Coffee And Infidelity: A Feminist Close Reading of Yoshizumi Wataru’s *Cappuccino* as Scanlation in The Context of New Media

THESIS

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Abstract

Japanese manga scholarship has been on the increase, but an area that has not received much attention is that of scanlations. Japanese scanlations -- the illegal translation and dissemination of manga (mostly) unlicensed outside of Japan -- has grown in popularity with readers, much to the distain of publishers in Japan and abroad. This thesis not only looks at scanlation through a close-reading analysis, but it is also an examination of josei (women's) manga, an area that does not receive much attention in North America due to a lack of legitimately available josei manga titles. This thesis looks at the changing roles of Japanese women as depicted in Yoshizumi Wataru's Cappuccino as it also looks at scanlation practices through analysis of a sample scanlation group. It concludes with the acknowledgement in the changes of women's roles, and the continually changing landscape of scanlation practices as publishing companies take efforts to stop this practice.
Dedication

This document is dedicated to my family. It is in memory of my grandmother, Carleen B. Garrett and my mother, Marva K. Clopton. It is also in honor of my daughter, Devi C. Monjot. I hope they are all proud.
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the members of my committee for all of the help they have provided me along this process. I would also like to thank my uncle, Thomas Garrett, for helping me with the editing process, and Laura Bolling, Graduate Student in East Asian Studies, for her help with translations. And finally, I would like to thank my husband, Matthew J. Monjot, for being supportive throughout this writing process.
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Introduction

Scanlations are a digital cultural product in which Japanese manga is scanned, translated, edited, and disseminated online. Translations are commonly done by scanlation “companies” who “employ” a staff who generally works for free from their respective computers in creating this form of new media. Scanlations are made available from web hosting sites (i.e. Manga Fox) as well as from the blogs and/or forums of the scanlators themselves. This thesis seeks to better understand this form of digital cultural production by analyzing a sample scanlated manga, and to understand the production of scanlations by looking at a particular scanlation group. Scanlators have a myriad of manga topics from which to choose, and each group makes decisions as to how closely the translation will be to the original source material. In choosing to strive towards authenticity, scanlators present works that reflect the Japaneseness of a work that can also be seen as having universal themes. By looking at Yoshizumi Wataru's *Cappuccino*, I will also analyze the female narrative as presented in a women's manga. By taking an analytical approach, I seek an understanding of digital culture and how technology has changed the way in which manga can be consumed, as well as the ways in which cultural differences are transmitted and translated to readers of these works.

Situating this work in current scholarship, this thesis is a look at a work of Japanese manga that has been translated into English with a Western, feminist view.
Much of the scholarship looking at manga today is either focusing on the influence of the Year 24's influence on the ways in which shōjo manga was changed with the influx of female manga-ka (see M. Takahashi), on the ways in which yaoi (boy's love) manga appeal to female readers in Japan and abroad (see MacWilliams). Not much work of feminist scholarship has been done recently in terms of shōjo manga and feminism, leading my focus to be on Japanese scholarship on women in the Japanese workforce and the traditional expectations under which these women are still expected to adhere (see Bishop, Lo). Studying scanlation in the context of new media is forging ahead into new territory; while there has been work on the motivations behind scanlators and the project of scanlation (see Lee), work in the field of new media studies has not looked at scanlation in this manner. The closest scholarship to scanlation in new media studies looks at the creation of Anime Music Videos – a product of anime, manga's moving-pictures counterpart, mashed up with music – as a form of new media (see M. Ito). In both the fields of feminist work in manga and new media studies, this thesis is breaking new ground that will lead to more attention from other scholars.

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1 Manga that is typically written about two male characters in a homoerotic narrative, but crafted to appeal to women.

2 There is an article from 2006 that briefly discusses some elements of manga in regards to what these narrations represent in terms of Japanese (and American) female influence, but as the authors refer to women's comics as rediisu komikku, or ladies comics, it dates the study because that name has been abandoned for josei because of the negative sexual connotations associated with the previous name (Schwartz and Rubenstein-Ãvila). It is also a study that is focused more on comic-book literacies and is, therefore, not a source that gives an analysis of the situation fully.

3 At the 2011 SouthWest PCA/ACA National Conference, I had several audience members tell me that they were glad to see someone looking at scanlation scholastically.
The layout of this project is as follows: Manga genres and their gendered readings will be defined, followed by a brief history of manga in Japan and the United States. Scanlations will also be defined; this process includes defining the concept of new media and how a scanlation qualifies as such. A close reading of *Cappuccino* by Yoshizumi Wataru will follow, with an analysis of several overarching themes of Japanese feminism reserved for the conclusion of the narrative. An examination of the featured character’s journey from her traditional views on marriage to a liberated sense of self-fulfillment delves into the changing landscape for working women in Japan. An analysis of how Starry Heaven, the scanlation company that translated this manga, will showcase issues of authenticity in the scanlation community. I will then look at several of the platforms through which scanlations are disseminated, as well as recent controversies that reflect the clash between the current digital cultural environment and outside pressures from outside (mostly non-digital) forces. I will conclude with a look at digital culture, and how scanlations, from a case study perspective, create an East-meets-West cultural experience stressing authenticity to the original work.
History of Manga

Manga is the Japanese term for comics (Thompson xiii).\textsuperscript{4} In North America, if not most of the world, the term \textit{manga} refers to comics of Japanese origin. Manga, in its current form in Japan, