうようなところにまでいっちゃうと，あまりにも現実的 すぎるし。そのあたり微妙なんですけど。
（P）
オ：じゃ，勉強してきた本と自分で好きで読んできた本は同じですか？
S：重なるところもあるし重ならないところもあるし。でも重ならないところのほうが多いですね，やっぱり。 オ：だいたい勉強してきたのは，とか自分の卒業論文とかそういうのは何でしたっけ。

S：私は松本清張って知ってますか？あれをやったんですけど。あれはたまたま，わりと現代に近いから。 あと，日本の場合だと教職を取るのに全部の範囲の授業を受けないといけないんですよ。それでまあひととおり全部やったんですけど。

オ：同じです，向こうも。
S：たぶん教職を取らない人だったら，この分野だけっていうことで，ひとつに行ってたんでしょうけど，まあ浅く広くやったって感じですね。で，最終的には私はわりと現代のほうに興味があったんで，それで松本清張が一番， たまたま先生がやってて，いろいろ教えてくれたんで面白いかなと思ってやったんですけど。 オ：自分で教える時，どうやって生徒たちの興味ひくの？

S：難しいですね。正直言って自分自身が面白くないような話がいっぱいあるんですよ，教科書って。それがやっぱ り嫌で。そこがほんとに難しいですね，国語って。自分自身の興味のあるような話だったらけっこう子供の気を引 けるようなことを思い浮かぶんですけど，興味のないことだと全然頭から出てこなくて，それが難しかったですね。 もっとも子供によっては文学だの何だのという以前のところがけっこう今の中学校は多いんで，そこにいく，どう やって授業をしようかって悩めるっていうのがものすごく素晴らしい生徒たちの状況であって，実際はもう，漢字 が書けないとか，私の言ってる日本語がわからないとか，そういうレベルですね。そういう「読み書き」のレベル ですねる，実際は。

多分あの子たちは今の中学校の教科書とかって，ほとんど日本語で書いてあるけど？？理解してないと思う。そん な読解力はないんじゃないかなって思いますね。

才：面白いね。私，本で育ってきた，と思う。という気がする，自分で。だから読まなくてどうやって生きてるの かな，って不思議だね。

S：私も本が好きだったから。全然なんていらか．．．今の子たちってゲームもあるし，マンガもあるし，で，今の子 ってマンガも読まないんですよ。マンガって字がありますよね。あの字でさえもう読むのが嫌だって言うんです。 ほんとに，マンガでさえ言いますね。本読むのが嫌いだって子は「マンガでもおれやだ」とか言ってますね。だか らゲームやったりとか。今はゲームって，ゲーム事体にストーリーもあるし。

オ：聞きました。私ゲームぜんぜん知らない。今から勉強しようかなって，勉強と言うか，遊ぼうって（L）やって みようかな，って。

S：私もぜんぜんそっちのほうはわからないんですけど。子供の話聞くと，マンガ読むよりゲームのほうがストーリ一もあるし，自分でけっこうボタン動かせるし，面白いっていうんですよ。そうなると誰かが書いた，しかも字の あるようなものは面白くない，って言いますね。
（略）

オ：内田春菊のマンガ好きって言ってて，どこが？
s：あの人はわりとセックスのことについて書きますよね。あの感覚がわりと面白くて，少女マンガの場合のセック スって，さっきの本にも書いてありましたけど，純愛を貫いた先のセックスか，そうじゃなかったらレディスコミ ックの，どちらかっていうとポルノに近いようなのになってしまうかどちらかなんだけど。

オ：極端。何もまん中ないでしょ。
S：あの人はそういう意味で，まんなかとはすこし違いますけど，わりとそういう意味でセックスの書き方が面白い かな，といらのありますね。

オ：これもよく現実的って言うし，他の少女マンガが現実じやない，っていうの。よく男の人が読んでるのそう言 らんだけど，だからここから現実が何だってわかんなくなったりとか，考えるようになってきた。

S：マンガだから現実ってのとはまた違うんだろうけど。
オ：全部現実的じゃない（L）。だから何でこれが現実的であれが現実的じゃないっていうのは。
S：ただその，雰囲気が，雰囲気がっていうのかな，似てるのかもしれないですね。ただ少女マンガではセックスは やっぱりタブーというか。

オ：でも最近違うよ。
S：あ，そうですか。けっこう最近のは。
オ：描く時，絵でこういうふうにした，とか見せてるんじゃなくて，（L）でも，この人上手かどうか，とか，満足 してないから別なとこに探そうとか，そういうようなシーンが出てきて。あと，男の子にもうちょっと努力してほ しいな，とか，そういうようなシーンがあって。もうちょっと具体的なこと描いてる。あと，セックスするのは当然として，別にタブーとかすごいことじゃなくて，その話の流れの中で。

S：それだけ身近にはなってるんですよね。私はあんまり最近のは読んでないんですけど。
オ：きのう買ってきたのちょっと見せようかな。
こんなシーンがあって。ちょっと少女マンガと違うなと思ってたんだけど。

彼と別れちゃって，男の友達が来て，それを話して泣いちゃって，その人がなぐさめてる。この友達が彼女のこと が好きで片思いで，で，こうなって，ベッドシーンになっちゃって，けっこう少女マンガっぽいでしょ。でもそう いう，具体的に，これなんてきれいとかいうんだけど，でも好みだ，とかいろいろ描いてる。けっこう見せてる。普通はここで終わり。でしょ。ここで終わって体だけ見せて，でもけっこう見せてる。だからちょっと少女マンガ も変わってきたなとか思ってきた。

S：言われてみればたしかにこんなのは，少なくとも昔の少女マンガだったらここまでで，このページはなかったと思う。お花がいっぱいあって（L）。

オ：でもけっこらさ，これもお花といらようなシーンもあるし。ここ。
S：ああ。こういうのがたぶん昔ながらの少女マンガの手法なんだろうけど。お花しょってて。
オ：でもこれは男との花じゃなくて，お母さんと。だからこのマンガ，男の話じゃなくて，母と娘の間の話だから。 すごく好きだった，私これ。
$S: ~ こ の 人 は け っ こ う$ 面白い。
オ：あれ見てない？この人最近本も出た。 1 年前かな。
S：もしかしてそれって，虐待かなんかについて書いた本じゃなかったかな。
オ：インタビューも入ってるし，自分の小さい時からの日記みたいな。自分がどんな人とか，説明があって，それ からその時自分がこういう状態だったと，インタビューと，その時の作品について解釈みたいな，3つの違うもの が重なってやってる，みたいな。
$S:$ この人の雑誌のインタビューは読んだことがあって，お父さんの虐待を受けて育ったってことは聞いたことがあ る。

才：で，小さい時お母さんが出てって，で，ずっとお父さんと弟さんと 3 人で暮らしてて，けっこう殴られたとか。 S：そうですね，そういう話をなんか雑誌で読んだことがありますけど。
オ：でも面白いでしょ，よく少女マンガで母がいなくて，こんなのあるの，とか思っちゃって，実際にこの人がそ うだったというの，面白いですよね。

S：なるほどね。
オ：ホームページがあるのね。この間見てて，結婚したって，やっと。36歳くらいで。
S：私が読んだことあるのこのあたりくらいまでかな。
オ：私最近のやつしか読んでないから，ちょっとこれを見てから，ちょっとだけばらつとフィギュアスケートの話 とか読んでて，やっぱり面白くない。

S：あれは昔日本で流行って。いわゆる少女マンガの中でのあこがれの職業編みたいなパターンですね，言ってみれ ば。バレリーナとか。ああいう系列かなと思うんですけど，たぶん。
そうだ，私が読んだことがあるのは多分（P）せいぜいこのあたりの年代くらいまでかな。1980年代くらいまで。 スポーツ根性ものってわかりますか。あれも入ってるんですよね，多分。

才：でもそれは，何か目指してがんばってるような，ぬけちゃうような女の子の話っていう。けっこうそれ，自分

がそれしか描けなかったその時。なぜかというのを精神の状態とか説明するの，面白いよ。
S：これは集英社で。
才：私マンガの専門の店で買ってきたけど，この間普通の本屋さんで見かけた。女流文学とか，女の人のセクショ ンで。山田詠美の小説と同じところで。

S：じゃあ，あんまりはビめのほうのは面白いと思わなかったですか，この人の初期の頃は。
オ：うん。最近のほうが面白い。でもまだ分析してない（L）。人間関係のほうが面白いでしょ，こういうの。ああ いう前のやつちょっと単純すぎるかな。

S：これ私，子供の頃読んだんですよ。子供だからそのレベルで満足っていうのかな。
才：時代もあると思う。自分の上達だけじゃなくって，その時に合ってるような。
だから私読んでるのが変と思う。普通の人と興味ひくところが違う。だって文化が違うし。共通点はいっぱいある んだけど，それはどこにあるか想像できない（L）。やっぱり読んでみないとわかんないし。

あと，これけっこう社会出て，大学戻る人だから，共通点があるのね，悩んでることとか，で，自身があるとか自身ないとか少女マンガでも何でもそれがあるんだけど，考え方がちょっと違う，これ。まだ，ただ読んだ，まだ分析とか真剣に考えてないんだけど。今からしようかなと思ってるんだけど。どこが違うかって。でもやっぱり感じ た。何か違うこれ。

S：違うってのは，例えばどんなところが。
オ ：普通の少女マンガなんだけど，そのストーリーのパターンとか，筋。でもそういう次から次へのポイントが考 えてる。主人公が考えてることを見せてる。そういう部分が，じやあ次はこうだ，とか，こうだ，とか，何でそう しなきゃならないか，とか疑問しながら，とか，考えながらやってる。だからパターンはわかってるようなパター ンだけど，考えてることは違う。それをやりながら見てるような感じ。そのパターンを見てる。パターンを生きて るだけじゃなくて，パターン事体を見てるような，わかんないけど。

S：主人公が自分の考えを持ってるってとこを描いてるっていうか。
オ ：英語で言ったら self－reflexive。自分のやってることを考えてる。やってることだけじゃなくて，だからこう， なんかわかんないけど違う。少女マンガの筋を疑問しながら進んでると言うのが違うでしょ。だからその筋事体が見えるようになる，かな。
（P）
S：私これは読んだことがないですけど。この人の本はわりといつも私思うのは，確かに意志を持った，っていうよ うなところは共通してると思う。

オ：あと暗いところもけっこうあるでしょ。けっこう深いところが。
S：わりとありますね。わりとどんな話でも人間のくらい部分にどっかで必ず 1 ケ所触れてるようなところがあって。 オ：これ読んで納得したの（L）。ああ，なるほどって。

文学ぽいでしょ。
S：そう，そんな感じですね。

オ：でもコーラスはそんな感じです。コーラスとヤングユーは，けっこう多いの。文学っぽい。それを知ったのは本屋さんで，マンガ研究する前に好きで読んでた頃，本屋さん入って，ああマンガ読みたいなと思って，必ずここ のマークが出てるところまず見て，新しいのが出てる，じゃこの人どうかな，とか，この人どうかな，とか考えた りして，で，ラーメン食べに行った時とか雑誌が置いてあって，いろんなの見たりして，今度これ読もうかなとか決めたりしてて，で，研究するようになってきてから，どっかの本で地図みたいのがあって，いろんな出版者のい ろんな雑誌があって，これ SF 系，ファンタジー系，これが学園ラブストーリーとか，こっちのほうが文学系とか地図が重なってるところもいっぱいあったんだけど，それを見て，やっぱり自分の好きで読んでるのはだいたい文学 っぽい。たまにSFとか，たまにあっちこっちだけど，だいたい同じところ。やっぱり少女じゃない。もうそんな歳 じゃないから，こっちのほうが，もら働いてる人たちの話とかそういうのが多いかもしれない。

S：わりと自分達に近いような感じはしますよね。
オ：たまに高校生の話とかも読んでもいいんだけど，だいたい自分の考えてるのと関係あるのは，もうちょっとこ うちのほう。

S：そうですね。
オ：あとレディスコミックはだいたいポルノばっかりでしょ。だからそれも面白くないし。
S：なんでいきなりあんなすごいポルノにいくのかなとか思っちゃうんだけど。
オ：なんか，その間がすごい面白いのよ私。少女から大人になる間の，何読んでるかわかんない。面白いよね。
S：ほんとでもこういうようなのが出てきたっていうのも，多分最近のことだと思う。ほんと10年とかそんなもん で。ほんとの昔の少女マンガっていうと，こういうようなある程度年令のいった女の人の気持ちを描くとかいうの じゃなくって，もっと女の子のもう，ささいな気持ちだったりとか，あとはもうSFとかになっちゃうか，あとはい きなりポンと飛んでポルノっぽいやつになっちゃうか。たぶんそうじゃなくってその中間にあるような少女から大人になるような，ってのがやっと出てきたかな，って感じはしますね。 オ：でも大人は必ずしもポルノを読みたくなるわけじゃないでしょ。

S：あれは何なのかな。また違ったジャンルであるのかもしれないけど。
オ：今は何読んでますか。
S：今私は最近新しいのは読んでなくて，その萩尾望都の古いやつとかけっこう好きで読んでますね。あの人はわり と私好きで。 オ：どこが？

S：うーん。けっこう，わりとあの人も文学的ですよね。であの人も暗い話を心を掘り下げてくみたいな感じのとこ ろがあって，それがけっこう面白いかな。あとはあの，竹宮恵子って知ってますか。あの人もけっこう好きかな。 あの人は今も描いてて，かなり昔から描いてる人ですけど，あの人も面白いですね。 オ：こんど読もうかなと思ってる。前に話してた人も同じこと，好きだとか言ってて，読もうかなって。

S：特に，昔はわりと SF とか歴史とかそういうのが多かったんですけど，最近わりとその，いわゆる私達と同じよ うな感じの女の人の心を描いてたりとか，それがけっこう面白いですね。あの人の場合は，萩尾望都とかよりわり

と暗くなくて，からっとはしてるんですけど，その描き方が面白い。
オ：じゃこんど読んでみよ。
S：けっこう面白いですね，最近のは。
オ：小説とかは？あとドラマとかビデオとか。
S：小説はなにがあるかな。ビデオとかほんと適当。手当りしだいですね。けっこう私はビデオとかは血が出るよう なのが好きで（L）ばーっと出るようなのとかが。

そうだな。いろいろなんで何とも言えないですね。本とかも最近はでも小説は読まなくて，ノンフィクションとか が多いですね。

オ：なんで？
$S:$ 小説があんまり面白いのがない。
オ：なにがほしい？こういう話があったらいいな，とか。物足りないとか不満が。
（disc 2）
S：現実のほうがもう小説を追い抜いちゃってるところがあるから。
オ：自分の今の．．．
S：ていうのもあるし，あと，うん，それもそうですね。自分の日常の周りの人たちの生活見ててもそうだし，ニュ ースになるような話題にしてもそうだし。あえて小説読まなくてもいい，ってところはありますよね。さっきの話 とも重なりますけど，例えば心理学の本なんか読んでると，へたな小説読んでるよりは事例なんかを見てたほうが面白かったりとか，そういうのはありますよね。

オ：ほんとの人間関係が面白くて小説読んでて，そのところの人間関係のことばっかり考えてるようなのが気持ち いいでしょ。

S：そうですね。
オ：私もそう，けっこう。
S：で，人間関係のこと言うんだったら，ほんとに心理学とかのほういっちゃったほうが面白いし，社会の構造とか だったら社会学やったほうが面白いし。なんかその，心理学でもなく社会学でもなくてほんとに小説の持つ面白さ みたいなものがあれば読むんでしょうけど，あえてこれ小説で描かなくてもとか，小説読むよりも心理学の本読ん だ方が面白いとか，そういう感じはけっこう多いですね。

才：たまに私，逆の方に，心理学の本読んだりして，解釈，その，見てるところを見せてるのはいいんだけど，そ の解釈が好きじゃない。その学者たち事体の意見とか，こんなもん見てだからこんなもんだ，とか。こんなもん見 たのはいいんだけど，こんなもんだって言うのは嫌いなの。意見が合わない時とか，何でそんなふうに解釈してと か思っちゃう時。だから小説だったら，見せてるだけ。まあその解釈が中にいろいろ入ってるんだけど，ある程度自分で考えるようになってるから，じゃまじゃない，と感じるときもある。
$S: あ と$ 何か小説っぽいような感じなんだけど，最近面白かったのが，自閉症の女の子が書いた話ってのがあって，

自閉症ってけっこら障害の重いものから軽いものまであって，その本を書いてる人のほうは障害が軽いから（L）書 けたんだけど，それがすごい面白かったかな。それはその自閉症の女の子の，まあ女の子っていってもたぶん 30 いくつかになってると思うんですけど，その人が書いた本で，自閉症っていう症状を通した世界がどんなふうに見 えるかっていうのがあって，それがすごい面白かったですね。

オ：それは自分の話を話してるような人たち，学者とか先生が患者さんのことを説明してるのと違う。自分で考え たのとか自分の経験を説明してるのが面白いでしょ。私もけっこう好きですよ，そういうの。
S：たぶんオーストラリアかどっかの女の人かな。それが最近読んだのでは面白かったかな。 オ：なんていう本か憶えてますか？

S：えーつとね，作者はドナウイリアムス。日本語の題名では，忘れちゃったけど長い題名で。それはけっこう面白 かつたですね。自閉症がすごく軽くて，その人は幼児虐待を受けて育った人だったから，自分の精神状態がおかし いってことを自分でも気がつきながら自閉症だってことはわからなくて，自分自身でも虐待を受けてきたからって思ってたのが，途中でだんだん自閉症だったってことがわかってくるっていう。それがすごい面白いのが，今心理学を勉強してて，彼女が書いてる思い出の中のひとこまひとこまっていうのが，確かに自閉症の症状ってのを表し てるんですよ。自閉症だったらこういうことする，つていうのと重なる部分もあるけど，彼女の心，ただその事例 ってだけじゃなくって，彼女自身が体験したことをそのまま書いてるのが面白くて。表現のしようがないですけど。 それはすごい面白いかな。

あとは分裂病の人の書いた話があって，それが面白いのが，はじめは分裂病の本人が書いてるんです，本の半分は。 で，残りの半分が彼女の主治医の人が学問的にどういう治療していったかとか，そういうのを書いてる本があって， それも面白かったですね。

そういう感じですね。小説のような小説じゃないような，みたいな。
オ：わかる気がします。これが面白かったんですよ。似てるような。自分の経験を書いたりして，やってることと， その分析，自分で分析してるの面白いです。
S：例えばその，分裂病の話とか，自閉症の話を小説家が書いたらまたそれは面白くなかったんじゃないかなと思う んです。

オ：大江健三郎みたいな。
S：あ，そうですね（L）なんか話はちよっとそれますけど，大江健三郎とかって，自分の息子さんが確か脳障害か なんかで，書いてますけど，あの人の本読んでると，ああ息子のことは単なる話のネタなのかな，ぐらいにしか思 えないところがあって。

オ：すごい自己中心でしょ。（私もほんとそう思う！なんであんなんがノーベル賞？大嫌い／みほ）
S：そうですね。自分の文学のために息子の脳障害がある，みたいなとりかた，で私はとっちゃったんですけど。そ れに比べてやっぱ自分自身の体験，自分自身の目で見た，つていうのを書いたってのはやっぱり面白いですね。 オ：そうね。だから私，大江健三郎の小説に出てくる女の人たちも嫌なの。同じ。ほんとの人間じゃなくてネタ。（ほ んとそうだよ。男にとって都合のいいだけの女だよな，全く。ほんっと読んでて腹立つ／みほ）

S：そうですね。ネタとして息子の脳障害も扱ってるし，その他のことも扱ってるって感じで。だから一見するとあ の人はその，言葉が難しい言葉使ってるから，すごい何か高等なこと書いてるような感じがするけど，実際どうな のかなあ，つてのは思いますね。あの難しい言葉遣いを取って，一見文学的な表現を取って，哲学的な表現を取っ たら，何が残るんだろう，意外にそんな大したもん残らないんじゃないか，とか思うことがありますね。あのノー ベル賞取った時は，え，何で，とか思っちゃったんですけど。

才：私も同じ。（私も同じ！そう思ってたのが私だけでなくて嬉しい！／みほ）
だって遠藤周作とかそういうんだったら絶対，自分はいいと思ってるんだけど。
S：あ，そうですね，私もまだ遠藤周作のほうが。
オ：それだったらわかるんだけど，何で大江健三郎。難しいことばっかり書いてるからこそ価値があるっていうの は，あんまり単純な考え方だって思っちゃって，なんでこんなフランスの哲学のくだらない，はっきり自分の意見言うとくだらないと思ってることばっかり書いて，それが日本的の日本の代表の天才とかいうのは，なんかくそじ じいの世界ってこんなもんか，って。

S：うん。私もそれは思いました。だからあれこそ「死んだ文学」だと思いますね。
オ：形だけ。内容があんまり。
S：内容がないですね，あんまり。
才：？？と同じ。大学の教授が書いた小説みたいなもの。
S：そう，そんな感じ（L）フランスの哲学者の言葉をなくしたりとか，なんかちょっとこ難しい表現をなくしたら，
あんまりあの人の小説ってのは，たいして面白くないんじやないかなと思いますね。そういう意味ではまだ遠藤周作とかのほうが面白い。あの人は読みやすいですけど，なんかすごく，読んだあとでこう，ああなるほど，と思う ようなものがありますね。

オ：あと私けっこう吉本ばななの小説が好き。けっこう単純な話。すごい読みやすい，ていうかそれもあるんだけ ど，終わったら，もうちょっと何かあった，つて気がしますね。
S：そうですね。わりとさらっと書いてるわりには，こう，人間の死とか，わりとテーマは重たいですよね。表現の仕方はものすごく軽いし，さらっと読めるような感じですけど。

才：私はその，シンプルで書く方が難しいんじゃないですか。そんな決まり文句みたいな哲学とか，いろんなの使 って難しくする，ごまかしたりして，ほんとに内容がないのにごまかすような文章作るのはそんな難しくないです ね。

S：ある程度知識さえあれば。
オ：はっきり自分が何を書こうとしてるかわかってたら書ける，シンプルな文章。だからわかってなかったら，シ ンプルなやり方で書けないんじゃないかなって。

よくわかんない。自分で小説書いたことないけど（L）。
S：そうですね，言われてみればそうかもしれないですね。私もはじめ大江健三郎とか読んだ時は（略）はじめはな んか，彼は日本文学界でも評価されてるし，偉い人ですよね。で，読んでもぜんぜん面白くないんですよ。はじめ

は私の知識がなくて，このこむずかしい言葉にだまされてて彼の良さがわかんないのかなと思ったんですけど，と にかく読んでも面白くないんですよ，あの人の本って。

才 ：短編？rain tree の話とか。それはけっこう好きでしたけど，他はぜーんぶいやでした。 むかしの戦争のあとの「飼育」とか。それならわかる，つていう。たしかに面白くないですね。

S：私は特にあの，息子さん関係の話が好きじゃない。ほんとに，ああ，この人にとったら息子の障害っていうもの も単なる話のネタにしか過ぎないんだな，つていう感じがひしひしと伝わってくるような感じがして。あんまり好 きじゃないですね。

あとは何読んでるかな。私けっこう映画とかアメリカの単純な映画が大好きなんです（L）。
オ：私なんでも好きなのね。すっごい文学から，ぜんぜんくだらない推理小説からアクションの映画とか，何でも。 S：私もそうかな，けっこう。最近凝ってるのは「Xファイル」とか。あれ好きなんです。 オ：私も大好き！すっごいはまってた。

S：不眠症みたいになったことがあって，あのときにずっと見てたんです。シリーズが延々とつづくから。ああいう のもけっこら好きですね。

オ：なるほど。趣味が合いますね。
S：合いますね（L）。体力のある時はけっこう重たい映画も見れるんですけど，疲れてる時とか落ち込んだ時とかっ て，あのくらいのがちょうどいいんですよ，40分ぐらいで終わって。

オ：あとメグライアンみたいな。いやなことがある時とか疲れてる時とか，論文書いてる最中とかそういう時は絶対メグライアンとかそんなくらいな（L）で，そうじゃない時は絶対メグライアン見たくない。

それはそらと，高校の時とか読んできた本が，今考えたてみたら影響された本がありますか？とか小さい時。
S：どうだろ。小さい時とか高校の時とかってもう，ものすごい本読んでたんで，なにがどうって感じではないです ね。全部かな。

オ ：私けっこう，あるシーンとかある主人公とか，あるシチュエーションとか憶えてると思う。で，そのシーンの雰囲気とか考え方とか，すっごい好きだったとか，すっごい嫌いだったとか，すっごいイライラしたとか，怒った りしたときとか，けっこう憶えてる，私は。でも全体的に，その本全部という感じじゃなくて。

S：私もそんな感じかも知れない。もう，どの本が，これが影響与えたとかってのはあんまりないですね，多分なん ていうか。

オ：でもなんで日本文学を勉強しはじめたんですか？
S：多分本が好きだったからっていうのがあると思うんですけど，現実的な問題で，例えば英文学とかいっちゃうと英語のすごい古い本を読まなきやいけなかったりとか，そうなっちゃうんで，それだったらまだ日本文学のほう が．．．。

オ：だから私英文学じゃなくて日本文学にしたんですけど（L）。
S：そうそう（L）ふるーい，英語圏内の人でも読まないんじゃないかって本をじーっと読むような感じになってく るんで，それだったらしてもしょうがないかな，ってのがあって。で，その時も文学か心理学かどっちかにしよう

かなって思ってたんですけど，文学にすればとりあえず教職も取れるし，現実的かなってのもあったんですけど。 そんな感じかな。とりあえず本が好きだったからそういうことがやりたかったっていう。

オ：あと，前に言いましたけど，勉強してきた本と自分で好きで読んできた本が違らということで，どうやって違 ったんですか？今でも違うかも知れませんけど。
s：勉強してきた本ってのは，大学の授業で使うから読んでるとか，言ってみれば自分の興味から外れたような本で。 オ：どういら風に外れてたんですか。

S：多分自分の興味からはずれてる，何が違らんだろう，多分読んでて面白いか面白くないかってとこだと思うんで すけど。古いか古くないかってことじゃなくて。

オ：私も自分で考えてきてるの，何が興味引いてるのか。
s：今考えると，多分私の興味ある範囲ってのは，心理学とか文学とか社会学とか，そういうことに興味があるんで， それに近いようなことに興味を持って本を読んでるような感じがしますね。で，興味ない本っていらのはそれから多分離れてる本じゃないかな，って風には思いますね。
才：例えば？
S：例えば，そうですね，日本の古典でありますけど，私は源氏物語ってすごい好きなんですよ。あれはすごい古い し，原文読むと難しいんですけど，でもやっぱりあれはすごく人間の心理とからまく描いてて，あれはすごい面白 いなと思うんですよ。それ以外で．．．あ，あと万華集とかもけっこう好きで，あれは面白いんですよ。あれは興味が おもむくまま，って感じなんですけど。

そうだな，面白くないっていらとどうかな。私は明治時代ぐらいの小説があえまり好きじゃなくて，そうだな，夏目漱石とかあんまり好きじゃなくて，なんで嫌いなのかな．．．やっぱ上からものを見てるような感じが嫌いなのかな， なんかよくわからないですけど。何ででしょうね，自分でもよくわからないですけど。
明治時代ぐらいの話は私小説とかいって，自分の心の中を描いてるようなことを言いながら，実は単なる実験とし てやってるだけなんじゃないかな，っていうような感じがしますね。だからあの時代の本ってストーリー性もあん まりなくて，自分の心の中を描くのが文学だ，みたいな流れではやってるんだけども，単にそれは実験としてやっ てるだけで，自分の心を描いてないんじゃないかな，って感じはすごく，私は読んでて受けるんですけど。しかも ストーリー性があるっていうのがよくない，ってなってるのでストーリー性もないし，そういう意味で全然面白さ がない感じがしますね。かえって面白いなと思らのは，源氏物語とかっていうのはすごい古い話だし，全然今の日本とは状況も全然違うんだけど，多分書いた当時は話の面白さとかで書いたんだと思うんだけれども，そこにちゃ んと人間の心理みたいのが描かれてる，そいいうところが面白いのかな。

オ：でも，夏目漱石も人間の心理のことを描いてるでしょ？
S：描いてますね。これは私の主観なんですけど，多分私から見ると，なんかある種実験的なことをやってるのかな，
って感じを受けますね。そうでもない部分もあるんでしょうけど。
才：なんか残酷，っていらか．．．。
例えば大江のほうの話で，息子さんの，なんか不公平とか，残酷でしょう？その人の使い方とか，使ってるってい

う気持ちがやだっていう。
S：そうですね，そのあたりちょっと難しい。ほとんど好みの問題なんですけど。基本的に私は明治時代ぐらいの私小説ってのは好きじゃなくて。ほんとになんていうか，心の内容描いてるのかな，扱ってるのかな，っていうよう なことを読んでて思うところがあるから，っていうのもありますね。そうじゃないのもありますけど。そのあたり かな，あんまり好きじゃないっていうのは。

オ：好みっていらのは自分の趣味とか，何を求めてるかって，自分もわかんないでしょ。説明しにくいし。でもそ れが面白いです。自分はそこからこの研究始まったの，自分がなんでこれ読みたいとかあれ読みたくないとか，自分の読んでる小説と学校で教えてる，これが価値あるようなものが，ずれがあったから，といら風に文学が面白い なと思うようになってきた。ずっと本が好きでしたけど，文学勉強するとか文学で大学行こうというのは，やっぱ りギャップがあったから。何で？とか知りたい，とか思ったからこそ，心理学じゃなくて教育学じゃなくて，文学 になったと思うんですね。
s ：何が好きですか？
オ：私はね，最近私もあんまり小説読んでないんです。マンガばっかりで，それも研究のためだから，時間のある時，あんまり小説とか読みたくないのね。だから結構似てるような心理学の，ケーススタディじゃなくて，自伝見 たいな，そういうのがけっこら面白いし，あと小説だったら一番好きなのはね，吉本ばななみたいな，なんにもな いのにすごい深い意味があるような，そういう書き方がすごい好きで，ほんとにごく普通の毎日のことで，いろい ろ考えてるような。Ann Tyler というアメリカの小説家が大好きです。
s：何書いてる人だろ。
オ：「偶然の旅行者」という映画の小説書いた人。けっこういろんなのが映画化されてる。
S：私あの人が好きです。＂Joy Luck Club＂．
才：Eimy Tann．
けっこうそういらの，いつぱい読みました，私も。
s：そうですね，最近の小説で面白いと思ったのはやっぱり＂Joy Luck Club＂，あれは面白いと思いましたね，最近 は。
オ：あとこの間読んだのはね，＂Leaving Las Vegas＂映画になった。映画見てないけど，その小説読んでて，ものす ごく言葉の使い方とか powerful。すごいはまちゃって，もう日本にないような気がして学校から図書館で読んでて，自転車のって戻ってきた時，え，ここどこ？っていうような，それくらい入ったの。英語で読んだんだけど，もの すごい powerfu1，カがあるような書き方。

S：でも小説でそのくらい，なかなか。
オ：久しぶりだった（L）
s：小さい頃ならあるんですけど。大人になってからそこまで力を持った小説ってなかなかないですよね。我を忘れ て読んじゃうみたいな，なかなかないですよね。（P）

日本のでは，吉本ばななの他に誰が好きですか？

オ：村上春樹とか。
S：村上春樹面白いですよね。
オ：阿刀田高の短編が好きで。結構女流の方が多い。女の人の書いてる小説の方が好きで，修士のほうは山田詠美 について書いてたんだけど，あれは好きだとは思わないんですね。でも小説全部好きとは言えないけど，ある部分 がすごい鋭いところとか，びっくりする，全然自分がそういう風に考えたことがないことがあって面白いなと思っ たの。頭が回転させられるような本を読さのが好きで，え，こんなの見たことないとか，え，そういう考え方もあ るな，とか，切り替えが好き。山田詠実にはそれがあるんだけど，そうじゃないところはしんどい。（L）だから読 むと疲れる。

S：私もあの人は好きじゃないですね。確かにある部分は面白いなっていうのはあるんですけど全体として読んだ時 にあんまり好きじゃないですね。

オ：説教，教育みたいな部分があるから嫌なの。
S：そうですね，確かに説教臭いっていうか，ありますよね，そういうところは。
オ：そこまでえらそうに話さなくていいよ，つていう。こうしなさいって言われるのが嫌い。だから，そんな気持 ちがあるから嫌になる。別に内容とは関係なくて。ただ，自分がおしやれで，みんな私のこと見て見習え，とかそ ういうのが好きじゃない。
$S$ ：あと森遥子って読んだことありますか？あの人どう思います？
オ：読んだことないです。
S：読んだことないですか。あの人もけっこうそういう意味で山田詠美に似てると思いますね。わりとなんか，あの人もところどころ面白いなと面白いんですけど全体として読むと，ちょっと勘弁してほしい，って感じの人ですね， あの人も。

オ：ところどころが見つかるまでの，あとのところがもうイライラ。だからやりたくないからあんまり小説読んで ないの。絶対この人が好きだってわかってたら読むかも知れませんけど，どうかなっていう新しいのは入りたくな い。そんな時間ないです。時間ある時，本を読むのが仕事だから絶対違うことやりたくなるんです，私は。 S：あ，なるほど。小説ってここの，ひとつのシーンだけでも良ければ，いいって思えるんですけど，それが全然な い場合っていうのは面白くないっていうのはありますよね。

オ：全部私は今マンガで取ってるから。考えさせてくれるような，ストーリー性があって，考えさせるようなもの があるし，それで今満足してるみたいで。

S：そういう意味じゃマンガの方がある面文学的な感じがあるから。
オ：私やっぱりストーリーがないと。ストーリー求めてる。あと自分の人生の中で本とかビデオとか映画とか全部 なかったら面白くないと思う。ストーリーが欲しいという。
S：あまりにも抽象的だと，大学教授が書いたような本になってしまって。
読んでる時は多分哲学とか文学がどうこうとか，考えさせるとかそういうことは全然考えてなくて，ただただのめ り込めるような本が読みたいなと思うんですけど。

オ：そういう時もありますね。
S：小説ってなかなかそういうのないですよね。
オ：最近私日本語の小説読んでないみたいで，ほとんど「小説読みたい」って思ったら，日本語のほうが仕事って感じだから（L）英語の方を読んでしまう。でも夏にはけっこう読んでましたね。

S：なんか面白いのありますか。
オ：あのね，芸者の話。＂Memories of a Geisha＂っていう小説がけっこう面白い。日本語にも最近なってる。
S：日本人の芸者でアメリカに渡った人の話ですよね。ニューヨークかなんかに。多分それかな。
オ：書いてるのは，誰か本物の芸者，主人公をインタビューしてそのテープを使って書いたように作ってる。全部 フィクションなんだけど，小説の書き方が，その語り手が，私こういう人をインタビューしたから，という風にな ってるように書いてる。でもほんとはそれも嘘。それもそのフィクションのやり方。典型的白人の男の人が書いて るような日本の女の人の立場，その主人公の立場を書いてるのは，最初から私絶対これ嫌いとか思って。男の人が女の主人公書けないもん。勝手に自分で決めちゃって。だからもらダメだと思って読んだんだけど，良かったよ。 すごく面白かった。
S ：今度日本語になったの読んでみよう。
オ：けっこう私好きだった。orientarism というのがあるでしょ。それ絶対あるな。西洋の男の人たちが芸者にこだ わってるのね。で，売春の話もこだわってる。それも，ヤだな，読みたくないと。でもすごい話題になってたから。 やっぱりフェミニストの学者たちがすごい反対してた，その本。だから一応読まなきゃとか思って，読んですごい良かった。ストーリーの作りが上手。言葉の使い方も上手だし，進め方とか全部，小説としてすごいよく書いてる。内容もそんなに，よく主人公が女で作家が男の人だったら，えー，こんなの絶対ないとか思っちゃって，話に入れ ないのね。なかった。そんなずれとかそういう。まあ，あとで考えてみたら多分あったけど，その時全然不思議な ものはなかった。あと，日本の社会はこうだ，とか，かたくは言ってないし，なんかもう歴史の小説道みたいなも んで，けっこう面白かった。
S：じゃそれは，白人の，あっちの男の人が書いてるんですね。
オ：でも考えてみたら歴史小説書いてる日本人も研究して書くでしょ。でも，ちゃんとした研究して書いたみたい。 だからそんなにずれがなかった。普通の歴史小説が，今の考え方が昔に当てはまってるような，考えてみたら絶対 そうだけど，話を読んでる時は見えないでしょ。良かった，結構。
S：さっきのorientalismの話も，すごく思うんですけどあっちの例えば白人の男の人が書いたようなものって，私 が見たりするとほんとあきれて物が言えないような時があったりとかして。よくそういうような本とか，あと映画 とかってありますよね。

オ：＂Rising Sun＂とか？？とか，すごいイライラする。でも，よく見てる。私が日本人だったら絶対ダメ。これ絶対嫌になる。あと学者たちが言ってることが，えーそれカナダ人について日本人が言ってたら許さないでしょ。何 でそういう風に簡単に言ってるの，と思って。

S：中にはものすごい笑っちゃうのとかもあって，私一回，映画だったんですけど笑っちゃったのが，名前忘れたん

だけど，中国の話なんですよ。中国でどっかの外交官が中国に来て京劇の，日本で言ったら歌舞伎みたいな，あれ の女形の人に恋をしてしまう話があって。

才：＂M．Butterfly＂．
S：あ，そうそう。あれ見たときは私おかしくておかしくてしょうがなくて。東洋人の感覚からすると，もう京劇っ ていったら男ってわかりきってるし，なんて言うか歌舞伎役者の男にほれたようなものなのに，真剣に相手の男の人が悩んでる映画で，しかも東洋の神秘，みたいな感じでやってたから，もうあきれて物が言えないとか思ってた んですけど。

オ：それはアジア系の人が書いた話。でも本当の話だよ。
S：そうみたいですね。
オ：それがあって，それを一応，あれは劇だった。その劇を映画化したみたいで，それを書いた人は中国系アメリ カ人。それは orientalismについて書いた。それを見せるためにその画面とかを使って，非難のために。

S：あ，そうなんですか。てっきりあれはもう。
オ：わざと。あれが全部わざと。
S：じゃあ，私があれ見て「なんだこれは」と思ったのは，そういう意味では正しいんですね。あれはほんと見て笑 つちゃったんですけど。

オ：それは本当に白人をバカにしてるように，わざと書いてる。それを見るために。
S：私あれを見て，ばかだなあ，ばかな男だなあ，つて思ったんですけど。
才：けっこういろんな面白い記事があったの。それについて。反応が面白かった。学者が書いたので面白かった。本当の事件があった時，フランス人がその男の人がばかだって言ったのはね，愛のやり方がわかってないから。セ ックスの下手なフランス人が許せない（L）自分のセックスのレベルが落ちてるっていうか，評判が落ちてるってい う心配があるからやだ，とかそういうのがあって。で，イギリス人にもそれがばかだって言ったのはね，その談 が面白かった。アメリカ人は何でそういう風にだまされたというか，いろんな部分が嫌がってる，国の性格の話と かもあったのね。けっこうそういう orientarism の話が見えてくるというか。

S：あれはそういう意図のあった映画だったんですね。なるほど。真剣に作ってたわけじゃなかったんですね，そう いう意味じや。

オ：ストレートで読むんじゃなくって。
S：なるほど。そうですね，そうじゃなかったらいくら何でもあれはもう，ものすごいたちの悪い，というか，もの すごいレベルの低いorientalismですよね。

オ：またそれを見てるのは，上の立場から見てる。だからいろんな段階があって。
S：そういえば，私アメリカ映画で嫌いなのが，ベトナム戦争ものがあんまり好きじゃないんですけど。
オ：もら私あきちゃった。
この間私，本当のベトナムの映画を見てて，すごい良かった。＂Three Seasons＂っていうんだけど。
S：それはベトナム語でつくった．．．。

オ：ベトナム人が作った。でも，すごい良かった。
S：それはベトナム戦争の話なんですか？
オ：そのあと。今どうなってるかとか，今ベトナムに住んでる人たちの。あれからアメリカとどんな関係か，とか。 すごい美学的というか，仏教の影響が見えるような。ストーリーが違う。作りが違う。で，すごい映像がきれい。 S：それはもう全然アメリカ人の見方とは違う見方ですよね，当然ですけど。

オ ：全然。ベトナム側。なんか大江健三郎の息子と同じようになってるでしょ。（L）だからこれが息子の話。息子 が作ってる息子の話。

S：なるほどね。
なんか私はアメリカのベトナム戦争映画はもう，やですね。見てて頭にくることが多い。多分アメリカ人はああい うのってものすごく自然に受け入れるんでしょうけど，どうなんでしょう。

オ：よくわかりません，それは。
S：どうなんでしょうね。あれだけたくさん出てるってことはそれだけ需要があるからなんだろうなとは思うんです けど。

オ：でもアメリカ人は今でも戦争をつくつてる。自分の経済を良くするためにとか。で，平気で自分が，それが政治家たちの説明で，そんなもんか，って考えてる人たちが多い。全然裏とかは見てないみたいで。カナダ人はよく怒るよ，アメリカ人は単純で。なんでそんな見えないの。だって，ideology 見えるよ。なんであんたたち見えない の，って（L）。

S：あの単純なあれはちょっと。私けっこうアメリカ映画好きなんですけど，あまりにも政治的に単純な話とかでぼ んとこられると嫌ですね。

オ：＂Right Stuff＂とか＂Armageddon＂とか全部そうでしょ。韓国にいてた時ね，別の映画見にいってて，前の方のCM みたいのがあるでしょ？trailers（？）っていうんだけど，それ見てて，American の話，Bruce Willis の，その映画 のシーンがあって，Bruce Willisが，＂The United States government has chosen me to save the world＂とか，私がアメリカの政府に選ばれて地球を救うために，とか言ったりして，笑っちゃった。いかにもアメリカの映画だ ね。

S：隕石が落ちてくる映画ですか？いえてる。
オ：ひとりで映画館でワハハと笑って，周りの人たちは笑ってないの。あれ，ごめんとか思っちゃって。 S：そういうのはなんか，あのでっかい飛行船が来る映画，何でしたっけ。すごく有名になったやつで。あ，
＂Independence Day＂あれなんかも同じような感じですよね。才：その分？？好きだった。全部バカにしてる，それを。

S：多分私がベトナム戦争の映画嫌いなのも，単純なイデオロギーと，あとアジアに関係してるから多分嫌いなんだ ろうなと思うんですけど。

アメリカ映画もうまくできてるのはほんと面白いなと思うんですけど。
オ：あのね，キルトの作り方とか，それは少女マンガそのままでしょ。

S：なんか女の人がキルト作る，つていう話の映画ですよね。
オ：そういうのもけっこう面白いですよね。
S：そうだな。あれは何だろう，ピアノ弾く話。あれ良かったですよね。
オ：最近私けっこうフランスの映画とか見てるの。あんまり Hollywood とかそういうの見てない。でも？？という independent のほうの監督，けっこう大きいビデオ屋さん行けばそういう監督のがあって，あと petit cinema とか何とか言ったりして，ちょっと変わってるような，major の production company じゃなくて，ほんとに independent のやつとかのところに置いてある。＂Trust＂信頼か信用かどうやって訳されてるかわかんないんだけど，すっごい好 きだった。

S：それはフランスの。
オ：あれはアメリカ。でもindependent。だから普通の映画館でやってないし，ビデオもちょっと大きいところに行 かないとないの。

S：それは有名な会社が作ってるのじゃなくて，小さい会社で作ってるような。
オ：それもけっこう編集のやり方が違らし，あまりもらかるためじゃなくて，どっちかというと art films みたい なもんで，けっこう面白い，その人の。

あと最近日本の映画もいっぱい見てる。昔のとか。
S：何見てますか。
オ：小津とか溝口とか。あとビートたけしのやつ。あれこの間見てて。
S：あれ面白いですか？
才：＂Kids Return＂は面白かったけど，あれからは好きじゃない。
S：私まだ全然見たことないんですけど。けっこう日本じゃ有名だからどうなのかな，と思って。
オ：「菊次郎の夏」見てて，長かった。余計なところを切っちゃってちょうだい，とか，私の時間をつぶしてる，失礼な，とか思って（L）。やっぱり男の社会ばっかり描いてるでしょ。何か Hemingway の小説みたい。でもその分も面白い。あまり女の人のキャラクターとか期待しない方がいい。

S：まあ男の人が撮った，っていう。
オ：男の人の間の関係。友情とかいろいろについて。だから別に女の人いなくても不思議じゃないっていうような気がしたんだけど。やっぱりそればっかりだと私物足りない。たまに見てもいいんだけど。

S：ああそうか。私日本のはあんまり見ないな。黒澤とかも一回も見たことなくて。
オ：私ちょこちょこ。普通私は監督で映画選ぶんじゃない。ほとんど憶えてない，監督の。
S：たまたま見て良かったとかそういう感じですか。
オ：うん。でも伊丹十三好き。伊丹十三昔から全部好きで。
S：伊丹十三って何つくってましたっけ。
オ：「マルサの女」とか「たんぽぽ」とか「ミンボーの女」とか「あげまん」とか，いろんなのあった。全部見た，私。大好き。皮肉。すっごい社会をバカにしてるのがすごい面白い。「大病人」とか。

S：「お葬式」だったかな。
オ：「お葬式」も良かった。
S：あれはほんと，確かに皮肉っぽい。
才：全部そう。ふざけてて。
S：ちょっと斜めに見てるような感じですね。
けっこら見てるんですね，日本の映画とかも。それはやっぱり研究のため。
オ：まだまだ（L）いつかもうちょっと film studies のほうに行きたいと思ってる。ずっと研究者だったら。
S：じゃ宝塚とかああいうの全然興味ない？
オ：あのね，この間本読んでて，？？という先生の書いた本を，宝塚について。でもあれがはじめていろいろ考え たり見たりしてて，もうちょっと知りたいな，とか思ったの。

S：あれもなんか，独特といらか異様というか。一種なんか独特な世界ですよね。
オ：私あまりミュージカル好きじゃない。だから好きじゃないかもしれないと思ってきた。でも実際に見たことな いから見に行ったほうがいいかもしれません。どう？

S：私もあれはテレビでしか見たことないんですけど，ただやっぱあれは何ていうか，すごく見てて思ったのが，男 の人が女の人に対して幻想持ったりしますよね，あれの女版だなと思ったんですけど。こう，女の人が男の実体を知らずに幻想を持ったら宝塚のああいう感じになるのかな，つていう。そういう意味じゃすごく面白い。女の幻想 が炸裂してるっていう感じで。

オ：少女マンガがドラマになってる。
S：あ，そんな感じですよね。なんか王子様がいて，っていう。そういう意味じゃけっこう面白いかも。
（略。猫の話）

## Interview \＃4

Interview with $52^{\text {nd }}$－year high school girls．
Interview session one $=50$ minutes
Interview session two $=50$ minutes

オ＝Alwyn Spies $(\mathrm{L})=$ laugh $\quad(\mathrm{P})=$ pause
（略）$=$ omission ？？＝unintelligible
Transcriber：Sakai Miho

Interview Session One

○これはよくないわ（L）
○なんなんこれ。
○さぶいぼでるわ，ごめん。
○ということはやりたいんちゃうん。
オ：みんなどれぐらい読んだ？
○ 5 巻まで。
$\bigcirc 6$ 巻。
○ 7 まで読んで 8 見当たらない。
○8読んだ。
○クラス全体的に読んでたから，誰が誰持ってたかわからない。
オ：クラス全体で男の子も？
○全員で毎時間読んでた。
（略）

○教室のとこに置いといたら，読まして一つて感じで。
オ：じやどうだった？
○あんまり面白くなかった。
才：何で？
○絵がごちゃごちゃしすぎてる。
お：例えば？
○読みにくいね。
○たしかに細かい。
○言葉も入りすぎてて細かいし，あと絵のキャラクターが似てるから，誰が誰かわからん。 ○そうそう。

○ありまかなんか，女の子なんかようわからんし。
○途中からな。
－4，5巻がいちばんやばかった。
○この人とありまがわからん。
○これありまちゃうん，これ。
○ちゃうちゃう。友達の。
○つばき，ゆう人。
オ：これ女の子でしょう。
○いじめした時に仲良くなった人。
○しかも途中で日焼けしてたら誰かわからへん。
○途中で髪の毛伸びとるやんけ，こいつ。
○男なんこれ。
○男，男。
○このおっちゃん誰？
○教師。
オ：じゃ人物が多すぎるってこと？
○多すぎ。キャラクターが似てる。
オ：どういう絵が好き？こんな絵が好きじゃなかったら，どんなのがいい？
○きれいな絵が好き。
オ：きれいってどういう意味？
○すらっとしてる。
○どっちかゆらと，おもろい采が好き。
オ：これは全然きれいじゃないでしょ？
○きれいじゃない。
オ：きれいじゃない方が好き？
○好き。漠然としてるのが好き。
オ：じや少年マンガのほうが好きでしょ？
○少年マンガはまたこれは，えぐいっていうか。
オ：じゃこの主人公についてどう思う？
○はじめはね，全然面白くない。
○全然面白くない。読む気せえへんかった。
○なんでこんな優等生な話が，みたいな。でもだんだん，あ，違らんか，って。興味は持った。
○けどちょっと，ばらすの早すぎやろ。早すぎひん？ばれたらばれたで，ああもうあとどうでもなれみたいな。
オ：どこからそんな興味持つようになった？ 1 巻とか 2 巻とか，ずっととか。
○読んでて。タイトルの意味が。ああそういうこと，って。
○はじめはおもんないねんな。で，はじめであきらめる人はおもんないで終わるねんけど，がーって見てたら。

○だんだん何か。もらちょっと先が。
○読みたくなるな。
○一番あかんかったん 4 巻くらいで，ようわからんのが混じってきて，なんじゃこれ，って。
○フキダシが，誰がしやべってんのかわからん。
○どっち，っていうのがよくあった。
○わからんな。
才：例えば？見つけられる？
○激しすぎるとこがあるよな。やりすぎ，みたいな。
オ：私もわかんないところがあった。ありまと彼女の同じ場面を 2 回あった。見る立場が違う。彼女の見てる部分 と彼の見てる部分で，くりかえしててるころ。そこで誰が何が？ってわからなくなった，私も。だから何回も読ん で，ああなるほど，これが彼女の見てる分で，同じことをこういう風に見てるという。

○2，3回読まな理解できない。
○できない。
Oけど，1回読んだら読む気しない，短気だから。
○私中 3 の時に友達が持ってはって，読んでみて，って言わはって，読んで面白かったで，中 3 の時は。
○ちちも中 3 の時は面白かった。
オ：昔のようにしゃべってるけど，去年でしょ？（L）

○この 2 人一緒ちゃうの。
○一緒やで。
○よくわからへんねん。
○過去がこの人ひとりやから，過去の自分が。
○自分の中にいる。
○おやじと似た変な野郎が。
オ：この話のテーマがあるとしたら何だと思う？作家の目的が，とか何言いたがってるか。
（この子かわいかった，という話で関係なく盛り上がる）
○こまかくぼけたある。あとから見てみると，結構会話してる，細かい字で。ふきだし以外の。外側で。
○そこがおもろいな。
オ：ギャグとかもいろいろ入ってるでしょ。（P）
けっこう最後のほうに，こういらところとか多いけど，読むの普通？
○読まない。好きな人やったら読むけど興味なかったら読まない。
オ：私全然読まない。こういうところ。
○あ，そこな。何年かしてから読む。ひまになって全部内容わかりつくしてから，あ，ちょっと何か書いてあるわ，読んでみよ，みたいな感じで読む。

○どういうこと書いてあるの。
○だからなんか，自分の今はやってることとか書いたはんねえ。

○私好きな人やったら読む（3人くらい同意）。
○好きな作家やったら読む。
○だってあんまりよくわからへん人やったら，こういう風に渡されたやつやったら。
（略）

○ものごとが解決するのが早すぎるような気がした。
○ああ，そやな。
○いじめにしても，もっと続けや，と思った。
○そうそう。
○だからわからへんねん。なんでそこで終わったんか。
○いじめそんな早くおわらへんぞ，みたいなのがあるしな。
○そうそう。
○それに，好きになった経過とかもわからへん。どういうことで好きになったのかがわからへんかった。早すぎて。 （略）

○男子がすごいまわして読んでてん。
オ：で，男子たちと話してたの？
○はなしてない。
○全く話さない。勝手に読んではるだけ。
○男子はすごいいい感じで。
○ふたりで語ってはったで。
オ：よかったっていうこと？
○なにこれ「おれと離れがたくて」ちょっと古いな，離れがたくてって。
オ：けっこうそのマンガ古いよ。＇90年くらいかな。だって＇96年に事故にあってそれから全然書いてないもん。岡崎京子さん。だから＇96年より絶対前のやつでしょう。ああゆうのは読む？CUTIEとか。

○今の CUTIE あんまりよくなかった。
○そういら系あんまり見いひん。シュシュとか。ああいう采よまへん。それやったら関西ウォーカー読むもん。あ んまり興味ないわ。アンアンとかあるやん。中途半端なあんなんきらいやわ。
オ：さっきの質問に戻るけど，テーマは何だと思ら？作家の目的とか。何言いたがってるかとか。
○わからん。ようわからん。
○主人公の 2 人のあれちゃらの。
○なぜ自分をかくすか。
○ようわからん。まだ最後まで読んでへんしな。
○そう。最後まで読まなわからんな。
○まだ完結してないし，わからんわ。
○これは完結してんの？

○これは 1 冊。
○まだ 9 巻とか出るん。
オ：もうすぐ。アニメにもなってるでしょ。
○あ，中3のとき見てた。
○何チャンで？
○19。
○やってた，こんなん？見たことないわ。
（略）

オ：その人物の中で一番気に入ってるのは誰？
○いない。あ，この小さい女の子。
○つばさが好き。
○かわいい。
オ：どこがかわいい？
○赤ちゃんみたいなとこ。
○そうそう。甘えるのが。
（略）

○こういうのかわいい。
○男から告白するゆうのが面白くないなあ。
○ゆうてたな，それ。
○なんで面白くないのかがわからへん。
才：女のほうがすればいい？
○え，わからんけど。
○女が追っかけて追っかけて，やっと掴んだのがおもろいにやろ。
○それ自分と照らし合わせてるやろ，自分。
○あたしの好みではそうやねん。
○どっちかっていうとこういう恋愛系あんまり好きちゃうわ。
オ：なんで？
○なんか，クサイ。
○恥ずかしくなってくる，読んでて，時々。
○セリフがクサイわ。
○絶対言わへんやんそんなこと，みたいな。
○これはマンガの中やから言うんちゃう？
○そやけどな。でも想像してまうもんな，普通の人で。
○ちょっと引く，みたいな。

○こっちの現代的なほうが好き。こっちのほうが面白い。
オ：何であれのほうが現代的なの？
○なんか，ありそうやもん。
○ありそうなことのほうが面白い。
○現実的にありそうなこととか。
オ：じゃこれは現実的じゃない。
○琴実的じゃないというか，なんかな，そんなうまいことならへんと思う。
オ：じゃ自分とかうまいことないの？
○うまいことない。
○ほんまかいな。（P）
○絵しか見てないやろ。
○絵しか見てへんで。あんまりしゃべってるとこ見てへん。
○あんまり長いことかかれてたら読む気なくすやん。
○これみて短髪やで，思いきり。
○やっぱ読む時はひとりでじっくり読むな。
○でもやっぱり私が一番はまったのは「マーマレードボーイ」とかかな。（一同同意）
○あれは好きやで。
○「マーマレードボーイ」はじめに買った。
○買わへん。ずっとテレビで見てた。
○テレビでも見てたし本も読んだ。
○あの音楽が好きで。
○あーあ一。あれは好きやった。
○いろいろあったやん。終わりの歌とか。
○あー私も好きやった。
○私も憶えてたもん。全部憶えてた。
○（歌い出す。一同盛り上がる）
○女の人が海に泳いでがーっと。あと誰やったっけ。ゆらくん。ゆうがねずみいろっぽいので，くらーい曲。持っ てるねん，楽譜。ゆらとみきやっけ。

○てつお？てつちゃんとか，いた？
オ：「マーマレードボーイ」のどこがよかった？
○あのね，ゆうとみきが
○三角関係！
○くつつくか。
○あーつ，て感じ。
－ 8 巻まであんねんな，確か。 8 か 8 か。で完結して。
オ：一緒にならなかった。

○なってん。兄弟かっていうんでな。
○血がつながってるかつながってないかとかで。
○それやったらつきあわへんし，ってことでな。で，最後違って，よかったな，って終わって。 オ：どや「マーマレードボーイ」とこれとどう違う？
（P）
○絵もすきやしな。何となく。
○ハラハラ感があるていうか，あー！って時がある。
○これはなんかすごい，危機がない，2人の間に。
○ふーん，て。
○最初からくつついちゃってるしな。
○あっ。めくったページが。
○あれ普通やったで，別に。ふたりが赤くなったはっただけや。（L）
○いくちゃん純粋すぎやろ，それ。赤くなってるだけやのに。いくちゃん裏では違うで。
○ないない，そんなん。
○なんでこんな小さくなるのん。
○手抜き？
○いつも，こういう普通になってる感じのときと，こういう時やろ。なんでなってんの。あ，でも普通にかかれて こういうセリフやったら面白くない。

オ：じゃこんなかわいくマンガっぽい書き方とこのセリフが合う。
○合う。
○合ってるね。
オ：思ったんだけど，これ裏と表じゃない？だって表の時は普通に書いてるけど，本音とかいろいろ言ってるとか考えてるとかのときはこう。だからその違いを見せるためにやってるんじゃないかと思う。けっこう多いよ。おこ ってる時とか，こういう。ちっちやいのね，絵が。（P）

○つばさのそういうちっちゃい版かわいい。
○（笑いながら）こんなん普通言わんで，こんなん。この男絶対変態やで。
○オナニーって何？
○オナニーや。マスターベーション゙や。自慰や，自慰。
○知ってんの？オナニーって。
○わかる，ね？
○そりゃだって，天才やもん，この人。
オ：あれラテン語からきてるよ。オナニズムっていう。
○あれやん，あれ。説明したげ。（L）
○シコシコ（L）ゆうたった。
○わかってない？
○男の人がな，想像とか絵を見て，自分で欲求をはらさはんねん。

○そうそう。
オ：マンガを読んでなんでその話になってる？
○この本で。
（略）
○まあ要するにひとりHや。
○そうそう。
○あー。
○って，わからへんけど。
○あたしこういうの読まへんから全然知らんのかもしれん。
○読め読め，エルティーン読め，エルティーン。過激すぎて鼻血出るんちゃうか。（L）昔エルティーンな，段ボー ルで山積みになって学校に置いたあったで。みんな持ってきはんねん。みんな読んでたわ。
○なにそれ，LT。
○知らん？
○女の子のエロ雑誌みたいなん。でもあんなんみんな造り話や。
（P）
オ： 1 巻のおわりに短編があるでしょ。読んだ？
○短編読んだ。
○でも見た感じおもしろなさそうやったから読んでなかった。
○なんか，いたやん。暗一い人。目立ちたくない人。あの人の顔がぶさすぎて読む気しいひんかったわ。
○これこれ，この人。
○短編読んでない。見た感じ面白そうやな，おもたら読むけど。面白くなかった。
○短編はいらんかな，思った。
○いちいち短編ついてんの，いらん。
○昔やったら，短編やるんやったらもらちょうと書いてほしいな，っていうのあった。つづきが気になるから。
○なんでこういうのがはいんの？書きたくない
○何話目，とかの区切りじゃないの。
○ここでこう，完結してるやんか。次になんもしらんと入ったらわけわからんやん。そのためにこう。
（略）
（P）
才：自分の性格とか自分の共通点とかなかった？
○これ絶対手抜きやろ。（L）
○すごいおもしろい本があるねん，今。「ピーチガール」ゅうてな。誰か知らん？
○あ，知ってる知ってる。
○読んだことないけど。
オ：マンガ？
○マンガ。妹の友達から借りてんけど。
（略）
○妹が借りてきよって，読んだんやけど，すごい面白い。なんかな，はらはらすんねん。誰か読んだことない？ ○私いとこが持ってた「微熱少女」が面白かった。

○？？か？？しか読まへん。
（なぜか笑ってる）
○こんなん言わんで。どこのガキャこれ（相当ガラ悪いね）何年前やこれ。
オ：なに？
○「そこが急所」言わへんゆうにやそんなん。やってる時にゆうかいそんなん。すごい人やな。（P）私達別れまし よう，やて。勝手に別れい。

オ：ここの中に古いとかダサイとかいうセリフあったの？あり得ないセリフがいっぱいあるって聞いてたんだけど。
○あるある。
（P）
○うわ，こえやばい。名札のピンで好きな人の名前腕に彫るやて。
○これでもやってはったやん。（略）
オ：やったことあるの？
○やってる人見たことある。
○見たことある。
（L）
○やってへんて。
○あんたやったら5人くらい彫らなあかんやろ。
（P）
○うわ，これ手首切っとるやん。面白い！人の不幸ってめっちゃおもろいな。
オ：これどういう風に終わると思う？
○そやな。ありまが過去に問題もったはるやん。そういうのみな解決して終わるんちやうかな。
○すっごいぐちゃぐちゃになって終わりそう。
オ：ハッピーエンドじゃない？
○こういうのは多分ハッピーエンドやって。
○でもこんな話書く人って珍しくない？こんなん，普通の恋愛じゃないやん。
オ：じゃどこが普通じゃない？
○とんとんとただ，ネコかぶってたのだけが見えてきて，つきあったりしてうまくいくんかなと思ったけど，
才：うまくいってないと思う？
○これからさき？わからない。おかしい。
（P）
○最悪やこいつ。小田急線の始発にひかれちゃって，やて。
（P）
○どういうきっかけで本読み出した？

○私な，ちっちゃい時にお兄ちゃんのマンガ読んで，面白いなと思って，読み出した，少年マンガやったけど。
○ドラゴンボール？
○らんま。
○らんま，むつちや読んでた。
○全巻持ってる今。
○うちテレビ。読むよりテレビ見てた。
○むかしからコロコロコミックとか読んでた。
○らんまの声が好きやった。
○私も好きやった。
○ピーターパンの声も好き。
○ピーターパン持ってる，レーザーディスク。
○今やってるやん，BSで。
○そんなええもんついててん。
○？？ってさ，小さい時から読んでた？
○本がいっぱいあったんかな，家に。
○えらいな。うちなんか本読む習慣がない。
○私さ友達が持ってはって。
オ：みんな？家族みんなそう？
○うん。
○私も私しか読まへん。あ，おやじが読んでる。だうて「ゴルゴ 13 」読んでんで。
○弟は？
○弟は読んでるかな。けど，こんなんじやない。少女マンガじやないやん，やっぱり。今やったら「ワンピース」 とかさ。

○でも「ワンピース」面白い。
○「ワンピース」つて言うマンガ。男マンガ。おもしろいで。知らん？でもこのまえ聞いたときに，少女マンガの
ほうが考えることが多くあるって言ってたけど，そうじゃなくって，今少年マンガも今そういうのが増えてきてる
と思う。
オ：考えるところってどんなとこ。
○仲間意識とか。少年マンガはそんなん。友達とかそんなん。
オ：じゃ人間関係とかそんなの？
○ん一。が多い，そいらんなんもあるな。
○少年マンガは戦いが多いで。
○うん。多いな。
才：それ，いい？
○あんま面白くない。
○面白くない。

○ごちゃごちゃしてるし，なんかようわからへん。
○戦いは置いといて，つていうのもある。（略）今はお兄ちゃんが読んでる影響でジャンプとか読んでるんやけど， そういら戦いばっかりじゃなくって，違う分野のやつも増えてきてると思う。
才：違ら分野っていうと，少女マンガと似てきてると思う？
○うん。恋愛のやつもある。し，少女マンガって，結構女の子の気持ちがおおいやんか。恋愛とかしてても女の子 がこういう時こういう気持ちやっていうのが多いけど，少年マンガは，ああ男の人もこういう風に悩んでるんやな あ，ていうのある。

才：これが主人公 2 人いるでしょ。少女マンガって主人公が男の子って少ないでしょ。どう思ってた？気付いてた？
○うん。でも男の子が主人公のやつも持ってる。家にある。
○少女マンガで？
○うん。
オ：ないわけないんだけど，少ないでしょ。
○少ない。
オ：で，男の子たちがみんな読んでたり話したりしてたって言ってたけど，何で男の子たちがこれが好きになるか っていう。

○興味あるから。
オ：どこがいい？どこがみんな見てる？
○全体的に少年マンガには恋愛のやつが少ないからかもしれん。
オ：わけがわかんないとか，何でここまでかくのとか，よく聞くのね，男の子たちって。なんでそんな恋愛ばっか り見てるのとか。でもけっこうみんな読んでるでしょ。

○あのさ，今の時代ってさ，私だけかもしれんけど，女の子より男の人のほうが恋愛意欲が強いんちゃう？だって さコギャルとかだってさ，すっごい顔黒の人とか，彼氏いらんとか言ってる人いるやん。

○欲しいけど，あたしはこっちをとるみたいな。
○遊ぶ方が楽しいとか。
○ホスト系の男とかがさ，彼女欲しいとかさ。男の人のほうが恋愛意欲が多くなってるから，やっぱ今こういう少女マンガの恋愛物語が男の子が読みたくなるんじゃないかな。

○どっちかっていうとあれちゃう？コギャルとか遊び友達が欲しいんちゃう？
才：何でだと思う？何で男の人たちが恋愛をほしがってる？
○男の人のほうがストレス感じてるのかも。
○欲求。
－欲求不満やねん。
○女の子はまだどっちかっていうと結婚ていう道があるけど，男の人はやっぱり仕事とかちゃんと決めて大学とか出てやらなあかんし，そういうストレスを恋愛とかで解消したいんかもしれない。

オ：で女の子たちはそれがない？けっこう自由？
○ないわけじゃないけど，どっかでなんか，心の中のどっかでそう思ってるか，別なところで友達としゃべってて そういうの発散できたりとかあるのかもしれない。

オ：みんなけっこう友達と自分の悩んでることとか話してる？
○話さへんそんなん。話さない。
○うちは話す。
○私も話す。
○話さない。？？には話す。
オ：じや家族とかも話す？
○絶対話さない！！
○話さない！
○家族なんて，よけいに話さない。
○あたしはお母さんと話す。
○うちもやで。
－（聞き取れない）
○何で？
○親なんかとしゃべらへん。
○そういうことに関してはしゃべらへん。
○でもさあ，お母さんとかさ，けっこう経験とかあるし，いろんな知識とかアドバイスとかをくれはるから，うち は一応お母さんに，すごい悩んで友達にもいえへんようなことやったらすぐお母さんに。

○語ってんで。語りすぎや。（L）
○なんでそんな軽荗のまなざしで見るの？
オ：じや悩んでる時どうやって解決するの？
○言える友達と言えへん友達がいる。
オ：で，やっぱり話す？
○誰かに話す。どこかの人に話す。
オ：さっき言ってたように，お母さんが知識があるとか経験があるとか，どうやって自分がそれさがすの？決める時何か情報が必要でしょ。

○あの人は知ってはりそうやな，とか。
オ：人に聞く？本読むんじゃなくて。
○自分でさがす。いろんなこと。
○だから今はインターネットとかあるし，もしいじめられてるとしたら，インターネットにいじめのサイトもある し，それにつないだり，いろんなん見つけて。

オ：インターネットだったらチヤットとかあるでしょ？じゃ結局人の書いてるもの読むんでしょ。
○そうそう。チャットとか。一緒に悩んでる人とかいるし。らん。読むな。
（P）

オ：将来のことについて決めようとしたらどうやって決めるの？
○そら親に相談する。
○将来のことは，親とか，あと目上の人からいろいろ聞いて，自分が何が合ってるかとか。

才：先生とか。
○先生とか。本も見て。職業の本とか見て。
（略）
（P）
○何しゃべっていいかわからん。私はこんなんしゃべる資格がないからな。だって，あんまりマンガにも興味ない し，本も読む気ないし，どっちかていったらテレビ派やし。

○テレビは見ない。
オ：テレビだったら何の？
○ドラマも好きやしバラエティも好きやし。
○バラエティ。
○新喜劇なんか好きやで。
○何でも好きや。
オ：ドラマは何が好き？どんな話？
○「ビューティフルライフ」！か「お見合い結婚」とか。
才：「お見合い結婚」どこがいい？
○「お見合い結婚」？ちょっとコメディタッチのとことか。
○キャラクターとか面白い。
○「ビューティフルライフ」もあんまりおもんないで。
○あたし見たことない。
○なんか，あり得そうやしな。
○でも，いやいいねん，あれは。
○キムタクが出てるだけでええにやろ。
○いいねん。B＇sが主題歌なってるから見るだけや。あんまりでもぱっとしいへん。キムタク！思たしな。もっとち やんとしっかりしろや，思ったしな。

○だってさ，でもかっこいいからいいねん。
○かっこよくない。あれちょっと間違ったらぶさいくいくで。
（略）
○「お見合い結婚」ってマンガになってんの？
○マンガからって最近多い。
○「イマジン」だってな。
○なんか言ってはったけど，マンガは最初からコマ割りがしたあるから，映画とかドラマにしやすいって。だから最近は「マトリックス」も最初にマンガを描いて映画を撮ったらしい。日本のマンガに影響されたとか。 ○アメリカ映画って最後に完結して終わるやん。日本映画とかって，この先どうなんの，ってとこで終わるときあ るやん，ドラマとかもな。

○へ，もら終わり？っていらのもある。
○あー中途半端な終わり方するなあ。
－才：中途半端だと思う？ちやんとした終わり方が好き？
○日本は。なんかな，繋がったんか繋がってへんのかわからん微妙なとこで終わるねんな。
○でも時々ある。「エイリアン」とかやったら，まだ続きそらな終わり方とかしてへん。
○ごめん。「エイリアン」知らん。うえーつと出てくるのんきらいやねん。
○きもい。
○きもい。生まれてきたん，エイリアンやで。グレムリンならまだ見れるけど。
○でも，面白かった。
○「エイリアン」いやや。気持ち悪い。
○ああいう系だいきらい！
○あれこわくない。宇宙船で帰ろうって時に機械になってエイリアンがいたって。

## INTERVIEW SESSION TWO

（アイプチの話，ソックタッチの話，ナンパの話など省）

オ：どこまで読んだ？
○出てる限りは読みましたよ。
才：じや，あとはどうなる？2巻しか読んでない。
○いろいろあんのよ。
オ：だってこっち最後の方に別れちゃうとか言ってるでしょ。
○はいはい。だまされて，別れようみたいな感じで言わはったやん。でもこの次でこの女の人の正体が明らかにな って，でまたつきあわはんねん。で，また別れようみたいなこと言わはんねん，何巻か先に。言っていいんかな。

○いいよ。
○いいんかな。で，芸能人でこの人がすごい好きにならはる人が出てきて，この人がこの人を襲って，みたいなこ と言わはって。

○何でそんな，芸能人に頼まはんの。
○その芸能人とやっちゃったら，この人の信用もなくすから，みたいな。
○ああ，芸能人に言われてやるような女なのよ，って。
○そうそう。
○こわいな。高校生で。
○芸能人と絶対ならへん，そんなん。
○寝てる間にやられはってん。
○ほんまに？ビバリーヒルズみたいな。
○終わって，次また 8 巻が出るねん。
○出るのん。

○もら出てると思う。
オ：私トウジの性格嫌いなの。なんかイライラしちゃう。
○假柔不断みたいな。
オ：なんかピシッ，パシッとやりたいの。
○ちゃんとせい。
○それやりたいねん。それ欲しいねんけどな。
○このちっちゃいやつが？
オ：私あれもこわいの。
○私つけまつげやってみたい。
O1，2本でもいいから，かわいくない？ちょんちょん，っと。
（略）
オ：みんなマンガ持って来なかった？
○持ってきたで。
○重たいから持って来れへんかった。
○絵がすごいきれいやなと思って。
○あ，「天使禁娣区（？）」や。
○そう，これ面白いやんな。
○えぐすぎてきらい。絵がきらい。
○絵，きえいやん。
○なんか読みたくない絵やねん。
○めっちゃえぐいけど。 1 巻からえぐかった。
○えぐかった。描いてる人がビジュアル好きやねん，しかも。
（略）
才：何の話？
○天使の話。
○これ読んでるとみんなおたくやって。だから絶対読まへん思った。これ読んだらおたくになる思った。 ○うちの学校でもまわった，これ。

○やろ？みんな読んでんねん，これ。授業中とか。絶対いや，思った。
オ：まわったって，いつ？
○中 3 か中 2 くらい。
○せっかく持ってきたのに，重い中。
オ：絵のどこが気に入ってるの？
○きれいなところ。
オ：例えば？
○例えば，目とか，髪の毛とか。顔とか。
（略 テレビの話）

○ピーチガールは誰が？
才：私。
○面白いから買わはってん。
（略 風邪の話）
オ：ちょっとそれについて説明してくれる？だって読んでない。
○説明しにくいんやけど，簡単にまとめると，天使のお話（L）。
○天使に見えへんにやけどな。
○羽はえてるやん。
○きないやん。
○包帯まいたあるだけやん。
○包帯かい，これ。きちゃないなあ。
○見たらわかるやん。
○反感まるだしや。
オ：みんな読んだ？
○いや，読んでない。
○見たくない，言ったやん。
主人公はこの人なんやけど，このマンガの世界では，天界と地界と人間界があって，おおまかにわけると，その中 の天界とかそういうのの話なんやけど，この人は前世天使やって，その人はえらい天使やって，神様に背かはって， その結果，䛺を与えられて人間に転生させられてしまわはってん。

で，人間に転生するんやけど，その転生した人間はみんな非業の死，若くして悲しいというか，いやな死に方をす るようにプログラムされて，そういう罰を与えられたんやけど。そういう話。で，その人がいろいろ，天界とかで戦わはる話。この人は刹那っていうんやけど，この人は妹のサラと愛し合ってしまわはるねんけど。

オ：人間になってから？
○人間になってから。
オ：妹さんも人間？
○人間やってんけど，最近，妹さんも天使が，刹那，この人は昔アレクセイルっていうんやけど，その人を見張る ためにつけられはった天使やってんけど，その見張るっていうことをその人は忘れてしまったはって，で，人間や と思ったはるわけ，サラは。だからこの肉体が死んでしまったら，この人らは天使やから，天界では人を好きにな ったらしたらあかんくって，兄弟も遺伝子組替えみたいな感じで子供が生まれるから，親もいなくて兄弟も双子以外もいいひんような形になって，愛とか親子愛とか友情の愛とかそういうのを全部禁止したはるねんか。そういう ことになると，愛とか人とか変わるやん。そういうことになって神様とかに逆らったらあかんからということで， そういうこと禁止されてるから。
今妹さんは，死んじゃったからさらわれたはって，その妹さんを助けに行こうとしたはる。その刹那さんは。そう いう話やねんけど，よくわからない。終わってないから。ぐちゃぐちゃしてるから，今。わからないけど，そうい ら話。どうやってサラさんをつかまえてするか，とかいう話やねんけど。
オ：なるほど。天使の時の妹が生まれ変わってきて。

○生まれ変わってからの妹。
オ：だからほんとに，血が繋がってない？
○今のままでは繋がってるけど，前世とかで見ると繋がってない。変な感じ。わからないけど。
でも，読んでもまだわからへん，話が。終わってみな，あ，これはこういうことやったんか，とかいうのがわから へんけど。

オ：けっこう複雑でしょ。
○複雑。
才：それで読みたくなる？いらいらして読みたくなくなる？
○読みたくなる。
○はじめの 1 巻 2 巻を読んで，もらめんどいしいいわ，ってやめる人と，もっと読みたいわ，ってなる人がいるか ら，ちょっとマニア受けする。
○こういうの，いや。こういう気持ち悪いの。全然読む気しいひん。
○目玉いっぱいのやつ？
○うん。気持ち悪いのいや。
オ：これ？？？って言う？
○なんか血いっぱい出てくるもん。血みどろって感じ。血みどろ少女マンガ。
○少女マンガじゃないやろ，もうこれは。
オ：でも「花とゆめ」でしょ。
○「花とゆめ」。
○こんなん載せたあかんやろ。
○でも「花とゆめ」最近すごいぐちゃぐちゃ。
○昔「花とゆめ」むつちゃ純粋やったもん。
○そうかな。そうなんかもしれんけど，うちは好き。
（略）
○話違うよ（L）。
（略。カラオケ，アイプチの話）
オ：よくわかんないんだけど，なんでふたつのほうがいい？
○かわいく見える。
○目が大きく見える。
○はっきり見える。
○目つきがよくなる。
○一重やったら，にらんでるような，普通に見ててもにらんでるような感じに見える時があるねんけど，二重やっ たらそんなことない。
○あと，アイライナーとか引いても目立ちやすいし，アイシャドウが似合う。
○目立つのもいや。いくちゃんとかやったら目つぶらなわからへんし，そういうの，ちらっと見えるのがいいねん。 ○フェチがいた（L）。

○一重フェチがいた（L）。
○なかなかそれおいしいな。
○一重にしたら，ばっちこわいもん。
○でもさあ，アメリカ人とかはさ，元から二重やん。一重の人おらんやん。
○そうそう。何まちがえても二重やもんな。
○西洋人はな，二重が多い。アジア系の人って，なんでか一重やねんな。
○まぶたの肉がないから，二重になるらしいけど，西洋の人は。
○いいよな，鼻高いし，だんごっ鼻やし，低いしほんま。
○でも私男の人は日本人が好きよ。
○ゆめも好きやで。
○いや，外人がいい。日本人受けずる外人の顔ってあるやん。
○ゆめな，男は一重がいい。二重って，あんまりかわいらしいのん，いやや。
○自分より目大きかったら，屈辱的やんな。
○適度な人や。
○あんまり二重二重してるのいやや。この人の目かわいいな。この子の目。
オ：ちょっと不気味じゃん，それ。目が大きくて。かわいい？
○日本は目がでかかったらかわいい，って感じがするねん。
才：ちょっと不気味と思ったな。
○ぱっちりやな，すごい。
○でも，ぬってたらすぐわかんな。
○だからいやなんやん。
○ええやん，別に。わかるほうがいいやん。
○わからなあかんのは，あと 2 年したら絶対わからなあかん。
オ：あの絵見たら，日本人だとわかっちゃう？
○日本人やってわかるよな，もう。
才：何で？外人ぽくない？
○外人ぽいか？
オ：向こうの人たちにマンガ見せるとさ，なんでみんな白人？って聞くのね。必ず目のこと話すのね。なんで目が あんな大きい，とか。日本人みんな白人にあこがれてるじゃん，とかひどいこと言うの，みんな。

○でも今，コギャルは黒人やろ。顔黒やしな。那智黒。コギャルとか黒人になりたいとか言うたはるもん。
オ：なんで？
○今の化粧が，黒に白やねん。あれがはやってるから。
○気持がわからへん，私は。
○ゆめはどっちでもいい。
（略。ヴィトンの財布の話）
○マンガについて発表する時さ，必ず目の話になるの。あきちゃってるわ。すごい說明するのめんどくさくてさ。

発表したくないくらい。
○目でかかったら顔も整う，っていうか。
オ：なんかもう，細すぎるじゃん，とか，みんな言らのね。
○もう日本では細いのがはやってる。
オ：はやってるんだけど，あれぐらい細くなれないよ，みんな。誰でも，何人でもあれぐらい細くなったら？？？。 ○けど細い人もいる。

オ：これ病気に見える。これ病気じゃないでしょ。
○だから，こんなんがあるから，こんなんなりたいってみんな思う。デブがはやってきてもこわいけどな。そっち のほうがいいけどな。ぽっちゃり系がはやるようにしてほしいな。昔みたいな。
オ：こないだプリント渡したの，読んだ？
○読んだ。倉庫でやったやつやんな。何が言いたいんかいまいちよくわからんかった。
オ：みんな読んだ？プリント渡したの。
○読みました。覚えてないなあ。
○日記っぽくなかった？なんかこんなんあって，こんなんあって，こんなんあった，みたいな。そんな感じだけや ったな。何が言いたかったかようわからん。
○一部やったからわからへんかったかもしれんけど。あれ後ろらへんの最後らへんの一部やったやん。
オ：全部つながってないよ，その短編。
○っながってないけど，あの人仿出会ったとこは書いてあったと思らねん。それがようわからんかったから。
（略。プラダの話）

○この女むかつく。
○さえ？
○トウジもむかつく。
オ：でもいい子するより面白いじゃん。
○やっぱりな，昰者はつきものやな。
○むかつく，って思らのも面白いやん。
○しかも昔みたいに，めっちゃ悪役じゃなくて，表見いい役が多いやろ。
○そうそう。裹むっちゃ悪いやん，みたいな。かくれて何しとんねん，って感じやろ。
○トウジの性格あかんな。一番うしろにな，読者からのトウジへのなんか書いてあったやん。
オ：読んでなかった。どんなん？
○さえとつきあってない，とかようけ書いてあんねん。
ここ。
オ：あ，なるほど。
○見損なった，が多いな。
オ：すごいだまされやすいでしょ。ばか，って。
不思議だって思ったんだけど，ももちゃんがさ，彼に，何でさえちゃんのことを言ってることを信じるの，とか，

全部嘘ついてるとか言ってるんだけど，ももちゃんがさえちゃんの言ってることまだ信じてるでしょ，いろいろ。 トウジについて。だから自分のアドバイス聞きな，って。
○そうやな，信じたはんな，すごい。
オ：ももちゃんだって，すぐやってくれるとか言ってたでしょ，さえが。それを信じてたの，なんか。
○で，この人とかに聞いてさ，怒ったはんにや。自分ではこら信じたはるから，なんも気づいたらへんやん。これ もあかんな。

オ：でも，カイリのほうが絶対面白いな。
○うん。カイリいいな。でもな，はじめカイリと最後にくっつくんちゃらかなとか思った時もあった。
オ：そうしてほしいと思ったね。
○そうやな。その方が楽やん，すごい。
オ：楽しそうじゃん。トウジってつまんないじゃん。好きじゃないね，トウジの性格。でもよくあるでしょ，少女 マンガの中で， 2 人の男の子がいて，つきあいたい人とその友達として，友達のほうが絶対面白いのに，なんかわ かんないんだけど。

○でも最終的にはその友達と付き合うっていうのもあったやん。
オ：最近私そういうの読んでないから。「イマジン」つていうの，あるでしょ。そこの中でも大阪から来てる人が東京に来てて，仙台から来てる人と大阪から来てる男の人が 2 人いるでしょ。仙台のほうの人とつきあうんだけど， つまんない人で，大阪の人がすごい面白いと思って。なんでいつも顔だけ見てさ，シャイな人とつきあうの，絶対派手で面白い人がいいじゃん。わかんない。

でも話が全然，話のスタイルがこういうのと全然違うでしょ。
○違う。ありえない。
オ：それ，どうだった？きらいだった？
○ううん。
オ：で，プリント読んだ人？どうだった？わかんなかった？好きじゃなかった？
○なんか，よくわからへん。
（略。あぶらとり紙，テレビ番組の話。ビバリーヒルズ，アリー・マイラブ，フルハウス，ゆかいなシーバー家， サブリナ，ふしぎなオパール，アレフ，Xファイル，ER…）

○それでもな，その作品が好きなんじゃなくて，描いてる人が好き。
才：他のある？読んでる？
○全部一応持ってる。
オ：話，他のも複雑？これだけ？
○わからへんけど，暗いというか，ダークな話が多い。
オ：ダークといっても，最後ハッピーエンド？
○ハッピーエンド。でむ悲しさを含んだハッピーエンド。
オ：そっちのほうが好き？
○そういうのもすごい好き。ストーリーも好きやけど。
（略）

才：これ一番最近のやつ？ 16 巻。
○一番最近のやつ。
○この形のマンガ 10 冊買ったら 4 千円やんな。
オ：こないだ初めてまんだらけに行ったの。大阪にあるまんが屋さん。アニメとかもいろいろあるし，店の人たちみ んなコスプレしてるとか，すごい変わってるところ。古本屋さんでけっこう安いのもいっぱいあったし，セットで買えるのね。
（略）

○マンガだけを読んでる人はこわいねん。
○「だけ」はあかんねん。
○マンガも好きで他にも趣味がある人は別にいいねんけど，マンガだけに入り込んでる人はなんかつらいねんな。 ○片寄ってる，ときどき，しやべってると。いろいろ好きでいてほしい。
オ：バランスがいいような。
宝塚にも行ってきたのね，手塚治虫の博物館。
○中学のときに，友達みんなと卒業旅行や，って，そっちの方に行った時に，どっかの駅で手塚治虫の博物館があ ったんやけど，友達がすごい「見てみたい」って言ってたけど，その時は時間がなくて行かへんかったけど。
オ：宝塚市にある。グランド劇場の近くで。宝塚ファミリーランドとかあるでしょ。けっこう面白かった。マンガも いっぱいあったし，図書室があって，手塚治虫の全部のマンガがあって，読めるの，タダで。座って読めるし。
○でも，何を描いてる人？
オ：いろいろ。少女マンガも描いてた人。「リボンの騎士」という。
○あたしあれ好き「ブラックジャック」好き。
オ：「ブラックジャック」もよかったよね。
宝塚市のほうに，ファンがいっぱい並んでた。宝塚のレビュー見るためとか，有名な人たちを見るために。それも マンガのおたくと同じくらい不思議だねと。そんなに時間があったら，なんかしたら？

○そういう人がいいひんとマンガ描いてくれる人もいいひんやん。
○まだ私らが読んだことのないようなものもいっぱいあると思うねん。
オ：宝塚のレビューとか見たことある？
○そういうところにはあんまり。そこまで好きじゃないな，まだ，アニメとかマンガとかにはそんなにはまってな い。これからかな。わかんないな。
才：同人誌とか読んだことある？
○友達が作ったやつとか。
オ：どんなん？
○（L）そんなん。マンガ好きの女の子が描くことゆうたらもう，名前を出したらあかんけど，某バンドの中でな， こう，あー，って。授業中に読んでてな，やばいねん（L）。
○読むなよ，授業中に。

○だって，他に読めへんやん。
○いつ読んでたん？
○授業中，中学の時。ワープロで縦に打ってくれはって，それをあとで読んでこう，あーすごいこれ（L）。でも面白いな，そういうの。
○面白いけど，なんかあそこまではまってしまうど，こわい。引き戻れへんそう。
才：やおい采のほう？
○そうそう，そんな感じ。でも私やおいの意味がわからへんくて，一歩手前で止まってたって感じ。知ってる？意味。いまいち理解してないねんけど。
オ：やまなし，意味なし，おちなし。や・お・い。で，同性愛の話でしょ。男の世界をとって，女の人のためにその男の話をする。

○濃いなあ，話が。
オ：まだ読んだことないんだけど，なんでみんなそれ面白がってるのか，面白い。
○あれがもひとつ理解できんな（宝塚の話）。話は面白いのかな。どうなのかな。見たこともないしさ。
オ：話は普通じゃない。ベルばらとか。
○顔すごいやん。化粧も。
オ：でも女が男役するのが，みんな夢中になっちゃう。
○でも，きれいやからちゃうの。細いとか，毛がないとか，ひげがないとか。
○劇がはじまったのが最初なのか，マンガが先なのか，そういう系は。
才：劇が最初。それが戦争の前のほうの話で，歌舞伎とか男だけでしょ。だから女の人のために作ろうとした人がい て。阪急線を作った人が作った。だから阪急の途中の駅で宝塚ファミリーランドとか作って，もうかるために最初 にやったけど，それですごい人気になったの。で，それから，女が男役をやって，女の人たちがそれに夢中になっ て，手塚治虫氏がそれを見て，宝塚市の人だったのね，それを見て漫画化しようと思ったんだって。それではじめ てやおい采のあれが始まった，そこから，って聞いたんだけど。

○くわしいなあ。さすが。ちゃんともとはあんねんな。
○いきなり始まったらこわいな。なんの根拠もなくいきなり始まったらこわいな。それを今いろいろ，自分の趣味 に合った話を作ったはる。
（略。テレレビ番組「やみつき」の話）
オ：よく逆のほうに出るでしょ。女の子が男の服着るっていう，けっこうあるでしょ。男のまねして。
○男になりたいっぽい。それはわかる，すごく。
オ：どこが？
○なんか，男になりたいな，って思う時もある，というか，思ってる。
才：何の時？
○常に。
○それあるよな。
○多分男の人は，自分のほらが女より強いって，どっかで思ってると思う。体力的にもそうやけど，それを思われ

るような気がするときは，なめんなよ，つて思うやん。で，ああ男になりたいな，ってこう。勝ちたいな，って思 ら。ばかにするのはむかつく。
○純粋に服がかっこいいと思う。靴とか何でも。でもいざ欲しい，とかなっても，絶対でかいやん。26からです， って言われる。結構です，って。
○女の人よりかっこいい人，すごい憧れる。
○そうそう。かっこいい人，いるな。
○女としてかっこいい人もいないな。男っぽくてかっこいい人もいない。
（略）

## Interview \＃5

Interview length $=75$ minutes
オ＝Alwy Spies
S＝Shoji
$(L)=$ laugh
$(P)=$ pause
Transcriber：Sakai Miho

オ：最初から自分について，簡単に。自己紹介というか，名前なしで，だいたいどんなもんかって，自分の。
S：O○高校 2 年。とりあえず普通の生活を営んでる高校生で，まあどちらかというとアニメーションとかマンガ は好きな方です。あと趣味はコンピュータかな。

オ：なんの？どういう風に？
S：CDとかは買らんですけど，普通のCDケースあるじゃないですか，そうじゃなくてデジパック仕様とか，普通 のCDと型が違うCDが時々あるんですよね。そのCDのケースを自分で作ったり，あとはお父さんお母さんにデ ジタルカメラの編集頼まれたり。あとビデオのラベル作ったり。

才：年賀状とかも。
S：年賀状はフルオート。もら宛先全部できてるし。来年の分も。
オ：あーすごいすごい。
S：今年もらったやつも，その日中に打ってしまうから。来年はあと「プリント」ってやつ押したらいいだけ。 オ：どんなコンピュータ持ってる？

S：ソニーのVAIOのR71です。PCVR71。一応VAIOの中ではかなり新しい機種です。
オ：買ってもらった？
S：もちろん。60万も出せへんし。
オ：60方もする！
S：ハード事体は50か40万くらいなんですけど，フルセットで買ったから，1．3ギガMOドライブと。
オ：MOってなに？
S：向こうではあんまり主流じゃないかもしれない。フロッピーディスクより格段に情報量を記憶できる記憶媒体で す。

オ：zip driveとどう違う？
S：zip drive と容量はほとんど一緒のはずですけど，zip 持ってないんでよくわかんないんです。まあ基本的には フロッピーディスクと同じ感覚で使えるんですけど。

オ：MOってどんな省略？

S：何だったかな。
オ：メガ？
S：一応メガクラス以上記憶できるんで。ギガクラスまだ記憶できる。一応今 1.3 ギガまで記憶できる。古いほうの容量が 1.6 ギガなんで，もうそろそろ自分の持ってた古いパソコンが，こんなディスクに負けるんか，という世界 に突入している。

オ：私のもすっごく古くて䎵ずかしいくらい。
S：前使ってたの，1．3ギガのハードディスクにメモリが 16 やった。
オ：私のギガもいかない。メガバイツかな。
S：正確には俺の，ハード全体の容量が 1.3 で，その中でWindows とワードが入ってるから，使える容量はもうメガ クラスなんですけどね。今の奴は 27 ギガある。

オ：で，学校のほうは特進のほう。で，何目指してるの？
S：とりあえず，コンピュータを扱ったりするのが好きやから，そつちの方面に行こうかとか，理科の実験好きやか ら科学者にでもなるかとかいろいろ考えてるんですけど，まだあんまり決まってないです。

オ：大学のほうは，どんな？
S：一応ちょっとレベル高いところ狙ってますけど。
才：例えば？
$\mathrm{S}: ~ ○ ○$ 大学っていうところがあるんですけどね。ちょっと偏差値が 6 ほど足りない。
才：かなり私，考えると，日本の試験はすごくこわい（L）。みんながんばってるね。
S：がんばってます。
オ：で，その授業のほう 18 人しかいないとか言ってて，それが 1 年生の時から 18 人？
S：1 年の時は特進が文系と理系一緒になって勉強するんで，1年の頃は 48 人クラスでした。今年から理系はこの人
数，文系は拡張してもう1個48人クラスが2つ。
オ：じゃ理系だから少ない？
S：理采クラスはこの学校に 2 つしかありません。学年に 2 つ。特進と普通科 2 つだけ。
オ：で，女の子も入ってるの？
S ：いえ，女の子は国際科と人文科にしかいません。
才：理系のほうだったら，女子校とか行かなきやいけないのかな。
S：この学校は少なくとも理系女子はとってません。
オ：じゃあ男ばっかりでどう？
S：ラーん。まあ気兼ねしいひんからいいんですけどね。
オ：で，学校には女の子の友達は。
S：いますけど。学校外も学校内も。
オ：それは去年からの同じ教室，あ，特進は女の子入ってないでしょ。

S：理系特進はいません。人文系はいるんですけど。
遊ぼらと思ったらいくらでも呼び出せるし。
オ：家は学校から遠い？
S：1時間かかります。
オ：電車で？
S：はい。 4 回乗り換えです。
オ：わあ。大変だね。バスとかはないの？
S：バスは，あるけど使うほどの距離じゃないです。15分程度やから。自転車で飛ばして来ている。
オ：じゃあその，さっきアニメとかマンガがすきだって言ってて，だいたいどんなのが一番好きなの？
S：今好きなのは，俺個人としては赤松健（漢字不明）っていう作者が描いてる「ラブひな」っていう作品が。
（略）

と，あとは藤島こらすけ（？）の「ああっ女神さま」。あ，ビデオ持ってきてくれました？
オ：あ，持ってくるの忘れてた。
S：ええつ？
オ：でも明日また学校に来るから。
S：あとは，すぎさきゆきる（？）の「女神候補生」かな。
（略）

オ：赤松健の「ラブひな」って，どんな話？
S ：作品の方向性としてはラブコメディなんですけど。
オ：これが少女マンガじゃないでしょ？
S：少年。一応今俺が言ったのは全部少年です。少女の方も好きなんありますけど，まあそれ，のちのちのほうで。 オ：少年のラブ話があるって知らなかった。

S：少年でも最近ではけっこらありますよ。この 2 つとも一応ラブコメに近いものなんで。
オ：学園のほうのやつでしょ。
S：学園ではないんですけどね。
ストーリー的には，日本，東京大学ってあるじゃないですか。今日本で一番難しい学校のはずなんですけど，その学校を 2 年連続で受験して浪人してる男の子が主人公なんですけど，その子が，そんだけ浪人したら親に「家出て さっさと働くなり学校行くなりしろ」って家を追い出されて，で，おばあちゃんの家をたよって東京の近くに出て くるんですけど，もともとそこは旅館だったんですけど，おばあちゃんが世界 1 周の旅に出てて，すでにそこは改築されて，ホテルから女子寮に変わってたんですね。で，その女子寮に管理人として住み込んで勉強することにな

って，そこに住んでる女の子の一人とだんだんと近づいていくって話なんですけどね。 オ：さっきの，今雑誌に出てる？もう単行本に？

S：もう単行本になってます。
オ：で大体何冊まで？
S：今 5 巻まで出て，来月 6 巻やったかな。えーっと，来月 17 日に 6 巻発売です。
オ：全部その，いつ出てくるかって。
S：調べてます。
本屋に行ったら，ひと月に出るやつが全部書いてあるんで。現在 5 巻ですね。
これは一応講談社発行の少年マガジン，週間少年マガジンに連載してます。
（略）
才：単行本で買ってる？連続で読む？
S ：単行本になるまで楽しみに待ってます。
オ：何で？
S：週刊誌買っていくお金がないんです。もういろいろな方向に，この部屋の状況を見たらわかるけど（L）方向性 が多様すぎてCDとかも買ってるんでお金ないから。週刊誌なんか買ってる余裕がない。

ちなみにこのカレンダーはその「ラブひな」のやつですけど。
才：なんで好きなの？
S：うーん，何でと問われると，前の作品が好きやったのもあるし，あとこの人の絵が何となく好き。
オ：この間も言ってたでしょう。何となくこれ好きとか。どうやって決めるの？全部同じようなのが好き？とか， いろんな種類好き？絵の。

S：絵の種類。どっちかというと，線が濃いやつより，細くてきれいな絵のほうが好き。俺が持ってるのはほとんど線が細いです。顔のこう，部分が。

才：前の作品はどんな話だった？
S：前は「AI代止まらない！（？）」つていう作品で。
オ：これもまたラブコメディ？
S：それもラブコメディです。そのひとはもうほとんどラブコメディしか描いてないんで。
オ：その主人公って，どんな人？
S：どっちのほうですか，「あいとま」のほうですか。
「ラブひな」のほうは，頭はまあ，東大に合格できないけど，けっこう頭はいいほう，っていう設定で。性格は明 るくて，いい人なんですけど，ちょつとぼけてるというか，なんかひとつ抜けてるっていうか，そういう風になん かひとつ欠けてるんですね。

オ：その相手の女は？
S：相手の女の子は，ある大学生の人と出会って，その人が家庭教師やったんですね。その人が東大出の先生やって，

東大に在学中の先生やって，その人にあこがれるように東京大学を目指すってことになって，どんどん勉強して頭 がよくなって，全国 1 位をとるほど頭がいいんですね。ただ，それで一応受験したんですけど，日本のあるジンク スがあって，全国模試トップは東京大学に合格できないってジンクスがあるんですね。それに当たって落ちたんで すけど，まあ，性格はゆらほど悪くないし，多少涙もろいところとかあって，ただ，多少暴力的なところがあるん ですけどね。

オ：というと， 2 人が一緒に浪人中で，一緒に勉強してるという。なるほど。
で，その話の方は，大体その主人公のほうの考えとか見てる？女の子はどれぐらい話になるの？
S：完全に住んでるところは女子寮なんで，ほとんどが女子の話なんですね。毎回女子がらみの話になってくるんで。 オ：で，その男の人が女子寮に入ってるってことでしょ。
S：女子寮の管理人。
オ：じゃその，女の人の服装とかはしてなくて，普通の男としてそこに入ってる。
S：そうそう。
オ：こないだ言ってた，ミントのなんとか（L）。あれ思い出した。だから，同じようなの。
S：違うんです。一応管理人としてちゃんと男として入ってるんですけどね。
オ：じゃミントのあれみたいに，ふざけてる話じゃないよね。
S：ふざけてると言ったらふざけてるような？？？
オ：で，現実的だと思う？
S：いえ，非現実です。
才：なんで？どこが？
S：作品中に出てくるんですけど，そういう作品中のいろんな表現方法で，女の子に殴られるだ殧られるだっていう シーンが入るんですけど。

オ：そういうの，ないと思う？
S：いや，ないと思らじゃなくて，俺もしょっちゅう女子に蹴られるから，蹴られたり剁られたりするから，あるっ ていうのはわかるんですけど，表現が以上に過剰やから。これはあり得ないっていう。清水寺の舞台からはたきお とされるとか。

オ：じゃ，絵のほうの表現が非現実的というか。場面，シチュエーションはある可能性はあるんだけど，でもあれ くらいの程は，極端？

S：ていうか，設定からしてほぼ間違いなくあり得ないと面運ですけどね，あれだけは。これだったら，どっかであ りそうかなっていう話になるじゃないですか。絶対にあれは，ほぼ間違いなくあり得ない作品なんで。

才：で，自分で選んで好きになるようなマンガは，大体非現実的のほうが好き？あり得るような話？
S：どっちも基本的に好きなことは好きなんですけど。ま，どっちかというと持ってるのは非現実的なのが多いかな。見てたらわかるけど。このへんほとんど非現実やからな。

オ：なんで？

S：たとえばこの作品なんかは，精霊エレメントを召喚して，純真な心の人がそのわっかをのぞくと，精霊が召喚で きるってわっかを少年が手に入れて，それを覗いて精霊が召喚されるって話やねんけど，まあまずほとんどあり得 ない話だと思うし。あとは，里見八犬伝も元々作られた話やし。

オ：じやその非現実的な話を読むとき，何見てるの？何で楽しい？どこが面白い？
S：非現実だからこそ，こんななったらいいなーというのもあるし，あと登場人物の動き見て，それは違うやろとか， らん，それはそうやとかいって，納得したりするのも結構楽しいし。 オ：自分の考えてることと比較する？自分で経験してることと比較する？

S：まあ時々します。
オ：だいたいどんな人物好きなの？メインキャラクターとして。
S：メインキャラクターはもうほとんどバラバラですな。ほとんどバラバラですわ。明るい小学生から，ませた中学生に，熱血中学生に。で，女性恐怖症に。いろいろいるかなあ。

オ：その主人公が女の子とか女の人だったら，そういう話も読む？
S：もちろん読みますよ。ここにある「逮捕しちゃうぞ」とか主人公女の人だし。
オ：それは少女マンガ？
S：いえ，少年マンガです。
才：今まで読んできた中で一番好きな話とかはある？絶対譲らない，何回読んでもいいような。
S：難しいなあ。
オ：あるいはね，よく考えるの。好きとか嫌いとか関係なくても，思い出すの，その主人公の考えてるとことか。あ， あいつ似てるな，とか，あの場面とかシーンとか思い出すの。雰囲気も思い出す時もいっぱいあるのね。 S：そういうフラッシュバックは，読んだ作品全部フラッシュバックしますから，一応。 オ：どんな部分？だいたいどんなシーンとかフラッシュバックあるの？何が印象的？
S：印象的というか何というか。（P）どう表現したらいいんやろ。作品全部がだいたい頭の中入ってる，読んだ作品はほとんど頭の中に入ってるんで，そういうストーリー，例えば，人が階段でこけたっつう状況から，一瞬で頭 の中で全部作品が一瞬で洗い出されて，そのワンシーンだけが出てくるんですよ。だから，どういうシーンを，つ て言われると。

オ：いろいろ。
S：いろいろとしか答えようがないんで。
だから東京の写真とか見たら，あ，これ，そういやこんな部分もあったな，って思い出す作品もあるし。
オ：読んでるのはだいたい学生の話？大人の働いてる人たちの話も読むの？
S：うーん，一応読みます，かな？ああ，そうですね，一応働いてる人の作品もあります。
オ：それ，どう？少ない？
S：わりあい的に少ないですね。（いろいろ作品名列挙。ソウリュウデン，逮捕しちゃらぞ，コンビネーション，M MR，るろうに剣心，ラジカル something，ャI＇m not sure．．．）
（略）

S：わりあい的には少ないですね。ほとんどが学生，大学生含んでそれ以下，かな。
オ：じゃあ大体自分と同じくらいなことやってる話が。
S：多いですね。やってることは俺の及びつかないことですけど（L）魔法使ったり。
オ：でも歳はね，だいたい似てるような。
S：魔法使ったり（L），いろいろやってくれるから。
才：魔法使いの話好きだね，私。私高校の時とか，中学の時もすっごい好きだったの。魔法の話は。
S：俺がはじめにマンガ買いだしたのはマンガの話やったな。
オ：たぶん私も。
S：あの時は 60 冊くらいしかなかったのにな，総計して。一年間に 60 冊やからたいしたもんか。 オ：いつからマンガ読むようになってきたの？

S：え一と，小学校 4 年かな。ここにある「マジックナイト？？？」 つて作品を初めて読んで。才：なんでその前に読まなかったの？いきなり読むようになってきた，とか，好きになってきた，とか。 S：それまでは本とかマンガとか小説より，手先を細かく動かして作るプラスティックモデル，そういうのが好きだ って，そういうのをカチャカチャと作って，だから一応ガンダムとかはそのへんからアニメは見てたんですけどね。 オ：じゃあアニメは前からずっと見てるのね。
S：で，セーラームーンが始まってしばらくしてかな，新しくまた「マジックナイト？？？」つて作品がアニメ化す るってことを知ったんですね。それで，はー，とか思って。で，その時たまたま兄貴が姫路に下宿してて，そこに行ったんですね，たまたま。兄貴はけっこうマンガを読む人だったんですけど，そこの帰りしに，持って来てた本 を全部読み尽くしてしまったんですね，小説を。それまで小説しかほとんど読んでなかったから。もう一回読むの もあきるし，同じ話を連続して読むのあんまし好きじゃないんですよね，時間がくりかえすから。しばらく空けて からもう一回読み直すはするんですけど。だからそれで，兄貴に小遣いももらったし，新しい本でも買うか，とか思って。そういやこれ今度アニメ化するとか言ってたな，買ってみよか，とか。そっからかな。

オ：そのお兄さんのほうは，何歳上？
S：俺より 10 歳上です。
才： 10 歳上。他の兄弟は？
S：いないです。
オ：じゃあけっこうお兄さん，憧れてた？
S：いいえ，しょっちゅういじめられてました（L）。
オ：遊びに行ってたときどれくらいいてたの？けっこう本読んでた，とか言ってたでしょ。お兄さんのところ。借り てきた？

S：いや，借りてきてません。兄貴は全部自分のもんやって言ってましたから。金出して買え，つて言われました。ちょうだい，って言ったら。 オ：そのお兄さんは今何やってるの？

S：今は，デニーズとかああいう，食料品関係やったかな，何かそういうところの，○○で支店長やってます。
オ：今でも会う？遊びに行くとか。
S：いえ，もうここ最近音沙汰なし。何やってんだか。
オ：じやあちっちゃい時だけ。
お母さんとお父さんも本，好き？
S：小説は。
オ：どんな？
S：まずお父さんが医者なんで医学書，好きで読んでるんか知らんけど医学書。それから経済学の話。それから浅田次郎さんとか。あと，政治家が書く本とか，政治関係の本。で，お母はんのほうは，いろいろ。精神分析学とかそ らいう関係の話。
オ：お母さんとかお父さんと，本の話とか。
S：めったにしません。方向性が全然違うんで。
才：借りるの？お母さんとかお父さんの本とか。
S：時々は。読む本が尽きたら。読む本が尽きてお金がなくなったら。読む本が尽きてもお金があったら買ってしま う。
才：自分の持ってるほうがいい？
S：自分が買ったら自分の趣味に合わせた本が買えるから。
オ：で，これぐらいマンガがあるのが，親はどう考えてるの？
S：別に。まあそろそろ受験やねんからちやんとしなさいよ，って言われるくらいで。 オ：マンガだめ，とか嫌だとかは言われたことない？

S：それは何度かあるけど，それは俺の個人の自由やっつう話で，何とでもなるし。今のとこ成績も落としてないし。 オ：よくね，お母さん達とか，マンガがちょつと教育に悪いとか，？？？とかそういうような話があるんだけど，実際にどれぐらい，そうかどうか。そういう話聞くんだけど，ほんとに。だって私の世代の女の人たちのお母さん達 は，マンガ読んじゃだめ，とか，うちに持って帰るのがだめだった，とかそういう人が多いけど，最近の，今の高校生くらいは，ぐち言うかもしれないけど，知ってるもん，とか，捨てちゃうとかそういうのはない，って聞いた んだけど。

S：別に捨てられたりはしませんけど。捨てられはせえへんかな。ぐちはするけど。
オ：スペース取りすぎてるじゃん，とかそれくらいじゃん。（L）
S：そうなんですよね。本棚が残ってない。
多分これ全部合わせたら1トン越すかな。

オ：主人公の話にまた戻っちやうけど。自分と同じような人がいいか，自分と全然違うような人がいいか。
S：それはまあ，作品によってまちまちですね，自分に近いような頭の悪くてぼけたキャラもいれば，ほとんどどこ も欠点がないような，完璧な主人公もおるし。

才：自分と似てるような主人公って，何なの？
S ：（ P ）
オ：自分の話マンガにしたらどんな主人公になる？逆に言ってもいい。
S：うーん，それのほうが難しいかもしれん。自分をマンガになんて考えたことないしな。あ，でも一回小説化した か，自分で。

近いキャラといえば，いいひんこともないかな。多分けっこう近いのは「ブレインパワード」の主人公かな。 オ：ああ，アニメ見てた。䒱屋に行ってたとき。

S：あれの主人公はけっこう近いかなと。
オ：なんで。どこが？
S：基本的に，どちらかというと，ややさみしがりやで，そのくせ人と話したらちょっと人にかまわれるとうっとお しい，というか。ほんとはかまってほしいのに，かまわれるとうっとおしく感じるとか。あと，けっこう熱血して るとことか。

オ：それどういう意味？
S：普通にしゃべってるじゃないですか。それを，まあロボットもので言ったら，武器を出したりするときにわざわ ざその武器の名前を叫ぶ，とかそういうのがあるじゃないですか。ややああいうのが，その気があるかな，と思っ て。

オ：なるほど。で，なりたい人とか，あこがれの性格とか，あこがれのタイプって。
S：あります。めちゃくちゃあります。
才：何なの？
S：それはいろいろあるけど，これは小説やからなあ。
オ：小説でもいいよ。
S：小説でもいいですか。じゃあ田中よしきの「ソウリュウデン（漢字不明）」っていう作品なんですけどね。。 オ：どこが？

S：その中の，主人公いちおう 4 人いるんですけどね， 4 人兄弟で。りゅうどう兄弟っていうんですけど，そのジケ 1（不明）が一番あこがれてる人かな。なんというか，クールで，どことなくとつつきがたいねんけど，付き合っ てみるとけっこういい人で。で，ものの判断は自分の価値基準に頼ってるんですけど，その価値基準が普通の人の価値基準と同じくらいっていうか何ていうんかなあ。

その人の，性格的にちょっと似てるとこあるんですけど，だからよけいひかれるんかもしれんけど，何ていうのか な。価値基準ていうか何かそういうのが，自分に危害を加えるものはもう敵とみなしてもかまわないっていうか，自分を傷つけようとするものと，自分が守りたいものを傷つけようとするものは絶対に許さない，っていう感じで，

でも絶対に無抵抗の人間には何もしないし。で，だいたい悪者っていうのは小心者の人が多いんですね。策を弄す る人ほど。そういら人に対しては，精神のほうから追いつめていって，もう再起不能な状態に追い込むような人な んですけどね。

才：で，そのタイプの人，実際に会ったことあるの？まわりに見たことあるの？
s ：うーん。近いのはいましたね。現実に。
オ：同じクラスの人とか。
S：違います。前の学校の人なんですけどね。
才：先生？
S：いえ，友達。クラスメイトで。そいつには勝てへんなと思いましたね。
オ：勝つ負けるの（勝ち負け？）問題だったの？
S：いえ，そうじゃなくて，なんていうのかな，人間性というか，こいつにはどんながんばっても同じラインに立つ ことはできひんなーっていう感じで。

オ：そう考えちゃうと，ゅううつにならない？
s：いえ別に。
オ：がんばろうとか思っちゃうの？
s：ていらか，こいつはすごいんやなあ，って思って，まあ俺とあいつは違う人間なんやからそれもしやあないやろ， って，けっこら開き直るたちなんで。

まあそれに，やつはやつやし，俺は俺やろ。たしかにかっこいいと思うけど，あいつになりたいわけじゃない，つ つう。なってしまったらなってしまったで，それはそれでまた面白くないかもしれんなあ，つつう。憧れは憻れの ままってやつ。

オ：その憧れのタイプから，なんか習ったことあるの？読んでる話の中で。
s ：その自分に危害を加えるものはすべて敵である，っていうのはなかったもんで。たしかにそりゃそうだ，って読 んだ時思いましたな。
（P）
オ：女の子のほうの，主人公じゃない時，主人公の時でも，どんなのがいい，タイプ。主人公のタイプ。今までは男 の人の話だったでしょ。女の子のほうはどう？

S：それもまちまちですね。ヒロインになるにしても主人公になるにしても，ほとんど性格はまちまちですね。熱血 してる人から，明るい人から，暗い人もいるし。主人公が暗すぎる話もあったし。精神サイドにはいりすぎてちょ っとよく理解できない話とか時々あるからな。

才：それはどんなの？例えば。
S：例えばですか。CLAMPの「クローバー」つていら作品です。
オ：見たことあるけど読んでない。
s：ちょっとあれは。一応作者は好きで買ってるんですけど，あれはちょっと理解が難しいかな。

オ：精神的の？なんでこういうことするかとか，なんでこういうこと言うかとか
S：うーん。もつと人間心理をつきつめたような話なんですよね，あれ。少し未来の話なんですけど，エスパーとか そういう関係があるじゃないですか，それを特殊能力として，四つ葉のクローバーにわけて，一番強い力を持つ者 を四つ葉のクローバーとして，5段階に分けたんですね。四つ葉のクローバー，三つ葉のクローバー，双葉のクロー バー，ひと葉のクローバーと，葉なし，葉がない，つまり能力がないっていう人間。分けて，で，四つ葉のクロー バーになってるスーっていう女の子が主人公なんですけど，そのスーって名前はもともとつけられた名前じゃなく て，4 っていう漢字を中国語で読んだらスーって読むんですね。そっからつけられた名前で，その一応そのクロー バーウ情報を管理してるのがウィザードっていう人たちが 5 人いるんですけど，その四つ葉の力はウィザード 5 人 で対抗しても絶対に重複することができない，つまり四つ葉のクローバーを見方につける人間が現れたらその人間 はすべてを意のままにあやつることができる存在となるから，その四つ葉のクローバーを監禁したんですよ。その四つ葉のクローバーが自らの死を願って，最後に崩壊した遊園地に行きたいっつら話で，そっから連れ出すのにあ る青年が選ばれるんですけど，その青年との対話を描いた作品なんですけどね。結構難しかった。
（P）
オ：じやあ話事体がわかんないってことになるよね。
S：話の筋はわかるんですけど，何ていうか，こう考えさせられるような。そら確かに味方につけたらすごい力なん かもしれへんけど，だからって，いくら特殊能力のあるクローバーとされる人間だって，監禁していいんかっつう話にもなってくるし。

オ：じゃあ考えさせるような，好きじゃない？
S：好きじゃないことはないんですけど，あんまりつきつめられすぎるとちょっと暗い気持ちになるんで。オ：なる ほど。（P）

で，軽い話で退屈にならない？
S：自分が買うのは基本的に自分が好きやなあと思ったら直感で買うけど，けっこうそれが当たるんで。
オ：じゃあ気分の方が中心？読むとき。
S：まず選ぶ基淮が全部，まず絵が基準になるんですね，一応。
オ：絵で気分が変わるっていう。
S：まず絵でこの絵が好きか嫌いかに分けて，好きな絵でいい話やったらよくなるし，嫌いな絵でもまあいい話やっ たらそれなりによくなるけど，好きな絵であんまり好きじゃないなという話だったらそこそこいけるし，でも嫌い な絵で嫌いな話っつうと，あんまり読みたくないなあっつう感じになるから。

オ：一日どれぐらい読えでる？時間的に。
1週間で。
S：（P）読み出したら 2 時間 3 時間読んでるし，読まへん日は 1 冊も読まないですね。 オ：1 週間で考えたら。

S：（P）5時間くらい読む週もあれば，1回も開かない週もありますから。それはほんとにまちまち。

才：どんな時に読みたくなるの？
S：まず勉強が疲れたとき。（P）あとはただ何気なくぼーっとしてるのが無駄やなと思ったとき。だいたいもたれ かかれる壁がここしかないんですね，俺の部屋では。ここには机，ここにはこういう風になってて座ることができ ないですね。ここはベッドやし，ここ下が問題があるし座れないし，ここはステレオとかデッキがあるし，ここは扉があるからできないし（略）座れないんで，だいたい疲れたなあ，つて座るときここになるんですね，必然的に。 で適当に手伸ばして，取って，で読む。

オ：じゃあだいたい部屋で読んでる？
S：だいたい部屋で。あとは朝新刊買った日は電車の中で。本の種類によってコンビニで朝置いてるんです。
オ：立ち読みとかは？
S：立ち読みめったにしません。
（P）
オ：友達の本，借りたり貸したりする？
S：します。
才：男の人の友達？女の子の友達？
$S$ ：男も女も両方います。
才：借りてるとか貸してる本について，みんなと一緒に話す？ただこれ面白いとか，それくらい？
S：それくらいで。ああなかなか良かったなあとか。
オ：何が良かったとか，そこまでは。
S：あんまり聞きません，かな。まあけっこうこのキャラ好きや，という話はしたりしますけど。
オ：読んだら，すぐ忘れちゃう？だいたい筋覚えてるとか言ってたんだけど。
S：だいたい筋覚えてます。
オ：あとでその主人公がやったこととか，いろいろ考えちゃうの？私だったらどうなるか，とかそれくらい。
S：うーん，最近それはやってないな。考える以前にもうやることが多くて。勉強のほうがちょっと危ないんで。勉強とかやってたら，自然と考える時間がなくなってくる。

オ：また主人公の話に戻っちゃうけど，少女マンガ読むとき，少年マンガを読むときと違うの？
S：別に。純粋にマンガとして見たら，どうってことないし。
才：違和感とかないの？
S：別にありません。
オ：少女マンガの中で，非現実的なのと現実的なのとあるでしょ。どうやって自分でそれ区別してるの？タカアキ君 にとつて何が非現実的？

S：ストーリー性ですか？
オ：主人公でも何でも。
S：どちらかというと少女マンガは非現実なのがけっこう多い方やと思うけど。これ偏見かもしれへんけど。俺が買

ってる少女マンガ家はけっこらちょっと特殊な人たちが多いんで。少年マンガも描いてるような作者とか，あと男子相手に大ヒット飛ばしたような作品描いてる作者とか。

才：例えば？
S：セーラームーンとか，こえけっこら男子に人気が出て。
オ：何でそれ人気があると思う？
S ：強い女性の演出かな？
オ：じゃあその女の子が強いから男の人の興味ひく？
s：ラーん，あとは…。
才：暴力的な話だから？（L）
S：いや，それはないと思います。
（P）登場人物がかわいいっつうのあるのかもしれへんけど。
（P）
オ：男の人たちに人気のある少女マンガと，女の人に人気のある少女マンガってどう違うと思う？
s：ラーん。
オ：まず，違うか。で，どう違うか。
S：（P）まずは絵と，（P）男性に対する表現のしかたの違いかな。
才：例えば？
S：（P）恋愛マンガでも，けっこうこれ全面に男子が出てきてるじゃないですか。ただ，これは男子がけっこう表 に出てるし，セーラームーンなんかもけっこう男の方が活躍したときもあるんですね。で，CLAMPの描いてる作品なんかほとんど男のほうが主人公じやあるめいか，つつうくらい男の方が活躍することがあるんですけど，と いうか，ほとんど男が主人公なんですけどね。

で，あんま男子が買わないような少女マンガ，普通の恋要マンガっていらのかな，っていうのは基本的に女性の心理描写が多くて，男性のほうは一方的に好かれてるとか惹かれてるとか，その程度の表現になってくる。これなん かやったら，ほとんど有馬くんの話しか出てこない回とかあるじゃないですか。男性を思いっきり前に出して。男 の心理描写をちゃんと描いてる，っていうとこかな。そんなんと違うんじゃないんですかね。 オ：じゃあ，男の人たちがメインじゃないと男の人が読まないということ？

S：ラーん。そうなんじゃないかな。今まで売れた少女マンガっていうのはけっこう男子にも定評があってっつう話 やし。だいたいそういう作品は，どれ見ても男子がけっこら表に出てるかなっつう作品は多いかな。 オ：じゃあ女性の方がメインで，だいたい女の子の心理関係とかについての話だったらどう思う？
s：別に話さえ面白ければ，女性メインだろうと男性メインだろうとかまわないんですけど。才：女性の主人公だったら話が入りにくいとかそういうのはないの？

S：まったくありません。
オ：主人公の心理に入り込むとか，するでしょ，読むとき。

S：その場合だから男性の心理描写がされてると，その男性のほうに入りやすくなるし，女性だけやったら女性だけ で客観的に，女ってこんな考え方もするんか，つつう，妙に納得した気分になれるし。

オ：少女マンガを読んで，もらちょっと女の子の考えてることとかわかるようになってきてるとか，つて気がしな い？そこまでは考えてない？（L）

S：ていうか，俺が少女マンガ好きやっていうのは，幼稚園の頃特殊な生活環境にあったから，そういう少女マンガ を読んでるんですけどね。

俺，幼稚園の頃，あんまり動くのが好きじゃなかったんですね。そのせいで太ってたとかそういうのはないんです けど，いつも部屋にいて本読んだり，ブロックで作ったり，折り紙折ったりあやとりしたりっていうそういう生活 してたから，幼稚園入ったときに，外で鬼ごっことかあまりしなかったんですよね。ずっと室内にいていろんなこ としてたから，けっこう女子と遊んだというか女子に遊ばれたというか，ままごととかしょっちゅうやらされてた んですね。幼稚園の大半をずっとおままごとで過ごしたりしてたんで，そういうとこがあるから，もともと女子の感覚には近いものがあると思うんです。自分で言うのも何やけど。

オ：じゃあ女の友達多いの？
S：はい。
オ：自分の友達の中でどっちが多い？
S：今男子校に通ってるぶん，男子の方が多いけど，中学までやったら女子と半々かな？好かれる人には好かれてた けど，嫌われる人には思いっきり嫌われてたんで。だから，この主人公みたいに，交友関係は狭いけど，仲良くな ったらずっと固まってて，まわりが何しようとかまわへんし，まわりが嫌うならそれでもいいじゃないかっていう世界やから。だからけっこう嫌われもしたし，小 3 の時，嫌いな男ベスト 1 に選ばれたはずやから。ワースト 1 に選ばれて，それ以来 3 位，どんどん順位は下がっていったというか，上がってったっつうか。才：なんでわかるの？

S：報告してくれる女子がいるから。「嫌われ者ベスト 1 やで」「ああ，そいつはめでてえなあ」
オ：いたずらじゃないの，それ。ほんまに言ってる？
S：うん，あいつら本気や。
才：失礼よね。
S：まあ，そんなもんやろと思てた。
でもまあそれでも，味方してくれる女子も多かったし，だから今でもそいつらと遊んだり電話したりしてるけど。 オ：そういう友達の方のタイプは何なの。

S：（P）それぞれの場所を知ってるってことかな。ここ以降はこいつは立ち入ってほしくないんやな，っていうの がわかって。だからこいつと話してもこの話には触れんとこう。こいつならこのへんの話はしても大丈夫やろう。 そういうのがわかってくれてる人かな？あとはだいたい趣味の合う人。

基本的に，基準はそのくらいかな。
才：今彼女いる？

S：いない。
オ：じゃあ理想的なタイプとかは？つきあいたいなあ，とか。
S：というか，つきあいたい人はいるんですけどね。
才：どんな人？
S：どんなというと難しいけど，一緒にいて楽しいつつうか。一緒にいて楽しいつうのは友達と一緒に聞こえるねん けど。好きになったきっかけが確か小学校の頃，中学か，けっこう，俺が少女マンガ読むからってことで逆にいじ められてたんですね。で，俺は殴られたら殴りかえせ，言われたら言い返せっていうもんやから。読んで何が悪い んや，こら，って。

そんなんで，女子の方に本貸したりしてたんですね。1 冊10円とかお金とって。
世の中商売。 1 教科千円よりましやん。ワンセット千円で借りてほしいくらいやのに。けっこうこれ維持費大変な んですよ。フィルムかけたりすると。

でまあ，そういうの渡してて，その中に返された日に手紙が入ってて，負けちゃだめだよ，みたいなことが書いて あって，すげーな，こいつは。そいつがピアニストとしてすごい才能持ってるんですね。で，こないだロシアかど っか行ってきたらしいけど。今日本の音楽学校のトップクラスに入る音楽高校に行ってるんですけど。で，あいつ こんなことができるのに，こんだけ心に余裕があるねんなっつら，何つうか。

オ：いつもポケットにショパンが，少女マンガのピアノ弾く人たちの話。才能のある女の子と，才能のある男の子の競争とか。読んだことある？

S：ないです。
才：面白いよ。昔の。古いよ。
S：ていうか，ショパンなんか弾けるようになってるんやったら俺絶対そいつについて学校行ってる。
オ：ショパン好き？
S：ていうか，あんまり聞かないんですけど。そいつが曰く，あんなの弾けるのは天才だけや，って言ってた。それ をものすごく弾くんが上手いやつがいるって。電話，向こうからかけると高いらしくてこっちからいつもかけてる んですけど。

才：で，お正月とか戻ってくる？
S：今年は戻ってきたみたいですけど去年は戻ってこなかったですね。
オ：じやあずっと電話でしゃべってる？
$S:$ ここ 1 年くらい会ってない。ああ去年の 9 月に会った。文化祭に行った。
オ：東京まで？
S：はい。高かった，金が。
まえまえから誘われてて，1000年度は行けへんかったから今年こそは，と思って，バイトして金ためて行って きたんやけど。

オ：どんなバイト？

S：父親の仕事の一環。親父が医者なんですけどね，別に俺が手術するわけじゃないんですけど。（略）カルテの保存義務が 5 年間あるんですね，日本の厚生省かどっかが決めてるんですけど，その 5 年間の保存義務が終わったら帳簿っつうかカルテを処分していくやつ。プライバシーの権利の関係で，焼却処分かシュレッダーにせんとあかん ねんけど，ダイオキシン問題で小型焼却炉の使用禁止になったじゃないですか。あれの関係で，全部シュレッダー でするようになって。（略。シュレッダーのバイトの説明）

オ：ラブストーリーとか読むとき，誰かとつきあいたいなーとか思っちゃうの？
別に，さびしくなんない？
S：読まなくてもつきあいたいです。
才：まわりの男の子達。
S：このクラスは大半がつきあってるんちゃらかな。大半でもないか，少なくても 5 人がつきあってるんか。
オ：同じ学校の人たち？
S：違うと思う。女子校の人とか。
才：男同士のとき，その話するの？
S：してる人もいます。
才：どんな？ただつきあってるとかで。ああ，またケンカしちゃったとかそういうような。
S：そんな純粋な話じゃなく，もつと純粋じゃないほうの話。
才：なるほど。それ普通？平気でみんなの前でいろいろ話す？
S：うん，みんな。
オ：他の女性がいたら。
S：女性がいてもたぶん言ってると思うな，あいつらは。おまえらセクハラおやじか，と。 オ：さっき言ってたけど，少女マンガ読んでるから女の子にいじめられた。他の男のまわりの生徒とか，何か言われ る？

S：いや，別に。今貸してるやつもいるし。
オ：多い？
S：今の学校ではそんなにいいひん。前の学校はけっこういたけど。今の学校はせいぜい 3 人かな。
オ：で，なにも言われない？
S：別に，言われへんし，言われても锶視するし。
オ：学校でマンガ読む？
S：読みません。
オ：ただ持ってきて貸したり借りたりする。
S：そうそう。だって見つかって先生に取られるなんてうっとおしいもん。
才：取られるの？
S：一応は。校則違反ですから。

オ：休みの時とかも。
S ：基本的に，校内に…そういう規則があるはずや，確か。
オ：でも，規則あっても。
S：あってなきようなもんなんですけどね。
（略。校則を探す）あった「なお，華美高価な物品，ウォークマン，携帯電話，ポケットベル等，学習に不要なも のは学校に持ち込まないこと」

オ：それ，マンガが入ってる？
s ：入ってます。
オ：携帯とかだったらわかるけどね。
S：ていうか，明記しとかんと絶対こいつら考えるからな。携帯って書いてある，俺ら持ってるのPHSやし，みた いな。どこを基準に華美なんか壮麗なんかって話やしね。

## Interview \＃6

## 1＝Alwyn Spies

$2=$ Hitomi
$3=$ Rie
［笑］＝笑っている
（番号：言葉）＝声が重なっている。
$\cdots=$ 話の途中での間
（•••）$=5$ 秒以上全員が沈黙
？？？：聞き取り不可能
$<>$ 内 ：様子•背景

## Transcribed by Hirooka Chizue

## Session One

3 ：ロリータ，（笑い）
2：（笑い）ロリータ
1 ：これすごくかわいいです。 よく描きますか？
2 ：よく描きます。
3 ：描きます。
2：毎日，毎日，10，5枚ぐらいは描いてるなあ。（1：はあん。）
1 ：クラスの仲間，皆描いてますか？
3：そんなことない。（3：うん。）
2 ：私は一人でひたすら書いてる〔笑〕。
3 ：でも，図書室に集まってる人は結構描いてはる人が多いから，
2：らん，友達とか
1 ：図書室で集まっている人って言うたら，あのいつも，
2：いつも棵っているような友達が。
1 ：毎日来ますか？
2：毎日来ます。
1 ：はあん。
3：学年とか全然違うねんけど，こう，趣味とかで共通するものがあったり
$<$ 雑談＞
1 ：じや，その学年が違うんだけど，一緒に集まってる，ど，どんな訳であ，集まってきたんですか？
2：なんか，
3 ：さ，（1：漫画が好きで，本が好きで，）最初は知ってる先輩，

2：が，なんか声かけてきはってえ［笑］，よくわからんねん，（3：うーん，）あっしのクラスの友達が，その友達と仲良くならはってうちの教室によく来はるようになって，その友達とは
3：ほんで本とか貸してくれるようになって，んで，図書室に行ったらその先翆の友達とかが集まって色々喋っ てはって，（ s ）一緒にご飯食べるようになったりとかしてえ，（2：ふん）だんだんその輪が広がってきた。
1：で，皆絵を描くんですか？
3：うん，皆じゃないけど（2：いや，みんなじゃないけど）絵を描く人が多い。
2：絵を描くっていうか，漫画を読む人が多い。（1：はあん，で，あと小説は書かはる
人が多いかな？
1：書くんですか？
2：書く。
1：わあ，すごい。
3：あと，そのゲームの話とかで，ゲームのキヤラクター作ったりするんですよ。（1 ：うーん。）その時に小説 を書くようなことをやったり，絵を描いたりするから。
1：ふうん。で，ゲーム好きですか？
3：好きです。
2：私は家にゲーム機ないから，パソコンはあるけど。
1：うん。どんなグーム？
3：ラーん，家でやんのは，私は，えつとお，roll playing game とか，あと，格闘ゲームが多いです。
1 ：ふん。後でその話してください。私すごいもっと知りたいです。でも，今の今の話じゃないんだけど［笑），只興味があるんですよ。うん，うん。うーん，じやあ，で，その友達とか，一緒に漫画についてどんな話します か？
2：ラーん，どんなかな？
3：話好きとか，誰が好きとか，キャラクターの。誰の書いてる漫画が好きとか，（1：ふん。）
2：結構ギャグ場面とかやったら，ここのこれはいいとか，そういうの，言ったりする。
1：で，貸したり，
2：うん。
3：しますね。
1：で，大体，どんな漫画ですか？
2：ラーん，結構花夢系が多いかな？うん，花と夢コミックスが。
1：うん。
3：だけど，あんまりジャンルってないかもしれない［笑］，こう，無差別に［笑］
1 ：なるほど。••・で，自分で読んでる漫画で皆に紹介するのが恥ずかしいのってなんかないですか？．．．大体何でも喋るんですか？
2：読んでるもんは大体，あたしは，そんな，
3：うん，まあ。［笑］
2：（笑）
3：大体？

1 ：で，あの，その喋ってるとき，みんな同じものが好きですか，とか，あれ絶対嫌だったとか，って議論とか みたいになりますか？

3：うん，でもそれはそれでいいかな，と思って。（1：うん。）うん，誰かが絶対これ嫌いって人がいるとした らあ，別にまあ，（2：うん。）読まなかったらいいだけで。気にしないで喋りますよ。

2：うん。
1 ：うん，いいですよね。うん。じゃあ，前はこれを読んだことなかったんですよね。
3：うん，ない。
1 ：で，いつ読んだんですか？
3：多分これは連載が雑誌に始まったときやから，うん，いつか忘れた。
1 ：そうでしょうね，いつから・•＜ページをめくっている？＞
2 ：えーと，平成 8 年。（3：8年）
3：8年というと，（1：4年前） 4 年前。
2 ：小学生や。 ちゃう，小学生や。
1：わあ〔笑〕。
$2: 6$ 年生の時かな。わ，めっちゃ受験の時ちやうん？これ。〔笑〕
3 ：え，今って平成何年？
1\＆2：12。
3： 12 ？
2 ：去年が 11 ， 10 ， 9 ，小学校 6 年生や，〔笑〕
1 ：ほう，面白いですよね，それは。じゃ，どう思ったんですか，初めて読んだ，その印象は？
2 ：えっと，まあ，面白いな，と思った。こういう考え方してる奴もいるねんな，みたいな。 （•••）

1：で，どんな考え方？
2 ：え，その，あたしが一番でなきや，いや，みたいな。あたしは皆から注目されたら，嬉しいねん，みたいな。
1：で，自分がそういうこと考えたことないですか？
2：あるかな？〔笑〕 私は結構目立つのが好きな方やと思うから。ふん。最近あんまし，ないかな？〔笑〕 （•••）

1 ：でなんか，言えるのが気持ちよさそうですよね。一位になりたい，とか普通は言えないでしょ，ていらか言 わない。でも平気で言ってるのがすごくかわいい，って私思った。

2：うーん。
1：で，どう思ったんですか？
$3:$ この人は幼稚園とか，小学校 1 年生とかで考えている設定ではすごいと思った。普通 1 年生とかでは考えな いんじゃないですか。 6 年生とか？？？

2 ：うちの○○ちゃんそんなん考えてなさそうや。
3：○○ちゃん今いくつ？
2：5歳。〔笑〕
1 ：誰？

2：妹が 5 歳なんですよ。
1 ：はあー！かわいいですか？
2：かわいい。
1：あー，いいよね。 私高校の時ね，すごい妹がほしかったんです。（2：ふうん。）
弟がいるんだけど全然かわいくないんですよ。〔笑〕
（•••）
3：妹とか弟がこういうこと考えてたら怖いよな，って思う。今の小っちゃい子がこういうこと考えるって思っ たら。

2：別にいいんじゃない？と思う，私は。
1：っていうか，こういう風に考えてるって言ったら，あの，いつかなりたい，とか計画まで考えてる？ってい うことですか？

2：うん？
1 ：さっき，自分の妹がこういう風に考えてたら怖いって，こういう風にって何ですか？
3：え，だから，なんか途中だったんだけど，なんか 1 年生，小さい頃から億万長者になる方法とかそんなんで・•
1 ：なるほど，そうですか。
（•••）
1 ：で，わかんなかった所あったんですか？
2：ううん。＜＝ない。＞
1 ：全然なんかめちゃくちゃになったとか，全然なかったんですか？
2：あんまし無かった。
3：え？どういう意味？
1：私結構，（2：読んでてわからないとこ？）5ん，読んでてわかんないとこ。

## 2 ：場面が？

1 ：場面が。これすっごい多いでしょ。セリフとか，あの人物も多いし。で，どこだったかな？どっかで， 1回同じシーンがあって，一つはユキちゃんの目から，で 1 つは有馬君のから。で，それが 3 回くらい読んで，あ， なるほど，同じ所を 2 回やってる，っていうのがわかったの。で，そのテクニックは見たこと無かったから。で皆。結構マンガ読むの慣れてるから。うん，うん，で，どこが一番良かったんですか？

2：うーん，
3：うーん，どこだっけ？
2：1 巻のなんか，どこや？「どうせ私は何とか何とかなのよ！」つて言ってた所が良かった。（3：あー，うん うん。）どこかな？＜ページを探している様子＞ここら辺の，

1：あー。うん。
$2: 「 と ゙ う せ$ 変な女よ！」ってゆってた所が良かったと思う。
1 ：こういじめられてる所，なんていう，有馬君にこう，あ，なるほど。 後で見ます。 どこが良かったんです？どうして？

2：え，なんか感情むき出しにして，なんか，今まで大人しく大人しくしてたのが，バレてそれが我慢できひん ようになって・••

1：で，どうして良かったんですか？
2：うん？
1：自分もそういう気持ち抑えてるから？でこれを見ると気持ちいい？
2：［笑］気持ちいいかも。 •••有馬君もそんなにこっちが色々思っていること気づかなくって，あー，そう やったんか，って思ったりしてるから。

1：で，さっき私言ってたんだけど，人物多いでしょ？で一番好きなの誰？
3：あたし真帆さん好き。
1：ん，なんで？
3：なんか，かっこいい。•・あ，10巻位に，コミックスやったら？？かもしれへんけど
真帆さんの恋愛のエピソードがあるんですよ。それがすごい良かった。
2：家にその？？ある。あの雑誌の方で。
1：読みたいです。
2：持ってきます。（1：［笑］）私は最初読んだのが雑誌買い始めたから，そつからやって，それで初めて読ん で，？？の主人公こんな顔やったかなって思って，あーこっから話始まってるわ，でも分かるわ，って思って。 1 ：真帆ってなんか，あの，なんか，（2：ロボットやってた。）らん，（3：最初なんかいじめてた人）うん，あ の年上の彼がいる人でしょ？

2•3：そうそう。
3：文化祭の時にちょろってでてきたり，で真帆さんが中学生の時のその人との話が。
2：うん。
1：どこがかっこいい？性格とか，描き方とか。
2：ラーん。
3：なんかいっつも結構クールなんだけど，なんか文化祭の時とかも，なんか，う一ん。
2：恥ずかしがってんの，かわいい。
3：［笑］（•••）なんかケンカレて折れるとことか，なんかすごい，なんか，
2：いさぎがいい。
3：うん，いさぎがいい。
（•••）
1：ラーんと，同じ人が一番好き？
2：うーん。どうやろ？主人公の方が好きかな？ユキノの方が。
1：え，なんで？
2：ラーん，なんかかわいい。
1：顔が？性格が？
2：性格が。
1：どんな部分が？ごめんね，うるさい私。
2：い，いや。え一となんか。自分に素直に生きてるような気がする。自分が 1 番になりたいから，それに向か って頑張ってるとか。

1 ：で，自分がこの人物だったら，今の性格一番近い人は誰？

3 ：近い人。
2：近いのは。誰かな？（3：いーひん？）いーひん，うーん。（3：近いのは。）誰かな？おらへんのちゃうかなあ？
3：あたしもいない。
1：で，なりたい人，とか憧れるタイプとかはいますか？
2：なりたい？なりたいのは，やっぱユキノ位の頭持ってたらいいなあ，て思う。［笑］
3：うーん，やっぱり真帆さんかもしれない。
2 ：真帆さんもかっこいいな。
（雑談）
2：シバ姫もかわいい。
3：あ，ここも全然顔が違う。
1：うーん，何巻？
3：6巻。これ，夏休み終わって帰ってきた時。
2：大人びて描こう，って努力してる感じや。
3：わざと大人っぽく描いたって感じ。（1：ラーん。）？？に見えへんかった？
1：あ，そっか，そっか。彼女すごいびっくりしてたでしょ。（2：ラーん。）久しぶりに見て。
3：それ，わざとしてるんだろうけど，ちょっと違和感。
1\＆2：らん。
（•••）3：うん，ま，あの人もかっこいい。誰だっけ？えーと，バレー部の人。
1：あー，あー，私もあの人好き。
3：サクラだっけ？
1：何だっけ？人物が多すぎて（2：ツバキ？）ツバキって小っちゃい子じゃない？
2\＆3：それはシバ姫。
3：うん，ツバキ。
2：小っちゃいのはツバサかな？（1：うん，ツバサ。）下の名前。
1：ツバサとツバキがすっごい似てる。
2：？？見てると何か間違えそうになる。
1：ツバキ好き。
3：うん，？？？
2：私も女の子好きや。
3：ってか，文化祭頃出てくる。つばきと？？？のなんか図書室で？？してるシーンが。
1：あれ位自信が私も欲しいなあって思った。
2：？？？巻の終わりの辺違った？
3：違う。ここ，ここ。ここのページ。
2：ふーん，読んでへん。知らない。
3：あ。ツバキかっこいい。

1 ：似てるような人は周りにいますか？このような人たち。
3：うーん，
2：麻衣ちゃんってシバ姫似てへん？
3 ：ちょっと似てるかもしれない。
2 ：うん。（1：ふうん．）人見知りするし。うーん，いるかもしれん。
1：ふうん。
2 ：アタミさん，ユキノみたいじゃない？
3：［笑］男だけと，ちょっとその，完璧って感じ。
2：一応がんばってます，って感じやね。
3：自信があります，みたいな。
2：うん，あの人目立つの好きやなあ。一番なるの，とか。
$3:$ こう，役人とか買って出ちゃらんよね，生徒会とか。
2：うん，出てる，な。
1 ：うん。（•••）
2：でも，ユキノと何やっけ，これ。アサワやっけ似てると思わへん？ユキノは元から頑張ってたけど，アサワ は色々言われてそれで傷ついえt，これやったら頑張ったらな，思って頑張ってるから，まあ，似てるかもしれ ん。

1 ：うん。
3 ：アサッピ〔笑〕
2：アサッピ，アサッチ，（•••）
1 ：で，その男の子の中で一番好きなのは誰？
2 ：うーん，
3 ：カズマ君。えつと，シバ姫の弟になった（1：あー，あのロックの・•！）ロックの人。
2 ：あ，あたしもその人好きかも。
1：ふん，•••何で？
3：なんか，かわいい。〔笑〕
1 ：で，それは顔？性格？
3：性格。
1 ：性格のどこがいい？
3：なんか，こうあっさり打ち解けてる所がなんか。
1：うん，うん。
$2: ~ \check{~-~ ん, ~ あ た し, ~ こ の ~}{ }^{\text {先生好きかも・•（1\＆3：［笑］}) ~}$
3：？がだんだん変わっていくねん。
2 ：本当は頼りにして欲しい，みたいな所が。
1 ：うん，
3：オト先生やな，〔笑〕そっくりやん。
2 ：そうなん？

3：だってあの先生な，なんか結構固いこと言わはるけどさ，実は色々こう，（2：言って欲しい？）色々助けて くれはんねん。

2：ふうん，よーこんな健康的な生活ができてるわ（1：うーん。）あ，でもテスト中，私もこんな，とっとと起 きてとっとと寝てるかもしれへん。 8 時とか 7 時とか寝て，朝 3 時位とか起きて勉強してるかなあ？

3：あの，いっつも勉強しないツケが・••
全：〔笑〕
＜以下テスト勉強の雑談つづく。＞
1 ：話の展開とかは？2：ま，こんなもんや，と思う。
3：でもなんか，雑誌毎になんか系統があってラ・ラだったらこれで普通。
2 ：うん，雑誌によっていろいろ話の展開が，パターンがある。
1：で，これラ・ラのような？
3：でもラ・ラはいろんなもんが，ごたごたしてるような感じが・••（1：ラーん。）その中で浮いてる話とか もあるけど，これは普通に・•

1 ：アニメ見たことありますか？
3 ：あります。
2：無いです。うち，映らへん，これ。テレビ大阪やから。
3：あの，シバ姫が窓から落ちるシーンが。（2：あったん？）あってん。なんか，カズマちやんが起きて，で，？？？ ちゃんって，？？？3 回くらい，窓から飛び降りるシーンが。？？あー，ガイラックス？？？

2 ：ガイラックスなん？
3：ガイラックスやで。しかもな，エバとな，同じスタッフが作ってんでえ。
2：そーなん？（3：［笑］）これを？エバと？はあ，そうなんや。
1 ：そのアニメとマンガは違いますか？
3：うん，マンガ先に読んじゃうと，？？のイメージが自分の中で結構できちゃって。アニメ見ると，それが全然違ったら，こう，（2：ショック？）ショック受けるし，よくわからなくなってくるんですよ。聞くのがなんか，頭の中で拒否しちゃって。だから，マンガ先に読んだらアニメあんまり見ないかな？

1：うん，私は小説と映画はそうだ。絶対小説読んだことあったら映画見ない方がいい，と思う。
3 ：こう，映画とか見た後に小説読むんだったら結構すんなり入っちゃうんだけど。逆はちょっとやりにくい。
1 ：うーん，皆小説とかも読むんですか？
2：読みます。
1 ：どんなの？
2 ：えつ？私は何でも読みます。
1：例えば？
2：例えば・•
1 ：最近読んだのは？
3：最近読んだのは，最近は変な小説しか読んでないですね。ちょっと何か，ちょっと右翼とか左翼とか〔笑〕。 あと，ファンタジー小説を。みんな，ごたごたに読んでる。

2 ：最近，宮本の小説読んだで。

1 ：宮本••
2：えっと，友達の。（1：あーっ！）書いてるの。（1：書いてるの？）
2：今ある？あるかな？（小説を探し中。）
3：書いてパソコンで印刷して配ったりして。本人はそれをやるのがすごく好きなんですよ。
2 ：あるかなー？出たっ！
1 ：見ていいですか？
2 ：これは結構良く出来てると思う。読んだ？
3 ：ごめん，私，宮本の小説嫌いやねんやんか。
2 ：そうなん？
3：うーん。
1：何で？
3：この選び方がなんか，趣味が合わない感じ。
$<$ 雑談＞
2：なんか上•下巻みたいな感じ。
1 ：どんな話ですか？
2 ：えっと，なんか入学式で主人公は男の子で，入学式遅刻しちゃって，んで，そのうちの学校みたいに中高が つながってるようなんで，んで，主人公の男の子は内部生なんですよ。で，そこの遅刻したときに，女の子が， えーと，外からの外部生で，で「あー。遅刻しちやったね。」って話して，で，なんか屋上に行って話とかしてて，

「じや，また話そうね。」とか言って別れて。で，学校で会ってもクラスとか別々で全然話せるような状況じゃな かったんやけど，それでもなんか話せるような時，話そうとしても，女の子が避けちゃって。なんか椧たい感じ になっちゃって。最初に会った感じと全然違って。んで，そうこうしてる内に会った女の子の話が，あ，女の子 が噂されてて，女の子の噂が結構遊んでるとか，全然人と話さへんとか，悪い噂ばっかりで，どうしたんやろ？ と思ってたら，なんか会ったのが入学式で，次，もら夏休み直前くらいに女の子の方から「ごめんね，ちょっと いる？」みたいな感じで，教室から呼び出されはって，で，そっから，んーと何か「さよなら，ごめんね。」みた いな事言われはって，「何で」つて聞いたら，あの，こおれはシリーズの番外編なんですよ。そのシリーズがタロ ットカードを扱ったようなやつで，そのタロットカードの一人にならな，あかんようになったから，そっちの方 に行かんなあかんから，もう，サヨナラや，って言って，最後はその別れて，又会えるといいね，みたいなんで終わり。

1 ：シリーズはどれ位？長い？
2 ：シリーズはまだ書きつづけてるみたいな感じで，まだ 1 作しか出てへんて，もう 1 作はなんか，えーと，プ ロローグだけで終わってる。「coin of luck」かなんかっていうの，番外編です。でもそっち読んでへんても読め るかな？

1 ：ふうん，何年生の人かな？
2：高1です。
3 ：この人は何かちょっと，この学校の設定とか，そのまま使ったりするんで，ちょっと・•。
自分の着てる服とか，そのまま書いちゃったりするから。結構こっちは主人公にその人のイメージができち

やって，あー，イヤって。
1 ：なんか，近すぎる，っていう・•
2：私はそんなことあんましないけど。
1：あー，いいね。（•••）この，こっちの方の話の筋，どこまでいくと思う？てゆらか，まだ終わってない でしょ？どらいう風に終わると思う？

2 ：アサピーにも彼女ができる。
3：［笑］ 9 巻， 9 巻。
2：9巻読んでへんから，わからん。
$1: 9$ 巻はね，あの，その芝居の方の（3：最後のここが・••）で，うん。
3 ：私はこのことをずっと後になって後悔することになる。
1 ：有馬が。
2：でも，有馬もなんか，こらいらのが解決したら終わるかなっ，つて感じ・••。
$3: こ れ て ゙ い っ へ ゚ ん, ~$ 有馬君がどん底に落ちて，そっから救い上がって終わりかな？
1：ふうん。どうやって救われると思う？
 みたいなんで，なるんや，と思う。

1 ：じゃ，ユキノの方が救っちゃうか？
2：うん。
1：うん，なるほど。で，何で？そう思うの？
2 ：今までのマンガを読んだ経験上•••。
3：マンガって連載で人気がガタっと落ちたらなんか，打ち切られちゃったりして，なんか，最後はいきなり「ま だ終わったらあかんやん。」って所でいきなり連載終わっちゃったり，（2：うん。）うん，一応，今ん所は順調に いったら，そうなるんじゃないかなー，って。
2：うん，アニメってどうなったん？
3：最後まで見てへん。でも，多分，適当な所で終わったと思うよ。
1：適当で終わってるのがイヤ？
2：イヤ。
3：でも，何か，アニメの劇場版とかのだったら，絶対に最後までやっちゃうんですよね，なんか。そしたら何 か最後がわかっちやって。それもイヤかな？

2 ：途中からアニメ始まると，「あー，最後ってどうするんやろ？」って思う・••
3：吉田あけみの「夜叉」つてのやってるけど，あれ，ってまだどらまでやってんのは，マンガの最初の方だけ ど，なんか，それ，ドラマって絶対，そのマンガの最後のストーリーまでドラマは続けないと思うんですね。そ やったら，どうやって決着つけるんだろうって。
1 ：ね，あの，牧村さとるの「イマジン」どうだった？マンガまだ終わってなくて，ドラマが終わっちゃって。 で，なんか，すっごいイライラしちゃった，私。あー，なんで，ここで終わっちゃって，マンガの方に失礼よ， とか。この話は絶対ダメ！つて思ったの，うん。（•••）どんなエンディングが好き？
＜002＞
2：ラーん。
3：うーん，別に矛盾がなかったら，別に bad end でも happy end でも構わないかな。
1：え，矛盾と言ったら，どういう風に？
3：何か・•，なんかおかしいとこで終わっちゃらのがたまにあるんですよ。
2：自然な終わり方だったら，私も別にそれでいいと思う。あー，なるほどー，読んだー，って感じがする方が いいかな。

1：例えば？
2：例えば［笑］？どんなんあるかなあ？ラーん（•••），わからん。［笑］
3 ：マンガってhappy endで終わるのがメチャクチャ多いじゃないですか。なんか，でも，それが，そういうマ ンガが嫌で，結構わざと絶対最後は happy end にしない，って言ってマンガを描く人もいて。そういう人のマン ガは bad end でもすごい面白い。
1：で，その unhappy endingの方は，あの例えば何ですか？あの，なんか happy end じゃない方が，今例をあたし・・あ，多分，岡崎京子とかその辺。
3：岡崎京子？どんなマンガですか？
1 ：えーと。PINKとか？？？Age とか，結構古い，ってゆらか最後 95 年かなあ？
3：読んだことない。
1 ：cuty，cuty 系。
3：あー，あんまり読まない。
（•••）
1：じゃ，戻るんだけど，自然の endingって何なんですか？
2：ラーん・••二人の，あの，こういう恋愛もんやったら，二人の気持ちが落ち着いて，あー，もうこのま ま放っといても大丈夫かな，っていらようなん。もうこの二人はこわれることはないやろう，みたいな。
1：じゃ，ある程度安定しているような，（2：うん。）付き合い方とか，（2：うん。）
3 ：非日常から日常に戻った，みたいな，最後に。あれは。
1：ふらん。じゃ，この作者がなんかメッセージがあったら何だと思うんですか？何を言いたがってる？
2：••自分に素直に生きればいい，みたいなことを言ってるんじゃないかな？
（•••）
3：わからない。
1：あたし結構思ったんだけど，よくさ，少女マンガの中で，一緒になるのが最後の方に，それが ending にな るでしょ，で，これが 1 巻で一緒になるでしょ。で，それから，（3：それからは発展みたいな，）うん，
2：これは発展を描きたかったんですか？
3：だと思う。
1：だから，その点で結構少女マンガと違うな，って思った。うん，••。で，どっちが好き？あの，主人公が女か，主人公が男。
2：うーん，読んでて別にこっちてゆうのはないけど，強いて言えば，男の方がいいかも。
3：主人公が男の少女マンガはちょっと少ないような気がする。（1：うん，うん，うん。）

あるけど。
2：うん。
1：少女マンガじゃなくても？
2：うん・••
1：で，読んでるマンガの中で，少女マンガが一番多いですか？
3：あたしは他のの方が多い，かな？
1：例えば？
3 ：うーん，アフタヌーン，って雑誌があるんですよ，講談社のアフタヌーンとか，モーニングとか。そういう雑誌の方が結構多いです。
2：アフタヌーンとかモーニングに，そのネーミングの違いにどれほどの違いがあるんだろう？［笑］
3：［笑］ほとんど同じ［笑］。だけどなんか，モーニングは週刊雑誌か。
1：ふらん。どこがいい？
3：んと，大抵は主人公，男なんですけど，かっこいい。こうなんか，動き方とか。•••少女マンガって殆ど，恋愛の話が主軸になってるじゃないですか。それじゃない，こう，ひたすら闘うとか，そんなんが出てきて，ま，少年マンガでもそうなんですけど。
1：で，読むとき，主人公が男でしょ。自分がその人の頭に入っちゃうんですか？•・てか，••
3：•・ラーん，いや，あんまりそれじゃなくて，結構客観的に見てる。
（．．•）
2：主人公が 1 人称やったら，そうなるときもあるかも。
1：で，その闘うっていうのは，どこが面白いですか？なんか，読んで面白いとか，読んで気持ちいいとか，思 ら理由は？
3 ：やっぱり読んでて面白いです。少女マンガだと，読んでてグチャグチャしてくると，あー，もら嫌って思っち やうんだけど・・ひたすら読める。（1：ふうん。）なんかまあ自分から言ったら，遠い世界やから，なんか安心 して詵めるみたいな。

1：あー，遠いからこそ安心？
3：うん。
1：さっき学校の話もそうでしたよね。面白かった。セッティングがこの学校だから嫌，［笑］なるほど，ですか。 うん。•・こっちの方は？少女マンガが多いですか？
2：少女マンガのほうが多いと思う。（ $1:$ で，その $\cdots$ ．）他のも読をけど。（1：うん。）
ジャンプとか，読むかな？
1：ジャンプの何がいいですか？ジャンプの中の特別なマンガとか，
2：好きなマンガは（1：全体？）ハンター・ハンターとか。
1：あー，なるほど。••
3：ワンピースとかは？〔笑〕
1：ワンピースも，［笑〕
2：ワンピースなんかな，うちテレビ映らんようになってな，？？？
＜何か本をめくっている様子＞

1 ：この辺に，1巻の終わりに短編がある，ね。これも読んだんですか？
2\＆3：読みました。
1 ：どう思ったんですか？
2 ：面白かった。
3：その，男の人が，変な人やなあ。【笑】
1 ：どこが変？
$<003>$
3：うーん，だって性格普通の男やったら，こんな事しないじゃないですか。こう，目の代わりになるとかなん か 笑〕••

1：て，いうか，あり得ない。
3：あり得ない。
1：あり得ないで良かった？っていうか，あり得ないで・•（2：あったら困る。〔笑〕）うん。
2：あたしも眼鏡かけてたら壊されたからってそんなんで壊されたら，［1：笑〕？？？そんなんついてますって言われたらどうしようって思う。…でも，これ断るに断れへんから，ああっ，て感じや。もら。

1 ：でもそれで，話が面白くなったんですか？ってゆうか，あり得ないからこそ面白いって言うか・・で，それで イライラして読みたくなくなった，ってことはない？

2 ：うーム，ない。
3 ：これはない〔笑〕。
1 ：じゃ，このような矛盾は大丈夫ですか？
3：大丈夫。
2：話の中での矛盾はあれ？っとか思うけど，元々がこういうもんや，って思ったら，それはこういうもんやか ら，つて思って読める。
1：なるほど。
$2:$ これ，主人公があの仮亀に収録されてて，性格逆じゃないですか，それも，ああ，って思った。
1：あたしも，（2：面白いなあって思った。）全然自信ない女の子がなんかユキノとすっごい正反対でしょ，だ からおもしろいな，とか思った。…らん。••結構多いでしょ，少女マンガの中でなんか自信のない子が（2： らん。）最後までにはなんか自信がつく，という，そういう話で。（2：うん。）で，どう思うんですか，そういう ような話。

2 ：こういう風に思っている子も多いから自信つけよう，つてそういうのもあるんじゃないかな。あーでもこれ は…ちょっといいですか？最初に，出てきた時に，ドカっとかって座ってるのとか，ちょっと変かな？って，読 んでて変かな，って思った。話的に。この最後の辺，「僕は紳士です」みたいなこと言ってはったじゃないですか。 （1：あー）紳士こんなことするんか，と思って。（3：笑）
1：紳士，私，紳士って変な言葉だなあ，って思った。なんかいきなり紳士，何？紳士？，って，なんか思った。 なんかコクゼが言うセリフじゃないな，つて思った，けど。
2 ：そうかな？
1：優しい，とか言ったらわかるんだけど，紳士って！〔笑〕

3 ：ま，礼儀正しい，見たいな…
1：あー，なるほど。
2：僕はそんな悪いことしてる人じゃないですよ，てなことを言いたかったんだと思うんですけど。その最初の この挨拶は，まあこんなもんかもしれないけど，この座り方は，あれ？？」っとこれは話的におかしいかな，っ て思った。

1 ：で，そのおかしい，と思ったとき，話自体が好きじゃなくなる？っていうか，こう読んで，ちょっとこれ違和感とかなんか思ったら，こう話が，何ていう？？らいらする，とか，無視して読めるか？とか，

3 ：あー，まあ，それが続いたら，こういくつもいくつもあったら，もう読むのやめちゃうかもしれないけど， 1 コマくらいやったら，ま，こんなもんか，つて感じ。（2：うん，うん。）

2：最初，そんなん，っていうか，これ最初読み始めて，は，この人怖い人なんや，って思って，ずーっと読み進んでいってあー，そんなのか，こんな奴やしな，って思ってたら，後で紳士やって言われて，あれ？ってちょ っと思った。

1：あたしその展開も好きだった。なんか，最初は怖い，怖いとか思って，何この人？って思って，で，ただ周り のこと全然見てない，っていうの，こう，わかってきて，あー，面白いな，って思った。（2：ふうん。）いっつ もなんか悪い人，うていうような，なんか決まってるような描き方あるでしょ？その，何ていう？こう，性格が悪い人とか，で，最初はなんか不良みたいな描き方で，なんか，想像するでしょ？どんな性格で，あの，想像し てると，本当のことが逆だから，面白いな，とか思ったの，私。うん。

2 ：そういうのも，あると，
1 ：で，その目つき怖いけどね，その男の人，いつも，こんなん〔笑〕面白いよ，何か，〔笑〕。何これ，とか。
2 ：ま，実際みたら，やめろ，とか思らけど。
1：こっちの方が眼鏡が必要かもね［笑］。〔2：笑〕こうしてるから。うん。…で，自分もなんかそういう自信 がない，とか考えたことあるんですか？この子はすっごい極端だけど。

3 ：•・ありますね。
2 ：あるかも。
3：自己紹介はいや。〔笑〕
2：自己紹介は，自己紹介自体は別に嫌じゃないけど，は，何を喋ったらいいやろ？と私は思うから。うん，な んか，うーん，知った人ばっかりの前に立つのは，あーどうしよう，とか思う。全然知らん人の前やったら，あ，別に知らん人やし，と思って割り切れる所がある。

1 ：あー，なるほど。…うん。で，自分でどうやって解決するとか，問題があったらとか，自信がない時とか， どうするんですか？…この子がね，もう全然，皆，嫌なこと言われて，みーんな，皆見なくなったんでしょ？で，男に救われたんだけど，普通はどうするんですか？周りの人たちの話でもいいし，なんか．．．

2 ：うーん，取り敢えず，うーん，なんか，授業中とかは，同じ教室にいなあかんのは，しやあないけど，休み時間なったら，あの，いつも話してる友達んとことか行ってたら，そういうのは，あんまし気にならへん。

1：ふうん。…で，アリマ君が困ってる時，なんか全部，自分の中に入れちゃってさ，誰とも話さないでしょ？ で，皆どうするんですか？なんか問題があるときとか，悩んでるときとか。

3：なんかに没頭する。あたしは，もうひたすら本読み続けて，うん，たまになんか，本の小説とかで，なんか， もろっ，とこう，いいセリフとか出てきて，それで解決しちゃったりしたこともある。

1 ：じや，小説とか話から，なんか，ヒントとかくれるような…
3：ま，たまに。でも，なんかそれはこう，作者がそれを狙って描いたやつがあるじゃないですか？ちょっとそ れは，はめられたら，悔しいかな，と思う。〔1\＆2：笑〕
2 ：あー。やられたあ〔笑〕。（3：あー，やられた。）
1 ：じゃ，読むだけで，全然自分の問題と関係ないものを読んで，なんかこう，スカッ，とするとか。
3：それもありますよ。だから，本は何でも読むし，マンガは何でも読むし。
1 ：じや，わざとね，自分と同じような悩みの主人公とか選ぶこととか，．．．
3：あ，それは，読みたくない。
2：あー，そう。悩んでる時とか，読みたくない。
3：だから，敢えて，全然別のものを〔笑〕。（2：うん。）
1：っていうか，さっき言ってたセリフがなんか，読んで，それが解決できるとか，どういう風に解決するんで すか？

3：うーん。
1：自分の悩みと内容は違うけど…，どういう風に…
3：なんか，結構友達関係とかで悩むときに，小説読んで，その主人公が，一人で全部，家族とか，自分の住ん でるとこから，引き離されて異世界に行っちゃって，こう，一人でひたすら闘ってこう生きていかなくちゃいけ なくて，あー，別にもう一人でもいいじゃん，とか思って。

1 ：ふうん。…うん。‥いいつから本読むようになったんですか？
$2 \& 3$ ：本？
1：うん，本とかマンガとか。
3：覚えてない。
$2: マ ン カ ゙ は$ 多分，私初めて読んだのは小学校 1 年生やと思う。
1：ふうん。
3：それより前。あー，あの，兄がいるんで，マンガとか本とかはやっぱし回りに一杯あったから。気がついた ら，読んでた。

1：1年生の時は周りの，あの，何ていう？その同じ教室の人達がきっかけになった？
というか，ただ読めるようになってきたから，
2：えつと，最初は多分，お父さんが，あの，毎月毎月発売されてる，「小学 1 年生」とかいうのを買ってくれは って，「まあ，なったから，読みや」みたいな感じで買ってくれはって，それで私は，小学校5年生くらいまで読 んでて，それが多分最初やと。

1：ふうん。
3 ：家になんか，ドラえもんのマンガとか，後何だろう，うちの兄貴がコロコロ・コミックスを買ったんだよね， それで小林よしのり，のマンガ〔笑〕で何だったかな？「お坊ちやま君」が載っててさ，笑えた。〔笑〕
2：［笑］あんなん，幼稚園児が読んだらあかん。
3 ：幼稚園児が読んだら恐ろしいわあ。〔笑〕
1 ：［笑］私，そのマンガ知らない。どんなん？
3：今，なんか，小林よしのり，つていう人，昔はこうすごいギャグマンガを描いてたんですけど，こう，少年

が読むギャグマンガを描いてたんやけど，今なんか，ゴーマニズム宣言，ってあの，「戦争論」とかって，マンガ で描いた人。すごい，なんかアクが強い。
1：本当に幼稚園だよ，読んだ。〔笑〕
2：あ，読んだら読めたと思うけども，なんか。
3：私，元々本読むのとか好きで，なんか，文字もすごい早くから覚えてたらしいんですよ，んで，周りにある ものを手当たり次第に読んでたらしく。
1：私も姉の教科書から始まったの。姉の練習してるの，覚えちゃって，で，見たとき，ま，abc は母から教え てもらったんだけど，全然読めなかったけど abcだけは知って，で，姉の読んでること覚えたことあって，で，た またまその本を見て，思い出して，字を見て，あー！って思って，読めるようになってきた，っていうか，覮え るてんの，自分のそれ。やった時。あんまりちょっとショックだった。えー！読めるって。
2：ショックだったの？
1：ショックっていらか，なんか大人のするようなものだったから。自分がそれできるようになるのがすごいも ら，開放された，って感じ。自分で本読めるって。
3：なんか，小学校の 1 年生で皆ひらがなを習って，それで皆こう，読めたり書けたりするようになるのに，私 はなんか，幼稚園のもっと本当に，3歳とかそれくらいの時に，勝手に覚えちゃったらしいんですよね，何にも教えられないのに。それで，お兄ちゃんも，こら，本の対象年齢って書いてあるじゃないですか，12歳とか，そ らいうものを幼稚園の頃からガンガン読み始めちゃって。〔1\＆2：笑〕お母さんが兄ちゃんに，読んで，兄ちゃ ん本読むの最初は嫌いだったから，読み聞かせてあげる為に買った本を，私はその読み聞かせてもららのが嫌で たまんなくて，自分で読み始めちゃった，って。…だから，本とかマンガとか，その頃からある物をひたすら。 2：うん。私はなんか，絵が好きやったから，絵本とか最初は普通に読んでてんけど，字が一杯詰まってるのが なんかしっくりこうへん，くって，マンガとか，その絵があるからガーッて読んでたけど，せやな，文字は最初苦手やったかな。（1：ふうん。）挿絵がないと，読めんん，っていう… 〔笑〕。
1：私，マンガなかった，小っちゃいとき。こんなん。だから，あったら私ガンガン読んでたと思らな。らん，小説より，絶対。らん。Choice なかった，私。〔笑〕向らのマンガ，面白くない。 2：そうなんですか？
1：うん，なんか，何ていら？スーパーマンとか，そういうのが多いし。なんか。
2：絵があんまし好きちゃらかな？私は。
3：絵ってなんか，分業して描いてるんでしょ？？？しくみや。
2：文字とかも手書きなん違たつけ？
1：うん。話はない。話がなんか全然面白くない。小説みたいに，人物が結構，深くまで，説明っていうか，な んかもら，わかるでしょ？でも，あえ性格ないよ，スーパーマンとか。［笑］
2：性格あったら，それも，なんかなあ？と思ら。
1：なんかアンパンマンみたいにさ，毎回毎回，悪い奴をぶっ殺すとか，とか面白くないの。
2：アンパンマンは私，よく見てたよ。
3：うん，ドラえもんもそのパターンかな？．．．アンパンマンは別の意味で最近面白くなってきた。〔笑〕
1：［笑］え？どういう意味で？
3：なんか，小さい頃は，こう素直に見てたんだけど，こう，アンパンマンを横から見てみると，

2：アンパンマンを人にしたら，どんなんやろう？みたいなんとか。
3：？？？おじさんはパンで宇宙船を救っちゃう〔笑〕
$2: ~ あ の 世$ 界に喋らない動物はチーズしかいない，とか。〔笑〕うさぎとか，ピョンタ君とかみんな喋ってるし， なんでチーズは喋らへんねやろ，とか。
3：人間が二人しかいないよー。〔笑〕
2：端目から見ると，あれちょっと面白い。〔笑〕
3：？？？〔笑〕絶対怖い。
2：絶対，バイキンマンは賢い，とか，あんだけロボットを作ってるのに，何故毎回負けるような物しかできな い，とか。
1：で，小っちゃい時は全然それ気づかなかった？
$2 \& 3$ うん。
2：そのまま素直に見とつた。
3：アンパンマン，頑張ってー，みたいな。
2：でも，あれ見てたら最近矛盾してることに気づいて。バイキンマンは本当はいい奴なのに，アンパンマンは頭から悪い者やと決めつけてて，バイキンマン出ただけで，もう悪いことしに来た，みたいなこと言われたり。 バイキンマンはドキンちゃんの為にケナゲに頑張ってるのに，とか。そんな，パンもらいに来た時，追っ払たら んときーな。とか。

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(\cdot \cdot)
$$

1：で，前に会った時聞いたと思うけど，あの，お母さん達が，ご両親の方にマンガ読まないように，とかなん か言ってますか？
3：マンガより文学を読んでくれ，とは言われるけど，うちのお母さんは頭に，そういうマンガを読んで面白か った，つて時も頭にある。
1 ！はあ。お母さんもマンガ読む？
3 ：うん。いや，たまにちょっと読みたくなるときがあるようで。お母さんはちょっと恋愛小説が好きなんです よ。（1：はあ。）あの，大人の，だから，それでマンガもちょつと読んでみて。だから，それからはあんまりう るさく言わないようになったけど。でも，お小遣いもらって，私がすぐにマンガとか買っちゃうと，やっぱり何 か言う。

2：うちはなんか，お母さんはあんまり，マンガ読む，お母さんに聞かれたから，「マンガ読む？」って聞いたら，「今はあんまし，そんな読む余裕がない。」とか。「暇がない。」とか言ってはった。暇があったら読むかかも。

3：（2の名前）んとこ，お父さんはマンガ読む．．．
2：うん，お父さんはすっごい読む。（1：ふうん。）ブラック・ジャックとか家に全巻あったりとか，
1 ：あー，なるほど，なるほど。••・で，自分がマンガ読んでるの，䎵ずかしい，とか思ったことありますか？ 3：ない。

2：ない，かな？うん。本ばつかり読んでて，マンガ読んだことない人とか見たりすると，あー，すごいな，と か思うけど，らん。あんまし，悪いとかは思わへん。マンガも面白いとこあるのになあ，とか，そういうのは思 う。

1：あたしも大好き。両方好き。うん。…で，そのマンガのいいとこは，なんか説明しにくいんだけど，どこだ

と思う？マンガと小説はどう違うの？
3：小説とかで，こう微妙な表現があるじゃないですか，それをなんか，絵やったら，こういう感じ，ってゆっ て描けたりするんだけど，こう，小説にしてみると，こう，形容詞とか，こう，書きにくいとこあるじゃないで すか。そういうのがマンガだと表現できればその表現の1つの方法？みたいな。（1：うん。）
2：マンガは，うん，マンガはなんか雰囲気で，セリフとかそういう描写がなくっても，雰囲気でそう読める所 がある，かな？小説は小説で絵で表してないとこ，あー，こういう感じかな？こういう感じかな？って個人で想像できるから。

1：ふうん。で，マンガ読んでるとき，飛ばすんですか？あのセリフとか全部読まなくて，パパパパって読みま すか，とかいちいち全部読みますか？
2 ：全部読むかな，私は。端から端まで。
3：最初に取り敢えずストーリーをバーッと見てから，後からセリフとかちゃんと全部読む。
1 ：で，パーッと見たとき，話が好きじゃなかったら読まない？
3：読まない。
2：うん。取り敢えず読んでみるかな。
1：で，さっきこの絵を見て，結構こういう所，何て言う？（3：はしがき。）そうそう，はしがきの方は見てま すか？

3：うん，だから，大体読み終わった後に。
2：うん。
1 ：戻って？
3：戻って見る。
1 ：で，雑誌読んでるとき，下のほうに，なんかこう，読者のコメントとか，いろいろ，それも読みますか？ 2：うん。

3：うーん，たまに。だけど，マンガ読んでるときは，こう，ここを読んだから下を読む，ってしてると，訳分 かんなくなっちゃうから，あんまりやらない。
2：全部読んでから，後から下を全部読んでるかな？うん。
1 ：で，絵のことについて，なんかうるさいですか？なんか，好きな絵しか読まないとか，色々読むとか。
3：うん，でも好きな絵を描く人が，好きなマンガっていうようなの，多いかな？だけど，嫌い，絵があんまし好きじゃなくても，話が面白かったら，読む。

2：うん。
3：うん，好き。
1：どんな絵が好きなん？
2：•・ラーん，私は結構きれいな絵がいいけど。
1 ：きれい，って？
2：バランスがとれてる絵が。こっちの絵とこっちの絵を見て顔が違うっていうのは，ちょっと読んでて苦しい所がある。
3：あと，主人公の顔が一定していて，途中でこう，うーん，さっきのアリマみたいなのは別にこう，だんだん作者の絵が変わっていってるから，それは別にいいんですけど，こう，1つの短い話の中で顔が全然安定してな

くて，こら見ようによったら全然別人に見えるようなのは，ちょっと読んでて辛いかな？
2：あと，なんか少女マンガで結構多いのが，全部同じ顔してるってのが，見分けがつかんくって困るときもあ る。描き分けができてないのん。
1：うーん。なるほど。
3：あと，顔の半分ぐらい目があるの，あんまり好きじゃないかな。（1：うん。）これくらい。〔笑〕
1：なるほど。これぐらい？
3：まだ，これは許せる範囲。
1：これは表紙だけどね，中はそんなに。ま，これ結構大きい。
3：だけど，うーん，なんだっけ？ジャンヌ，（2：ジャンヌ。）あれは顔の 3 分の 1 位ある…
2：風上街道ジャンヌ，って知ってますか？
1：知らない。
2：リボンでやってはった。
3：アニメもやってるかな。
1：うん，うん。アニメは誰か友達がこの間話してたから。うん。
3 ：目がちょっと顔の $\mathbf{3}$ 分の $\mathbf{1}$ はありますね。
$2:$ ここら辺からここら辺まで。〔笑〕
2：セーラームーン，おもろかった。［笑］
3 ：でもなんか，セーラームーンとか見てたの，小学生ぐらいの時やから，あー，そんなもんか，って思ってた けど，ここの年になってくると，セーラームーンと，こら同世代なわけじゃないですか。そうなったらちょっと，現実感がこう…
2：［笑］出てきて。こんな足長いんかなあ，とか。大学生と付き合ってんのか，ってセーラームーンやったら思 ら。セーラームーン，って読んだことありますか？
1：あの一，アニメちょっと見たことあるんですけど，あの，まだ読んでない。
3：露出度，高いよね［笑］
1：うん。結構，向うで，はやってますよ。（2：ヘー。）あの，英語，英語版。で，
（2：はやってんねやん。［笑］）で，あの一，女の子達もすっごい夢中になってる。うん。で，あとオタクの男 の人。大学生とか，すっごいそれ好きになって，結構，あのあたしみたいなさ，Asian studies とか勉強してる人達も，Japanese studies やってる人達も，結構セーラームーンについて書いてるの。論文とか。で，あの…
2：セーラームーンって結構，結構論文書かれてるねん，って，あれ，ほんまに［笑］。
3 ：うん，本出てるよ，あれ色々と。
2：あ，さっき言ってたハンター・ハンター描いた作者とセーラームーンを書いた作者と，結婚したんですよ。
1：あー！あーなるほど。（2：竹内マイコと）すっごいお金，二人で合計の給料がすごい，うて話聞いたことあ る。

2：そうなんや。
1：うん。
3：？？？と。竹内ナオコの［笑］。
$1:(\cdots)$ で，結構，セーラームーンに対して，向うの人達が書いてる論文とかで，非難してる，というか，

皆あの足が長すぎ，とか，目が大きすぎとか，何でこういう風に描くのか，とか，で，何で女の子達がそれに夢中になってるか，とか，うん。
2：目が大きいのが日本の特徴やからししゃあないんちゃうんかな，って。
3：こう，理想が表れてるんじゃないですか。
1 ：うん。
3：でもな，なんか，•••
1：結構，親達が反対してるの，自分の子供達がそれを見て欲しくない，とか。
3：ふうーん。
1 ：うん。
$2:$ でも，日本のマンガで目がでっかいのは，多分，人間の体ん中で一番表現力が出るの，絵で表して表現力が出るの，目やから。目がでっかくなるのは，そう思う。

## Session Two

1 ：？？？とかそういうような話でなんか，あ一いうようなヒロインが良くない，って言う，なんか，スカート がすっごい短いでしょ，で，色っぽく見せてるでしょ，結構。だから，そのお宅達が好きでしょ。なんていうの大学生がそんな少女マンガ見てるのはなんか，ちょっとやらしい見方。それで，自分の娘がね，そういう事を考え て欲しくない，とか。

2：うん。なるほど。
1 ：別に，〔笑〕私，別にいいんだけど〔笑〕。
2 ：でも，結局女同士，何ていうの，女の子の仲間同士の友情とか，そういうのが言いたかったんちゃうかな， って。（1：ふうん。）あ，あれの番外編の，何やっけ？
ルナ，かな？セーラームーンの，あの横にいる猫が主人公になってるマンガ持ってる。（1 ：はあ。）かぐや姫の恋人かなんか，とかいうのが。•••

3：あ，あたしはセーラーブイの方が好きやったで。〔笑〕（2：ラーん，セーラームーンのなんか，5人だっけ？ 5 人の中でセーラービーナス，つていうのが，元々それは別の雑誌でその同じ作者が，別のシリーズとして描い てて，それが途中でこう，（2：違う，あれは番外編として分かれてんねん。）あ，番外編なんか，なるほど。（1： はあ。）（2：描かれてた。）あっちの性格が好きだった，なんか。

## （•••）

1 ：結構読んだんですか，小学校の時，セーラームーンの，
2：読んだ，読んだ。アニメもなんか，アニメは私が小学校 1 年生位から始まってて，もう中学校終わる位までや ってたから，大体見てる年頃にずーっとやってたから，大体見てる，私は，うん。
3：私は，多分（2：見てる？）小学校の 3 年生か 4 年生位までマンガとか見てたんだけど，その頃になっても う，なんか，あ一見るの嫌だ，とか思って，なんかそれから，セーラームーンが結構嫌いになったかな。••・な んかだんだんその頃はこう，セーラームーンが気持ち悪くなってきて。（笑）

1 ：どこが？
3：なんか，こう（2：目がでっかいとこ？）？？？とかなんか，マンガのストーリーの展開がなんか，うん，

嫌いに。
1：で，それは小学 3 年生位？
$3:$ 小学校の 3 年生か 4 年生位。
1：で，その頃何読んでた？
3：その頃は，こう，普通の恋愛物を読んでましたね。
1：ふうん。で，今になってセーラームーン読んだらどら思う？と，思う？何か変な質問かもね（笑）。
2：私は素直に読めるんちゃらかな，と思う。うん，そのまま。
3：なんか，こう斜めに見ちゃう（笑）。
1：アンパンマンみたいな（笑）。
2\＆3：（笑）
2：でもな，美奈子ちゃん，てな，あ，セーラービーナスの女の子が美奈子ちゃん，っていうんですけど，美奈子ちゃんが一回，セーラームーンのアニメでフランス行って，フランスで恋愛して，そこで別れて傷ついたまま日本に帰って来た，っていらのがあって，そんなん，セーラーブイにあったかな？って（笑）。そういうのもある （笑）。

1：ふうん。•••
3：そんなん読んでへんわ。
2：その彼氏が敵となって日本に現れて，美奈子ちゃんが混乱してて，あーっ！て。
（3 が帰宅。解散。）
$<002\rangle$
1：川原いずみの？
2：うん。えっとな，何持ってるかな？
3：え，「中国の隹」持ってる？［笑〕
2：「中国の曾」持ってるよ。
1：ふうん。
3：あれ，おかしいよ，なんか。〔笑〕
1：それも古い？
3：古い。
2：うん。今なんかやってるよな。
1：あー，なんか絵見たことある。
3：川原いずみ今もマンガかいてるから，（1\＆2：うん。）何だったっけ？
「マダムと何とか［笑］…」
2：ラーん，なんかそんなん，そんなん。••・ハギオモトってファン多いよな。
1：ラーん，今でも。何？「なんとかかみの」，何だっけ？「いたずらの神のなんとか」。今描いてる。（2：うー ん，やだ。
2：うーん。
3：誰それ？

1 ：あの，ハギオモト。
2：ハギオモトな，なんかな，健全なの，1 冊持ってんで。
3：「パタリロ」つてさ，作者がさ，確かさ，描き始めたのがさ，18歳かそれくらいでデビューして，まじまじ まじ。？？？ねえ，今だって，こう， 30 代か， 40 ならない位でしょ。

1：ふうん。
2：結構若いねんな。
3 ：マンガに出てくるのが，何かこう，［笑〕若い，若い。
1 ：やっぱりその作家の，というか，漫画家の年がわかる？読んだら。
2：わかんない。
3：わかんないけど，うん。わかんない。（1：うん。）っていうか，たまにこう，（2：えっ？この人おばさ んなん，って思った。）この人いつ，いつデビューしたの，つて考えたら，もう既にこう50近くの人とかいて， うそーっ！とか思って。（ $1 \& 2$ ）でも，あんましわかんない。

1：うん。••・そうねえ，一条ゆかりとか，もうすごい，30年前から描いてるわ。で，（ 2 ：おばあさんなっち やった。）うん。でも面白いの，まだまだ。

3 ：「有閑倶楽部」好きだよ。
1 ：うーん，まだ読んでない，私。
2 ：一条ゆかりな，なんか顔恐い。
3 ：あー。（1 ：うんうん。）
2：でもあんまし，あーあ，って思う，読むの。
$3:$ でもな，（1：本人の？それとも描いてるの？）（2：描いてるの。）「有閑倶楽部」は読みなさい。面白いか ら。【笑〕

2：らん，わかった。読んでみるわ。
1 ：あたしも読みたいな。
2 ：ナオちゃんに「これ読め，これ読め。」つて一杯ゆわれたけど。（1：【笑〕）全然読んでへんな〔笑〕。
3：あんな，私な，16 巻まで全部揃えたのにね，うちのお母さんがね，私がダンボールに詰めて置いといたのが悪いんだけど，捨てられた。〔笑〕

1 ：あっはー，悲しい。
2：あらまあ。（1：悲しいよね。）そんな長いの？
3 ：え？（1：結構。）あ，今ね，他の雑誌に，こう，2ヶ月に1回か3ヶ月に1回の割合で，ばーって載ってる から。それ集めて 16 巻やっと出た，つて感じかな。でも，連載はだいぶ前に終わってる。
2：ふーん。
（•••）
1 ：一条ゆかりさんね，いつもあり得ない状態の，話描くのね，一番リッチの人達が，金持ちの，の，その人達 が（3：デザイナーとか）デザイナーとかそういうの。で，普通の人達は全然関係ない世界？面白いの。

2：ふーん。
3：「砂の城」とか。らん。
1 ：今のね，何だっけ？「天子のツラ？ツ，（3：面の皮。）面の皮」。この間読んで，（3：あれも，）（2：題名

すごいな〔笑〕）（あれもなんかそういう感じなのね。なんかモデルになってどうのこうのって。）うんうん。••• でも，キリスト教の話が，私は面白いの。その文化から来てるから。で，日本にこういうことがあったら，どう いう事になるか，って，すごい面白いのね。文化の混じってるのが面白いの。
3：私は一条ゆかりの「女友達」つていう本，すごい好きや。
1：あー，まだ読んでない。あー，読まなきやなんないもん，一杯あるわ。〔笑〕でも，面白い，仕事はは。〔笑〕 マンガ読むの。
（•••）
1 ：「パタリロ」は好きだった？
2 ：うん。おもろい。
1：うん，どこが？
3：ギャグ。
1 ：あー。
2 ：うん。川原いずみも，ギャグ面白い。ね？
1 ：なんか，だいぶ前に「パタリロ」読もうとしたけど，全然わかんなかった。
3：あーなんか，（1：ギャグが通じなかった。）日本人にしかわかんないよな，ってとこあるでしょ。
1：もつと，今読んだら分かるかもしんないけど，ただおかしくないと思う。うーん。
2 ：「パタリロ」な，アニメもやってはった。
1 ：ふうん。借りてみようかな。
2 ：パパンガパン。
$3 \& 1$ ：［笑］
2：最後のエンディングでなんかやってはった。
3 ：何やったっけ？なんとか音頭，クックロミン音頭や。〔笑〕
（•••）
3：あの，前に読んだ，なんか「ラ・シャーヌ」あんまり好きじゃないかな？
1：何が？
3：「ラ・シャ・ヌ」ってマンガを描いた。
1 ：うん…，どうして？
3 ：主人公がインドの何とかかんとかで，あんまし，うん，面白くなかった。面白かったんだけど，「パタリロ」 の方が好きかな？
（•••）
1 ：ダンスとか，そのバレエの話が好き？
3：あたしはあんまり。
2：あたしは好き。かな，らん。バレエやってたから。んとな，斎藤チホのやったら，バレエやってはんの，持 ってる。
3：？？？なんか，話がおかしいもんね，〔笑〕。
2：うん。
3：何だっけ？何王国だっけ？

2：マリネラ。
3：そう，マリネラ王国か，なんかこら，こう下水道辿って行ったら，アメリカまで着いて［笑］（2：［笑］）， ほんでアメリカからマリネラ王国までこら，使用，使用料の請求が来て［笑］。
2：ニンジョウハルの国。玉ねぎ部隊。
3：玉ねぎ部隊［笑〕。1巻の時，玉ねぎ部隊いーひんかってんで。一人だけやってんで，あの眼鏡の人。 2：でも，ひそかに毎回入れ替わってるっていら，皆同じ顔した人が，ずーっと横にいはんねんけど，実は，も ら毎回毎回，違う人が出てきてて，で，なんか頭が玉ねぎみたいな感じの髪形してて…
3：で，こら皆眼鏡かけてて，メイクしてるんだけど，実はその人ら，めっちゃ優秀な人で，普段はこう，ボケた事ばっかりゆってはんねんけど，実はめっちゃ優秀な人で，こう，（2：眼鏡はずして）カッラと眼鏡はずしたら，美形の軍人さんが（2：かっこいい，かっこいい人が一杯いる，みたいな。）いつも馬鹿な振りをしてその，王様 を助けてるんですよ。
1：じゃ，読んでみようかな。…どゃ，結構古いのも読んでるんだね。
3 ：読んでますね。…ちょっとこの事話したら，友人に，「風ときわの詩」が大好きな人いるんですよ。（1：ふ らん。）［笑］．．．

2：今井さんや。
1：読んだことある？
3：全部じゃないけど。（1：らん。）らん，初めの 2 巻ぐらいは。
1：うん。
2：読んだことない。
3：あ，文庫本の方で。
1：らん。で，どうだった？
3：んー，ちょっと読んで疲れた。
1：［笑］ 2 巻しか読んでないから，そんな，答えが，想像，想像ついたんだけど。うん。
あの，タケミヤセイコさんがね，今，精華大学で，マンガ学科で教えでるから。うん，何回も会ったことあ るんですよ。うん。•• あの，いつもタケミヤ先生会ってるんだけど，マンガ読んでないから，何も話ができ ない，もう䎵ずかしくて，何も聞けないし。うん。
（•••）
3：うん，でもやっぱりこの文庫本が出た頃って，古いマンガすごい読むようになったな。
1：ん，なんで？
3：あ，本屋さんで，立ち読みできる。
1：あー，なるほど。古いから，そのなんかかけてない？
3：え，いや違うんですよ，えっと，マンガは普通，そういう大きさのマンガは，ビニールのカバーとか，かけ るんですけど，文庫本は文庫と同じ扱いで，ほとんど，かけない？
2：かかってる，って。
3：うそ？
2：かかってる，って。
1：なーるほど。

3：だから，すごい，読んで。大量に，一気に読む。あとその他に古いマンガって，うちのいとこの家に，いと こはもら10歳以上離れてるから，その人らが買った本とか，こう，なんか，ひとつの部屋に，本棚にガーッて積んであって，それをなんか，んー，しばらく読んでたことがあって。

1：ふらん，例えば何？
3：それ，「有閑倶楽部」の 1 巻とか 2 巻とか，うん，あと，何だろ？何読んでたかなあ？んー，楠／木ケイの昔 のマンガとか，川原いずみとか，

1：ふうん。京都の人ですか？
3：いや，九州の人。
1：はあん，
3：だから，夏休みとか行ったときにずっとあさってたんだけど，この間，捨てられた，〔笑〕。
1：あー，悲しいよ，みんな，そんな。••・あたし結構，book off とかそういう所に行って，そこで全部，あの ビニールかけてないから，全部読める。うん。

2 ：big boss も，big boss は全部新刊やねんけど，全部かかってない。うん。七条ん所にある。
3：でも，book offって，結構あそこ，ってきれいな本とか置かない所とかあるでしょ？
$1: \cdots$ ，うん。あたし，立ち読みはねえ，時間かかる，あたし 1 冊読むとかそんなにできないんだけど，行った ら，あちこちちょっと見て，あ，これがあたし好きそうな，ちゃんとこう，もう，わかっちゃうから。買い物に はいい。
（•••）
2：斎藤チホ読んで欲しい。
1：何？
2 ：斎藤チホのマンガを読んで欲しい。
3 ：あたしは「動物のお医者さん」の方がいいと思うわ。〔笑〕
2：あっ！
1：斎藤チホ，何がいい？
2 ：「花冠のマドンナ」
1：何？
2 ：「花冠のマドンナ」花冠，花の冠，って書いて。
1 ：〔笑〕あたしの漢字はひどいよお。
(. • •)

2：つていうのが，えっと，なんかイタリアとか，フィレンツェとかそこら辺の，なんか話で，レオナルド・ダ・ ビンチが描いた絵が元で，あの，一人の少女がなんか，ん一，本当は普通の女の子でいたいねんけど，なんかそ の，絵の，絵はなんか，大切な宝のありかを示してるような絵で，で，生まれた時からピアスを付けられてて， そのピアスがその宝への道がなんとか，とか，そういうのがあって，で，なんか，（1：面白そう。）どこやっけ な？えーと，こう，どっかの王子様と，とかそんなん。

1 ：「動物のお医者さん」ってあたし，読んだことない。
2 ：動物のお医者，面白い。
3：うん。んっとですね，ごく普通の変な人々。

1：ごく普通の変なの？［笑］面白い。［笑］
2：ヒヨちゃんがいいな，ヒヨちゃん。
1：うん，‥じゃ，次どっち，あの，
2：あ，あと斎藤チホは，えっと，なんやっけ？えーと，「ワルツは白いドレスで」つていうやつが，大正時代の なんか，洋服屋さんの娘と，えーと，インド人のスパイの男の人がなんか（1：［笑］嫌いな，嫌いそうな［笑］） （3：斎藤チホや！）そういうのや。
1：ふうん。‥じゃ，これどう思った？
（•••）
2：初心忘れるべからず，って感じ。
（•••）
3：あ，っていうか，女子校，ってこんなんなんかな，って。
2：らん，うん。
＜ 003 ＞
3：なんか，あたし，受験の時，女子校受けるの，すごい嫌だった。なんか，女ばっかり，1つの教室のなかに女ばっかりいたら，気持ちわる一，とか思って。
1：ふうん。なんで？
3：だってず一っと，あたし共学だったから，なんで，なんか男子がいなかったら，不快。
2：なんで，いいひんねんやろ？みたいな。
3：らん。［笑］…あと，なんか，なんか伝統とか，って嫌そうやな，って。まあ，私立やったらどこでもそう かもしれないですけど。
2：らん，私立の女子校って，なんか結構キリスト教が多いから，そういうのもなんか，あーつ，…
3：朝の礼拝とか。（笑）
1：あたし留学した学校はなんかミッション・スクールだった。で，結構朝の礼拝とか，びっくりした。で，あた しもずっと共学だった，で，いきなり留学して，あの，女子校になって，ちょっとショックっていうか。
3：え，女子校ってこう，校則が厳しい所が多いじゃん。（2：ん？それでもこう，おかしなように，こう，ご機嫌よう，って言わなきやいけない。
1：んー，
2：女子校っていったら，お嬢様校って感じがすんねんな。
1：なんで？
2：なんか，（3：あ，？？？したら）
1：さっきの，ご機嫌よう？（全：［笑］）
2：ご機嫌よう？［笑）ん，なんかイメージでゆったら，ご機嫌よう，って感じあんねんけど［笑］。なんか，ど っちかって言らと，男の方が，がさっじゃないですか，だからなんか，そういうのがおらんかったら，あー，ん？ って感じがする。
（•••）
3：クラブ強制とか。

1：あーっ！
$2:$ でも，クラブ強制は，うちの公立の所もそやったで。
3 ：そうなん？
2：共学やったけど。ん。
3：ヘえー。
2：なんか，でも，内申とか関わるやんか。中学校やったら。（3：あー。）高校受ける時 に，公立は。

3：クラブやってなかったら，？？？の？
1 ：ヘえー。じや，何入ってたの？
2：え？あ，あたしは元々内部生やから，そういうの，あんまし。
3：まあ，好き勝手に［笑〕。あたし，今のクラブで3つ目〔笑〕。
2：あ，でも，あたしは，
1 ：やめて違らの入ったり，やめて，ん。何でやめたの？
3 ：最初に入ってた水泳部はもう，ついていけなくなっちゃったんですよ。こう，1年生とか入ってきて，あー， もう，その 1 年生の子とかの方がどんどん速くて，一緒に練習できなくなっちゃって。もういいや，思って［笑］。 あとは，情報メディア部に入ったんだけど，1回しか行かなくて，もう，これやったら，家でもできるやろな， とか思って。今は演劇部に。

1 ：はあ。…じゃ，これとおんなじ？
3 ：これぐらい，練習してくれたら，〔笑〕

3：2つ目やな［笑〕。
2 ：最初は，なんか，えーと，ホッケー部入ってたんかな，女子ホッケー部に入ってて，ふんで，でもあたしは バレエやってたから，それでなんか練習があんまし行けへんかったりとか，休まなあかんことが多かったから， あー，これやったら，ホッケー部は結構練習とか，厳しくって，一杯練習とか，しなあかんかって，休みとかに行くのが，バレエとかあったら，行けへんくって，人よりも練習量少ないし，あー，と思って。

これやったら，いいひん方がいいかな，って思って，やめて，で，暫く帰宅部になってて，その後，友達に誘われて美術部入って，で，絵描くの好きやったから，まあ，今でもチョコチョコ美術部行ってるかなあ。

1 ：ふうん。（•••）で，クツカの，何ていう？主人公があるでしょ？
2：うん。
1 ：で，どっちが一番面白かった？
3 ：ラーん，（•••）
1 ：あの，何だっけ？
3 ：タバコを吸って捕まる人じゃなかった？
1：背が高い人でしょ？
3：違う，違う。
1：男役やってる人でしょ，それは。
3：え，背が高いのかなあ？

2：え？背が高い人は違う人じゃないの？
3：背が高い人は最後に出てくる人，かな？
1：あーあっ！
3：そうじゃなくて，
2：自分が男っぽくて悩んでる人ちゃうの？
1：うん，その人じゃなくて，その？？？の人，
3：うん，その人じゃなくて，アイスクリームがどうのこうの，っていう人。
1：2の方。
3：うん。
（•••）
1：で，なんで好きだった？
3 ：最後のこういう結論が，
1：あ，自分がもら，あるくする？明るくする？
3：っていうか，もう，らん，彼女達を嫌うのをやめにした。
1：うん。
3：グループ分けが当てはまってるな，とか思って。
2：あー，あたしもグループ分けは，最初の方はあたしかな？って思った。
1：どっち？
3：え？一点集中。
2：あたしかなあ？って思った。
1：あー！
3：一点集中の？？？少女と，
2：性格でいうと，普通でもないけど，派手でじゃない，と思う。消去法で 1 かな？
1：そのグループ分けあってる，と思う？
2：あってる，と思う。
3：あってる。
1：じゃあ，今でも？（2：うん。）これがもう，15年前でしょ？（2\＆3：うん。）
今でもあってる？
2\＆3：あってる。
1：で，その派手っていうか，不良っていうか，は，どう，（3：でも，今はこう，今はどう思うの？
3：この派手な人と普通の人と，ここは，すごいもう，グチャグチャに混ざってる感じ。 だから，（2：うん，そやな。）ほとんど一緒かもしれないけど，まあ，らん。
1：じや，今の不良は何？
3：不良…
2：なんか，茶髪にしてたりとか，
3：でも，それがかなり普通になってきたから，
2：らん，最近はなんか，パーマかけたのがどうのこうの，っていうのが，今では茶髪にしたのがどうのこうの，

ってあてはまるから，
3 ：茶髪にしたり，ピアスにしたり，
1 ：この学校，茶髪，大丈夫でしょ？
3：一応，中学では禁止されてたけど，先生がうるさく言う程度で，そんなに厳しくはなかったし，高校は別に オッケーだと思う。

2：でもピアスはあかんやろ？一応。
3：そうなんや。
2：装飾品系はしたらあかんねん。
3：〔笑〕
2 ：化粧もしたらあかんねん，実は！
3：でも，先生が「もう化粧はだんだん少なくするようにしていって欲しいなあ。」みたいな感じであんまり厳し くはない。

1：うん。
2：生徒の自主性に任せます，みたいな感じ。
3 ：私服だから，まあ，そういうのも仕方ないみたいだけど，ちょっとある。こう，靴下まで決まってない，と か。

1 ：うん，いつも来る途中にね，見るの。すつごい背が高い，もう金髪になってるぐらいの，後ろぐらいの髪の毛で，すっごい脚が細くて，で，これぐらいの靴履いてる女の子いつも見る。
3 ：あ，藤岡さんだと思います。
2：藤田さん！
3 ：藤田さんなんや，
2 ：え，藤岡さんかな？背高い？
1：背高い，つていらか，靴が高いかもね。〔笑〕
3：それで，脚がめっちゃくちゃ細いんや。
1 ：うん。いつも短いスカート。
3 ：あたし，多分藤岡さんやと思う。
2 ：あ，藤岡さんかな？うん。
1 ：最初は外人かと思ってた，遠くから見てる，そんなに金髪で。（2：うん。）で，あ，日本人だ，すっげー脚細いなあ，つて思って，あたしの半分ぐらいだね，とか。
2 ：腕より多分細い，こんなもんかもしれん，でも。脚がこんなんして立ってる。
3 ：それで，こう，あの人いつつもな，こうな，こう，10センチとか 15 センチくらいある，スニーカーとか サンダルとか履いてるから，よう，そんなんでバランス取ってられる，［笑〕こう，隣にいる女の子とかな，普通 のかっこらしてるからな，腰の高さが，こう違らねやんか，〔笑〕

1 ：あれが今の派手？
2 ：うん。な？
3 ：でも，こう，関西のね〔笑〕。
2 ：関東はどうなの？

3 ：だって，また違う感じやで，雑誌とか見てると。
2：ふらん。
3：関西の流行は1年後れてる，といいますから。
2 ：でもなんか，んー，ルーズソックスはもう，はやってへん，とか言いはるけど，最近は何か，普通のソック スみたいな感じで履いてはる。

1：東京の方で？
2：ううん，ここら辺。
1 ：こっちの方で？
3：東京は，もう，履いてる人は誰もいない，って話。
1 ：ルーズソックス？
2：ウん。なんか，ここらへんがダボダボなって，
1 ：うん。結構まだいるでしょ？
2 ：うん。なんかでも，あれは，あるから，まだ履けんのに，履かなもったいない，って感じで履いてる気がす る。

3：あと，なんだろ？校則で白の靴下しかだめ，って言われる所は，こう，普通の靴下よりあっちの方がいい， って。あたし，面倒臭いと思うんだけどな，なんか，はがれたりしてさ，こう。
$1: ~ の り$ 着けで，靴下つけるのが，あたし，不思議。（2：うーん。）でも，ダブダブの，あれで，脚が細く見え るのは，解る。そのファッションがなんか，うん。でも面倒臭い，と思う。

2 ：なんか，1説によると，脚が太い人が履くと，象の脚にしか，見えへん，と。
全：［笑〕
3：あーあ，
1 ：そうかもね，うん。じや，その派手っていらのが，必ず不良とは，思う？
2：うらん，そんなことない，と思う。
3：違う感じかな？
2：今はなんか，おしゃれな人が派手，つていうような，そんな感じがする。不良っていうのは，もうちょっと， それとは違ってタバコ吸ってたりとか，なんか，あんなん。

3 ：こう，こら派手にしてる人とかでも，こう，めっちや，性格良かったり，こう，なんかこら，影でメチャク チャ勉強頑張ってる人とか，も多い，かな？って，多いっていうか，いる，し。
2 ：うん。なんか，宮沢ユキノがあーなっても，別にまあ，つて感じもする。〔笑〕
今の流行に乗り後れないようにがんばってるんです，みたいな。…そんなんが，うん。
1 ：なるほど。…で，派手な友達いますか？
2：います。
3 ：え？
2 ：ネコとか。
3：あーあーあー，うん，いますね。やっぱ，こう，服とか外見は結構派手なんだけど，性格的にはこの，のめ り込み型。
$2: な ん か, ~ 今 の 女 の 子 と$ 気が合わへん，みたいなとこがある。

1：ふん，例えばどこ？
2：なんか，ん一，どうだろ？なんかアニメとかマンガとか結構好きやから，うん。
1 ：で，普通，つていったら，今の何グループになる？
2：今の普通は多分，おしゃれ，とか。
1 ：で，それで，マンガとか読まないの？
3 ：マンガとかは，
2 ：なんか，読んでることは読んでるけど，そんな，友達と話したりとかは，あんまし無いみたいな感じ。
3 ：え，「これ面白いやんな。」つて 1 つのシリーズ皆でガーっと回して読んで終わり，つて感じ。
2：うん。
3：それも何だろ？あの，こう，描いてあるもんが，マジで，あの，普通のそのままの，こう，絶対こう，マン ガって変なストーリーあるじゃないですか，こう，ぶっ飛んだやつが。そういうのじゃなくて，もう，普通の恋愛もの，（1：しか読まない？）しか読まない。
 れがはやってる。

3：あ，でもね，
2 ：で，あと，ベルセルク。
1 ：あー！
2 ：男子が持ってきて，皆でククーっ！て，女子も男子も一緒くたになって，みんなで回し読みしてる。
3 ：うちのクラス，今「スラムダンク」はやってる〔笑〕。
1：ふうん。…で，話が合わない，そういう人達。
2 ：うん，なんか，そういうのはなんか，マンガは，作品だけ皆でカーって回るだけで，そんなんで，うん。あ んまし，つてか，それよりなんか，服とか，なんか，（3：化粧品とか，うん，そんな話になってくる。
3：だとしたら，もら，ついていけないんですよ，あたし，そういう雑誌とか読まないから。テレビだって，見 てる番組が，全然，こう，あたし歌番組とか，なんか，あんまり見ないし，

2 ：あたしも歌番組，見いひんわ。朝，最近，NHK しかかけてへんし〔笑〕。「おはよう日本」とかしか見てへ んねんやんか，〔笑〕

1：あたし，それも見てない。
$2:$ ニュース番組ぐらいしか，最近見いひんかな，つて感じ。
3：テレビ見る時間なくなってきた。（1：ふうん。）こう，なんかする時間を削る，としたら，こう，テスト前 になったら，こう，今クラブもやってるし，時間がどんどんなくなって，削るとしたら，もう，前はたまに歌番組とか見てたけど，その，テレビ見る時間が最初に削られて，

1 ：ん。•••
2：削らなあかん時間は，あたしは多分一番，ボーっとしてる時間を削らなあかんねんけど。ボーっとする時間 ていうのは，勝手に過ぎていくもんやから，削れへんねやんか。〔笑〕気づいたら，あっ！て。時計が，つて。
1：多いの，あたし，それ。〔笑〕ゲームもやってる。
2：いっつもボーっとしてる，あたし。あっ！そういや，日高バンリさんの作品も読んで欲しい。
1：何？

2：日高バンリさん，えっと。
3：日高バンリってどんな？
2：えつと，セタキラとか。（3：あーあー。）ここ？
1：うん。
2：．．．えつと，どんな作品があるっけ？「詩を聴かせて」とか，えっとなんか，ある兄弟の，秋吉家という，秋吉っていら家の，兄弟が 6 人いるんですけど，その 6 人が，順番になんか，（ $3:$ 主人公になって，）主人公にな って，（1：あ！）それで，なんか物語り書いてはんねんけど，（1：面白そう。）それ一つ一つは，独立してるか ら別にバラバラで読んでも大丈夫やけど，シリーズで読んだら，あ，こいつが出てる，とかそういうのんで，楽 しい。

1 ：面白そうね，それ。
2：らん。…全部書いてったらいいかな？
1：うん，いいよ。2つくらいかな？
2：2つくらい？
1：うん。
2：んと，今（1：後で調べられるから。）「世界で一番大嫌い」。
3：あっし的には，「詩を聴かせて」が一番です。
（．．．）
2：「詩を聴かせて」がいい？
3：うん。
2：あたしは，あの，メグちゃんのがいい。

2：えーっと，
1 ：じゃ，両方書いて。 えつと，なんだつけ？「詩を聴かせて」？
2：詩ってあれ，詩やったっけ？
3：詩。チエちやんかっこいいよ〔笑〕。
2：「聴く」ってどんなやったっけ？耳偏のやつや。
1：ららやましい，漢字が書けるの。〔笑〕
2：えと，あれは，「う・た・を・き・か・せ・て」。あとなんだっけ？メグちやんのやつ，「365日の恋人」は トナミちゃんやろ？なんだっけ？思い出せへん。
1：いい，今度で，Thank you．
2：あ，「世界で一番大嫌い」はまだ連載してはる。（1：ふん。）現役で。でも，なんかもら，終わりそう。
3：あと，1回か2回やろ，あれ。
2：え？んなことない，って。
3：もうちょっと…
2：あ！あんな，兄ちゃん結婚したで。
3：あー，したな。

2：うん。主人公の，恋人のお兄さん，えっとー，腹違いのお兄さんが結婚しはってん。
1 ：ん。．．．で，さっき聞いたんだけど，一番好きな話は？同じでした？
2：んー。背の高い人の方が良かった。
1 ：最後の方，（2：うん。）あの，劇の男役やった
2：そう，そう，そう。
1 ：なんで？
2 ：背格好とかあたしに似てるかな？と思って［笑］。ごついし。
（．．．）
1：んで，なんかスタイルとか，さっきみたいにね，今の派手はどうか，とか話，やっぱ違うんだけど，内容的 に，あの，悩んでるとこ，とかが，今と違いますか？

3：ん一。
2：んー。なんか，今はこんなことマンガ読んでたら，こういう風に思う人もいんねんな，と思って簡単に解決 できるような事もある。

1：らーん，じゃ，これ，解決が納得いかない。
2：ん，こういうこと考えるねんなーつ，〔笑〕（1：ん。）ん。あたしはあんまし，こういう事で悩まへんから。 ．．．学校のなんか，しっかりした人の話，がユキノちゃんに，似てへんか，似てる，と思った。

1 ：あー。
（．．．）
2：うん，これも結構好きかも。
（．．．）
1 ：じや，こういうように悩んでいる人達，今いないと思う？
2 ：いると思う。
3：んー，．．．だけど，あたしは恋愛してないから，よくわかんないから。
1：ふん，．．．で，なんか結構，周りから，言われてる事，で傷つけるのね。あの，例えば，あの，しっかりして る子が，あの，なえて言う？？とこだっけ？？兄さんみたいな人に，「ませてる。」つて言われて，すごいなんか，傷つけてる。で，そういうのはなかった？

2：あったかもしれん。
1：ん。
3：んー，あたしはあんまりなかった。
2 ：んー，．．．
1：っていらか，大人になんか結構，結構言われるでしょ？（2：うん。）色々。
2 ：あ，言われる，かなあ？うん。
3：．．．ウーん．．．。
$2: あ, ~ て ゙ も あ た し は$ 妹がいるから，お姉ちやんやからしっかりしなあかん，ていうのが結構あって，（1：ん。） そう思ってたことが，思ってたことがある。

1 ：で，イヤになったりしなかった？
2 ：最近ちょっとイヤやけど，昔はそんなに思わんかった。

3：あたしはこう，周りにいた人間とか，こう，親戚のいとことか，なんか，兄貴とか，みんな周りがすごい，年が離れて，上だったから，あんまり，こう，私が，こう，その，ませた事言っても，そういう子の影響受けて るなあ，って親が思ってたから，別に何にも言わなかった。
1 ：ふん。じゃ，こういらことで，なんか悩んでる人達の話を読をと，面白くない？
3：いや，面白くないことはないけど，んー，わかるんだけど，自分ではそういうことはなかった。
2：んー。
1 ：え？自分はそういう経験したことない，とか，自分はそらいうこと，悩んだことなかったら，話読むのが，難しい？

3：ううん，
2：そんなことない。
1：入れない？っていうか，ふうん，面白い，とかだけで，え！これすごい！とか思わないでしょ？
2：あ，らん。
3：うん。
2：そこまで，え！？とかあんまし思わへんかな。（1：うん。）あ，でもこういう立場なったら，あたしもこう考えんのんかなあ，とか思ら。

1：うん，なるほど。
2：でも，今のあたしやったらな，〔笑〕とか。
1：じや，これ古くてもそんなに違和感がなかった？（3：ない。）っていらか，ない？
2：うん。
（．．．）
1 ：結構，私，1985年，私1年生だったかな？高校 1 年生かな？中学 3 かな？？？だったのね。で，すごい髪型とか，もうその時そっくりのね，だから読んだ時も，思い出したくなーい，とか思ったの。あたしはだから， ちょと，やだった。で，絵はどう？

2：絵は．．．
3 ：絵，コマわりの絵［笑］。（1：ん。）でも今はそんなに，あ，でも「夜叉」は結構きれいになってるな，絵が。 1：ん，でも「夜叉」も結構似てるんじゃない？（3：うん。）なんか，きれいになってるけど，結構（2：元は変わってない。）うん。
3：っていうか，バラの？？？ってこんな，こういう絵だったよな。
（．．．）
1：で，さっきゆってたんだけど，あの，こう周りが，あの，少年っぽい，（3：うん。）で，絵は？
3：絵は，んー，絵も少女マンガだけど，微妙に普通の少女マンガと違うかな？
1：どこが？
3：目とか，顔の中とか，
2：なんか少女マンガと，目をきえいに描こら，つていら意識が高いと思らねん。
3：もつと，こら，美人に描こら，とするじゃないですか，こう，かわいく。そうじゃなくて，こう，普通の人間ぼい。かな？どっちかっていうと。
1 ：で，それ普通の人間ぼいっていう描き方で，話はどうになる？

3：なんか，自分達に近づいて。
1 ：もっと近づける？〔笑〕入りやすい？とか入りにくくなる？
3 ：いや，入りやすいと思いますよ。
2 ：普通の人は入りにくいん違うかなあ，と思う。
3：あ，うん。
1 ：うん。で，自分達はマンガが好きだから入りやすくなる？この絵が違う，という，普通の人が入れない，っ てどういう意味？

2：なんか，もつと，きれいな絵とか，かわいい絵の方がみんな好きかなあって。
1 ：あ，さっきの普通の学園ロマンスしか読まない人達？（2：うん，そう，そう，そう。）あの普通。ふうん。
2：なんか，普通の人はもっと目が大きくって，とか。うん。
3 ：あの人達も昔は「セーラームーン」が大好きだったと思らんですね。
1：うん。じや，セーラームーン派？［笑〕
3 ：でもやっぱり自分の顔を，目を大きくしょう，って考えてる人が，だから，
2：あ，「セーラームーン」と同じ，竹内ナオコが描いてる作品で，「ま・り・あ」つて作品があるけど，それ好 き。平仮名で「ま・り・あ」って書いてある。

1 ：「セーラームーン」描いた人，誰だっけ？
2：竹内ナオコ。
1：あ！なるほど。見てみよう。
2：うん。…なんか，足長おじさん，みたいな話，「ま・り・あ」は。元は足長おじさん，から思いついたんやと思うねん。

1：うん。
（．．．）
3：んとな，そや，新庄マユとか，あたしはめちゃくちゃ嫌いねやんか。
2 ：新庄，新庄マユはな，あ，小林ミユキは，まだ好きやけどな，新庄マユの方は嫌い。（3：は，大っきらい。）
1 ：新庄マユって何？
2：えっと，「快感フレーズ」とか今描いてはる人。
3 ：アニメになったんですけど，
2 ：し，しんじょ・う。
1 ：全部平仮名で書いてんの，悔しい！イヤ。しょうがない。
3 ：こう，なんか，女の子が主人公で，こう，なんだろ？男の子，えっと，男の子と恋愛して，最後はセックス して，んで，なんか，結局ハッピーエンドになって終わるんだけど，なんか，その恋愛の過程が，こう誰かが不幸になって，それでも好きなの，見たいな感じで…，もう，嫌い！
1：う一ん。．．．で，それでも好きなの，つていうのが嫌い？
3：っていうか，もう，もう，（2：それでも好きなの，は，別にあー，いいねんけど，つて。）こう，ストーリ一の展開とかがなんか，やだな。

2：話のパターンは決まってて，なんか（3：そう。毎回こう，えーっと，その，主人公（3：シチュエーショ ンが違ら。）主人公とかの，あの，なんか，何て言らかなあ？主人公はこういう人，こういう人，て仕事が違った

り，学校での立場が（3：立場が）違ったり，そんなん。あんまし，違わへん，かなあ？
（．．．）
3：あ，それがこの間，夜の7時からやるアニメになったんですよ。今も夜中にやって，もら終わったのかもし れないけど。あー，イヤっとか思って。〔笑〕

1：何というアニメ？
2：「快感フレーズ」。
（途中，略）
3 ：バンドの話やって。
2：えつと，なんか，最初は多分，フレーズ，えつと，歌詞を書く人を目指してる女の子が，なんか，原稿を落 としちゃって，んで，それを，そのリュッフェルっていうバンドの，人が，拾って，自分の歌にもら勝手に使っ ちゃって，（1：あー！）ごめんなさい，って言って，あー，ごめんなさい，ってうちのバンドの，なんか専用，専属の作詞家になって下さい，ってゆわはって，んで，それで，「あー，やります」みたいなんで，で，そこの， ボーカルの人と，女の子がラブラブにならはんねん。［笑］

1：ふうん。
（．．． 12 秒沈黙）
3 ：なんか，そういうマンガが，こう，おんなじようなのが，こう，一林あるんですよ。どこらへんかなあ？フ ラワーコミックスだったかな，しんちやん，？？？

2 ：うん，フラワーやで。
3 ：だけど，もうなんか，こう，結局はこうシチュエーションが違うだけで，やってること一緒だ。
2 ：あれは何やっけ，コミックかな？なんかで書いてはるけど，コミックで，（3：えつと，少女コミック。）少女コミック。．．．なんかで書いてはる。
3：別冊コミックはなあ，コマわりが書いてる。
1：うん。
（．．． 11 秒沈黙）
2：（ため息）ここの付箋貼ってあんのは何なんですか？
1 ：あたしの，なんか面白いと思った所とか，あの，前に発表した時，あの，結構使ってたの。うん，こういう なんていう場面とか，シーンとか。
2 ：ああ，こういう河原で話す，つていうのは，よく日本でもあるかもしれない。
1：うん，うん。で，これがねえ，もう嫌いだったとか，でも一部分が羡ましかった，なんか，そういう，不良 と普通とはっきり分けてるから，こう，お互いに，そういう，なんで一つのグループに入るしか，なんかできな いの，って決めなきやなんない，いい子にするか，悪い子にするか，って。で，結構ペナルティーあるとか言っ てたでしょ，それがすっごい面白かったの。あたしはね。（3：ふうん。）なんかペナルティーっていうのは，な んかその考え方，なぜ，女の人はそういう，2つのチョイスしかないの？っていう，なんか，それについて議論 してたのね。（3：ふうん。）そういう，なんか，うん，変わうてきたかなあ？結構混じってる，今？
2：ん？
1：いい子とか悪い子とか，そんなに，はつきりは区別してる？今？
2 ：どういうことでいい事，悪い事？

（2：まあ，…）で結構，一番ひどい事言われたでしょ，売春とか，あの，子供を何て言う？こう，水子とか，そ らいう，そういうなんかもう，噂もされてるでしょ？あの派手の。だから性的にね，悪い子，っていう意味もあ るでしょ，って思うんだけど。こう，（3：ま，それはあ，）コマわりの定義で。

3 ：ん，でもあんましないかな，別に誰が誰と付き合ってようと，あ，でも，こう噂はすごいまわってるかな？ 2：うん。

1 ：何の？
3：え，誰が誰と付き合ってるの，つて（2：うん。）すごい，もうあっという間に。
1 ：付き合ってるだけで，だめだとか，そういう意味じゃなくて，（3：ない。）只，只，好奇心でしょ？
2 ：うん，そうそう。
3：うん，好奇心。だから別に（1 ：でも，あの娘すっごい男と遊んでる，とか，そういうような噂じゃないで しょ？）ない，かな？

2：でも，あったらあるんじゃない？（3：うん。）今はないけど。
1 ：うん。
3：ある，ね。
1：軽蔑するかなあ？男遊び。
3 ：うーん，なんか，（1：ま，でも．．．）
2：あたしは，そこまで軽荗とかはしないと思う。
1 ：うん。結構激しく書いてるでしょ，その，何て言ら，グループ分け。
2：うん。でも，きっぱり，はつきりゆっちゃったら，こんなもんちゃう？〔笑〕
でも，この一点集中型も 2 つに分かれてへん？今は。
1：うん。
2：最近，お宅とか呼ばれている人とかいるから，そういうのと，真面目に勉強とかして る子とか，（3：あー，うん。）分かえてると思う。（3：分かれてる。）

1 ：じや，そのグループが，うん，なるほど。
（．．．）
1 ：じや，その人物をなんか 15 年前の話でしょ？今どうなってると思う？想像でどん なことやってたと思う？

2：まあ，この不良って㭔ばれてる子は，まあ，金髪ぐらいにはなってるかなあ〔笑〕，と か，うーん。
$3_{j}:$ え？この人らが大人になったら？
1：うん。
3 ：んー。
2：大人になったら？
3：普通になんか結婚して，普通の（1：大学行かなくて？）あ，あ，そっか，ん一。あ， これ進学の話とか全然出てきてない。
$2:$ 最初の方，進学の話とかなかったっけ？あれ？

3：ん，ん，じや，短大とか，
2：エスカレーター式で，半数くらい短大行くとか出てへんかった？
3：そうだったっけ？
1：あたし覚えてな一い。
3：覚えてない。
2：どこだろう。あ，ここ，ここ。「全く卒業式だって有り難味ないわよね，だってさ，半数近くは付属の短大，行っちゃらんだからさ。」（1：ふうん。）書いてある。

1：何ページ？25ページ。だから，お嬢さん学校じゃないか，って思ってたんじゃな いかな？（3\＆2：うーん。）結構，そういら，何て言う？あの短大あるような学校が。
2：あ，でも聖母も短大，あるよな。
3：ていうか，女子校で，進学校のとこ，って（2：らん。）ほとんどない。（2：うん。） で，絶対，（2：京女もなんか）どこでも短大か四大か，ついてるから。（ 2 \＆ $1: ~ う ~$ ん。）だけど，結構受験する人多いんだけど，もうどうにもならなくなったら，そこに行けばいいや，みたいなんあるから，結構，気楽にやってはる，ね。（1：らん，なる ほど。）男子校は結構，高校だけで終わりのとこ多いから，皆めちゃくちゃ頑張って勉強してはるけど。
＜雑談＞
1：この話暗い？普通？
2：ラーん。
3：どっちかっつらと暗い。
2：らん。
3：でも，コマわりのマンガだと，こんなもんだろ，って。
2：あたしはコマわり，ってゆらのを読んでへんから，わかれへんけど。
1：「Banana Fish」とかは読んでない？
2：うん，読んでない。
1：読んだでしょ？
3：読みました。南先生にゆったら，」貸してくれるよー。
2：わかった。
3：あの人，全部持ってるよ。多分，これも持ってる。
2 ：南先生にもこの話，寄ってもらったら？
1：うん。
2：少女マンガのなんか，やってるのよー，みたいな。〔笑〕
1：こっちの方は大歓迎。［笑〕
3：南先生，読んでるの，少女マンガに？？？けどな。
2：う九。
3：んーと，何でも読みはる。
2：？？？も読んでる。

3：生徒から取り上げてマンガ読んではるんですよ〔笑〕。中学生が，マンガを，先生に見 つかったら，一応，取り上げられるんですよ。
$<004>$
3：高校生はそういうの，あんまし，気にしてはれへんけど。
2 ：え？それは，なんか，生徒会が，なんか，先生に申し出て，なんとかかんとか，じゃ ないの？

3 ：だけどな，授業中くらいに読んだら，取られるけど，それは当然やと思うけど。それ で，中学生が取り上げるじゃないですか，先生結構それで，（1：読んでるでしょ？）机の引出しに入れておいて，こう，生徒が取りに来て，謝ったら，一応返す，ってこ とになってるんだけど，本人は，こう，ごみ箱に捨てる，とか言われて，でも，それ読んではるんですよ，こう， 5 巻だけ読んで，この後の話はどうなんの？って聞かれ て〔笑〕。

2：南先生か，白井先生が一回，机の下に本棚みたいなんができてる，とか〔笑〕。取り上 げられた本ばっかり，クククーッて（1：何の先生？）積もって。

3 ：え？国語の先生。
1 ：ん。
2 ：南先生，国語科の先生で。
1 ：で，マンガ好きな人？
3 ：うん。
2 ：すっごい好きな人。
1：紹介してよ［笑］。
2 ：はい。この後行ったら，いるかな？
3：でも，あの人，会議でウロチョロしてはるから。
1 ：ふーん。で，これ少女マンガだと思う？
2 ：ラーん，少女マンガ？今の少女マンガとは違うと思う。
3 ：だけど，こう対象は，この人が書いてる対象は，から言ったら，少女マンガかな。
2 ：うーん。昔の少女マンガはこんなんかなあ？てか。
3 ：うん，でもコマわりだと思うけど，なんか。
1 ：うん。
2 ：そのコマわりっていう基準が私には解かれへんねん，どんなもんがコマわりかなあ， って。

1 ：どういう風に説明するの？
$3:$ どういう風に説明しよう．．．
2 ：作品的な風格がこう，
3 ：なんかなあ，この人のマンガってな，他の人のマンガと似てへん？
2 ：ん？

3：なんか違う？
2 ：んー。
3：なんか「夜叉」でも別冊コミックで，1個だけなんか，パカッて浮いてる感じがする〔笑〕。

2：ふらん。
1 ：どこが少女っぽくない？
3 ：うーん，
2：なんか，絵柄が少女っぽくないかな？
3 ：最初にコマわり。〔笑〕
1 ：コマわり？
$3:$ コマわり。
2：らーん。
3 ：なんか，絵と，あと話もなんか，違う感じ。
1：話のどこ？しやべり方じゃなくて，あの，何て言う，物語の方の話？
3 ：うーん，なんかこう，取り上げるテーマみたいな。
1 ：あー。結構，主人公，男が多いでしょ？コマわりの。
3 ：うん。
1：でも，これが女でしょ？
3：あ！うん，そうそう。何だったっけ？なんとかの流れのように，
1 ：あ，ねえ，ねえ，何だっけ？コマわりの全部書いてあるの，カリフォルニア物語もあ ったし，あ，キッショウ天女，この間，読んでて面白かった，これ。で，バナナフィ ッシュと，川より長く，なんか，読んだ？

3：読みました。でもなんか，どっちつつうと，これの男版みたいな感じがした。
1：うん，すごい，男の，高校生について，で，これの男版みたいなの，で，男子高校生 だっけ？共学だったかな，覚えてないんだけど。で，うん，結構これと，なんか，ん，男版。

2：ラーん。
3：取り上げてるテーマがちょうど似てるな，と思った。
2 ：なんか，気持ちを書いてはる。（1 ：で，男の人がこんな風に考えてるか，つてすごい面白かったんだけど。へえ，そういう風に見えるかな，って，なんか，男の目から見 てる女の子が面白かった。うん，その内の，なんていう？）この人って男の人？女の人？

3：コマわりは，（1：女の人。）女性だと思う。
2：でも，わからんで〔笑〕。
1：うーん。
3 ：多分，もう，顔隠してる人じゃない，と思う，この人。
1：うん。

2：ふうん。
1：英語版の「バナナ・フィッシュ」に，インタビューがあるのね。She，She，She，つてゆ つてるから，女だと思う。〔笑〕She does this とかShe likes that とか，そういうよ うな書き方だから。…で，男の人が少女マンガ書けると思う？

3\＆2：うん。
1 ：男の人がこういうの，読むのかな？
3：でも，これ読んでも，あんまり面白い，と思わないと思う。
2 ：あんまり（1：なんで？）面白くないと思う。
3 ：少女マンガ読まはる人で，．．．んー，でもなんか，

3：うん，これ，読むことは読んでも，ふうん，つて感じで終わり，や。
$1 \& 2$ ：うん。
1 ：で，自分はそうじゃなかった？
3：ラーん，結構考えてる事とか，自分と考えてるとこ，似たとこがあったから。らん。
1 ：じや，そういう所がわかる？なんか，見せてくれる？
3：へ？
1 ：どこがなんか，いいなあ，とか面白いなあ，とか私の考えと似てたなあ，とか。
3：この辺かな？この人の考えてる事。
1 ：これが，あの，しっかりしてる子でしょ？
3：そうそうそう。あたしもそういう風になりたかった。
1 ：これが河原の方のだよね。（．．．）で，どこが似てる？
3：あー，本当は羡ましかった，って．．．，
1 ：でも，この子，結構，軽荗してたでしょ？あの，嫌いとかだけじゃなくて，その派手 の方を，（3：うん。）嫌い，とか軽䁾とかもあったんだけど，そんなに，自分もそう思ってますか？

3 ：いや，そんなことは思ってないけど，あーいう人には，こう，なれないな，って。
1：うん。
3：でも，なってみたら，面白そうだな，って思うんだけど，やっぱり，どっかでなんか， あー，だめだなあ，って思う。

1 ：ふん。
（．．．）
1 ：他のとこ？
3 ：うーん．．．
1：で，考えさせた所，何て言う，みんなパッパッパって読んだんだけど，なんか，そう かな，とか，そうだそうだ，ってそんなところなかったの？
 んねんなーっとか，これを言うのに何の意味があんねんやろ，とか。

1 ：あ，規則の話ね。
2：うん。
3 ：〔笑〕あたしの行ってた塾は，塾の名前の（2：成基）看板があって成基学園，つてゆ うんですけど，成基学園なんとか校，って立派な看板があって，その前にあの，駐車場とか，あーいう線引くみたいな，線で，白い線がピッてひいてあって，そこで，そ この門の前を通る時は必ずお辞儀をしなさい，とかって。意味ないんだけど，こうな んか〔笑〕．．．何だったのかな，礼儀でもつけさせたかったのかなあ【笑〕

1 ：ふん。（．．．）どや，普通の人がこれ読んでも面白くないとか，なんか普通の人達が読ま ないとかゆってたんだけど，どこが，あの，どこがいけない？
2：なんか，絵がとつつきにくい。
（．．．）
3：ラーん，話があんまり，なんかロマンティックじゃない。
1：うん。
（．．．）
2 ：最後の話のなんか夢んところも，どういう心境かな，つてこういうもん見るもんかな， つて。

3：それはこっちには挙がってない。
2 ：これは違うのかな？
1：あー，そうそうそう，これは短編。
3：あ。これ最近でも，また，絵が，もつと前かなあ。多分。うん。これは今絵と思う。
1 ：前にね，コマわりみたいな，他のマンガと似てない，でも，内容的に似てるようなの， ある？

3 ：えー内容的に似てる，えー，内容的に似てる，あんまり思い浮かばない。わかんない。
1 ：ふうん，で，内容的に，これ，なんか，色々考えさせるでしょ，これが。で，なんか深いとかそういうの，思う？

3：うん。
1 ：じや，どんなメッセージだと思う？
3 ：メッセージ．．．
1 ：ていうか，何言おらとしてる，とかコマわりつていう，
3：うーん。
1：なんで暗く書いてんの，とか。
$3:$ うーん，わからない。
1：難しい質問だけどね。
2：後ろに書いてあるの，読んだ？（1：テーマは何だと思ら？）読みましたか？
1：うーん，恐らく〔笑〕。結構色々読んでんだけど，覚えてない。
2 ：文庫本は結構，この後ろに書いてあるので。（1：らん。）あーって思う。
1 ：あたしも結構読むのが好き。．．．テーマは，全体的にテーマがあったら何だと思う？

3：え？このマンガでか，それともコマわりの全部？
1 ：このマンガ。まず。で，」それからコマわりの話してもいいけど。
3：やっぱりあの，性のことがある。
1 ：どんなところ？
3 ：え，だから（1：例えば，性のどこ？）胸がどうのこうの，とか，あとここでセック スした時のとか，初めてキスした時のとか。
（．．．）
1 ：そういうテーマはイヤなの？あんまり？
3：別にいいけど，あまり読まない。
1：探して，何て言う，なんか読まない。
3：うん。
1 ：ふん。中学の時とかはどうだった？興味がなかったの？
3 ：どんな？
1 ：ま，こういうような，ファーストキスとか，そういうような，女の経験とか，興味なかった？
3 ：あんまり。
1：ふうん。

## Session Three

1 ：じや，ロマンスとか興味ないの？
2 ：ロマンス？
1：ロマンス，つていうか，ロマンティックなラブ・ストーリーとか，あの，恋愛の話とか，（3：ロマンスって自分とあんまし関係ないやん。）

2：あたしは読む，かなあ，らん。
1：でも，こういうようなのじゃなくて，もうちょっとハッピーなの？
2：うん。
3：も，読むけど，なんか関係ない。
2：あたしは，関係ない，とか思わんか。
1 ：じや，関係あると思う？
2：関係ある，とかないとか，そういうのじゃなくて，これはこういう世界で，」って感じ。
1：らん。
（．．．）
1 ：で，これで，結構，女でやだ，っていう主人公が多い。
2：あたしも女はイヤです。
1 ：そう？
2：うん。なんかっちっちゃい頃から男になりたかった。
3：あたしもそうや。
1 ：なんでイヤ？

2：なんか，らちはお父さんが，女のやねんから，もらちょっと，ちゃんと大人しくせえ， とか（3：あ，それ言われる。）もつと行儀良くしなさい，とか，そういう事言われた りとか，あと，男で，あの，5月5日の子供の日で，男の子は鎧が着れるねんけど， あたしは，その鎧が着たかってん。（1：あー，なるほど。）もう，女の子は何で着た あかんのん，とか，祇園祭りの時の鉾に，あの，昔，月鉾に女の人が乗って，なんも，今までなんもなかったのに，女の人が乗った瞬間，崩れたから，それ以来，鈝は女の人は乗ったらあかん，ていう，そういうなんか，伝説？なんか（3：伝統。）伝統みた いなのがあって，で，乗りたくって，乗りたくって，もら，なんでやろう，って思っ た。
3：あのー，あの一，あの一，音楽の練習ってさ，あれ，男ばっかりでやるでしょ？
1 ：うーん。祇園の祭り？
3：そうそうそう。
2 ：そうそうそうそう。なんか，お，（3：大分前から。）男は神の次に近いもの，みたい なんなって，その，1ヶ月前か位なったら，男ばっかりで，その，誰かその，町内 の，人ん所の誰かの家行って，集まって，みんなで，男ばっかりで，家事とか洗濯と か食事とか，みんなお父さんとかが，おじいちゃんとかそういう子供とかも皆男ばっ かりで集まってやって，みたいな，そういうのがあって，（1：ふらん。）やらはるか ら．．．。らん。あれ学校へは行くんやっけな？行かへんやっけな？
3：行くんだ，一応。
2：行くんやっけ。
3：だけど，なんかこう，らちの（2：あ，でも）学校でもさ，（2：ふん。）1学期の期末前になると，鉾持ってる町に住んでる男は，もう，テストなんか関係なく，そっち の方に夢中になるっつーて。

1：ふーん。
2：ふーん。
3：あたしはなんか，兄貴がやっぱり，こうあっちこっちでケンカしたり，なんかイタズ ラとかしても，もう男の子だからしょうがない，って言われて，あたしが同じ事した ら，なんか，女の子なのに，どうしてそんな事するの，ケンカしたりとか，すごい怒 られるんです。あたし結構，こう，男とケンカしたりしてたから，別に，全然気にせ んと，やっぱり親からそういう事言われて，すごい，こう，（2：あー。）あたしも男 だったら良かったのに，こう。（1：ふらん。）
2 ：あたしはなんか，男と女って区別されて，女が負ける，っていうのが，悔しかってん。 （3：うん。）なんで男の方が強いの，とか思って。だからケンカとかもあたしの方が強 かったから，そん時は。
3：小学校の高学年の頃って，こら，女の方がこう，でかいじゃないですか，だから，な んか，なんでそういうこと，なんかイヤだなあ，って思って。
1：ふうん。

2：うん。ケンカもなんか，ずっと強かったから，その負けるっていらのがイヤやって ん。海しかってん。

1：男の人が大きくなった時？
3：今見たら，もう見上げなきやいけない。
2：うん。
1：ふうん。
2：なんかもう，中学校入ったとき，あたしの方が高かったのにい，とか思う。
1：うん。
＜中断＞
1：うん，他の不自由なとこはないの？
2：ラーん…
3 ：生理［笑〕。
1：うん。
3：こう自分で，なんで貧血起さないんだろう，って面倒くさいし，プールは入れないし。
2：らん。
1：日本で小学校はなんか，ちゃんと設備とかないのかな？
3：どんな？
1：なんかごみ箱とか，あと，（3：ある。）うん。
2：あることはあるけど。
3：あるし，ま，一応学校も，保健の授業で，なんかやらはる。
1：ふうん。ここにもね，なんか書いてあったでしょ，なんか生理の話，一つある。（3： あーあーあー。）ここんとこ，ちょっとだけかなあ？（3：初めての時？）うん。あん まりないでしょ，少女マンガに，生理の話。（3：ない。）（2：うん。）何でと思う？

3：ラーん，なんだろう。（2：あんまし，なんかそれは，なんか汚いことみたいに言わ れてる，から，かな？？たしお母さんが，なった時に，赤飯炊いたの。それがすっご いイヤで，お父さんとかお兄ちゃんとかにばれるのがイヤで，こう，他の近所の人と かにばれるの，イヤだから，わかっちゃらのイヤだから。お願いだからやめてっつっ たんだけど，お母さん，気にせずに赤飯炊いちゃったから，（1：はーん。）あー，も うイヤっとかって思って。

2：あたしん時は，あたしなんかなったのか，なってないのか，わからんままやって，結局せ一へんかって，妹ん時は，なんか，あたしの妹が，「あたし赤飯嫌いやし，イヤ！」 って［笑）。赤飯じゃなかってん。
1：ふうん。でも，別な風に祝い，祝いっていうか，（2：なんか，やったんかな？）なか った，？（2：でもなんか，）ま，赤飯の代りにとか，ふうん。
2：うん。
1：向こうではね，ま，カナダ。なんにも無いよ。だから赤飯が炊いてくれるとか，そう いうのがなんか，お祝するぐらいだったら，いいな，とか思ったのね，らん。（2：ふ

らん。）何もないより，いいかもね。らん，でも，ばれるのは，その気持ちはわかるけ どね。
2：でもなんか，あんまし，良く，嬉しくない。
3：その，近所に住んでた友達のお母さんがそういうこと，全然，こう䎵ずかしいとか思 わない人で，こら，自分の子供が生理になった，って，こら，近所の人にも普通にゆ う人だったから，それでうちのお母さんが何であんなとこでゆうんだろう，ってゆっ てたくせに，なんでそういう事するの，とか思って。
1：ふうん。…あたし，思うんだけどね，結構，こう人生の中で，大きな変わりでしょ。 でも，話には出ない。不思議じゃない？（ $2 \& 3: 5 ん 。$ ）向こうの話にも，なんてい ら，小説にもあんまり出ない。
3：ラーん，女の人が書くこう，エッセイみたいなんに，たまに出てくる。ふん，でも， それくらいで，あんまり…。
1：ふん。友達達とか，その話はする？その生理についてとか。あんまり？
2：なったから，とかそういう話はせえへんけど，体育はどうしよう，とか（1：ふん） そういうのはある。
1：やっぱり休む？
2：体青，普通の授業は休まんけど，プールとかは休まなあかんかな。
3：でも，プールはそんなこと，先生は別に調べられるわけじゃない，じゃないですか。 だから，プールイヤって言う人で，こう，それで休む理由に生理って書いたら，殆ど， こうプールの授業にこら，（1：毎月［笑］毎月じゃなくて毎週。）出る人が5人とか，皆休み。
2：でも，高校なったら，出てる人の方が少ない，ってゆってはるやん，先生が。（3：う
ん。）（1：はあん。）でなんか，何日目，とか聞かはる。
1：ふん。
3 ：一応調べる為に。．．．
1：ふうん。
3：でもあたしはプール入るの好きやから，別にいいんだけど。
2：ふらん。プール入るのは好きやけど，水着になるのはあんまし嬉しくない。
1：［笑］わかる気がする。
3：学校の水着みたいなんじゃなくて，あたしあの，全部のやつがいい，脚とか（ $2:$ 全部のやっって？）この辺くらいまである，スパッツみたいな水着。ああいうのがいい。
1：あたし，それ持ってる。らん。
2：スキューバ・ダイビングする時みたいなやつ？
1：でも，上は普通。（3：うん。）腕がない。（3：ふん。）
3：最近，普通の店でも売ってるかなあ。
1：それはなんか，トライアスロンみたいなやつかな？
3：だけど，こら，太ももとか冾えなくていい，て。なんか長時間泳げるらしい。今，競

泳用のやつでも，こう，水の抵抗が，露出が多いやつより，そういうの方が，らん， いいっつうて。水着になんのイヤだよね，結構。
1：ふん，．．．で，女だから，やっちゃだめ，とか言われたことある？なんか，何かを女だ からだめ，とか。

2：ラーん，行儀のことは，らちはお父さんが，「お父さんもやってるやんか。」ってゆっ たら，「おまえは女やろ。」って言われる。「俺は男やし，いいんや。」ってゆわはんね ん。

3：なんか小学校の時に，あたしは，しょっちゅう，こう，取っ組み合いのケンカをやっ てたから，それがなんか，こう先生は別に，そういう事あんまり言わないんだけど， こう，男の子の方も一緒に叱るんだけど，「おまえはもらちょっと，女の子なんやから，女の子らしくせえ。」ってゆわはるから。
1：ふうん。小学校の時ねえいつもサッカーやってたのね。で，女の子達あんまりサッカ一好きじゃなかったみたいで，結局，男の人ばつかりで，あたし一人の女の子で，い つも，男の子のグループに入ってて，サッカーやってたから。結構，他の女の子達に色々言われたの。男の子たちはどうでもよかったみたい。全然女として見てないの。 なんか，サッカーの仲間だった。でも女の子達それを見て，「なんで男にかばってる。」 とかそういうような，よく言われたのね。で，別に男だからやってるんじゃなくて， サッカーが好きでやってたから，なあに，こいつ，とか思っでたのね。結構，それ初 めてなんか，そういう感じが，なんで，変かな，ってびっくりしたのね。
3：あとね，なんか女の子っていうのが，あんまり好きじゃなかった。なんか，こら，休 み時間になったら，みんなで一緒にトイレ行くの，みたいのがやだった。
2：あー，あたしも，なんで，女の子は一緒にトイレに行きたがるのか，わかれへん。
3：絶対，あたし，一緒に行くのやだ，と思うんだよね。
1\＆2：うん。
3：でも，あたしは今は，どっか行くとき，一緒に行こう，って言うんだけど，でも，そ の頃はすごいそれがイヤでイヤで。で，結局，うん，男子といても，また，なんか，言われるかな，と思って，結局一人で。

2：あ！そういやな，修学旅行の沖縄行ったやんか，で，山登りすんのが，あたし女子一人やってん。（1：ふうん。）（3：そう，コース別）あたしとアン先生だけやってん。
3：コース別に分かれたんですよ，4つのコースに分かれて，その日一日は，4つに分か れて行動する．．．

2：そのグループで行動する，みたいなのがあって，んで，なんか，海でなんかしたりす るの，とか，ナオちゃんは料理やって，あたしはなんか沖縄の森を探検しよう，みた いなやって［笑］あたしとアン先生しか女がおらんかってん。（1：はあん。）らん， んで，はっ！どうしよう，とか思った。別にあたしは周りの友達に，これしよ，これ しよ，ってそういうの聞いてるけど，別にそんなん，あーあー，そうなんか，この人 はこうなんやな，ぐらいしか思わへんかったから，あたしは行きたいとこ，行ったら

いいや，とか思ってて。
3：あたしも結構，行きたいとこ行けばいいや，って思っててんけど，なんかみんな，ど こにしよってって，皆一緒に決めるのね，今度も理系とか文系とか教科の選択とかす るんんだけど，それも，うん，なんかこう，やっぱり，（2：誰々が，誰々が，（2： あたし一人やったらどうしょう，とか，友達おらんかったら，とかそういうのはある。） あたしは，それは絶対，自分の進路を決めることやし，あたし一人で決めたいし，決 めたんだけど，適当に，っていうか，やりたいこと？（1：らん。）だけどその，一緒 に決めよら，ってのがよくわかんないから。一人になりたくない，っていら，やりた いことやったら，いいじゃん，とか思うんだけど。
2：あたしは別に周り男子ばっかりで，誰もしゃべる人おらへんかっても，かまへんかな， って思う。
＜002＞
2：面白いですか？こえ。
1：うん，らん，はまっちゃった。
3 ：斎藤于ホ。
2：斎藤チホおもろい［笑］。あたし的には［笑］。
1：あのね，すごい似てると思ったんだけど，あの，「ハイカラ．．．が通る」何だっけ？すご い古いの。
3：あーあーあーあーあー。（2：名前聞いたことある。）そういう感じの。
1：何だっけ，何だっけ。ふさ，天然となんか書いてる人，なんだっけ。．．．＜途中略＞
3：倉持ふさ子。
1：そうそうそう。
3：「天を赤い川のほとり」！
2：あー！はいはいはい。
1：の，昔のやつ。で，話がなんか，ストーリーがすごい似てるの。うん。
3：倉持ふさ子，あー，
1：「はいからさんが通る」？あれが彼女だったかな？
3：え？そうっだたかな？倉持ふさ子だったら，（1：ショパン，あ，「いつもポケットに ショパン」。）「いつもポケットにショパン」，倉持ふさ子。
1：あ，違う，あたし間違ってる。
3：あ，でもあれは，「はいからさんが通る」は別のひとだったから。
1：そうそうそう。うん。同じ時に買った［笑］，だから，そういう風に覚えてんだけど。
3：あ，でも，「いつもポケットにショパン」あたし，文庫本で持ってる。
1：ふうん。どう思う，それ？
3：いや，あたし自身，ピアノ弾いてるから結構，親近感あるかもわからん。
2：ふらん。
1：あれぐらいの残酷でねえ，あの，もら復箬しようとしてるのがすごいよね。あのお母

さん。
2：そうなん？
3：うん，なんか，こう，お母さんがピアニストの夢をその，なんかライバルのピアニス トに取られて，そのライバルのピアニストの娘と，が主人公やねん，でそのピアニス ト生命を絶たれた女の人は，その息子に，こら復筫して・•。でも息子が受け継いじ やって，こう復閏するって感じでな，で，結局二人がくつついて終わり。［笑）
＜途中略＞
3：なんであんなにショパンにこだわるかな，つて感じ。
2：これの続編これやねんやんか。
1：同じ？
2：うん，同じ人や。マサオミさん。
3：マサオミさん。
2：マサオミさんが主人公なってて，（1：ふうん。）
3：こっちが二人のその後ですか？
2：これが，これのその後がこれやねん。 4 年後ぐらい描いてあって，絵がちょっと違ら。
3：あ，ほんまや，違う。
1：ふうん。
2：なんか琴ちゃんこっちの方がかわいい，なんか。
1 ：これ何年？最初に出たのが，あ，90年。
2：がんばって第 1 版探したけど，こん時はまだ第 1 版探してへんかった時。
1：ふらん。
2：これは 1 版か。… 90 年。
3：1版ってさ，こう，？？？。
2：こうやって上からあけて頑張って。1行やったら一杯あんで，あたし［笑］。こうやっ て。［笑］
3：でも，うちの近くの全部，袋に入れてあんねやんか。
2：そうなん？．．．でも，明日，第1版が欲しいんで見せてください，とかゆったら見せて くれると思うで。
3：でも，ここ先生が視いたら，こう微妙に思らやろな，こう，
1：これ全部第1版？
2：全部じゃないと思う。
1：ふらん。
3：お前らテスト前に何やってんねん，って。［笑］
2：これ 1 版。
1：申し訳ない。
3：いえいえ。（2：これも 1 版。）
$2:$ これ 3 版や。. .8 版。最初の 2 巻と 3 巻は第 1 版。

1：ふうん。
3：はあ，？？？
1 ：この間電話した時，すごいぼけてたのね，あたし。なんか終わったら，何ゆうてたか， すごい日本語が変だったし。䎵ずかしかった。

2：そう？
1 ：うん。で，最初に電話した時，妹さんがね，すっごいなんか」叫んでるのね，．．．
（雑談）
2：斎藤チホ 60 冊くらい出してあんねんけど，それだけで本棚が埋まってしまった。
3：え？何冊くらい持ってんの，じや。
2 ：大分持ってるよ。傑作集は全部持ってて，
3：どれは持ってへんの？
2：持ってへんのがな，こん中にはない。もうちょっと新しくなったらもうちょっとあん ねんけど。

3：ふうん。
（．．．）
3 ：古いのん，殆ど持ってんの？
2：うん。
3：はあーん。
1：いつデビューした？
2 ：えっとな，デビュー作，こっちの文庫本の方，入ってんねんけどな。これこれ。 ケントマドモアゼル，えーっと，

3：1982年か。
2：1982年。
3：はあー。
2：つて書いてある。ここに，これがなんか最初の作品らしいねん。
3：18年前やろ？（．．．）な，ペンめっちや太くない？

3：うん，なんか，はあー。
1：ふうん。
（．．．）
$3:$ こう文庫本だと縮小されてるから，線がやたらと細く見える。
2 ：うーん．．．
$1:$ こっちの方読むのが好き，あたし。これちっちゃ過ぎてなんか，うん。
$2:$ これ探すの結構大変かもしれへん。
3：てか，ないでしょ〔笑〕。
2：そう，あたしが集めた方がすごいねん。
1 ：ふん，これ，こっちにはね，この出版の日しか載ってないから，いつからの作品かな，

とかもう，絵を見，話がね，昔の話でしょ？で，なんか 絵を見てどうかな，って。 3：え？でも，普通どつかのさ，なんか（1：そうねえ。）どこに連載とか，
2：書いてあるわ，19•90年•少女コミック・1号・より連載。
1：あ！これあった。
3：らん，ここに，最後に。（1：探してたんだけど，なんか．．．）あれ？これ 95 年までや ったん？こっちは。
2：ん？あ，それ新しいから。
3：へえー。（1：なーるほど少女コミック。）え？このいマンカ新しい？
2：あれ，ちょっと待って，これ。（1：そっかそっか $\mathbf{1}$ 巻：）あ！文庫本は新しいねん。
1\＆3：ふらん。
2：文庫本は最近出てん。
1：なんか 1 の方にはないの。
2：ふん？
1：なんか 1 の本の終わりにはね，そういうのがない，と思ってたの。そういうのがない と思ってたの。で， 2 までとか 3 までとか見なかったの。ふうん。（3：
えー。）じや，ナミさんも読んだ？
3：読みました。
1：うん。じや，前と同じように，どこが良かった？
2：どこが良かったかな？マサオミさんがかっこいい。
3：マサオミさんがかっこ良かった。［笑］
1：［笑］そう？
2：うん。あと，コトちゃん強いな，とか。…
3：こう，マサオミさんが一番最後の所で，こう，いかせちゃうじゃないですか。あそこ が，もう，かっこいい。［笑〕
2：うん，あそこ，かっこいい。
1：［笑］
3：でもサジトがおいしいとこ持って行った，つて感じやな。あんましな，好きくない［笑］。
2：サジトは幸せつかんでるし，もうそれでいいかなあ［笑］
3：でも，マサオミさん，結局，こっちで，そっちでなんだかんだ言って。
2：でも，相手の女の子，死んじやうやんか，こっちは
3：あー，あー。
1：これが別の話ですか？
2：おんなじ，（1：人だけど，違う話？）（3：続き。）番外編みたいなんと，これで，最後が，なんかあの，病気をおったまま，このコトとサジトと行かせちゃらから，で， その後，病気をおって楽なところ，できるようにつて，えつと，中国（3：満州）満州に行かしはんねやんか。（1：ふうん。）で，そこで出会った女の子と，なんか，女 の子がなんか事件持ちこんで来て，最後はなんか，そのマサオミを撃とうとした人，

え？マサオミが撃たれそうになってそれをかばって撃たれて死んじゃうねんやんか。
（3：別の女の子）うん，別の女の子が。でも，この子はなんか，おんなじ名前やっ てん。桐原コトって書いてあんねん。（1：ふうん。）．．．うん。
1：じゃあ，あたし，半分しか読んでないから，簡単にね，どうになるか，って説明して くれる？これ，ここまで。なんか，この人の代りに，この何ていう，（2：お母さん？） お母さんかな，（2：サジトの。）サジトのお母さんじゃなくて，あのこれがなんか，何ていう，独立のその，（3：変なおばさんが）（2：こっちの方？）団体に入ってる おばさんでしょ，何て言う人？
3：なんかいっぺん，船の上からさ，逃げ，船ん中に，コトが入っててさ，（1：ビルラ？） そう，（2：え？誰？）ビルラさん。（2：あー，なんか，）
1：で，サジトがなんか海に潜って，なんか，逃げてるシーンまで。
＜探している様子＞
1：じや，結婚するまで。結婚しちゃう？みたいね。想像かな？
＜探している様子＞
1：ラーん，それから，結婚して。
2：らん，結婚して，で，お父さんがホテル用意してくれはって，そこ行ったら，そこに サジトが迎えに来はって，んで，ケンカみたいになるねやんか。マサオミさん，顔切 られちゃらねん。で，傷跡残ってはんねん。ここ。
1：なーるほど。で，サジトが逃げるわけ？また。
3 ：逃げ．．．
2：なんか，新聞社にマサオミさんが，挑戦状みたいなこと，書いてもらいはって，んで， それがパーティーかなんかかな？来いみたいなこと，書かはって，んで，そこに，サ ジトが行かはんねんけど，そこにはたくさんイギリス軍の兵隊みたいなんが，警備し てて，捕まえようとしてはってんけど，サジトは仲間を連れてきて，おんなじターバ ン巻いて，白い服着て，ていうような恰好した人が一杯出てきたから，その，警備し てる人は捕まえられへんくて，サジトとコトが二人で逃げはんねん。で，そのビルラ さんに，逃がしてもらいはんのかな？で，港に行ったら，船が来る，って言わはって んけど，港んとこにマサオミさんがいはって，んで，なんかマサオミさんがコトを置 いて行くんやったら逃がしてやる，みたいなこと言わはんのかな，うん。後は読んで くれた方がいいかな。でも行けへん。とか言って。マサオミさんはなんか，マサオミ さんが港で，コトに告白して，二人で逃げはんねん。一番最後かな？．．．最後にマサオ ミのお兄さんとマサオミが，なんか，もら長くない体やとか，医者に言われて，とか。 （1：ふうん。）．．．んで，未来があるんやったらコトを行かせはしなかったとか。
（．．．ページをめくる音が続く）
3：ここにもおんなじシーンが。
2：ん？
3：え，未来があるなら行かさなかった，って。

2：うん。
（．．．）
1：じゃ，どこに行くの？
2：インド？
1：あ，インドまで？
3：え？上海まで行くつもりだったんだけど，サジトと。だけど，なんか騙されてて，（2：荷物がないんかな？）そう，荷物がなくて，んで，台北かなんか，台湾かなんかまで行っちゃら船で，荷物とかが全部その，騙されて全部取られちゃったから，で，その船でなんか働きながら，なんか，こう，運賃だけでも稼ごら，みたいなこと言ってて，
で，そこでサジトのお兄さんと出会って，何だったっけ？
2：弟ちゃんが取られそうになんねん。
3：そう。コトがそのお兄さんに取られそうになったんだけど，サジトが取り戻して・•終わり。

1：でも，もう別の人と結婚してるでしょ？
3：コト？
1：うん。
3：うん，だけどマサオミは，日本に残っちゃった。
1：で，離婚してまた．．．
2：離婚．．．
3：いや，離婚ていらか，仮祝言だから，ちやんと籍は入れてないんじゃないかな？
1：あー，なるほど。
2\＆3：うん。
1：で，サジトと結婚までいく？っとか，只一緒にいる？
3：結婚するって，こっちで結婚するん？
2：結婚．．．なんか式はな，サジトのえっと，革命，かなんかの，革命するインドの抗日運動？かなんかの，仲間に，式を挙げてもらいはんねん。

3：っていうか，ずっと上海にいんの？インドに行くんじゃなくて，結局。
2：えっと，（1：おうん。）サジトは運動でインドに行かはんねんけど，コトはなんか赤 ちゃんできちゃって，で，そうな動いたらあかんから，とか，危ない目に合わせられ へん，とかサジトが言うから，上海に残って頑張る，とかゅうてはった。

1：ふうん。
（．．．）
2：で，あれ？これはなんでマサオミさんと，．．．これなんでやろ？
1：じゃ，最後の方はインドまで行くん？みたい．．．
2：最後は，なんか，死んじゃらねんやんか，サジトが。
1：え！サジトが死んじゃう？［笑］
3：で，マサオミさんが出てきて．．．

2：で，その後，マサオミさんが，コトと，コトがなんか，マサオミさんの体あんまし良くないこと知って，コトとマサオミさんが一緒になって，マサオミさんも病気で死 んじゃうねんやんが。で，一番最後は，なんかコトの息子と，え？ちゃう，サジトと コトの息子と，マサオミさんとコトの息子と，［笑］マサオミの䄧兄さんと一緒になら はんねん。
$1 \& 3$ ：［笑］
3 ：どういうこと？息子って誰の息子と？
2：サジト（1 ：サジトの息子。）と，（1：マサオミさんの息子。）マサオミさんの息子と，
マサオミさんのお兄さんと［笑］
1：え？マサオミさんは別の女の子と結婚するの？
2：ううん，マサオミさんは死んじゃらの。
1：でも，死ぬ前に子供作る。
3：誰と？
2\＆1：コト！［笑〕
1：ほら。〔笑〕
2：なんかな，だから要するに，いい男は死ななくちゃだめなの，ってゆらやつやねん。 なんかな…

1 ：なんか，最初の 1 巻の方にね，あの，お兄さん，何だっけ？リュウ，リュウイチ（ 2 ： リユウイチお兄さん。）リュウイチかっこいいな，とか思ってて，なんでリュウイチの方にいかないか，ってか，全然なんか別の話になっちゃって。もらリュウイチどらな るかな，って［ 笑］（3：［笑］一番最後に。）一番最後に［笑］。
2：え，リュウイチさんはな，結婚しないんじゃなくって，家を追ん出されちゃったから，結婚できひんねやんか，（3：だから）キドウ院家の，息子とコトは言い名付けやねん けど，長男であるリュウイチさんは，その，お父さんとケンカレて家出ちゃったから，結婚できひんねん。
3：この一番最初に，リュウイチさんの話が，ちょろっと。．．．でここは何だったっけ？「 ワルツは白いドレスで」と暫くかぶってるんだよね。

2：うん。…関係ないけど，さくらちゃんの英語版のが売ってた。
3：さくらちゃん。
2：カードキャプター・さくら。
1 ：英語の？
2 ：教科書とかと一緒に置いてあった。があーんと思って［笑］。
3：あたしな，なんかな，（2：英語でしやべってるーみたいな。）台湾版かな，中国版か んなんかの，あるみたい。漢字やからな，徴妙に意味がわかって面白いらしいねやん か。

2：うん，なんか，これのな，あ，えーと，カリカロの，（3：カリカロの台湾版かなんか） マンガにもちょっとのっててん。

## 1：何が？

3：彼氏と彼女一存，台湾版かなんか，（1：は一ん。）（2：なんか柱に書いてあった。） そう。この端っこのところに，ちょろっと，1 コマだけ載ってて，漢字ががーっと書いてあって，あー，面白って思って。
2：よくこんなんこんなん，みたいな（笑〕
3：そう，意味わかるようになって。
2 ：こんなところにコマが載っててん。
1 ：はーん，面白い。あの，さっきゆってた，カードキャプチャー・さくらが，なんか，英語版になってるのは，それ日本人のために英語練習する為のやつ，それ向こうで出版するようなものじゃなくて。
2 ：らん，だから，終わりには，ちょっと訳がのってたりすんねんけど。
1 ：あー，なるほど。
2：らん。
3：【笑〕でもイヤだな，サクラで英語でやんのん。
2：ケロちゃんが関西弁しゃべってない，とか【笑〕
3：あ！そっか。
1：それ難しいよね。あの，翻訳するの，ね。… なんか表現，（2：普通にしゃべっては った。）うん，関西弁とか，なんかいろんな表現だったら，どう，（2：九州弁とか） うん。どう直すかって。
3 ：あと，なんかこう，男の言葉と女の言葉が英語にすると一緒になっちゃう感じ。
1：うん。
2：うーん。
1 ：ま，男らしく，は書けるんだけど，うん，日本語みたいにさ，きれいに分けられるよ うなもん，なんないよね。

2：あー，そう考えると日本語はきれいかもしれん。
1 ：うん。だから，女の人がわざと男言葉使ってるとか，男だと，女言葉使ってる時とか， それはなんか，なくなる。
． 3 ：そうそうそう，成田美和子の昔のマンガでな，あんな，こうな，こう，主人公は皆ア メリカ人やねんけど，なんかこう男が何々だわ，とか言ってるんだけど，アメリカ語 でオカマ言葉は難しいんだぞ，とかいいながらやる〔笑〕。
2：オカマ言葉な。
3：それは難しいやろ。
2：語尾を上げたりして，女っぽく。〔笑〕
1 ：じやあ，最初から，男の子 3 人いるでしょ。（ $2 \& 3:$ うん。）で，どっち一番なんか応援してたの？
2：あたしマサオミさん好き。
3：あたしもマサオミさん。でもな，最後はな，こう，サジトとくっつくって事わかった

からこう，（2：可哀想やなあ，みたいな。）あった。
1：じゃ，サジトはあんまし好きじゃなかった？最初から。
2：サジトは，んー，あんまし惹かれへんかったかな。
1：んー，なんで？
2：んー．．．んー．．．。なんで，って聞かれても．．．
3：あんまし，なんか，苦労してるんだけど，あんまりこう，なんか，さらっとこう，さ らって行っちゃったから，あ，マサオミさんが，って。

2：うん。
1：なんか，あんまり，サジトさんの方の性格とかはわかんないでしょ？なんか頭に入ら ない？ほとんど。（2：うーん。）で，マサオミの方が，なんか（2：よく書いてある かな。）うん。
2：作者自身もマサオミの方が好きや〔笑〕。作者は結果的にゆらとな，リュウイチさん好 きやと思うねやんか。こういう優しい人の方が好きかも。こういうかっさらって行っ てくれるのを，斎藤チホは結構好きで，（1：何が？）あーとこう，どっかから，さー っと来てさーっとかっさらって行ってくれるような夢物語みたいなのが好きやから，他の作品でもそういうのがある。うーん，「ある日ナイトに会ったら」っていう，これ と，これはそれの，そんな感じの，なんか「ある日ナイトに会ったら」ていうのは， なんか，何て言うの，「ローマの休日」みたいなやつやねやんか。（1：うん。）主人公 がエレベーターガールで，で，その，（3：なんかちゃうと思う。）で，そっちの相手 の人が，なんかどっかの，どこやったかな？なんかアラブかそこら辺の王子様で，そ のホテルに泊りに来はって，追われてはったのを，助けて，一緒にならはるような話 やねん。

1：うん，じゃ，なんでそういう，何て言う？夢物語好きなの？いつつも私，なんで，な んで，なんでって聞いてる。ごめんね。〔笑〕知りたい。
2：［笑］んとな，現実にはあんましないから。こういうのだったら，いいな，っていうの はある。（1：うん。）うん。…斎藤于ホってもら結婚してんねんな。

1 ：結婚してないの？
2：じてる。うん，してるの。なんかな，
1：だから何？

3：え，それはな，あんな，グレーがな，結婚してても，あーいう歌，歌ってるのも一緒 やと思うで。〔笑〕だって，テレさんな， 2 人か 3 人位子供いるんちがうかったっけ？
2：2 人やで。
3：でも，あーいう歌，歌ってんねんで。
2：2人子供いて，あの人バツイチやで。
1 ：じや，結婚してる人達がこういうのを書くとか読む必要ないと思う？とか読まないと思ってる？

3：ううん。
2：そんなことない，と思う。
3：それはない。
2：読む人は読むと思う。
3：てか，作者にあんまし関係ないかな，つて。だって小説書く人とかもそうじゃない？
1：ふうん。，
3 ：別にこう，自分にあり得ることだけを書くわけじゃないし。
（．．．）
2 ：うーん，マサオミさんはなんか今いいひん，こんなかっこいい人いいひんしな。なん ちゅうの？俺はこうなんだ，つて決めたら，こう，しっかりやってくれるような人， あんましおらんから，そういうのも，いいなあ，と思う。

1：ふうん。
3 ：いや，お兄さん出てきた。
（．．．）
2：こん中で一番かわいそうなん，マサオミさん違て，多分ハナコや［笑］。好きなお兄さ んを 2 人もな，自分の嫌いな女の子に取られて。可哀想やな，って。

1：ふうん。じゃ，ハナコの，なんかその人物として，どう思ったの？
2：うーん，お兄さん好きで，けな気でかわいいな，と思った。
3：でも最終的にはいい人になるん，違うかったっけ？
2 ：うん，最終的にはいい人やで。お兄さん助けて，みたいなことも言わはるし。
1 ：でも，結構イヤな事するでしょ？
2：お兄さん好きやし，しょうがない。
1 ：ふうん。あたし結構いらいらした〔笑〕（2：最初は．．．）なーんでこんな汚いことする， とか。

2：最初はまあ，いややな，と思ったけど，あ，お兄さん好きやなあ，って。
1 ：あー，なるほど，なるほど。ちゃんと理由があるから，そんな，うん。なるほど．．． じや，これ初めて読むきっかけは何だった？

2 ：んと，あたしこの人の本が好きやって，一番最初に読んだのどれかな？えーと，何や ったっけ？「エトワールガール」てゆうので，バレエの話やって，んで表紙がきれい やってかわいかったから，あー，あたしバレエやってるし，あーどんなんかな，って思って読んでみたら，面白かって，で，この人の本を一気に集めた。（1：んー，なる ほど。）がんばって買って。

1：絵の方も好きでしょ？
2 ：らん，あたしは好きかなあ。
1 ：じや，どこがいいの？その絵の。
$2:$ どこがいい．．．んー，．．．どこがいいかなあ？この人バレエ描いてはる，ここ後ろ書いて のってっけど，バレエ描いてはる，結構よくバレエ踊ってはんのん描いてはんねんや

んか。作者がバレエを昔やってたゆってはる。中学校 1 年くらいまでやってた，って ゆってはるから。バレエやってはる時の動きとか，なんかきれいやってん。

1：ふうん，なるほど。
2：体がなんか，あ一，そうそう，こんなんこんなん，とか思って。ドレスとか着てたり すんのが，きれいやって。チュチュとかかわいかって，あーって。
1：今でも描いてる？
2：ん？
1：今も出してる？
2：今でも？（1：うん。）うん，なんか描いてはる。
3：えー，「ウテナ」終わったん？
2：「ウテナ」終わったよ，大分前に終わったよ。
3 ：ヘえー。
1 ：あ，「ウテナ」を描いた人？
2：うん，そう。
1 ：ごめんなさい，あたし何もわかんない。〔笑〕
2：「ウテナ」もあるよん。
3：こっちの絵は，「ウテナ」の絵にま，似てるな。
2：うん。
3：古い絵だと，あんましわかんなかった。
1 ：アニメ借りてきたんだけど，あの映画版，っていうか，でもまだ見てない。この間，借りてきたんだけど。
3：あの中谷さんもさ，かっこいい，って〔笑〕
2：そこまで力説するほどでもない。ビデオ買ったよ，あたし。 7 千円も出して買ったよ， あたし。〔笑〕
1：はー，なるほど。じや，「ウテナ」の方はどこが良かった？
2 ：「ウテナ」は，
$<003>$
2：マンガ読んで，んー，アニメの方はよう知らんねんけど，マンガの方は，話の内容は知ってる，かな？
1：ちょっとだけ。誰かがこの間説明してた。ん。
2：世界の果てがなんか，？？？やねんけど，かっこいいな，と。
1 ：ふん，その主人公が？
2 ：主人公は，なんか，女の子やのに，男言葉しやべってはんねやんか。僕は王子様なる つって。で，訳わからん菌にとりつかれて，女の取り合いしたりしてんのが信じられ へんて，なんやねん，みたいな感じなってて。主人公はそんな，なってはってんけど， なんか，僕の王子様に会いたいから頑張る言ってはって，頑張ってるみたいな感じや

って，あー，けな気やな，って。
1：待ってるだけじゃなくて？
2：そう。
1：うん。なるほど。．．．男言葉しやべりたいの？
2：ん？
1 ：男言葉しやべりたい，とか思ったことある？
2：あー，うん，ある。
1 ：ふうん。使う？たまに。あんまり？
2 ：使うかもしれない。ん。
1 ：なんでしゃべりたいの？
2：あたし男の子になりたかってん，女の子がイヤやってん。
1：ふうん。
3 ：あたしは昔は普通に使ってた。
2 ：男言葉？
3：うん。
2：そうなんや。
1：使ってた？
3：うん。
2 ：お兄ちゃんいたし？
3：うん，いたし，あたし友達，男の方が多かった。
1：何歳まで？
3：うーん，10歳くらいまでかなあ。
2 ：あたし，でも幼稚園時は，近所に女の子，おらんくって，男の子ばっかりやったから， あたしもよく男の子と遊んでたかな？

3：あ，10歳じゃない，もつと前。多分 8 歳くらい。 8 歳か 7 歳くらい。
1 ：変なこと言われたの？なんか男言葉使っちゃだめ，とか。
3 ：お母さんが，もうちょっと女の子らしい言葉使いなさい，とか。
2 ：コマわり？
1：うえ。
3：それはバナナフィッシュかな？
1：アッシュでしょ？
$3:$ うん。…あれ？こっちもアッシュかな？
1：アッシュ。
2 ：斎藤于ホ，おしいな。
3：あ，これは田村ユミだ。
2 ：うん，バサラ。
$3: あ ー ん \ldots$ ．．．オヤカズミの絵。オオヤカズミ。あ，この人知ってる。

2 ：明石ミチヨさんの話も面白いで。
1：ふん。
（．．．）
1：で，今回初めて読んだの？これ。
3：読んだ。斎藤（1：でも，初めてだったでしょ？）チホ。られ。
1 ：で，どうだった？
＜004＞
3：なーんか，面白いと思ったけど，読んでてイライラした。
1 ：どこが？気に入らなかった？
3 ：んーと，この人の性格。．．．なんでそう，こう，フラフラするかなあ，って思う。
1：強いくせに〔笑〕。フラフラしてる，らん。
2 ：斎藤チホ曰く，女は，何度でも，立ち上がれ，みたいな感じがあるらしねやんか。
3：はあ。
1：ふうん。
（．．．）
2：なんか，作者日く，男は一人の女だけを愛するもんや，つて。女は男替えてでも，強 く生き延びるんや，っていう〔笑〕のがあるらしいねん。．．．うん。

1 ：で，それがその，なんか夢物語のポイント？
2：うん。
1 ：で，だったらいいなあ，と思いますか？
2：あたしはそこまで男ひっ替えとっ替えしたくないな，［笑〕と。
1 ：〔笑〕あー，なるほど。面倒くさくなるよね。
2：子供までいんねんし，いいやん【笑〕つて。
1 ：うーん。．．．じゃ，どんな風な性格だったらいいと思う？どういう風に描いてほしかっ た？

3：うーん，でもま，これはこれでいいかな，つと思うけど。
2：うん。主人公性格違ったら，話全部違ってくるやん。
1 \＆ 3 ：うん。
3：別の話だったら，あたしのこう，好きなタイプの性格の人は，これに出てくる人なん だよね。この人。この人の性格大好き。

1：何？
3：これは全然こうそんな，こういう話じゃないんだけど。
2：学園ものやねんけど。
3：学園ものなんだけど，女の人の性格だったら，今まで出てきたマンガの中で一番好き。
2：そこまで言えるの？
3：うん，［笑〕って。

1：何て言う？
2：「カタツムリ伝説」。．．．面白い。．．．男に文句言われても，ハンッ！とかいう感じ［笑〕。
 が白い人ともう 1 人，頭が黒い人がいるんですよ。（2：白い人と黒い人〔笑〕。）女の子の方は，この頭の白い人の方が好きなんだけど，えっと，この人は，こう鈍感やか ら，結構気付いてくれないんですね。で，もう 1 人の頭の黒い人は，頭が良くてこう，何でも全てお見通しって，感じなんだけど，ストレスが溜まると，こうカタツムリに変身しちゃうんですよ〔笑〕。

1：何？何？
2\＆3：カタツムリ。
2：だから，ここの多分，最後の，この
1：変身してた？
3：この人〔笑〕。
2：なんか，どっかで変身してたような，あれ？どつかな。
1 ：何回もするか，1回だけ？
3：何回もする。
2：してる。
1 ：わざとできる，とかいきなりそうなっちゃう？
3 ：いや，だから，ストレスが溜まったらいきなり。〔笑〕
2：ボンッて。
1：面白そう。
2：［探し中］こっちかな？なった。カタツムリ。
全：〔笑〕
2：風邪ひいてもカタツムリなんねんな。
1：そうそうそう。
2 ：疲れたりしたらなっちゃう。
3 ：でも，女の人がこういう性格だったら，．．．（1：うーん）うーん，こうこう，こう， ロマンスは成り立たない〔笑〕。
（．．．）
3 ：あー，でも藤巻，こういうの好きだったら，多分さ，その内，ハーレクイン読さよう になるぜ。
2：何それ？ハーレクインって。
1 ：これが？
$3:$ いや，だから，ハーレクイン，うちの母さんなんかも大好きなんだけど，（1：うん。）
あたしはなんか，嫌い。（1：うん。）
1：で，何がそれと似てる？
2 ：雰囲気が。

1：な，何が？絵？違う。
3：え？雰囲気が似てるんじゃなくて，あたしはこの性格が好き，って，ん一，だから，
こういう意味で，こ，こ，こういう人みたいな強い人じゃなくて，んー，どう言った らいいんだろう？（2：男を噈つ飛ばして生きていく［笑］。）そうそうそう。
1：じや，これがハーレクインと似てる？
3：うん。
2：小説？
1：どんな点で？
$3: \ldots$ うーん，なんか最初に出会いがあるか，なんか最初から知ってるかなんかで，で，こうなんか，恋愛して事件があって，一遍別れてもら一遍くつついて。この人な，微妙にな，話はおもろいで。
2：そうなん？
3：サカイ ミワ。
2：ふーん。
3：あ，でもあたしは今一番は，これ。
2 ：音妙寺？
3：音妙寺。こうな，藤巻な，斎藤チホ見てな，こう，眺めてるだけで結構，ハーッとか なるやろ？

2：うん？
3 ：絵見てな，こうめっちゃ綺麗とか思うやろ？
1：何が？
3：［笑］そう，これ，あの，絵，綺麗。
2：こっちの方は，見て，絵きれいと。
3：え？絵きれいと。藤巻はこれ見てそうなる？
2：うーん，なんか（3：あんまりない？）バレエで踊ってはる時とか，あ，綺麗やなあ， と加思う。
3：これはもら，原作も，原作，最初一緒に読んでて，マンガ見てこうイメージが全然， こら，マンガ読んだら，後からなんかそれを元にしたマンガ読んだら，イメージがな んか違ってイヤだな，って思うんだけど，これはもう，ぴたって当てはまって，すご い良かった。

1：ふらん。
2：ふうん。珍しい 1 品ですな［笑〕。
3：そう，珍しい。
（．．．）
2：津田マサミってなんか，絵硬いよな。
3：うん，なんか顔が。
2：目ら辺が硬い気がする。
1 ：で，もら 1 回聞くんだけど，この主人公のどこがいい？この性格。またさっきゆって

たんだけど，あの，文句言ら，後は？
3：んー，取りあえず，強い。んと，この人も強いんだけど，なんか別で，この人は結局， こう，男に依存してるじゃないですか，（1：ふうん。）あたしがここまで読んだ限り では，この後知らんけど。（2：うん。）だから，．．．それであと，完璧じゃない。こう何でも出来る人じゃないやん。（2：うーん．．．）こう，別に頭も良くないし，こう，結構，鈍感だし，あと何だろう，料理作るのが致命的〔笑〕。

1 ：何でもできる人？
$3: こ の 人 は$ 何でもできない。
2：できないんや。〔笑〕．．．うん，何もできひん方がなんか，親近感わく。
1：で，そっちの方が強い？何もできない。
3：んと，何にもできない人で，こう，そういう人は大抵，マンガん中で，こう，弱い人 として描かれてたりするけど，この人は性格がもう開き直っちゃってるから，強い。〔笑〕。

1：はあ。
3：出来なくて何が悪いのよ！って。
1：なるほど。で，この人は，何でもできるんだけど，（3：なんか悩み）男に頼って．．．
3：なんか悩みまくつてなんか，あ，なんか，こう色々考えちやって，この辺とか。相手 のこととかも色々考えちゃって，こう，自分でどうしたらいいのかわからなくなっち やって，結局最後爆発する，しそうな，なんだろう。なんかあんまり好きじゃない。
1：ふうん。
2 ：元々爆発してるから。
3：むつちや，もう，爆発済みって感じ。〔笑〕．．．あ，生きてた，船から落ちた人。
$2:$ この人めっちゃ嫌い。
3 ：へ？
$2:$ この一，（3：この人？）この人めっちゃ嫌い！
3：あ，それは，これは敵役で。
2 ：敵役やからもう，嫌いゆわれて当たり前やねんけど，むかつくねん。
1：ラーん。
3：おいしいとこで（2：クソーッ！て感じ）騙すねんな。（2：がすんねん。）
（．．．）
1 ：で，さっき爆発って単語が出てきたんだけど，とか，文句言ったりとか，で，男の人達に文句言える？
2 \＆3：言える。
1 ：言う？
2：言う。
1 ：で，爆発したことある？
3 ：ある。

2：そこまでない。
1：［笑］あたし，この間の，自転車の事故，［笑］すごい爆発した。で，どんなことで爆発したの？

3：何だったかな？
2：爆発したらな，自分怒ってんねんけど，なんで爆発したんやろ，ってあたしは［笑］思ら。

3：そうやねん。［笑］んー．．．，なんでやったんだろう，覚えてない。（2：でも爆発した
ら）だけど，なんかしょうもないことだったような，すっごい，こう。あ，感じ悪く なる。
2：俺のこと好きなの，って，どついてるわ。

## Session Four

$3: こ の 女 の 子 の$ 顔だけ変やねんやんか。［笑］…
1 ：でも結構そういう別な場所とか別な国とか別な空間とかなんか行くようなストーリーが多いでしょ？
3：多い。うん…
1：ん，なのに話が同じ。
3：同じ，うん，似てる。
2：イギリスとか行ったらあんまし（3：あ，でもそれは…）そこの場所での話やったら，あんまし変わらんね んけど，こっから向う行ったら結構一緒なのがある。（3：うん。）設定が。

3 ：そう，元々そっちだったら別にそれはそれで気にしないんだけど，
$1 \& 2$ ：うん。
$\left[\begin{array}{lll}0 & 0 & 1\end{array}\right]$
3 ：ここから，いきなりそっちに行っちゃら，つてのはなんか，同じに見える。
1：らん，なるほど。
2：もうちょっと向うで困らへんのかな，こいつ，って思う。
1 ：じゃ，バナナ・フィッシュとかそういうのはどう思った？ぜーんぶアメリカでしょ？
（3：うん。）で，日本人もなんか，主人公達がアメリカ人でしょ？（3：うん。）で，日本人二人がいるんだけ ど，（3：うん。）そういうセッティングはどう？

3：それは全然別に気になんなかった。
1 ：で，気になるのは？．．．例えば何なの？
3：うーん…何だろう，なんか…。んと，ファンタジーの世界に行っちゃう人。（1：あー。）なんか，絶対い ます，帰りたいの，みたいになって，で結局そこに居ついちゃうんだけど。（2：うん。（？？？））うん。〔笑〕向うで戦うんだよね，なんかこら敵にされて追っかけまわされてさあ［笑］。
$2: ~ ら ん 。 \cdots そ こ の 世$ 界は自分の意志で動く世界で，あ！世界にはカシラって呼ばれる人がいて，その人がこの世界の平和をずーっとお祈りしとかな，その世界の平和は保たれへんねやんか。で，それがある日なんか，その お，その人をほんまは守るべき役目の人が，かっさらってつちゃって〔笑〕。で，世界がなんか（3：秩序が）魔

物が
3：なくなっちゃったかなあ。（1：ふん。）その，こっちの世界から3人の女手が（2：女の子が呼ばれて〔笑〕）
マジックナイトって〔笑〕呼ばれて（1：マジック何？）マジックナイト〔笑〕
1：はあん。
2 ：魔法騎士。
3：で，三人の女の子が呼ばれて，んで，戦うの。…あ，そう言えば，「マル？？？」に出てきた，あの，何だ っけ？チャイナタウンにいたシンスーリンだっけ？
1：何？
3：えと，シン，ていうなんかこう，（1：うんうんうん）男の子が，あの人が「夜叉」に出てきた。〔笑〕
1：え！？
3：夜叉に，こうかっこいい大人になって，出てきたん。
1 ：ヘー。
3：ちょっとびっくりして，名前は？とか聞かれてシンスーリンだとか言われてなんかこう，チャイナタウンで偉いさんになって，うん。
1 ：ヘー，面白い。
3：びっくりした。え！？うそ！？とか思って［笑］。
1：それが雑誌に出てた？
3：雑誌。うん。一番新しいの，か。
1：はん。なんか話がすごい似てるんじゃない？夜叉とバナナフィッシュ。
3：うん，似てる，かな？なんか主人公もちょっと，ちょっと似てるし，［笑］。
2：＜何かを見ながら＞これおもろい。〔笑〕過去，現在，未来。1978年生まれ。ミイラ男。1853年生ま れ。未来男。 2 0 8 4 年生まれ。どっちに行っても何をされるか，テン，テン，テン。
3 ：［笑］わー，めっちやイヤやあ。
2：［笑〕こんな状況めっちやイヤやあ。【笑〕ミイラ男と未来男。【笑〕
$3:$ この人のマンガで今までになかったギャグやねんな，ちょっと。
2：これも頭に気をつけ，危ないって？？？頭の上に鉄筋の板かなんか落ちてきて‥くララ？の内容を笑いな がら説明している。＞めっちゃおもろいよお。
$3:<$ 笑い疲れた感じで＞あーあ。これどう？残りは？？？
（•••）＜ララ？の内容について雑談＞
1：何の話かってメモ取らないと，後で忘れそう。
2：山崎タカコさん。
1：ヤマザキ・タカコ？これララ何号？
2 ：ララのこれは 4 号。四月号？
3：ふらーん。
2： 1 巻から 4 巻までは．．
1：毎月買ってる？
2：うん，最近毎月買ってる。でも今月号は買ってない。

3 ：なぜか家にある。
2：なぜかじゃなく。
3：なぜかじゃなく，って誰かが買ってるから。でもな，ちょっと古いやつはな，ダンボールに封印されてんや んか，おかんによって。こんな所に積んでたら邪魔，つて〔笑〕。
2：お兄ちゃん悔しいから捨てへんのんちゃう？
3：うん，捨てへん。… あたしこの人の読んだわ。
2：誰？
3：ノマミユキ。
2：うん，面白い？
3 ：あんな，マンガでな，ミステリーを描いてんねん。
1\＆2：ふーん。
3：だからそれがわりと・••
2 ：小説みたいなん？

2：ふうーん。
3 ：この女の人，あ，この人じゃないなあ。なんか，ハイスクール・ルーレットがあったっけ？それで，高校生の女の子と男の子がそういうミステリー，詸を解いて，探偵みたいなことをしてやってたんだけど，その人が大学生になってもずっとやってて，社会人になってもやって，結局今は連載してるのは，その人の子供が探偵や って〔笑〕。だからもう 30 回以上。
（••）
2：猿のヘイちやんがかわいい。＜ページをめくりながら＞
3：昔の絵，ってあんましかわいくなかったんだけど，今，すごいいい。‥でもこのマンガ最高〔笑〕。
2：なんかな，道でネコ拾ったら，ネコ拾ったと思ってたらライオンやってんやんか。で，
3：そのライオンがこう，すごいマンガではこう，自分の思ってることを，ライオンはこの拾ってくれた男の子 を好きになるんですよ。で，結婚したいわ，って考えて，

2 ：女の子やねん，ライオンは。坊ちやん，坊ちやん，とかって〔笑〕。好きです坊ちゃんとか，めちゃ書いてあ んねんやんか，後ろの枠のところに。
$3:$ だから主人公，この人には通じてないんだけど，もう，それが，そのライオンの気持ちがすごい，
2：ライオン，すごいなんか，かっこいい犬とかに憧れてんねやんか。〔笑〕
$3: こ う$ 猫とか軽やかに塀の上とか跳んでいくじやないですか，こう跳ねて。だけどライオンがやったらズベッ ていっちゃう。
2：重たいから。軽やかにいきたいのに。〔笑〕
3：猫とか犬に育てられたら，こう，ライオンらしくない。
2：なんか，弱っちい，犬とかに追いかけられたらなんかキューンて感じになって逃げてくねやんか［笑］。
3：おもろかった。
2：私，ワイルド・キヤッツのコミック，どこやったっけ？
3：あたし，返したよ。
$2: ~ ら ん 。 \cdots こ れ$ 前の， 9 巻や。一体過去に何があったのです？話そう君に僕の真実。真実を全て，つて。••• 1 ：ふん。毎月どれ位お金かかってるの？あの，かけてんの？マンガに。 2：マンガに。これは 380 円。
1 ：で，マンガ，本とかも買ってるでしょ？
2：最近あんま買わんしなあ。うん。最近はなんか友達に借りたりしてるので足りてるかなあ，て感じやから。 3：前は結構こら読んで，もう1回読んで終わり，ってしてたんだけど，結構買ったりしてたんだけど，最近は もう，あんましそんなのは借りたりして済ましちゃうから。買うのはそうやな…

1 ：で，雑誌，他のも買ってますか？これどう？
2：これ面白いと思う。
1 ：本屋さんで見ててどんな話かな，て思ったんだけど，
3：絵がすき。
1 ：うん，私も見たらなんか好きそうな絵だと思った。
3：てか，私は持ってる。

1 ：ふん。
3：で，8歳離れてるけど一応恋愛してて，で，それ，その人らの話と，その周りの，そのピアノ教師の人の話 とか，この，この人の弟の話とか，
2 ：あと，この主人公の女の子のお姉ちゃんの話とか，そうゆうのも入ってる。
3：でも，この人は，この連載より，この連載も割と好きなんだけど，これより，（2：コミックスにはいってる。）
短編の方がなんかこら，笑える。
1：なるほど。そういうような話が，例えばね，これ主人公がず・つと一緒でしょ，同じ。でも，短編が入ってる とか，別ななんか，例えばお兄さんの話になるとか，そういうのもどう思う？
2：いいと思う。面白い。（3：面白い。）
3：なんかこう，別の一面が見れて。
1 ：邪魔にならない？
3：うん，ない。… でも，なるマンガもたまにある。なんか，この人，そのキャラクターが嫌いだったら，も う出てこんでいい，とか思って。

1：なるほど。
$2: ~<~$ 何かを見ながら＞これは結構面白い。こういうの，お父さんとお母さんの話…
（1：うん。）お母さんが面白い。めちや美人できれいな人やねんけどな，喋り方とかがな，めっちや，あ，そう， って感じやねん。うん，わかった，っていう，そういう［笑］
3：短編の方は，こう男の子と女の子がいて，両方共すごい頭が良くて，美人で，こう，かっこいい感じなんだ けど，男の子がこら朝，なんかで早く学校に行ったら，女の子教室で牛丼を食べてて，（2：［笑］）
1：教室で何？
3 ：牛井を食べてるんですよ。教室ん中で牛丼食べてて，あんたは何してるんだ，とか言ったら，牛井食べてる のよ，とか言われて，それで，そんなことで突っかかってくるあなたも一緒に牛囲が食べたいのね，とか言われ て 〔笑〕。

2：自分そんな気全然ないのに，押し付けられて…［笑〕
3：で，何故か毎朝牛井を一緒に食べるようになってしまって，それを誰かに見られて，で噂さえるんですよね， その二人は付き合ってる，とか何だかんだ。で，その女の子の方の友達が，あんた何々君と付き合ってるんでし よ，とか言われて，別にそんなんじゃないわ，牛井食べてるだけよ，（ $1 \& 2:$［笑］）
2：言ったらなんか誤解受けて
3：言ったら，そんなこと言ったら彼に迷惑でしょ，とか言われたら，その男の子の方にはこう，噂で，その女 の子の方が彼のことを迷惑だ，つて言った，ていう噂で誤解されちゃって，朝牛囲食べに来なくなるんですね。 で，最後にこう，なんか（2：朝礼の時に）そう，朝礼の時に後ろからこう伝言で，また一緒に牛井食べに行こ う，っていら，伝言して終わり。［笑］変な話［笑］
2：その女の子はなんか，元々教室とかでは，すごい美人で近寄り難いような人やってんな。
3：でも牛井［笑］。
2：でも，教室行ったら牛井一人で食うてるねん。なんか話かけられて，エーッいうような感じや。
1：美人がやるようなもんじゃないよね。
3：あと，献血に行かなく［笑］（2：［笑］献血）なんか献血の女の子と男の子がこう会って，確か中学の時に同じクラスだった，何々さん（2：山口君）山口さん（2：山口君！）では，て言って二人で会って，で，献血 して，で献血に行ったら，こらなんかもらえるんですよね，こう（ $2:$ テレフォンカードとか）（ 1 ：タオルとか） うん。（3：なんかそう，そういうようなん）うん，そう。で，男の子は限定物が好きなんですよ。で女の子は何年か前から行ってるから，（2：そういうもんがいいでしょ，ほら，って男の子に見…）こうT－シャツとかテレ カとか，いいでしょ，ほら，って言って，（2：［笑］）そしたら男の子それが欲しいから，で，結局4週間毎に，献血行って，（2：一緒に通うようになる）そこで会うんですよ。ほんで，〔笑〕で，なんか
今度 T－シャツを見せてあげるわ，とか言って何だったっけ？なんかね，（2：もう行く）行くかどうかわからな い，とか言って。
2 ：忙しいからわからん，とか言ったら，次の週，男の子は，でも来てしまった，って感じやってんはど，（3：行ったら，女の子はこうへんかってん。

3：いなかったんですよ。で，もしかしたら，あの時怒らしてしまったのでは，かなんか，こう一人でブツブツ言ってたら（2：一人で悩まはって）女の子が後から来て，なんか，そのT－シャツを持ってきて，これ，あなた に見せる為にこう取りに帰って来たのよ，取りに帰ったのよ，ってバッとそのT－シャツ見せて，で，こんなのあ るけど，どう？って，ペア献血参加カードって出して〔笑〕…

2：じゃ，一緒に通わなな，って感じになって［笑］。（3：なんか）なんか変な感じ。
3：落ち着かへん。
2：あ！って感じ［笑］。ナオちゃん献血行ってどうやった？って。
3：そうそうそう。
2：行ったやろ？
3：うん。
2：面白かった？
3：えっとな，お菓子が食べれてジュースが飲めて良い所やった。［笑］
2：で，マンガも好き放題読めるの［笑］。

3：そう，マンガもあるよ。
1 ：はあ。
2：とかいう，そういうアホなこと考える〔笑〕。女の子の方はそういうお得だしね，って感じやってんけど，男 の人は最初なんか道で看護婦さんかなんかに誘われて，あ，あ，って感じで，断れへんくなって来ちゃいました， って感じやってんけど。

3：こう，そんで，こう，人助けの為だから，って思ったんだけど，こうテレカとかTシャツとか欲しくなって， だったらその為でもいいんだな，とか思って献血来はってん。

2 ：え，最初女の子がなんか，いいでしょ，とかって，人助けは，って女の子に聞いたら，エ？何それ？みたい なことを言われて，そうか，世の中こんなもんなんだ，てことを知って，

3：そう，私利私欲の為でも献血していいんだな，つて〔笑〕。
2：気が楽になって通いはってん。【笑〕
3 ：変やで，なんかこの人のマンガ。
2 ：変。
1 ：でもどこが変？それ。
2：なんか，ほんまは人助けの為に行くはずのものを，自分の自己満足の為に通ってるだけでも，それでもやっ ぱ人助けなるんかな，みたいな。

1：うーん。その人が変とか，話が変？
2 ：人も変。
1 ：主人公達が，うん。
3：なんかこう，性格が皆，こう飄 々ひょうとしてる，って感じ。
1 ：•・ふん。
$3: \cdots$ て，この人が描く人って，あんまりこう悩んでないよね。
2：うん。
1：それが何て言う人？＜中略〉
2 ：松本トモ。
1：松本トモ。＜中略〉
3：絵は，最初やっぱり絵で惹かれたな，これは。
1 ：うーん。
3 ：めっちゃキレイとか思って。
2 ：あたしは最初薦められてやってんけど。…なんか，映画みたいな感じ。
3：あー。ていうかさ，トーン多いよな。
2：うん。この人トーン張らんかったら，絶対原稿白白やで。
1：ふうん。
2 ：これトーンやしな。確か。違た？
3 ：え？
2：？？？チャンの家ってトーン違た？
3：多分，と思う。

1 ：じゃ，主人公が悩んでない，って珍しいこと？
3：んー，なんかこう，悩んでるんだけど，そんなにこう，結構あっさり解決，みたいな。
1：悩んでない少女マンガある？悩んでない主人公。
2：パタリロ。
3：【笑〕悩みがないよ，あれは。絶対ない。〔笑〕
2 ：パタリロや。
1：はあん。
2 ：カワハラ・イズミのは悩んでるんやけど，悩んでる論点が違うねやんか。普通と。面白い。中国のツブとか。••• あ！えーっと何やっけ？

1：あっさりに悩んでる反対は何？
2 ：メチャメチャ悩んでる。
3：ウジャウジャ悩んでる。
2 ：悩みすぎてもういいやろ，っていう。
3：うーん，どんなんやろ？
2：あんまし悩み過ぎてんのは面白くないかもしれへん。
3：うーん，どんなんやろ？悩んだんはあんまり。
2：あ，これも結構悩んでるんかもしれへん。＜何かを見ながら＞これ面白い。
3：そうか？あたし話自体あんまり好きじゃない。
2：そうなん？あたしは好きやで。面白い。でもここの，これ過去の話，過去の話っていうか，ちっちやい時の話も載ってんねんけど，ちっちやい時はいまいち顔がどっちがどっちかわからん。
1 ：うん。
3：え？＜中略〉
1 ：じゃ，あんまり，何て言ら？グチャグチャに悩んでるのは好きじゃないの？
3：あたしあんまり好きじゃない。
2：うん，あー，でもそう言えば？？？も悩んでるよな。
3：うん，やたらと。
2：結構悩んではる。
3：ていうか，アリマ君がもろに。
2：アリマ君今どうなってんのか，よう知らん。
3：え，アリマ君，修学旅行一緒に行って，なえかモタモタしてるやん。
2：うん。＜中略〉

1：で，自分達が，何ていう？自分で悩んでる時，（2：うん，）主人公悩んでるような話，読みたくなる？（2：読みたくない。）読みたく，何ていう？逆？（3：イヤ！）
2 ：読みたくならない。（1 \＆2 〔笑〕）

2：うん。

1 ：じや，どういう時に，主人公がすごい悩んでるような話読めるの？
2 ：自分はなんか関係ないや，つていうような時。
3 ：うん。悩みのない時。
1 ：退屈，の時とか？
3：ラーん，退屈じゃないけど，別に悩みがない時。
1 ：で，他の人達の悩みを考えたい，たくなる，つていうか，考えてもいい？
3：ていうか，読んでも大丈夫。
1 ：うん，うん，なるほど。
2：あんまりそんな，特にあー読みたいなぁっと思って読むわけじゃない。
1 ：ふん。でもさっき，この話，なんか結構考えてたんだけど少女マンガ多いよね。なんか，悩んでない少女マ ンガ殆どないでしょ？

2：ラーん。
3：あんまり，少ない。
2：そうか，こういうこと考えてるんや。（1：あたし，なんでそんな本を読みたくなるか，って自分もなんか，人の悩みについて読みたい，っていうのは考えてみたらちょっと，変かもね。〔笑〕）

3 ：しょ，しょ，少年マンガだと，あっさりそれはもう，悩みとか，ってこうケンカするとか，なんか勝負する とかでこう，解決されるじゃないですか。うん，でもそれを少女マンガでやったら少女マンガじゃなくなっちゃ うから。うん。どうなんだろう？

1 ：少年マンガも読むでしょ？
3 ：読む。
1 ：で，読む？
2：うん，読む。
1：で，それはどういう時？
2 ：面白い。話的に面白い。
1：でも，なんかチョイスがあったら，でこう，こうやってさ，あ，じや，少年マンガ読もう，とか，（3：うん。） ってなんで？どういう，どういう状態で，少女マンガか少年マンガを読みたくなるの？

2 ：うーん，面白い，とか人がゆってたりしはるから。
3：うーん…。あたしあんまり，こう少女マンガって続きがそんなに気にならないんですよ。少年マンガはメチ ヤクチャ続きが気になる。

1 ：なんで違うの？
3：うん，どうなんだろう？
＜携帯電話がなって数秒中断〉
3：うーん，何だろう…？少女マンガって話の終わり方が，終わりっていらか，連載の時だから，続きの終わり方が，そんなに，こう，こういう感じで，そんなに，うーん，そんなに続きが気になるんだけど，別に，うーん， こう，多分，ここでもうすぐに死んじゃってじゃなくて，こう多分どっかで生きてて，多分どっかでハッピーエ ンドになる，ってわかってるから，そんなに続きが気になんないんだけど，少年誌って大体こう週刊誌とかが多 いから，連載パッてどっかで短く切れちゃってるから，なんか，こう勝負の途中とかで切れたら，あー，気にな

る，って思って。
1：らん。どんな気分で読みたくなるの？自分なりに，なんかさっき自分が悩んでる時に少女マンガ読みたくな い，て言ってたでしょ？
3：でもそれは取り敢えず読んで，読めば読めちゃう，って感じ。
2：んー…どういう時読みたくなるかな？
3：読みたい時は別にいつでも，って感じ
1：何か読みたい，とか思って，で，それからなんか選ぶ？…か，あ！少女マンが読みたい，と思って少女マン が選びに行く。

3 ：んん，（2：なんか読みたいな，って）違う（1：何か読みたい？）なんか読みたくて，別に少年マンガでも少女マンガでもそんなに区別はしてない。
1：ふん。とかマンガ絶対マンガ読みたい，とか，あー，今日は小説読みたいとか，とかテレビ見たいとか，（3：九ー…）で普通は，あー，なんかしたいな，とか思ってそれから選ぶ？
3：それはある。（2：ん一。）こう，あんまりこう，ちょっと頭が働かない時は小説読んでもこう，目で追って るだけで，全然わかんない。けどマンガはまあ，取り敢えず目で追えば大体把握できるから，ちょっと楽。（1： らん。）…テレビは更に楽。こう聞いてるだけだし。
2：テレビ寝ながらでも見れるし。（3：ふふ。）
1：え？なんか読みた一い，という気持ちになる時，なんか，何が求めてるの？
2：なんとなく。
3：ラーん…
1：別世界に入りたーい，とか。休䅋みたいな感じで読んでる，とか。（2：うん。）インフォメーションが欲し いから読んでる，とか。
2：インフォメーション。
3：あたしは休憩かな？
1：勉強がイヤになるとか，なんか頭が疲れちゃらとか。
3 ：［笑］ある。
2：ラーん…
（．．．）
1：あたしはね，結構もう仕事とか，周りにね，例えば一日ずーっと人と付き合ったりしてて，もうもう，人の話とか，頼みとか，もらごちゃごちゃの中で，なんかすっごい一人の時間が欲しい。もう，自分から話したくな い，時読みたくなる。かな？うん。
（•••）
1：で，絶対なんか，すっごい少女マンガ読みたいとか，少女マンガないと，落ち着かないとか，あの満足でき ない，と，そういう時もある？
（•••）
1：なんか，ロマンスとかそういらの，読みたい，とか。そういうの，ないの？
3：うん，あんまり。何でもいいや，みたいな。
1：じや，あるもの手に，（3：あるもの…）目の前にあるものは，じゃ，これでいい，とか，わざと探しに行

くんじゃなくて。
2：新しいもの読みたいな，って思ったら本屋さんとか行くけど，ま，取り敢えず見たいな，って思ったら，部屋になんかあるもの，見るかなあ？

1：じや，その本屋さん行って，新しいもの買おう，とするきっかけは？
3 ：ん一，取り敢えず自分の頭の中に，次はなんか買おら，と思ってるものがあるから，それを一番に選ぶんだ けど，全然こう知らんもん選ぶときは，やっぱし，最近のマンガ，ってここにこう，紹介書いてあるの，少ない じゃない。だからそれは結構悩むんだけど，ま，絵が決め手かなんか。

1：で，本屋さん入ったら，絶対マンガの所に行く？か，小説とかそれも先に見ちゃう？
3：あたし，グルッと周る。
2：あたし，取り敢えずマンガ行く，と思う。
3 ：ん一，でも，あたしはマンガ買いに行って，小説買っちゃうとか，雑誌買っちゃうとかあるから。（1：うん， うん。）取り敢えずグルっと周って欲しいのを何冊か探して一遍に買えないから，どれにしょうかな，と思って。 うん。

1：あたし思うんだけどね，マンガ読むとか，映画とかビデオ見るとか，小説読むとか全然なんか雰囲気が違う
し，なんかこら，気持ちが違うよね。だからその快楽，と言うてもいいし，あの満足とかも違うんだから，なん か，ビデオ見たい時はビデオ見たい。なんか，ビデオがなくてマンガで読もうとか，なんかちょっとやだな，と か思う。なんか経験として違うもん。だから，別に求める。だけど，皆はどうかな？って思って聞いたんだけど。

2：うーん，なんかテレビとかビデオとかと，マンガ，小説は違うと思うけど。
1：うーん，でも話は結局似てるでしょ？（3：らん。）なんか，人がなんか，女の人が男の人と出会って，一緒 になる，とか［笑］そういうの，なんか，男の人がなんか，エイリアンとかに脅かして，なんか地球を守る，と か，大体2つのタイプでしょ？［笑〕

でも，小説でそれを読むとマンガでそれを読むとビデオでそれを見る，と違うでしょ？
3：違う。（2：うん。）
1：なんか，そういう色んな気持ちで，選んでるのかな，って。自分もよくわかんないんだけど，絶対なんかビ デオじゃなきやイヤだ，とかそういう気分もあるのね。（3：ふーん。…）で，最近マンガ多い。［笑］なんか， マンガしか見てないもん。だから，何故かなぁ？って。
（•••）
1：で，さっきの話もなんか，ハーレクイーンと似てる，って言ってたでしょ？うん。
で，それだったらハーレクイーン読んだ方が，とか言ってたでしょ？だから
3：でもあたしはハーレクインが嫌い。ていうか，ハーレクイーンだったらこっちのマンガの方がいいかな。
1：うん，うん。
3：もう，あれやし，［笑］ハーレクイーン1冊読えで，2冊目も半分位読んで，もういいや，と思ってやめて［笑］。 2：半分読んだら，最後まで読みたくない？
3：なれへんねん，それが…。
1：あたしの母はね，あたしのおばさんと一緒に住んでるのね。で，おばさんがハーレクイーンとかそういうの， すっごい，なんかもう中毒みたいにさ，部屋も，もうあれだらけなのね。いっつも帰るとね，最初の夜は必ず 1冊を取って，もら終わるまで読むのね。で，寝ないで，〔笑〕 ？？？こうやってそれ読むのね。で，なんかもら，

休㥎，っていらか，休日とか実家帰らないのね。だからクリスマスの時とか，だからもら，くつついてる。クリ スマスとそういう余裕がある時のその小説が，もら，帰るとたん読みたくなるのね，でもそういう時だけ読みた くなるの。他はもら，何て言う？そんなに好きじゃないのに読みたくなるのは変でしょ？でも読みたくなるな。 3：うちのお母さんいっつもこうね，本棚に絶対こら，つ，つ，積んであって，らちのお母さんのお姉さんと， そのお母さんのお姉さんの娘が，あたしのいとこなんだけど，もう 25,6 の人と 3 人でもう取り敢えず買って，古本屋さんとかで買らんだけど，宅急便で送って交換するの。［笑］だからこう，ハーレクイーンでもタイトルと か似てるじゃないですか，だからこら，読んだことあるやつとか混ざってるんだけど，もう気にしないで，読ん でるから。
1：でも，どっかが似てるかなあ？ハーレクイーンと。あたしもやっぱり似てると思ったけど，やっぱりマンガ の方がいいよ。絶対。＜中略＞
3 ：ハーレクイーンってロマンスとかシークレットとか色んなシリーズがあって，でもそれ毎にこうパターンが違らねんやんか。こらな，都会的な何とかかんとか，とかな［笑］。
1：はーん。
3：こう，バカンスでの何とかかんとか［笑］。
1：でもそれ，どうして男の人がそういうような小説読みたくなんないの？
3：確かにな［笑），5ーん．．
1：で，なんで皆中毒になっちゃら？，って面白いよね。
2：ラーん。
3：うちのお父さんは経済小説とかしか読まれへんねやんか。
1：ふーん。
2：らちのむ父さんは結構色々読んでるけど，どうやろな，最近ミステリーもんばっかり読んではる。
1：あたしの母もそう。おばさんはロマンスで，母がミステリーなの。（2：ミステリーの，何とかかんとか事件 とか）うん，うん，うん。

3：あ，でもミステリーも中毒なるよ。だからこう，推理小説，うん。
1：推理小説，あたし好きだけど，そんなになんか，読みた一い，とか思わないのね。（3：え，でもあたし）な んか探しに行く，もんじゃないね，私にとって。
3：え，あたし一時期はまった。
1：母のあるものは読むのは読むんだけど，探しに行かないの，あたし。
2：あと何かなあ？時代もん。（3：あー，あ一。）江戸時代とか明治時代とかの。
1：はー。
3：あと，中国の，あれは男のロマンだ，［笑］
1：なるほど。
2：あ，らち三国志とかあんで。（3：そう，三国志とか。らん。）…らん，何やろ？ブラックジャックとかもあ る。
（．．．）
3：うちの兄貴はな，留くくコレクターらしいねやんか。あんな，こうコレクションすることに喜びを感じるらし いねやんか。（2：集めることが好きねん。）そう，そう，そう。
（•••）でもな，取り敢えずな，選ぶ絵の趣味はな，あっし（あたし）と非常に似てんねやんか。 2 ：〔笑〕嬉しい，悲しい。

3：いや！でも便利やで。〔笑〕で，自分で買うねん，そこから。
2：「4人の勇者」は結構，？？？
3：それ？？さんが持ってるよ，「4 人の勇者」。
2 ：それは何か本屋さんで…
（•••）＜何かを見ている様子＞
2：うん，？？？さん，こんな絵やな。頬の辺りの輪郭とか。
3 ：ここがカクッてなってんの？
2：うん。
1 ：すごいとんがってるね。
2：結構キレイな絵描いてはる。••・もらなんか，読みたくなる絵と，あんましこれは読みたくなんらへんな， ていう絵がある。
（•••）
3：＜何かを見ながら？＞こ，これは，かぐや姫はもう話が壮大過ぎて，もう，最近ちょっと疲れてきた。前好 きだったのに，ていうか，好きなんだけど。
$2: ん ?$ かぐや姫どこや？
3：ほら，ストーリーを説明するのが大変過ぎる〔笑〕。
1 ：これ絵が好きじゃない。
2：絵，好き？
1：うん。
2：うん。
3：登場人物が多い［笑］。
1：ラーん。
2：なんか，ちっちゃい時に，日本の，離島で，なんか何人かの子供が育てられてて，でそれが，大きくなって離れ離れなって，またなんか，どっかの会社のツアーみたいなんが，（3：米軍）一杯，人集めはって，で，そん中で元々島で，生きてた人の，カブチ島ていう所で生きてた人と，生きてた，人だけがなんか，途中で事故があ って生き残んねやんか。それはなんか元々仕組まれてた事らしくって，生き残るための酸素ボンべとかがちょっ と取り替えてあったりして，他の人は全員死んじゃうねやんか。それで，なんか，（3：その…）それは元々ド ナーで，なんか・••
$3:$ こう世界の，イギリスの，（2：王室）王室の，こうなんか王子のドナーとか・••
$2: そ の 人 は な ん か, ~ 中$ 国の，何やろ？
3：何だろ？あれ（2：王女様みたいな人。）ん，あと，タイの王子様のドナーとか。
1：何ていう話？
2 ：かぐや姫。
1：あ！なるほど。
2 ：かぐや姫，つて昔の話，知ってるのかな？あれで，いけにえみたいな，んーと，そんなんで育てられた子供

やったんけど，ほんまはなんかその，偉い人が，なんか心臓が悪かったりとか，あの一，胃が悪かったり，そう いうのなった時に，時の為に，その，何て言うの，いい，ちゃんと正常に働いている，ものとかを取って，取り替える為のようなもんで育てられてて，それがなんか今，皆ドナーとして，取られちゃってんけど，それが， 3：で，使われるんですよ，こうバスケ選手で，指がボロボロになって，だめになっちゃったから，こう，手だ け移植して取り替えるとか，ほんで，その人らが何かあって，全部捕まっちゃって，で，全部そのドナーに取ら れちゃうんですよ。（1：うん。）で，その人たちはこの，青てられた子供達は全部いなくなっちゃうんだけど， ある時，その，こう，育てられて，もうその人たちは全部いなくて，心臓だけ取り替えられて，そのドナーの体 ん中に心臓だけ入れられちゃったんだけど，その心臓が体を支配して，その元の人の意識になっちゃって， 2：うん，脳，脳まで，なんか支配しちゃうねん。（1：ふうん。）でなんか今，復襲撃を始めてる，ていうよう なとこ。

3：うん，だけど，それがなんかこう，ロシアとか中国とかイギリスとかに全部こう，月の石，って言うかけら があって，それがなんかその，なんかカビかなんかを発生させて，それで人が死ぬ，とかいって，その月の石， っていらのが，何だったっけ？NASA が月に行った時に取って来た石で，そこにはこう，平安時代の，なんか（ 2 ： かぐや姫やろ？）紫式部みたいな，あーいう人の絵が，月の石に書いてあったんですよね。これは，で，それが， そんなん分かったら困るから，うてNASAが隠して，世界各地にこう，ばらばらにして入れて，それが発覚した ら，すごい事になってしまら，とか言って。

2：元々のドナーとかは，そのカブチ島に，来た時にその，そのカブチ島はそのカビがあって，それで，ちっち やい時にそれを吸ったりしてるから，慣れてて，別に自分らはどうもないねんけど，普通の人はそのカビで，な んか体が病気みたいになっちゃったりして，
3：でもそれにはまだ聂があって，実はその，月の石，っていらのは，その，こう，月かな，もう一個の感星か なんかに，こう何かもら文明があって，この地球自体がそれのドナーなんだ，［笑］って。で，さっき出てきたな んか空飛んでる男の子はそっちの方の人間で，
2：え？そうなん？あたし，そこらへんは知らん。
3：え，ルイはだから宇宙人や，て言ったやん。
2：それがなんか月の石，$\cdots$ く本をめくってる音。 $>$
3：カビが…
2：カビ生えてる人いるかな？＜カビが生えてる人を本で探している様子。＞こんなん，（1：うわー！）これ？違うかな？

3：あ一，説明，自分で言っててもわかんない。〔笑］
1：読まないと。うん。
2：＜まだ探している様子＞あ，こんな人。（1：うん。）病気になってはんねん。
3：でもこれはまだ分かり易くて，「天使禁欲（？）」つていうマンガがあるんですよ。これは，すごく，こう， まんがに詰まっている情報量が多いんですよね。だから，一回さらっと読んだら，全然訳わかんなくて，登場人物とかもやたらと多くて，こう関係とかもメチャクチャ込み入ってて，で，天使がどうの，って言ってて，

1：はあん。
3：だから，それで，（1：面倒くさくなんない？）え？

1：だから，ややこしくない？
3 ：だから，1回読んだら全然わかんなくて，読んでてすごい疲れるんですよ。だからもう途中でやめて，とか思って［笑］。

1：もう，そろそろ今日は終わりましょう。
2：はい。
＜002＞
3：めっちゃきつい。
（•••）
3：あたし？？？の少女マンガ初めて読む。
2：そうなんや。
1：普通は少女マンガじゃない？
3：今はね，少女マンガは描いてらっしゃらない。
1：ほう。…で，それは少女マンガと思わない？
3：また，別もんでしょ，って感じ。
2：この絵，かわいいかもしれへん。
1：どこがかっこいい？
$2:$ らーん $\cdots$ その時の感じがよく分かる。？？？なんか目とか雰囲気とか。
1：ふうん。
2：うーん…
3：なんか描き方が好きなんだよね。
2：うん。
3：あんまり，こういら絵を見てもかっこいい絵とか思わない。
1：ふん，あの，ヤチユミコ（？）の。
（•••）
1：ど，どこが違う？
（•••）
2：描いてる人の気持ち自体違う感じ。何て言うか…こっちはまあ，キレイになろうかな，って感じもある。も っとキレイに描きたいなあ，とか，そういう感じで描いてるけど，これは私の絵や！みたいな感じで描いてる。〈何かを比べながら？＞
3：この人のやつ，よくある絵で，なんかこう，少女マンガのなんか描く講座みたいの，あるじゃないですか。 あーいうので練習したら，なんか，こういら絵になる。
2：そうなん？
3：多分。
1 ：じや，典型的な？
3：かなり。
1：うん。

3：多分。
$2: こ う い う$ 系はこういう系やし，もつと，少女マンガでいったら，もつと目がでつかくなる。
3 ：うん。目が小さい方だけど，なんかこう，少女マンガ，って感じで，
1：で，これはそうじゃない。
3：らーん，ちょっと違うかも。あたしはこの人の絵好きなんだけど，なんでだろう？
（•••）
3：でも，こういう絵を描く人，他にもいるかな？．．．
1 ：普通，こういう絵の雑誌とか見ないの？
$3:$ どうだろう？これはどこで連載してたんだろう？
1：キュ？ティー。
3：知らない，ていうか，読んでない，全然。
1 ：らん。（2：この前，でも名前は知ってるでしょ？
3：うん。
1 ：らん。で，それが何ていう？その本物の話からわかってるか，とか，うん。どこで読んでる？
3：あれはね，ああいうマンガばっかり集めた雑誌で読んだ。…あと，本屋さんでパラパラッて読んだ。何だっ たかた，花，つていうマンガ。

1 ：ふん。
（•••）
1 ：で，内容的に，どうだった？
（•••）＜ペラペラとページをめくっている音が延々と続く。＞
1 ：じや，さっき，この人の少女マンガ，読んだことない，とかって言ってたでしょ？じや，なんでこれが少女 マンガだ，って分かってたの？どこが少女マンガ？
3：主人公が女の子。
1：うん。〔笑〕
2：主人公が女の子，っていら少年マンガ，あんましないよ。
3：うん。
2：主人公が男の子の少女マンガあっても，主人公が女の子の少年マンガはあんましない。
$3:$ で，女の子と男の子の恋愛の話。（1\＆2：ふうん。）ていうか，何で判断したんだろう？＜何かを見ながら ＞ほろ，この辺で，一人称が女の子。
2：女の子が考えてる事描いてるから，少女マンガか。
1：ふうん。
（••）
1 ：で，描き方は，さっき言ってたんだけど，この人の，ヤチユミコ（？）の，方が典型的少女マンガ，ってい うような描き方。じや，これを説明しよう，と思ったら，どうやって説明する？
$2:$ こういうの，少女マンガじゃなくって，レディースマンガ，つて感じ。•••絵的に。
3：ラーん。
2 ：少女マンガ，って絵が丁寧に描いてあって，レディースマンガ，っていうのは何か雰囲気を楽しんでるみた

いな感じんとこ。マンガ読んでたら。
1：ふらん。‥じゃ，少女マンガの方は雰囲気でなくて，何なの？
2：雰囲気っていうか，もっと絵をかわいく見せ，かわいく描いたりとか。
1：ふうん。じや，かわいい，とかっこいい，は違う？
2：結構，気持ちとか結構描いてあんねんけど，なんか，レディースマンガ，っていうのは，その，何て言った らいい？その，雰囲気。何か…

3：うん。
1：雾囲気，ってどういう意味？
2：その，見て読む，みたいな。（1：うん，うん。）自分がこうかな，みたいな感じで読むけど，少女マンガは この子はこういう風に感じてる，みたいなんが書いてある。
1：というと，レディースコミック，のマンガの方が，自分の経験を考え出す？（2：うーん。）で，少女マンガ は別な人の考えてること？ということですか？
2：んーと。少女マンガとレディースマンガと読を年齢が違うから，その時の気分とかも違うと思うんだけど， レディースマンガっていうのは，なんか今読んでもあんまし面白くない，けど，あー，なんか大きくなったらこ んな気持ちなんかな，っていうのはある。

1：ふうん。じや，あんまり読まないの？
2：らん，あんまし読まへん。
1：らん，うん。…どゃ，主人公は大体自分と同じくらいの年でいい？
2：うん，そんなもんでいい，かなあ，って思う。
3：でも，小さい頃読んでたマンガ，って大抵こう，主人公が 14 歳とか，やっぱりこう，年が上だったのに，最近なんか，ふと考えて読んでるマンガの主人公が中学生とかやったら，あー，自分より年下ねんな，［笑］（2： あ！追い越しちゃた！）追い越しちゃった。［笑］そう言えば，私はセーラームーンの年齢を追い越したんだ，つ ていう…

2 ：始まったん，なんか，やってたん，小 2 ぐらいからやってたやんなあ。でも，ビジュアル的に見るとなんか， あー，こっちの方が脚長いし，とか，こっちの方が背高そうやな，って思う。
1：じや，自分とその主人公が違うんだったら，読みたくなくなる？とか，それはないの？
2：そういうのはあんましない。
3：別にない。
1：じや，主人公がすごく違うんだったら，どんな，どんな気持ちで読むの？
3：この人はこんなもんなんだな，って。
2：自分とは違うから，うん。これは，うん，こういうもんかな，と思う。
1：ふん。じや，本当，違和感とか，疑問とかないの？えー？こんな人本当にいるの？とか。
2：ん一，それはなんか，ある程度まではこえはこういう話や，っていうのがあるから，うん，こういうことは ないけど，これはこういうもんなんや，この話の中では，とか思う。
1：なるほど。
2：それは話を，なんか，最初は気になるかもしれんけど，どんどん読んでたら，あんまし気にならへん。 1：じや，その話に入れば，その違和感とか，疑問はなくなる。

2：うん。
1 ：うーん，なるほど。
（．．．）
1 ：じや，他の，岡崎京子のやつはどうだった？あの，「ロシャの山（？）」とか，なんか，この．．．＜探してい る。＞2 つの短編＜探している。＞

3：なんか全然こう，この人に関係ないことがこう，バラバラッて書いてあるのが結構好き。
（•••）＜探している？＞
2：なんかカズ（？）んとこ好きかもしれん。
1：ふうん。
3 ：この人，デッサンとってるのかなあ，とってないのかなあ？これ，…
2 ：ん？
3：なんか，顔とか描くとき。
1 ：デッサンを何？
3：取ってるのかな，取ってないのかな，と。
1 ：どういう意味？
3：だから，描く時に，なんか一杯，こう目の位置とかガーッと考えて，こういう風にかいてあんのか，もう速攻でサーッと描いてやってるかな，って。

1 ：ふうん。普通，あったら，どんな絵になる？
3：んー，なんか，こういうのは，メチャクチャこう，多分考えて描いてはる，と思う。
1：うん。？？？やつ。うん。
3：うん。でも，メチャクチャ，こう，何だろう，柴田アミとか，もうすごいデッサンを取ってから，すごい， ピーッて線引いて，すごく単純な絵なんだけど，すごくデッサンを取ってあるんで，（2：パプア（？）君の人？）
そう，パプア（？）君の人。マンガは面白いねん。
2：あたし，アニメでしか見たことない，パプア君は。
3：何やっけ？
1：あたし，知らない。
2：南国？
3：南国少年パプア君。
1：何ていう人が描いた？
3：シバタ・アミ。
1：柴田アミ，後で調べよう。…で，デッサンを使った絵の方が好き？
3：ラーん…マンガによる。その絵の見た感じによるかな？
1：うーん，なるほど。

2 ：キス，つてめっちゃ取ってるやろ？
1：何が？
2：キス，つていう，

3 ：松本トモ（？）の。
1：あー，あー。と似てる？
2：いや，それは何かすごいしっかり取ってあってん。あれは結構好き。
1 ：あー。え？これしつかりじゃないでしょう？•・でも，どう思う？
2：これはこれでいいと思う。うん。私は私であるが故，私は私が嫌いなんです。なんかこう，脈 略 の無い話 がおもろいかも。

1：何が？
2 ：あんまし，なんか何も考えんでいいような…あ…
1：読む人？描く人？
2 ：読む方も。
1：んー，何でそう思う？
2：んー，なんか，んー・••何で，つて言われても…なんか普段，結構色々考えてたり，するような事を，サー ッて描いてあった。ふーん，て感じやった。
1：ていらか，内容があるんだけど，（2：うん。）絵の方とかストーリーの方で？（2：うん。）何て言うか，あ の，あんまり考えないように描いてる？（2：うん。）うん。

普通に考える事を，考えないように描いてる？（2：うん。）ということ？（2：うん，うん。）あたし，理解してるかどうか，チェックしてる〔笑〕ごめん。うーん。

2：普通，なんか，こういうことは，こう色々，考えてない人やねんけど，普通のなんか日常でご飯食べる時と か，そんな，みたいな感じで描いてあったりするのが，なんか，ホーッて思う。こうなんか，私はこういう感じ のあんまり普段読まへんから，読んだら，おもろいなあ，と思う。

1 ：なんで読まない？
 なんか，んー，とちょっと思う。別に何があるということはないけど．．（1：うん，ていうか，慣れてないから？） うん。あ，でも，クラスの人には，リボンしか読んだことがない，ってゆってはった（1：うん。）人がいてビッ クリした。

3：でも結構それしか知らんくて，で，そのリボンとかにのってるマンガで，欲しいのがあったら，先にその欲 しい方買っちゃうから，他の全然種類の違うマンガとか手出しにくいかな。（1：うん。）もら買う順番がついて るから。

1：なるほど。
2：こう，あたしは古本屋さんまわるようになって，なんか，置いてあって，そのまま読めるやんか，（1：うん。） それで，はあ，こういうのもあんねんな，思って。結構色々読み漁ったりばはしたけど。 （•••）

1 ：これ，いつ描いたと思う？
2 ：ちょっと昔か？
3 ：わかんない。
$2:$ この，お父さんとなんとかかんとか，つてお姉さんの話は，昭和ぐらい，かな？
1 ：セッティングが？

2：セッティングっていらか，描かはった人が，描いた時が。で，今やったら，もらちょっと町とか出てても， もうちょっと色々ありそうやし，これくらいの年齢の子でも，もうりカちゃん人形とかで遊ばんんかなあ，
3：え？でもこれは，こえの更に 12 年前のことを描いてる， 12 年ていうか，その何年か前の事を描いてるんじ やないの？
1：で，自分の小学校の事思い出してるでしょ？（ $2 \& 3: ~ ら ん 。) ~ そ う た ゙ よ ね 。 ~$
2：あ，そっか。うーん…
1 ：で，最後の方に，どこだっけ？最後の方は高校生だっけ？
3：そう，高校生。
2：＜探して見つけた様子＞これか？
1：うん。
（．．．）
1：高校生ぐらいでしょ？
2：うん。
1：書いてないよね，（2：うん。）はっきり。
3：女子高生。
1\＆2：うん。
2：このクラス男子おらんな，そう言えば。
（•••）
3：んー・・どうだろう？
2：この絵おもろい。
1：ん？
2：この絵，見てておもろい気がする，なんか目とか鼻とか，おでことか。
1：ふん。
（•••）
3：で，これは実際どれくらい古いのか，
1：ん？
3：これは実際どれくらい前に描かれたのか？
1：92，3年かなあ。
3：なるほど。
1：はつきり覚えてないんだけど，この人ね，あの，事故にあった。で，あれからずーっと何も描いてない。う ん。（2：そなんや。）うん，なんか，何だっけ？なんか植物人間になったとか，（3：へえー。）噂がきいたんだ けど。うん。すごい悲しい。それは 95 年かな。だから，その前。
3：だって，靴下が，（1：はあ。）普通の靴下なんだもん［笑］
2：ルーズソックスじゃないの。
1：そうねえ。
3：ニーソックスでもないし。
2：うん。
$3:$ でも，こう，スカートが（1：短い）うん，短いから，90年台だろな，って思った。
1 ：いつから，その，スカートが短くなったの？
2：好景気に入ってから。（3：［笑］）なんかな，日本人の傾向としてな，好景気に入るとスカートが短くなって な，（3：［笑］）不景気になると，スカートが長くなる，つていう傾向があってな，（3：そう，そう，そう。）で，色もな，好景気に入ると白とかピンクとか赤とか，そういうきれい，っていうかそういう明るい系がはやって，不景気になると，黒とか茶色とか紺とか，そういうのがはやるねん。

3 ：今，スカート膝丈長い。
1：ねえ，真ん中位〔笑〕。あー，面白い。
3：うちのお母さんがな，スカートがな，膝丈くらいの時はな，あの，中途半端な長さの靴下を履くのはやめて， って言わはんねやんか。（2：ふうん。）なんか，色々言わ張るわ…
2：ふくらはぎの真ん中ぐらいに。
3：そう，そう，そう。 これぐらいの。うちのおかんの，あの，靴下っていうのはな，こう短い短いやつか， ここまで（2：ハイソックス）膝近くまであるやつか，どっちか，つていう認識しかないねんやんか，こう。
1：あたし，留学した時，スカートが長かった。もう制服の。で，また日本に戻って来て，もうこれぐらいの短 いの，びっくりしてた。えー，いいなあ，あたしの時なんか，床から 30 cm 。

2 ：〔笑〕今，上から 30 cm 。（1：〔笑〕）
3：なんかもう，聖母とか行ってる人とかさ，普通のスカートが，こう膝隠れるくらいやから，ここで折ってべ ルトん中に入れて，膝上とか，って【笑〕

2 ：ベルト，グーと締めて，上にだぶらせて，上にセーター着て，中でごまかしてやってはんねん。
1：あの，留学した時，みんな，やってたもん。あの，学校に行く途中，ここ丸くして，短くしてて，で，学校 の門の前で先生達がいつも待ってるのね，その前にクーッと引っ張って，普通のように学校に入るんだけど，街 に出る時は必ずこうやってた。うん。
3：なんか，ここで折るか，もうスカート自体切っちゃって，階段昇るときかに，かばんとかで隠して〔笑〕。そ こまでやるなら，やんなくてもいいじゃん，って思う。

2：うん。
1 ：学校の門の前に，先生達が，そこでなんか，測るやつが，もつて，待ってたのね。いっつも皆のスカートが ちゃんとこう，なってるか，チェックしてたの。で，髪の毛ちゃんとパーマかけてないのが，三つ編みしても， この先のところとか見たりしてて，三つ編みも取って，もう，（2：すげー）厳しかった。

3：続きが気になる。
1：なるほど。
3：ワニ。（2：ワニ〔笑〕）ワニが出てくるんじゃない？ワニがオハヨウ，って。
2：［笑］そんなん，読んでへんし，わからん。
1 ：で，内容的にはどう思ったの？
3：内容的には，…
1 ：最初の何だっけ？2 つあるでしょ？最初の「ロシアのお散歩，何だっけ？じゃなくて，ロシアの…」（3： ロシアの山！）

2 ：ロシアの山，つていう題名がよくわからん。

1 ：最後の方にその，ロシアの山と関係ない，って書いてあったでしょ？
3：そう由来が。（1：うん，うん。）
（．．．）
$2:$ だから一体なんで，ロシアの山，て出てきたんやろ？（1：［笑］）これは違う話のことなん？
1：そう，前の。
2：ふうん。
3 ：山，ってつくけど，ロシアって，？？？団地だからこう，みんな一緒，みたいな，そんなイメージちょっとあ る。

1：はあ。…で，題名と内容が合ってないでしょ？（ $2 \& 3: ~ う ん 。)$ で，どう思った？
3 ：〔笑〕これは最後に説明してあるから，いい。
1 ：でも，読みながら，
3 ：え？ロシアの山，って何？

## Session Five

$<001>$
1 ：じゃ，なんで題名が話の内容と合わないように描いたと思う？
2：ラーん…
3：なんか，これを，タイトルを火事とか，そういう風につけるのがやだったからかなあ。
1：うん。じゃあ，他の題名考えてたら，何がいい？
2：うーん…
3：ラーん…，わかんない。
$2:$ ここらへんの上手なオムレツの作り方とか，こんな風な題名でも良かったと思ら。（1 \＆3：［笑］）あたし， これでいいと思うで。（全：〔笑〕）

1 ：上手なオムレツの作り方？
2：うん。（1：いいかもね。）これでいいと思うで。なんかここら辺にある適当な，ハッピーバースデイでも， とか思う。でもハッピーバースディやったらなんか，この＂日＂ていうのが重なってるから，あんまし良くないか もしれへん。
（•••）
$2:$ この人の描く人の顔，豚みたいな顔してる。

2：うん。あんましキレイじゃないかな。
1 ：じや，主人公がキレイじゃないと，どう思う？
（•••）
2 ：キレイじゃないと，
3 ：なんか，普通の人，って。
$1 \& 2$ ：うん。
1 ：普通の人，ったら話が変わる？

2：らん，ちょっと変わると思う。
1：どういう風に？
3：シンデレラストーリーじゃない。
2：シンデレラストーリーなる時もあんで。
3：ま，たまに。
2：んーとな，なんか日常の事が描かれてて，シンデレラストーリー，うん，北川ミユキでもシンデレラストー リーじゃない。

1：…何？
2：北川ミュキ，っていう人の話は全部シンデレラストーリーかもしれない。
1 ：ふうん。…じや，なんでこれがシンデレラストーリーじゃない？
2：うーん…，別に自分の何が変わったとか，シンデレラストーリーっていうのは最後に結ばれなければならな い，って感じがする。
1：で結ばれてないでしょ？（2：うん。）最後の方に。
2：これは元々付き合ってて，別れたりするから，うーん，それとは何かちょっと違うな，と思って。
1：じや，シンデレラストーリーの方が好き？
2：うーん，モノによる。（1 ：なるほど。）シンデレラストーリーでもすごいなんかアリキタリな感じでやった ら，全然面白くないねんけど，なんか，話を作る上で，なんか，何て言らの，ほんまにどこにでもよくある話で も，これはこうこうで，これはこうこうで，と功そいうような，ちつちゃい事ていうか，その主人公の性格と かそういら色んな事付け加えたりして，その人なりに描いてたら，それでもう，おもろいもんはおもろいし，（1： らーん…）らん。
1：じや，人物がちゃんと成長，っていらか，深くまで，説明，こう心理的があったら，シンデレラストーリー が面白い？
2：うん，面白いと思う。
1：人の考え方とか。
2：うん。シンデレラが実はすごい性格ひねくれてて，とか，それはそれで読みたいかも，と思うし。
1：なるほど。
2：うん。
（•••）
1：で，これが日常的だと思う？
2：うん，日常的かもしれん。
1：どこが？
2：なんかこら，キレイに描いてへん，（1：らん。）感じがこら，…うーん，なんかなあ…？必事好きとか， そんなん。ディズニーランドより好きとか［笑］。こんなこと考えてる奴もいんねんなあ，とか思う。…この，理由が皆燃えてしまえばとてもすっきりするのに，っていう所が，あー，なるほど，って思った。
1：ふらん。想像できる，っていうこと？ていうか，その人の，
2：うん，この人自体が，なんか，あー，そういう事考えるねんな，と思う。
＜本に出てくるワニの話で盛り上がる。略。＞

2 ：ワニ，ってほんもの？
1：うん。
（．．．）
2 ：めちゃ，ハナちゃん，つて感じ。
1：うん。
2：ワニちゃん…
（•••）
1：なんで，髪の毛切ってる？
2：あー，あたしもそれ思った。••・これ髮切ってから，別れたん？別れてから切ったんかな？
1 ：どう思う？
2：でもこれ，追記でその日の13日後，って書いてあるから，その後やねんなあ。
3：ふうん。
（•••）
2 ：これは何してはんねやろ？これは？この一こまがよくわかれへんねんけど。
1：彼じゃない？同じ団地に住んでるでしょ？
2：あ，そっか。何か言われたんかなあ？
1 ：髪の毛切っちゃったから，びっくりしてるんじゃないかなあ？
2：え？これ（1：これ前かな？）これ切る前やから後ろの髪の毛ついてんの，ちゃうの？くくってたんちゃら？
これは。あ！くくってんの見て，髪の毛短い方がいい，とかそういう事言わはったんかなあ？
1 ：ふうん。でも，別れてからもう 1 回会って，
2 ：これ別れはったん？まだ別れてはれへんの，ちゃうん？
1 ：ここまでやね。これが同じ日でしょ？でこれが多分違う日でしょ？同じ日かな？
2：次の日がなんか外明るい，とかそんな感じでしたね。
1 ：別れてるシーンじゃないかな？もう。＜speaker3に向かって＞どう思う？このシーン。これ何ページだっけ？ 237 。

3：え？これは別れたから髪切ったんじゃないですか？
1 ：これ，思い出してるのかな？だからもう，切ってるでしょ，ここ。まず，ここから読むでしょ？
3：あ，思い出してるのかもしれない。なんか，会った時とか，
1 ：うん。…とか，それを考えながら，切っちやってるかな？
2 ：うん。
3：•・だったら別れる前かもしれない。
1 ：うん。どっちかわかんないよね。…どういう意味だと思う？下の方。
3 ：なんか，（2：もつたいない。）••・え，これ？
（•••）
1：すっきりする，ってこれとどう関係ある？
3：うーん…。だから，うっとうしいものは全部なくなっちゃえばいい。
1：ふうん。（2：うーん。）
（•••）
1 ：何がうっとうしい？
3：ラーん…。
（•••）
1 ：じゃあ，例えばこれを別の友達に説明しようとしたら，どうやって，説明するの？
（3：ん？）この話。
2：うーん…。
1：読んでない人に。
3：どんな話？
1 ：とか，今日何やった，とか聞かれたら，これ読んだよ，とか。で，え？何？とかって聞かれたら，どういう風に説明するの？
$2:$ 火事が好きな女の子の話。
（•••）
3：んー・•・うん。かな？
1 ：それが一番メインポイントかな？
3：〔笑〕ちょっとずれてる。
（•••）
$2: ~ \grave{~-~} \cdot \cdots$ 。これ何ていう人の話？あの漫画家の人，岡崎京子の話。
3：ラーん…。ワニ。
1 ：〔笑〕ワニと火事。
＜中略＞
1 ：じや，この話，メッセージがあると思う？で，あるとしたら何なの？
3：あんまり無いと思う。
1：ふうん。
3：わかれへん。
1：ふうん。
（•••）
1 ：じゃ，メッセージとか無くても，読みたくなる？とか読んで面白かった，とか思う？
3：うん。
1 ：らん，じや，どこが面白かった？
（•••）
1 ：なんか読んでよかった，とか終わったら，ふん，とか思うでしょ？で，どこが？
3：ラーん…。うーん…。あんまりない。
1 ：うん。ごめん，難しい質問だけどね。抽象的なことだけど。うん。でもそれを知らなくても，なんか，どこ がいいとかわかんなくても，読んで，面白い，とか思えるでしょ？

3：うん。
（•••）

1：じや，ひっかかるとこ，ある？
3：ラーん…。うーん，別に。こんなとこかな？
1：ま，さっきみたいに，関係ないもの一杯入れてるでしょ？あの，絵に。
3：うん，これも，これいい感じや。
1：なんかオムレツの作り方とか［笑］。
3：でも，こういうので，日常とか感じがして，結構好き。
1：じゃ，なんで日常がいい？
3 ：いっつも読んでるマンガと違う。あたしはいっつもこういうマンガあんまり読まへんから。なんかこう，非日常で。〔笑〕
1：ラーん，なるほど，なるほど。
3：結構，新鮮かな？
1：あー，なるほど。
（•••）
1：じや，これどう思った？ヤチェミコの。
3：んと…。
1：これすごい面白かった。ワニの…
3：お母さん最高や。かばんにして。…うーん…。なんか，よくある少女マンガ。
1：どこが？
3：ストーリーの持っていき方がなんか。
1：うん。
3：うん…。
（．．．）
3：どうだろう？
1：じや，これが典型的少女マンガだったら，これとこれは少女マンガに入ると思う？
3：ま，一応。
1：なんで？
3 ：だって別に少女マンガ，っていっても全部が全部こういうのじゃないし。こんなんを分類するとしたら，ま，
これはそやけど少女マンガともいう。
1：これが？
3：うん，これ。
1：何が？
3：対象がそう。
1：うん，うん。
3：うーん，わかれへん。
1：ま，今日はこれくらいにしましょう。
＜002＞
3：関西人は標準語て言わず東京弁，っていうんやで。標準語，っていうのはNHK が使ってるやつ。

2：関西弁，でもおもろかったわ。
1 ：じゃ，これは？
3：んーと，これ，噂，つていう牛井の話。
1 ：で，これがKISSの中でしょ？
3 ：そう， 1 巻の中。
2 ：松本トモコ。
＜中略＞
3：噂なあ，最強や，これ。絶対強い。
2 ：なんでこんな黄ばんでんの？
3 ：へ？これ，日焼けしてるもん，だから。あとこれ古本だし，かなり。
2：ふーん。大阪ライフおもろかった。
1 ：なんで？
2：関西弁と標準語が… の違い。
1：が何？
2：え？これ大阪ライフやから，大阪，なんか，えーつと（3：えーと，なんかこの人が）東京から大阪に旅行 に来はって盲腸にかからはって，大阪で入院しはって，そこで同じ部屋の人が，
3：に大阪弁を教えてもらうんです。ん，なんか，どつかれながら教えてもらって，でまあ，最後にお友達にな
る，つて話。
1：はあん。
2 ：うん，ま，そんなん。
1 ：あたしも苦労してるわ。〔笑〕なーるほど。そんなに気になるの？あのう標準語とか東京弁とか？なんかテレ ビは殆どそうそでしょ？
2：うん。
3：なんか大阪弁ていうとな，テレビん中ではな，お笑いのイメージが強すぎてな，あかんねん。
1：うーん，なるほど。
2：なるほど。
1：で，やっぱり例えば，あたし外人だからどう見ても外から来てる，という感じがあるんだけど，例えば他の日本人だったら，関西弁じゃなかったら，やっぱりよその者とか，そういうの感じますか？

3：でも，結構ごたごた，って感じ。
2：なんか変な感じはする。
1：へん，てどういう風に変？
2：違和感。
1：あー。なるほど。同じなんかこう，マンガの中で哠っでってるのは，関西升じゃないでしょ？
2：うん。
1：それも違和感？
3 ：それは普通なんだけど，たまにこう，マンガの，その普通で喋ってる中に，関西弁の人が混じってくると， なんか面白くなってくるねん。なんかserious じゃなくなってくる。

1：間違ってるのはある？
3：らん，たまにある。（2：うん，ある。）え，こんな言い方せえへんで，とか思うやつ［笑］。
1：あたしもよく，読んでるとき，関西弁喍ってる人たちが出てくると，これあってるかどうか，って私はわか んないんだけど，いつも考えちゃら。だから，なんか外人が出るでしょ？で，その外人の䀳ってる日本語がなん かもら色々癖をつけようとしてるんだけど，全然違うの。だから，関西弁同じじゃないかな，って。うん。 3：はあ。…それはなんか，米軍基地の話。
（•••）
3：なんじゃこりや。これ，バレーのやつ。あ，川原いずみ。＜本を探してる？＞
そう，私，最近めっちゃ好きやねん。何やったっけ？あんな，川原イズミじゃなくて，大学教授の話，何や ったつけ？名前。
＜中略〉
3 ：天才イエハラ教授の優雅な生活，山下かずみ。あれ，結構めっちゃはまって。
2：めっちゃおもろかった。
1 ：あたし最初の 2 ， 3 巻しか読んでないんだけど。あの人のマンガ大好き，私。うん。
3：なんか，おかしいよ［笑］。
2：なんか，わが道を行く，って感じ。
3：らん，あれちょっとはまった。
1：でも，あれは少女マンガじゃないでしょ？
3：うん，少女マンガじゃない。
1：なんで？あたしよくわかんなかった。なんか描いてる人がいつも少女マンガ描いてる人でしょ？（2：うん。） 3：でも連載してたのは多分，あれどこだろ？モーニングか，それぐらいの成年誌でやってたやつ。（1：うん。） だから，対象がちゃらでしょ，って。
1：ふん。でもそんなに違わないと思ったのね，あたし。
3：うん，話の中ではあんまし変わんないような気がする。
1：うん。あんまり変わらない，とあたし思ってたの。（3：あとね，）多分，なんか花のバッグとかのもなかっ たんだけど，でもそれぐらいかな。話の内容とかも結構••
3：あ，でも動物のお医者さんもそうだよね。何だったっけ？
2：佐々木リン子。
3：そう，佐々木リン子。あの人はさ，結構いろんなとこで連載やってるけど，あんな，みんなな，おたんこな す，とかな，あれもなんかこら，あれは看護婦さんの話やんか，あれと動物のお医者さんてな大体似たような感 じやねん。だけど，一方成年誌でやってて，どこやったっけ？忘れたけど。一方は花ララかなんかのやっやろ？ （1\＆2：うん。）らん，そういうマンガもたまに。
1：男の人たちも何だっけ？動物のお医者さん，読んでた。
3：あれ読んだら面白い，っていう。（1\＆2：らん。）あれはなんかもう関係ない，って感じ。
2：らん。あれは誰でも，って感じ。あっしのおじさん持ってはる。
1：ふうん。
3：だからなんか，うん，少女マンガ，って感じしないんだけど。

1 ：どこが？
3：恋愛もの扱ってない。
2：あんまし女の子が出てこない。［笑］（3：［笑］）
1 ：はあん，動物だけ？〔笑〕
2 ：動物と，その，男の人ばっかりやん，周りが。
3：いや，女の人もいるけど，変な人しか出てこないの。〔笑〕（1：ふうん。）
2 ：あの何だっけ？何とかさん。
3 ：何だったつけ？岸沼さん〔笑〕？
2：うん，すっごい鈍感で変な人。あの人実は博士課程やってるから䝨いんやろ？
3：うん，賢い。
1：関係無い。〔笑〕あ，ごめん。
2 ：やってるから，というより，実は賢いねん。
3：え，だって趣味が血液検査じゃなかったの？
2：そうやっけ？
3：うん。
1 ：じゃ，たまに少女マンガの雑誌に，「動物の医者」みたいな，あんまり少女っぽくないやつもある？
3：ある。（2：うん。）…うん。どんなんなん，今やってるの，なんかあるかな？なんかある？
2：「おこじょさん」。
3：「おこじょさん」。「おこじょさん」はまあいいや。
2：ラーん…
3 ：でも，おこじょさん，つて別にあれどこでもいけるやんな。（2：うーん…）「おこじょさん」，つてあれ正式タイトルが「おこじょさん」やったっけ？．．．忘れた！

2：B．B．Joker？あれは違うよな。
3：B．B．Joker じゃない。タイトル忘れてんけど，オコジョが出てくるやつがある。
1 ：え？何？
3：オコジョ，つて何か変なイタチみたいな動物。（1：あー。）うん。それが主人公なの。
（1：はあ。）で，その人がなんか大学生かなんか男の人に飼われてるんだけど，うん。その，オコジョの視点か ら見たマンガなの。

1 ：で，少女っぽくない？
3：うん。
1 ：女の子じゃないから〔笑〕？
3 ：［笑］何だろう？なんか見りや憧れるんだよね，オコジョさんがなんかに。そう，あんな，すごいこう，髪の毛すっごくいじってて，ピアス一杯してる，こうつっぱりの人がいてて，こう，しやがんでてて，かっこいい， とオコジョさんが思いはって，んで，自分もしやがんでみよう，と思うんだけど，失敗しはんねん。変なマンガ。

1 ：じゃ，ギャグとか，何か変なものとか面白いものが出てくると，少女っぽくなくなる？
$3:$ うーん…どうだろう？
2 ：そんなことはない，と思うで。ま，そのノリが。

3：ノリが何か・•
1 ：うん。
2：うーん…
3：どうだろう？わかれへん。
1 ：じや，普通は恋愛の話でしょ？
3：うん，大抵は。
1 ：え，恋愛が無い話が好きなの？
3：うーん…
2：恋愛の話，つてなんか今まででも一杯あるから，結構形が決まってきてる，ところがあって，なんか読んで もあー，前にあったかな，とかそういうのやったら，あんまし面白くない。（3：あー，なんかと似てるなあ，と か思っちやったら，あんまり，（2 うん。）うん。（1 ：うん。）
1 ：じや，恋愛の話以外，どんな話が好き？なんか成年マンガとか少年マンガとかいうても，なんか，色々ある でしょ？

2：うーん…

3：あたしは割とた闘から話が好きやねんけど。〔笑〕（1：うーん。）こうなんか，まず最初に手じかな人と闘っ て，こうどんどん強い相手が出てきて，で，どんどん勝っていって，なんかこう，少年マンガの「オオゾウ（？）」 みたいなんが，あれ結構…
1 ：でもそのパターンは飽きない？
3：飽きる。…
1 ：飽きたらどうする？なんか，別なものをなんか，ちょっとの間別なものに移るとか，
3：うん，だから全部あっし，何でも読む。
1 ：飽きても読む？
3：飽きても読むよ。
1 ：あー，なるほど。
（•••）
＜中略＞
3：川原イズミ。
2：あの，結構こんな顔が一杯あんねん。
1 ：あー，なるほど。あーいうのが好き？
2：これ面白い。川原イズミはなんか，話の雰囲気としてはどれも同じ感じやねんか。
3：あ！あれを持ってくればよかったな。あの，フジマキ読んだことある？（2：何？）「僕が何々した訳」って いうマンガ。（2：わからん。）僕が泥棒になった訳，か，えつとな，田村ユミの短編集やねんけど…
2：ふらん。知らん。読んだことない。
3 ：あんな，うん，面白いねん。今，文庫版になって 2 冊出てた。
2：うん。
3：そう，田村ユミの短編集でな，なんかな，「タムタムの何でもカプセル」，っていうシリーズあんねやんか。

あれの，こう 2 巻とか 4 巻とか，こうバラバラに入ってんねんけど，（ $2:$ うん。）それがまとめて文庫化になっ てんやんか。それがな，変やねん。

2 ：川原イズミのこれはなんかな？見ればわかるねんけどな。あの，スケートの話やねんけど，フィギュアの話 でな，主人公の女の子は，お父さんがバレリーナで，バレーやってはんねんけど，なんつーか，お父さんは，そ のバレーやってて，雰囲気に浸りはって，私は何とかなのよ，てならはる人やねんけど，主人公の女の子は，そ んなん，やってられっかい！って感じで，〔笑〕いや，踊ってるやん，わしは，って思ってる。ちゃんと言うよう に踊ってるわ！，って思ってはるんやけど，お父さんは，そんなんバレーちゃうわ！って言わはって，で，近く の，なんか，スケート場に行ったら，変なお兄さんに会って，自分が走ってたら，後ろから追い抜いてきて，負 けず嫌いの人で，二人で何か喋ってたら，そこのスケート場の，専属のコーチの人が，あんたらペアですか，み たいなことを聞いてきはったら，俺ら関係ないわ，っていうんで（3：うん。）で，フィギュアやりませんか，つ て言われて始めはんねんけど，男の人は実は，スピードスケートやってはっで，どっか脚痛めはって，スピード スケートはもうできひんようにならはったから，最初はなんか，フィギュアなんてそんなチャラチャラしたもん， やってられへんわー，っていってたんやけど，女の人がそうかそうかできひんのんか，ふーん，みたいな感じで言ったら，負けず嫌いやから，ほんなやったるか，やったるわ，って始めはって，でなんかどんどん力つけてい きはる。でもなんか途中で男の人の方の脚がまた悪くなってきはって，しかも，もう出えへん，ゆうようなって，今年最後優勝しますい，みたいな。
3：なんか，あらすじだけ追ってくと，普通の話やな〔笑〕。ねえ。
$2:$ うーん…（•••）でも話ののりが川原イズミ面白い。
1 ：今，これの説明？
3：うん，これの。
1 ：お父さんがバレーをやってたの，面白いよね。
$2: ~ う ん, ~$ 後ろの方，後ろの方は短篇で，また別の話。
（•••）
1 ：これにも，結構こういう顔多いでしょ？
2：うん。
（•••）
2：最初の方，ってまともな顔多いな。
1 ：どういう意味なの？こういう顔？こう，顔が変わるということが，何表してる？
2：えっとな，この人は多分，まじめな時意外は結構丸い顔描いてる。普通の時は，普通のマンガやったら，結構普通の時は，真面目に描いてはんねんけど，こっちは普通の時でもギャグやから〔笑〕。うん…。
（•••）
3：顔が違う。（2：うん。）なんか…。な，今の顔の方が線が細くない？
2：うん。細い。
3：なんか，結構印象が違う。
2：うん。
1：同じ人？違う？
2：らん，これは違う。
（•••）
3 ：清水れいこ，これは serious やんな，あれ持って来たら良かったのに。
$2:$ どれ？
3 ：なんやったっけ？ライオン。ワイルドキヤットやったっけ？
（•••）
2 ：ウーん…
$<003\rangle$
1 ：で，さっき言ってたのね，どこが seriousな？とか言ってたでしょ？これ？これも短篇？
2 ：うん，短篇，つていうか，これだけ 1 冊で。
1 ：どこがなんか真面目？
3 ：この人，ってこういう話も書かはんねんけど，なんかすごい，ギャグのも描かはる，ギャグ，っていうか， うん。

1 ：描かない人？
3 ：描く。
1 ：普通は？
3 ：普通，あんまり描かないかな？
2 ：普通は，真面目な seriousなんよく描かはる。
1 ：で，これは？
3 ：これは serious。
1 ：どこが？
3：なんか笑ら場所があんまり無い。〔笑〕。
2：結構色々考える。うん。クミンはちょっと逆かもしれん。（3：ク，クミン。）クミンちゃん。
1：何考える？
2 ：これは，あの，アンドロイド，とかロボットと，人食い人種の話。人食い人種の女の子の話やねんけど，女 の子の方は，昼と夜で姿が違って，夜になったら，この人髪の毛が長くなって，昼間はなんか，こんな，（1：男？）女の子，やねんけど，こんな恰好になって，髪の毛短くなっちゃって，ほんで，なんか夜はその，人間の男の人 を，おびき出すために，おびき出して，食べちゃうために，そんなこう，キレイな恰好なったりしはんねんけど，
（1：うん。）うーん…この男の人の名前，ジャック，つていうねんけど，ジャックは，このここの島，国やっ けな，ここの国に，王女様を捕らえられちゃって，その王女様を助けて，賞金稼ぐためにここに来たら，この人 となんか，会っちゃって，ほんで，なんか，何て言うかな？この女の人の人種の方は，モノを食べる時に，お祈 りしはって，とてもモノ食べるのは神聖な儀式，みたいな感じねんて。ほんで，人を食べるためにそんなこと， やってはんねんけど，何ていうかな？

1 ：で，この男の人を食べようとする？とか惚れちゃうでしょ？
$2: ~ う ー ん \cdots$ 何て言うのかな？その生きてるモノを食べるのは，その人の命の分まで，自分が生きる，みたいな， そんなところがあって，この人のお母さんは，お父さんを食べはって，（1：「笑〕）食べてはんねんて。（1：ご めん。）で，この人はお母さんも食べてはって，だから，お父さんとお母さんの分まで自分は生きなあかん，みた いなところが，あんねん。らん。で，…これ最後どら説明したらええ？

3：何やっけ？あんまりよく覚えてへんねんけど。
$2: そ れ て ゙ な ん か, ~$ 結局，（3：どこまで話た？）ん？話の筋はま，この女の人の人種の話とか，（3：ここ話し た？）話してへん。
3 ：えと，このアンドロイドの人は，なんか，昔自分がアンドロイドや，って知らんかった時に，なんか何やっ たつけ？（2：捕らえられちやった。）そう。この人と二人捕らえられて，二人とむ，こう二人で少ない食物を分 け合って，生きてたんやけど，こう，相手の人はどんどん衰えていくのに，自分は全然変わらないんですよ。全然食べてなくても。それでも二人で同じ量分け合って食べてて，この人はもう餓死しちゃらんやけど，この人は それでもずっと生きてて，自分は食べんでも，生きてけるのに，なんか，アンドロイドやから，なんかエネルギ ー？どうやって作ってるんやっけ？
2 ：この人はエネルギーやない。食べたものをなんか．．．
3 ：でも，食べなくても生きてるけど，そのなんか，なぜかその，食欲を持ってるんですよ。（1：あー。）
2：そういう，なんか，自分は人間やと思うようにプログラムみたいなんを，そういう風に組まれてんねん。（1： らん。）
$3:$ だから，食べなかったら，食べてもエネルギーにも何にもなんないのに，こう，食欲があるから，それで苦 しみはんねん。

1 ：ふうん。で，こういう男の人がアンドロイド，だっけ？
2：うん。この人だけやねん。で，この人の，この人に弟がいてんけど，その弟の人が，この人がロボットや，
って，ロボットで何も食べんくってもすむことを後から知らはって，で，その弟の人が，お前のせいで，兄ちや んが死んだんや，みたいな感じで，食べへんくっても，苦しむことは苦しむから，捕らえて，檻ん中で，
1 ：で，その男の人と，アンドロイドの人，その，男を食べる女？どう関係ある？
2：男を食べる，男の人，っていうか，男じゃなくても女の人は，んーっと，女の人，とこっちの男の人は，全然関係ないねんやんか。（1：はあ。）で，最初会ったのは，その，ヘビを䊉い酔銃かなんかやる時に，たまたま当 たっちゃって，で，ケガしはって，それを介抱したげはって，で会わはる。
1 ：じゃ，その主人公は，女の子？
2：主人公は，こっちのロボットの方。（1：アンドロイドの方。うん。）
1 ：ふん。••・じや，題名はどういう意味？
2：わからへん。…ま，2千2百エックスエックスなんか，2，2エックスエックスって読んだらええんか，わ からんけど…。2200年のいつか，っていう，そんな感じなんかな，って思った。

3：年号じゃないの？
2：ん？…これはどう読んだら，えーんか，わからへん。2千2百エックス，エックス？
3：かな？わかんない。
1 ：後ろに書いてある？たまに書いて…
3：書いてない。
2：作品解説が一応ある。「より人間に近いことを重視して作られた，ロボットのジャック。食事をしても血にも肉にもならず，捨てられてしまうのに，人間同様，食欲を感じることに辛さを覚えていた。そんな折，食欲を神聖な儀式とし，人肉を食べる，というホートュリス（？）人の少女ルビンに出会う。」

1 ：じゃ，色々考えるために，この話作ってると思う？

2 ：えとな，この話作ったん，どっか書いてあってんけど，なんかく解説を読み始める＞人は，いろんな人の， いろんな人，つていうか，いろんな物の，命をもらって，一杯食べてたりするのに，その，手間暇かけて，焼か れて，焼かれるだけ，つていうのは，どうも納得がいかん，つていうて，その，日本は火葬が主ですが，清水は できれば火葬，土葬か，できれば鳥葬。えつと，埋めるのか，鳥葬，つて鳥に食べられるの？

3：そう，崖の上かなんかに，下に放っておいてな，鳥に食ってもらうねん。（2：ふうん。）水葬は，（2：水に流す。）船でなちょっと沖の方まで行ってな，死体をな，こうポチャン，と重石をつけてやんねん。
$2:<$ 解説を読み始める。＞さんざん他の生物を食べ尺くした人間が，死んでなお，手間暇かけて焼かれるだけ なんて，まあ身勝手な。せめて肉体位は，士の栄養食，虫のえさになっても罰あたらないののでは，と思うので すが…。という訳でこういうマンガを描いてしまいました。っって書いてある。

1 ：ふうん。で，それがテーマだと思う？
3：いや，あたしは結構，食欲の方，と思う。
1：食欲，つて何なの，っていうのがテーマだった？
3：うーん…。
2 ：うーん，となんか，結構食べることを大事にしてはるのかなあ。あとその，途中にこの女の人の仲間の，男 の人が死んでしまいはんねんけど，それが，この人種は，死んだら，食べてもらう，のが普通やねん。（1：ふん。） で，この仲間の人とかに，でも食べられんと，捨てられるのは，なんか人間じゃない扱いをされてるみたいな， そんな感じ。うん。

1 ：じゃ，その考えちゃうポイントは？
2：うーん… $\cdots$ え？
1 ：その，なんでそれが考えなきやならない，というか．．．
 するのが，当たり前，みたいなところがあるけど，その，この人らの考えたら，火葬されるのは変，と思うと思 う。

1 ：じゃ，当たり前として，自分として当たり前，として考えてたものが，そうじゃないかな，うて，そうじゃ ないかもしれない，ということは面白い？（2：うん。）というかこう，あ，考えなきやなんないな，とか思っち ゃう？（2：うん。）なるほど。
（•••）
1：つていうか，見てる立場が変える，とか。
2：読んで見て下さい。
1：うん，らん。これすごい面白そう。
（•••）
$2: \cdots$ 夢の続き以外の短篇は全部持ってることになる。
3：かぐや姫を買え。
2 ：え？
3：かぐや姫。
2 ：かぐや姫，もう…
3：あんな，月の子はなんかこう，キレイやけど，気色悪いで，ほんま。（2：そうなん？）かぐや姫も気色悪い

けどな。あんな，月の子はな，鱗が気持ち悪いねん。
2：何それ？（3：［笑〕）わからんわ。
（•••）
1 ：じや，真面目な話と，真面目，ていらか，考えさせる，とかと，ギャグとか笑っちゃら話で，いつ読むの？別になんか，自分の気分に合わせて選ぶんじゃなくて，ただあるもの読むか，本当にあ，笑いたい，とか，真面目な話読みたいか，とかそういうのある？

3 ：笑いたい時は，選ぶ時がある。けど，あんまし，うん，全部ごちゃ混ぜで読むけど，笑いたい時は，選ぶ。
1 ：でも笑いたい時，ってどんな時？
3 ：うん，とりあえず，笑ったら，こうスカッとするじゃないですか。
1 ：うん。じゃ，ストレスたまってる時とか？
$3:$ うん。（2：うーん…）で，例えば，なんかテスト前とか？
2 ：え，テスト前は，読んだら離さんようなるから，取りあえず封印しとかなあかん。
1 ：うん，なるほど。
3：あたしテスト前，結構読むけどね［笑］。
2 ：読むの？
3：読むよ。
2：必死で封印してんのに。あー，読みたい，って思うのに。
1 ：じや，真面目な話読みたい時もある？
3：それは，あたしは，別に恋愛ものでも，真面目な話でも，ま，取りあえず手当たり次第読んでるので。
1 ：ただ読みたい時はなんか読む？
3：うん。
2：なんか，真面目な話を読みたいな，つて時はあんましないかも。
1：ふうん。で真面目だと知らなくて読んじゃった，つていうの？
 もいいねんけど，なんかあんまし真面目な話が読みたい，っていうのはあんましない。

1 ：絶対，真面目な話読みたくない，つていう時もある？なんか，あー，笑いものだけが欲しい，とか，軽いの も欲しいとか。

2：絶対，あーなんか，お笑い系が読みたいな，つていう時はあるけど，絶対それがいい，とかそういうのは， あんましない。

3 ：でも小説だと，こう，そのあんまりこう，グチャグチャしてると，もらイイヤ，って感じなんだけど，マン ガやと，結構真面目なもんでも，最後まで読んじゃう。
1 ：なんで違う？なんで小説とマンガ違う？
3 ：小説だと，疲れてる時はもう，目で追ってても理解できなくなっちゃうですよ，わかんなくても，もう。で もマンガだと一応こう，見てたらなんとなくわかるから，別にいいや，って感じで読んでる。

1 ：そんなに疲れない？
2\＆3：うん。
1 ：，といらか，疲れても，もつと疲れない。

3：らん。
2 ：あ，でも川原イズミのは，なんかギャグな分，結構単調，コマ割とか結構単調なとこあるから，読んでて疲 れる時もある。

2：うん。なんか結構詰まってたりする。
1 ：セリフ多いかな？
2：セリフ多いかもしれん。これは結構多いねん。フィギュア，の名前とかそういう，こういう事をしなあかん， とか，そういら事を書いてあったら，ちょっとセリフが多くなっちゃらから，疲れる。

1 ：で，セリフ多いのは，疲れる？
2：うん。…「かぼちゃ計画」面白かった。なんか，「かぼちや計画」つて小学校の時に，皆でへちま植えたら， かぼちゃの苗が混じってて，かぼちゃ出来ちゃって，で，自分だけ違う，みたいなのがあってんけど，この人は，近所の囲碁クラブに入ってはんねん。囲碁，ってわかる？
1：らん。やったことないんだけど。
2 ：で，その，うーん…囲碁クラブでやってて，そこに自分の好きなおじいさん，がいはんねやんか。で，将来 は結婚したいな，って思ってはってんけど，それが，同じ会場に来てはった，おばあさんと一緒になっちゃいは んねん。で，（1：面白そう。）ウーん…。で，クラスの高村君，つていう人に，一緒にこうへん？って言ったら， なんか，来はって，で一緒に囲碁とか打ったりして，遊んでてんけど，実は昔この，高村君ていう人とこの主人公の女の子は，会ってて，高村君の家の近い方の，碁を打つ所で，その，昔めっちゃ強かって，すっごい連勝あ げてはって，で千勝を目指してはってんけど，999勝目で，この人負けはって，で，クソッとか思ってて，高校の入学式で，この間はどうも，つて挨拶してたら，あんた誰？って感じで忘れてはうて，（1：はあ。）で，囲碁から，（1：じや，負けたのは彼女に？）彼女に負けはってん。この人が負けはってん。彼女が勝てはってん。 （1：で，彼がそれを忘れてて）ちゃら。えっと，その女の子の方が忘れてはってん。（1：あー。）で，負けた から，クソーッて思いはってん，けど，こっちの方はあんた誰や？って感じで。で，悔しくなって，なんか，高校入ってからサッカーとか，全然違うことやってはってんけど，それでもこの人が楽しく囲碁やってはったりする から，悔しくなって，同じとこに行かはってん。うん。

1 ：じゃ，そのかぼちゃの事はどう関係ある？彼女が，なんか普通じゃない，というか，皆と違う？
2：自分が，昔かぼちやは，自分は大きいへちま育てるんだ，ってなんか思いっきし頑張ってはったのに，かぼ ちゃ出来ちゃって，で，こっちのおじいさんの話の方あるじゃないですか，おじいさんが好きで，将来は結婚す るんだ，って思ってはったんだけど，（1：女の子が？）女の子が，おじいちゃんのこと好きやって，思ってはっ てんけど，同じ碁会来てはるおばあさんと一緒にならはって，女の子が自分はいっつもこうなりたいな，って思 ってたのに，ならへんくつて，ていうような，それで人生はいつだってかぼちゃと結局一緒なんだって…ならは って，それを男の子が励ましはって，ような感じ。

1 ：この話，どこがいいの？なんか，ひっかかった所とか…
 って思えへんかったりとか，うーん，なんか女の子が一人，ご老人の集まるような所，これ老人会の囲碁クラブ なんかな，それで老人会とか行ったりとか普通はせえへんのに，そんな事してはったりするから。
1：かっこいいね。

2：うん。
1 ：周りが気にしなくて。（2：うん。）好きな事ができる，つていうのが。ねえ。そういう人になりたい，と思 う？
$2:[$ 笑］。うーん…，こういう人，つていうわけじゃないけど，なんか，こういう好きな事できるのがいいな， って思う。

1 ：じや，今自分，できないの？
2 ：結構してる。〔笑〕好き勝手やってる。
1 ：あー。あたしもよく思うんだけど，するんだけど，なんか新しいこととかなんか，やってみたいな，って，
で，全然誰も知らないとか，皆が私と違う，例えば年上の人と付き合ったりとか，入ってみるんだけど，やっ ぱり恐いの。で，その最初から恐いの，なくて欲しい。何て言う，こう，なくしたい，とかそういうこう，本当 に何も考えなくて，やりたい事できるようになりたいな，って。結構好き勝手にやってるんだけど，恐くてやっ てる．［笑］。…らん。
（•••）
$2:$ この人の「笑う？？？」が多分読んだ中で一番面白かった。
3：え，あたし，「中国の冝」読んだよ。
2：「中国の㿼」も持ってるよ。お家に置き去りやけど。
3 ：後ね，何だろ？「マダムとミスター」〔笑〕
2：知らん。
3：あんな，なんかな，奥様と，なんか未亡人かなんかの奥様と執事さんの話やってんやんか。奥様がこの人す ごい人ねんけど，なんかな，あっちこっちフラフラ出掛けてって，おかしい行動をしはんねんけど，なんか，こ ら誘拐されちゃったりして，執事さんが助けに来んの。
2：ふふ。（•••）文庫本の方の「ワルツは白い？？？」，これ入ってました？
1：最後まで読んでないからわかんない。入ってるんじゃない。結構一杯入ってたの，短篇。
$2:$ 一杯？
1：あの，なんか，集まってたでしょ？結構シリーズがいくつかあったでしょ？入ってた気がする。これ同じ主人公達？

2：うん。

## Session Six

1 ：じゃ，さっきのかぼちゃの話はどこ？
＜探している。中略。＞
（．．．）＜沈黙が 7 分間続く。＞
1 ：じやこれ小説か，ただこの人が話しを作って，この人がマンガ描いた？
単な，こら人の形に見えるような，こら適当に描いていって，セリフも作っていって，それをこの斎藤チホ（？） に渡して，マンガにする。

1：ふうん。じゃ，この人が殆ど描いた，っていう，この人が絵だけ。
3：うん。
1：ふらん。
2：え，でもそこまで，やってはんのかな？
3：やってはらへんの？原案だけ？
2：「光の？？？」も終わりまでやってはんねんやろ？
3：うん，そう。
2：普通やってへんの，じゃあ。
3：やってへんの，へえ。じや，プロットだけ？
2：うん。
3：はあん。
2：なんか話のノリが斎藤チホやねん。
3：そうなん？なるほど。
1：何が？
3：え，なんか，
2：これの…，うーん，なんか原作しはんのは，なんか，コマ割とか，までしてはるのとか，この話だけ言って はんのんとか，色々やねんけど，多分これは話だけ言って，斎藤于ホがこの終わりとか全部やってはんねんや， と思う。
（•••）
1：で，こらいうの短篇一杯持ってきて，短篇好きなの？
3：長いのは，買うのが大変。
1：うーん…，でも，お金が問題なかったら，長いのがいい？
2：長いの買うと思う。
3：でもま，短篇は短篇で。うん。
1：どう違う？
2：どう違う…，
3：長いのだと，うーん，どうだろう？
2：長いのの方が結構読み応えはあるかもしれへん。
1：読み応え，つてどう…？
3：なんか，ストーリーとか世界が大きいやつが。
2：読んだ後に，あー，読んだな，って感じがする。
1：で，さっき何言ってた？ストーリーが何？
3：なんか，世界が大きい。
1：で，大きい方がいい？
3：ラーん，大きいと疲れるの［笑］。
1：あー。
2：なんか結構長いのだと，深い所まで描けるから，あ，そういうのはいいかな，と思う。その作品が好きやっ

たら。
3：「天子禁猟区（？）」ってマンガがあるんですけど，これが世界がやったらと分かりにくくて，登場人物が一杯いて，で，もう 18 巻まで出てるんだけど，それでもまだ後なんか $3, ~ 44$ 巻で終わりそうやけど，だけど，も う世界が分かんなくなってきちやって，読んでて，頭痛くなってきちゃうんです。〔笑〕その人の，ユキカオリ， っていう人やけど，その人はなんか短篇の方が私は好きなんですよ。

2：結構，イギリスもんとか一杯…
1 ：そういうセッティングが，外国のやつはどう思う？
2 ：面白い。
3：うん，いいんじゃない？
1：ふうん。
2：そういう話はマンガも大変そうやな，とか。なんでそんな所の考えられんねやろ，とか。
3 ：でも絶対こんなん違うやろな，とか思いつつ，でもま，いいや〔笑〕。でも設定が外国でもあんまりそんなん，気にせんと，もう，ファンタジー，て感じで，あんまり気にせえへん。

2 ：清水レイコは結構 SF もん多く描いてる。未来のもんとか，宇宙がなんとかとか，どっかの星へ行って，
「magic」が面白かった。
1：何て言う？
$2: 「 m a g i c 」$ ，なんか英文字で書いてあった。
1 ：で，これは何だっけ？
2 ：清水レイコ。
1 ：で，これどこが良かった？
2：うーんと，なんか，話がなんか，なんとか，っていう星が，結構磁場が悪くって，人が行ったら，若返る， か磁場の関係で，なんか，体に影響がきて，若返るか，あと，毛が伸びて，チンパンジーかなんかなっちゃうね んやんか［笑］。知らん？「magic」。

3：あー，あれ，なんか退化しちゃうんじゃないの？
2 ：うん，そう，そう，そう。退化して，だから，プランターに草植えて持ってったら，なんか結構大きくなっ てたのにどんどん小さく（3：どんどん小さくなっちゃって，種になっちゃう。）とかして，それでその，若返る
のは結構些細なことらしいねんけど，その若返る人と色々いて，で，昔，カナつていう名前の女優さんかな，モ デルさんがいて，その人の恋人と，その人には恋人がいはってんけど，そのお母さんが厳しくって，その恋人と， あ！カナは旦那さんがいてんけど，その仕事の関係で一緒にいた，トオルっていう人と，なんか愛し合っちゃい はんねやんか。せやけど，それはお母さんがそんなん許しません，みたいなこと言って，そのカナとそのカナの子供と，お母さんがその星へ，よその星へ行っちゃて，遭難しちやいはんねやんか。で，救助隊が行ったら，そ の， 3 歳くらいの子供しか見つからんかって，

3 ：それが，そのカナの娘だ，とこの救助隊の人は思って，連れて帰らはって，で，その娘はトオルが育てるん ですよ。で，また 16 歳くらいになって，で，なんかその女の子はモデルかするかなんかで，で，またその星に近づかはるんですよ。（2：行かはんねん。）そう，行かはんねんな。で，そこでまたなんか，変な生物がいて， でなんか，前遭難して，いいひんかった人間の子が退化して，なんかこう，何なん？こうオランウータンみたいに なっちゃったやつで，（2：チンパンジー，オランウータンかなんか。）なんか，あーいらのでなっちゃったやっ

で，（2：猿になんかなっちゃうねん。）そう，カナの娘がまた Kana って呼ばれてで，それがなんか，カタカナ とアルファベットの違いかなんからしいねんけど，それでなんか，そう，その，娘の方のKana が，そのなんか動物に連れられちゃって，どっかその島になんか取り残されて，もう何だろ？宇宙船？
2：宇宙船がなんかもう，磁場の嵐が，なくなって，今飛び立たんと，あといつ飛び立てるか，わかれへん，み たいになっちゃって。
3 ：で，カナの娘を置いて，またトオルは帰っちゃらんですよ。で，また救助隊が出て，その何年後かに，そし たらまた小さい女の子がいて，これは誰なんや，っていう話になって，でトオルが気づくんやっけ？
2：ちゃう。
$3: ち ゃ う の ? そ の$ 前に気づいてたんかな？
2：向らに行った時点で，これは若返る星なんや，ってことは分かってんけど，その，助けられへんくって，救助隊で出てきた女の子をトオルがそのまま引き取らはんねん。
$3:$ で，実は，その女の子は，全部同一人物で，そう，最初のカナが若返ったのが，カナの子供と，同じくらい の年に偶然なってたから，
2 ：成長した年と，その若返った年が，
3 ：カナの娘やと思われてたけど，実はそれは全部カナやって，で，何で，2回目の時にその島に取り残された か，っていったら，そのカナのお母さんやった人が，その変な動物みたいになって，カナのことを離さなかった んですよ。
2 ：すごいなんか，過保護なお母さんやって，この子は私の子やから，みたいな感じで，私の元へ戻っておいで， みたいなんでガーッと腕引っ張らはって，
3：でも最後はどっかで二人で幸せに暮らしはんねん。
2 ：暮らしはんのかなあ？
3：え？最後な，トオルがな，もうおじいさんになっちゃってな，おじいさん，ていうか，50過ぎて，でカナ はまたな，10歳くらいの女の子になってんねん。
2：近所の何とか君，そこら辺はあんまし関係ないねや，と思うけど，近所の何とか君が，好きで，みたいな， 3：で，トオルはなんか，そのカナが，好きな人と結婚して，花嫁姿とか見られたらいいな，って感じで，思っ てはんの。わかりにくうー，あたし自分で言ってて訳わからんくなってきたわ。
$2:$ この主人公の人の話は，結構ロボットやから，何年も生きる，とかそういう感じで，シリーズみたいになっ てて，いくつか，この人の話とか。

1：はあ。
3：そう，年取らへんからな。
2 ：最初な，全然顔違うで。（3：あー。）知ってる？
$3: ~ う ん, ~$ 知ってる，知ってる。でもサングラスは一緒やで。 $^{\text {² }}$
2：違ら，サングラスも違うねんて。（3：あれ？サングラス違らかった？）サングラスもこんななってんねんて，
最初は。（3：マトリックスみたいなやつ。）これ結構四角やんか。
3 ：マトリックスみたいなやつ，こう，ピッ。
$2:$ こんなんじゃなくって，（3：うん。）こういう，昔のヤーさんが付けてた，っぽい，ほら。
（•••）＜2 分位沈黙＞
＜002＞
1：じゃ，これどう思ってたの？これ読んでたでしょ？
2：ラーん…，お母さんひどい。
3：なんか最後あっけなかった。
2：え！？うそ！って思った。これで終わんの，って思った。これ以上続けてもなんか，あれかもしれんけど。
え，皮なっちゃらの，って思った。
1：イヤだった？
2：うーん…，なんか，うん，イヤやった。
3：ちょっと驚いたね。
1：聞いたんだけど，雑誌の方だった時ハッピーエンドだった。けど本になった時変えたんだって。
3：ヘぇー。ほう。え，ハッピーエンド，つてことはちゃんと飛行機に乗ったんや，多分。
1：そこまでは聞いてないんだけど，一緒になる，っていう…
3：へえー。
1：じや，エンドまでがイヤだったら，話全体がどう思っちゃう？変わる，印象が。
2：らん，変わると思う。
3：うん。うん。ちょっとイヤかな，って。
2：なんかな，ワニがあんまりリアルに書かれてないねんけど，なんかな，って感じや。
1 ：ワニの方？
2：らん，ワニが。
（•••）
1：その，何て言う，継先？ていう てい人物はどう思った？
2 ：嫌い。
3：すごい人。
1：なんで嫌い？
2：ワニ，かばんにしちゃったから。〔全：笑〕ひどー，と思った。
3：いや，あたし面白い人やと思うで。だってワ二嫌いやったら殺しただけで放っておけばいいやん。
1：でも，なんか近所のおばさんの，小犬？なんだっけプードルみたいなやつ，ワ二の餌にしてたでしょ？（3：
［笑］）その人の大事なペットだったかもしれないんだよ。
3：そう，そう。
2：え，そんなとこ，あったっけ？
3：うん，なんかあった。ワニの餌になんか，肉買うの高いな，って。
2：それをこの主人公が？
1：らん，っていうか，妹さん。
2：あー。
1：妹さんが連れて来たでしょ？プードル。で。
2 ：妹面白いと思った。

1 ：どこが？
2 ：なんか，ん一…，変に大人びてる気がする。
$1:$ ふーん…。じや，最後の方に男に捨てられるでしょ？でも，なぜかと思う？（2：うん？）男がなんか，乗 らないでしょ，（3：うん。）飛行機に。（2：うん。）

3：へ？もう一回。
（•••）
2：最後，つてなんかひかれちやったん？
3：あ，最後か。
1 ：ふん？
2 ：これ，つて事故。
1 ：ふーん，事故かなあ。
（•••）
3：うん。
1：うん。
（．• •）
1 ：なんか，その，なんでその，何だっけ？継母と仲悪い，と思う？
2：嫌いなんやろ。
3 ：この人のお母さんの話全然出てけえへんやんな。
2：死なはったん？
3 ：多分。
$2:$ この人養女やろ？（3：ヘ？）あれ，違ったっけ？
1 ：お父さんが再婚してて，
3：お父さんが再婚して，この女の子が出来たんじゃないの。
2：あれ，せやっけ？
1：妹がハーフ。
3：妹が。
2 ：あ，そつか。
1 ：腹違い。（3：うん，そう。）の妹でしょ？
（•••）
1 ：自分のお母さんとケンカするの？
2：ケンカはする。
3：うん，する。
1 ：どんな？
3 ：え一，なんか，しょうもないことで。何なと，学校の成績のこととか。
1 ：成績のケンカもする？
2：うえ。
1：もつと勉強しなさい，とか言われる？

2：言われる。
3：あんた，こんなんやったら，大学行かえへんん，とか言われて。もっと勉強しなさい，って。で，あたしが， お母さんの昔の成績表をおばあちゃん家で見たことがあるんだよね［笑］。数学とか物理とか，もうボロボロで， だから，あんたの成績もそんなんやん，とか言ったら，それとこれと関係ないでしょ，とか言われて。（全：爆笑〕）らちのお母さんな，あたしの兄貴はな，あんな，あたしの高校の時の成績はそえなに良くはなかったけど， そんなに悪くはなかった，とか言ってるんやんか。見ちゃったよ。
（2：悪い。）おばあちゃんがな，大事に取ってはんねえ え
1：ケンカしても仲いいと思う？
3：お母さんとは，まあそれなりに。お父さんとは，もらやばいけど。ケンカレたらもら殴るから。
1：段られる？
3：没られるから，もらさすがにやり返しはしないけど，もらとっとと，言いたい事言って，あたし逃げるから， もら修復不可能ですね，ってやつ。
2：うーん…
1：お母さんと仲いい？
2：お母さんと，まあまあかな。あたしお父さんとケンカしたら，どつかれんで。でもな，昔は出て行け，やっ たんがな，最近は，もら出て行く，つてお父さんが出て行かはんねん。（3：［笑］）
3：でもな，あたしはな，もう出て行く，つて言ったら，結構人ん家とか泊まりに行ったりしててんけど，最近 な，らちのおやじはな，逃げる場所がないらしくな，車ん中で寝てるから，（2：［笑］）取りあえず出て行くのは やめたらしい。
1：お父さんが？
3：お父さんが。
（•••）
3：あ，やっと終わった。
2：うちのお父さん，まだ自分が法律，みたいなとこあるからな。
1：これどう思った？このフィギュアの。
3：はあ，なんか，うん。フィギュアのこういうマンガは初めて読んだ。なんかな，こうな，フィギュアとかバレ エのマンガってな，大抵この人な，主人公って美しいねやんか。こっちみたいなやつやねんか，大抵な。こうい らのもいいな，って思った。
1：で，こっちが違う？（3：へ？）ていうか，これがかっこいいらやつじゃない？キレイな人じゃない？これ。普通？これ。
3：うん，この人こんなマンガ描かはるな。…らん。
2：これめつちゃ？？？［笑〕
1：らん？
2：これな，普通は，男の人が女の人を持ち上げるやんか，それで，なんか
3：男の人が女の人に，あんたもらちょっと優しくやんなさいよ，って言われて，で，ちょっと見本見せてあげ るわ，って言って，
2：男の人が，そんならお前がやってみろ，って言わはんねん。

1：で，やってみる。
2：やったるわ！，つて言わはんねん。
3 ：やってみたら，出来ちやった。（全：［笑］）
2：めつちゃおもろい。〔爆笑〕
3：恐ろしい，なんとな，強いな。
2：最後まで読んだ？
3：え，一番最後の話，読んでへん。
2：じゃな，途中でやらはったの見た？試合で。
3：らん，見た。…これ着メロ入れへんのん？
2：着メロ？新しく入れるのはできるかもしれへん。
3：やり方知らんねんな。

で，女の子が男の人，持ち上げたり投げたりとか，しはんねん。（1：はあ。）めっちゃおもろかった。〔笑〕 （•••）
＜携帯電話をいじっている。中略〉
$1:$ このピンクにちょっと戻るんだけど，（3：はい）この売春やってるでしょ？（3：うん。）どう思ってた？
3：そういう職業の人もいはんねんな，つて。（1：ふん。）別に。
1：イヤな話だった？
3：らうん，別に，普通のなに。
1 ：でなんかよく聞くんだけど，援助交際とかなんか多いとか，で，実際に，多いと思う？
3：あたしらの周りにやってはる人はいいひん，つて感じ。＜携帯が鳴り出す〉

3：うん，多分。＜携帯音が鳴りつづけている＞
1 ：で，この主人公が，他のマンガの主人公と違うの？
2：違う，つていらのがどう？
1：なんか違いがある，とか違和感がなかった？とか。
3：なんか，…大人（笑〕。
2：らえ。
1：で，こういう主人公達が大人じゃない？
3：んー…
2：まだ，ここらへん，って学生？そんなんやけど。ちょっと違う。
1：うえ…。じゃもら，今日これで終わりましょう。お疲れ。

APPENDIX B

## (Consent)

I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time.

I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

I consent to participate in this study.
（許可）

- 私はこのプロジェクトに参加することを同意します。
- この承諾書のコピーを受け取りました。
- このインタビユーへの参加は自分の意志によるものであり，もし不都合が生じた場合， いつでも参加をやめる権利を有します。
（許可）
- 私は自分の子供がこのプロジェクトに参加することを 同意します 同意しません
- この承諾書のコピーを受け取りました。
- このプロジェクトへの参加は自分の子供の意志によるものであり，もし不都合が生じた場合， いつでも参加をやめさせる権利を有します。
－もし，参加を同意しない場合，または途中で止める場合でしたら，学校への成績にはまった く関係がありません


## この承諾書について

私はブリティシュ・コロンビア州立大学の博士課程のものです。少女漫画について研究する ために京都に来ています。少女漫画を読んでいる人達と話したいので，立命館高校にボラン チアをさがしています。この承諾書はカナダの大学の規則に従って書いたもので，かたく見 えますが，ご心配することは全然ありません。少女漫画について皆さんの感想を聞くためだ けのインタビユーです。北米の大学のシステムでは一般的に博士論文にインタビユーでとっ たデータを使うためには，承諾書にサインが必要となっています。ただし，子どもの場合， ご両親のサインになります。形式上のことですので，宜しくお願いいたします。

## Alwyn Spies

オールイン・スピーズ
立命館大学大学院文学部客員研究員


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Most of this is not in documented formats.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ This applies to all foreign languages and not just English.
    ${ }^{3}$ While also beyond the scope of my research, I think that it is important to note, however, that the same kind of "language instructor" system exists in North American universities. There also, "language instructors" have different job specifications from non-language instructors and are very rarely

[^2]:    tenure-track. Even so, there are important differences - such as the fact that the positions are not "ethnic" or specified for "native-speakers" and instructors are eligible to join the union and qualify for unemployment benefits).

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ It costs US $\$ 1100$ per month to subscribe to this newsletter.

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ More cynically, it also might be creating the situations that it warns about and thus strengthening an American financial hegemony via media manipulation. According to Canadian journalist, Sandra Cordon (2002), on April Fool's Day, 2002, a Canadian political web site posted a gag article that said that the Canadian Minister of Finance was resigning in order to spend more time with his wife, and to breed cows and ducks. Gartman believed this, wrote about it, and was in turn believed by hundreds of financial traders all over the world. The Canadian dollar dropped in value from 62.73 cents US to 62.52 cents in one morning (normally a change like this would happen gradually over a period of several weeks or even several months). A stock broker I know says that she has no time to read newspapers so she reads Gartman's summaries of the news instead, and it seems that she is not the only one who does this. Cordon's article can be found at http://www.canoe.ca/CNEWSWeirdNews0204/01 loonie-cp.html For contrast, another article from a different perspective:
    http://www.siliconinvestor.com/stocktalk/msg.gsp?msgid=17276771.
    ${ }^{6}$ There is a Japanese translation available at http://www.madinjapan.freeserve.co.ukjapanese.htm)

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ Complete PDF files are available at: http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/. Not all of the 191 member states are included in these numbers. According to the FAQ page for the 2002 statistics, "Coverage of the GDI is limited to 148 countries, GEM to 66 countries, and the HPI-1 and HPI-2 to 105 countries" (http://hdr.undp.org/statistics/faq.cfm\#7 accessed on May 2, 2003).
    ${ }^{8}$ The GEM basically measures how many women are in political or government positions - assuming that women taking "male" jobs is the definition of female "empowerment" (power = politics and the norm = male). While; of course, there is a connection between politics and power, the statistics here do not really tell you much about gender relations in a given place. I think it needs to be compared to an index based on something like how many men have become nurses. It could be called the "Gender Unempowerment Measure," although that still means that feminine jobs have less value. Actually, it would probably end up being called the Vocation Elevation Index because "gender" only ever refers to women anyhow.

[^6]:    ${ }^{9}$ See the ECPAT (Elimination of child prostitution, child pornography and trafficking of children) international web site: http://www.ecpat.net/eng/index..asp

[^7]:    ${ }^{10}$ from personal correspondence with J. Berndt.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ Yoshida Akimi's birth date is not usually revealed in Japanese sources and there are usually no photographs - but I found on fan sites that Yoshida was born on August 12, 1956. This information is often blocked in Japan by the publishers (rumors suggest this is to keep readers from realizing that the artists are the same age or older than the readers' mothers) but could very easily be at the request of the artists. Yoshida has said in interviews that she hates photographs.
    ${ }^{2}$ A monthly comic magazine for girls published by Shogakukan, one of the four major publishing firms in Japan.

[^9]:    ${ }^{3}$ The use of Sedgwick's (1985) term, "homosocial" (originally used to refer to male bonding) for a female social group is intentional.

[^10]:    ${ }^{4}$ As argued by scholars such as Matsui (1993), Fujimoto (1998), Ogi (2000).

[^11]:    ${ }^{6}$ http://www.slis.ualberta.ca/cap02/elisabeth/index.html

[^12]:    ${ }^{7}$ Incidentally, Aslan is also the name of the lion in C.S. Lewis's classic children's literature series, The Lion the Witch and the Wardrobe. In this series, the lion is the Christ figure who gets sacrificed to save

[^13]:    ${ }^{8}$ When I was a high school exchange student in 1987 at an old private girls' school, the school rules explicitly said that we were not allowed to go to cafés, pachinko parlors or discos. The teachers explained to me that kissaten were for prostitutes and so girls from good families (which was what this school was specializing in producing...) should never go into them, even as customers, in order to protect their reputations. We were also not allowed to ride bicycles in our uniforms since it was not "ladylike." They have not been houses of prostitution for years, but the stigma still remains for older Japanese. Now, all the old kissaten are being turned into nice sterile Starbucks!

[^14]:    http://wwwshe.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue7/tipton.html June 24, 2003
    ${ }^{9}$ Red rice is a traditional dish for celebrations and it is typically served on the day that a girl's period first

[^15]:    10 "Otoko yaku" indicates the "male role" in the all-female musical review, Takarazuka. See Jennifer Robertson's (1998) book Takarazuka: Sexual politics and popular culture in Modern Japan for more.

[^16]:    ${ }^{11} \mathrm{http}: / / \mathrm{www}$. netcity.or.jp/OTAKU/okada/profile/index.html

[^17]:    ${ }^{12} \mathrm{http}: / /$ twotone.fateback.com/archives/tamagotchi/pm2.htm

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ Yokomori uses the term to refer generally to young women of any age, as long as they are either not married or still somehow unable to "grow up."

[^19]:    ${ }^{2}$ The unstated assumption here seems to be that lesbian sex, which would also make the lack of a phallus irrelevant, would not allow you to be considered part of society. There are currently a small number of lesbian love stories being published in mainstream shôjo manga magazines, but

[^20]:    ${ }^{3}$ See comments on "girlies" in the section on Pink for more details.

[^21]:    ${ }^{4}$ I gave a copy to every student I interviewed, and not one person chose to comment on it. If I asked specifically, most said it was boring or that they didn't get it. The exchange students spent much more time talking about Okazaki Kyoko's manga (we read the short story "Russian Mountain" from the manga Untitled), though they approved more of Papa as something they would give to their own teenagers to read!
    ${ }^{5}$ Gartman (2002) refers to these government initiatives in his newsletter article critiquing Japanese anti-immigration policies - he says that the government is trying to find ways to encourage Japanese women to have more babies (by getting men to help more) instead of opening up immigration and that this is not sound economic policy.

[^22]:    ${ }^{6}$ Unfortunately she misses the point that Chise is not really a child, as she has been created by an adult

[^23]:    ${ }^{7}$ Episode 149 is in the July 2003 issue.

[^24]:    ${ }^{8}$ Even the jobs that the women do are not boring office work but are somehow related to fashion esthetics, such as cosmetics or jewelry design.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ I leave this vague, as the exact dates are arbitrary and the manga establishment is not in agreement. Japanese manga critics (such as Ishikawa Jun and the Manga yawa group), seem to divide styles into "70s, 80s and 90s." Okazaki Kyôko is considered to be an 80s artist even though she published until 1995.
    ${ }^{2}$ According to Nakamura Toru, a shôjo manga editor at Hakusensha, this is a common pattern. Because the manga pornography industry produces large print runs at a small cost, it is statistically

[^26]:    much easier to debut in these magazines (Nakamura, personal communication, 2002).
    ${ }^{3} \mathrm{http}: / / \mathrm{www} . p u$ unk $^{2} 77 . c o . u k / g r o u p s /$ sitsreal.htm
    ${ }^{4}$ http://www.divastation.com/kim_gordon/kgordon_bio.html
    ${ }^{5}$ See http://page.freett.com/tach/okazaki_quote.html or Manga yawa: Volume 2 (1998: 248) for more details.

[^27]:    ${ }^{6}$ It is important to note that this is Kitakawa's interpretation of Okazaki's politics via her manga characters, which, even if an accurate reading of the manga is not necessarily how Okazaki would represent herself.

[^28]:    ${ }^{7}$ These disagreements happen on a regular basis. In the spring of 2002, there was a large volley of messages about the third-wave book, Jane sexes it up: true confessions of feminist desire, edited by Merri Lisa Johnson. Archives are available at: http://research.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/wmsttoc.html The Jane debate is at: http://research.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/jane1.html

[^29]:    ${ }^{8}$ Elizabeth Grosz (1995: 10) speaks of this irony in the chapter "Sexual signatures: Feminism after the death of the author" in her book Space, time and perversion. She critiques the process of membership, or who currently gets to decide which texts are feminist. Referring to the experience of co-editing a collection of feminist writing, Grosz questions definitions of feminist texts and feminist "inclusion" policies: "The same sorts of questions that were once directed by (white, usually middle-class) feminists to traditional male texts and masculine disciplines can now, perhaps more alarmingly and disappointingly, be raised about feminist theory's own intellectual and political self-representations and policing tactics."
    ${ }^{9}$ This is a term no longer used as "internet date clubs" has now replaced it. Women who did this work were sometimes referred to as "hotetoru-princesses". "Hotetoru" is short for "hoteru toruko" or "hotel Turk": the hotel because the prostitutes travel to the customer's hotel room; and the Turk from a reference to "Turkish baths", or bathhouses providing massages and various sexual services. Interestingly, these omnipresent institutions are not illegal (although prostitution is), but have been called "Soapland" or just "sôpu" since 1985, after the Turkish embassy lodged complaints. Also interesting is

[^30]:    the fact that Koreans borrowed the phrase "Turkish bath" (and the sexual bath house concept?) from the Japanese and had the same run-in with the Turkish embassy. See this opinion column in the Korea Times from November 2002: http://www.hankooki.com/kt op/200211/t2002112017085948110.htm And one final example of contemporary Japanese sexual pastiche: in most (men's) manga representations of the Turkish bath houses, the sex workers are shown wearing bunny suits.

[^31]:    ${ }^{10}$ For further discussion of this, please see Anne Allison (1996) and the chapter entitled, "Pubic veilings and public surveillance: Obscenity laws and obscene fantasies in Japan".

[^32]:    ${ }^{11}$ There is a word for a man who has no job (or does not want to work), "dameotoko" which forms an interesting parallel with "bakaonna." Both derogatory terms are based on the lack of fulfillment of social duties - for men, paid labor, and for women, sex within marriage. There is an internet support group for dameotoko called, "dameren." According to their website, for Japanese men, being unemployed is equivalent to being unable to get laid, so, it is perhaps possible to claim that, indirectly, "dameotoko" is also a sexualized term. It is certainly based on the double standard.

[^33]:    ${ }^{12}$ There are pornographic manga in Japan that are specifically for women, as well as for girls. It would be possible to argue that Okazaki is combining these genres with the romance of shôjo manga, but I will argue otherwise - please see the analysis section after the close reading.

[^34]:    ${ }^{13}$ Many shôjo manga fans say they read them precisely because of this separation from reality, and that

[^35]:    14 The word used here is "manko" which is perhaps closer to "cunt". It is not a word that women usually use.
    15 literally, "impoverished heart".

[^36]:    ${ }^{16}$ Mamahaha, obasan and o-kaasan respectively.

[^37]:    ${ }_{18}^{17}$ Tsubame (lit. a swallow) a gigolo or male "mistress".
    ${ }^{18}$ While this name does exist in Japanese, it is most likely a pun on the English word, "psycho".

[^38]:    ${ }^{19}$ When Yumi and Haruo first meet, they also have a conversation about not reading. Yumi looks at all the books in Haruo's apartment and brags that she has only ever read five books in her life. Haruo cautiously asks which ones, and she gives him this list: Anne of Green Gables, Little Women, Alice in Wonderland, The Little Match Girl, and Heidi. (Pink, 37). These books are the closest Western equivalents to shôjo manga (and that pretty much all women in Japan, including the manga artists, have read or seen movies of) and whose influence on shôjo manga is probably immeasurable. It is also probably why shôjo manga were instantly comprehensible for me, since I grew up with the same "girlie" literature.

[^39]:    ${ }^{20}$ In a very funny and ironic scene, Yumi asks Haruo which literary prize he is going to apply for. She says, "Where are you sending it? The Akutagawa Prize? The Naoki Prize? The Emperor's Prize?" While Yumi is trying to ask what kind of novel it is, as the Akutagawa prize is for "pure" literature and the Naoki for "pop" literature, she is also revealing how ignorant she is - the Emperor's prize is a horse race. Haruo's face has his usual perplexed sweat drop on it. He does not even bother to explain to her, replying, "Anyhow. Whichever one has the nearest deadline and the largest amount of prize money."

[^40]:    (Pink, 1989: 198).
    Both the content and the visuals of this break-down sequence are a reference to Ohshima Yumiko's manga (Manga yawa 1998).

[^41]:    ${ }^{22}$ Or, "to be loved for who you are" which is a major trope in mainstream shôjo manga, as well as many

[^42]:    ${ }^{23}$ Pepper Shop is the name of a free paper that ran from 1993 to 1994. It started as an interview paper, then tried to be an indie magazine and then went under. It was created by Koga Manabu (a designer, writer and anime figurine otaku). Now it is the name of his graphic design business. This information was downloaded on 03/03/03 from: http://www.peppergear.com/prf.html
    ${ }^{24}$ The interview has been reprinted in: Kawade yume mook buingei bessatsu: Okazaki Kyôko. Kawade Shobo, 2002: pp. 58-65.

[^43]:    ${ }^{25}$ That this is "porn" and not just simply a "men's manga" or "boy's manga" (seinen or shônen manga) is also debatable. The voyeuristic glimpses into life as a prostitute, constituted through the explicit sex scenes with Yumi and her customers, could be sex scenes from a seinen or shônen manga, but are too short and too random. There is not enough character development to provide any narrative satisfaction

[^44]:    for a reader looking to identify with the men in these scenes.
    ${ }^{26}$ O'Brien (1999) http://indigo.ie/~obrienh/vsv.htm
    ${ }^{27}$ There is nothing in the story that says that they are engaged or are even planning to officially get

[^45]:    married, but they have obviously become monogamous and Haruo has become the sole "meat" winner.
    ${ }^{28}$ This will be linked to somewhere where I explain that girls like Yumi don't read manga, it's the girls who are ugly, not popular and can't fit in that seem to become manga fans - which could explain why so

[^46]:    many hit manga are about becoming "normal".
    ${ }^{29}$ John Treat uses the term "pseudo-family" when he quotes Ueno Chizuko writing about the lost or dysfunctional families in Yoshimoto Banana's fiction. He also mentions that this is from manga. (Treat 1993: 369). For more detail, see the chapter called "How to make a happy family" in Fujimoto Yukari's Watashi no ibasho wa doko ni aru no? (1998: pp.78-116).
    ${ }^{30}$ The Canadian equivalent would be Lynn Johnston's cartoon "For Better or for Worse." Culturally though, in terms of influence and saturation, the TV show Leave it to Beaver or even The Brady Bunch would be closer. Japanese people tend to use Sazae-san as a reference for the idealism of the family values of the past in the same way that North Americans refer to the Cleavers or the Bradys -sometimes with nostalgia but more often with irony (or a contradictory mix of both).

[^47]:    ${ }^{31}$ This is the same type of relationship that is apparent in Papa Told Me between Kitahara (the romantic career woman) and Takanawa (the practical husband-hunter).
    ${ }^{32}$ The fact that a wicked stepmother appears in the story at all is also common in shôjo manga, as well as in girls' stories in the west. Karatani Kôjin, in his book on the origins of the modern novel in Japan, talks about the traditional Japanese narrative pattern called, "mamakoijime" or "mistreated step-child". Via Yanagita Kunio, he explains: "[...] we should not link the pervasiveness of this narrative pattern to the actual existence of children mistreated by their stepmothers. [...] The pattern is thought to have emerged around the time when the patrilineal household system was established. The unnaturalness of the system (which is not to say that the matrilineal system is more natural) produced a need for this kind of narrative." (Karatani 1993 (1980):100) Interestingly, Ueno Chizuko claims that the patrilinear system

[^48]:    ${ }^{33}$ "tobira-e"
    ${ }^{34}$ This is apparently an allusion to a Japanese source, but the princess (in both the original and in Okazaki's citation of it) is wearing European princess clothing. Meticulous listings of these allusions can be found on one of many Okazaki Kyôko fan webpages that are part of a thriving cyber community. Someone named "tach" is running a page called "Index of Quotes and References in Okazaki Kyôko". Readers e-mail in messages with information about which manga, which page or incident and what and where the origin of the reference is, and tach uploads them to the website. There are sections for references to other manga, films, music, philosophy and literature. One of the contributors, a university student, claims that Werner Sombart's book Liebe, Luxus und Kapitalismus was translated and published in Japan just before Okazaki wrote Pink, so that could be where she got the idea for "love and capitalism" from. Also, characters in Okazaki's manga are often singing or using lines from songs (see figure10 for an example) or even wearing concert $t$-shirts and one fan has listed all of the albums for these references as well as links to amazon where you can buy some of them. This information is from: http://page.freett.com/tach/okazaki quote.html accessed on 02/12/20.
    ${ }^{35}$ A British citizen who was born in Singapore, lived in Australia and published in America. The editor of the fetish magazine Bizarre from 1946-1959, Willie also wrote a bondage/fetish comic called The Adventures of Sweet Gwendoline. His biography (and a sample page from Gwendoline) can be found at: http://www.lambiek.net/willie john.htm

[^49]:    ${ }^{36}$ Incidentally, Okazaki ended up using the phrase, "love and violence," on the obifor the manga 1

[^50]:    Wanna be your Dog.
    ${ }^{37}$ The Kojien gives the origin of the English word (since "pinku" is a loan word) and does not explain the association between the color and the erotic. The etymology of the "blue" in blue movies is unknown as well, according to the Word Detective website: "As to "blue movies," that "blue" is also a mystery, but may be a reference to the traditional use of blue spotlights in strip-tease acts." Downloaded from http://www.word-detective.com/121597.html on January 20, 2003.

[^51]:    ${ }^{38}$ Most criticism occurs in either mainstream or specialized manga press. There is still relatively little academic work done on manga, even though acceptance is increasing and the situation is changing. There is a new "Japanese Society for the Study of Comics and Cartoons" but most of the members are non-academic critics, editors, or writers and tend not to connect manga to greater criticisms of society or to put manga into a social or political context.

[^52]:    ${ }^{39} \mathrm{An}$-an is a women's fashion magazine.

[^53]:    ${ }^{40}$ kenage

[^54]:    ${ }^{41}$ (1898-1996) Uno Chiyo was a talented and famous novelist well-known for her beauty and her numerous marriages and love affairs. Her first novel, published when she was only 21, won a major literary prize and her career spanned over 70 years. For more information see the appendix at

[^55]:    ${ }^{42}$ One of the world's foremost Buddhist scholars and teachers, Thich Naht Hanh (1991) draws a clear connection between Protestantism (the work ethic) and a dependence on hope. He claims that the vision of a linear progression to heaven (the essential happy ending?) prevents people from dealing with their current situation (and thus from enlightenment or peace). I quote at length here:

    Western civilization places so much emphasis on the idea of hope that we sacrifice the present moment. Hope is for the future. It cannot help us discover joy, peace, or

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ These teachers may have recruited students by making announcements in their classes, but I was not able to ascertain this. My own methods were snowball.

[^57]:    ${ }^{2}$ Yumiko is referring to British young adult fiction for girls such as The Secret Garden, and Black Beauty etc.
    ${ }^{3}$ The short form of Berusaiyu no bara (The rose of Versailles) a bishonen-ai manga by Ikeda Riyoko. A massive and longstanding hit, Berubara was first published in 1972 and has been animated as well as made into a play and a Takarazuka musical review.

[^58]:    ${ }^{4}$ amateur manga magazines

[^59]:    ${ }^{5}$ I once met a senior detective from the city police department at a social event, and chatted with him about this school. He told me that in the past it had been one of the most problematic in the city. There were a lot of gang members (bosozoku) who went there, and there was always some kind of fighting going on - the windows were always being broken and once a whole gang of boys rode their motorcycles right into the school and drove up and down the hallways. It has since changed ownership and there are apparently much fewer problems, but the reputation of the school is still not very good.

[^60]:    ${ }^{6}$ When I first met Mr. Hasegawa, he told me point blank that he hated manga and anime and never read or watched them himself. He was very surprised when I told him I was trying to find out what the students think about the manga they read, because he said he thought manga had nothing in them and that the students didn't think much about anything anyhow. Teachers at this high school are required to supervise some kind of club or after-school activity, and he had chosen the manga group - perhaps because it is an easy club to supervise, as the kids just get together and talk. I was not very impressed with his attitude though my impression changed somewhat when I saw him interacting with the students. Mr. Hasegawa may not think much of manga, but he obviously really likes the kids.

[^61]:    ${ }^{7}$ A shôjo manga production team (comprised of four young women) that publishes collectively under the name "CLAMP".

[^62]:    ${ }^{8}$ a small, thick paperback that is cheap and used to keep popular titles in print for long periods of time and of a small enough size that people can keep more of them for longer

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ http://www.cult-media.com/issue1/CMRmcle.htm

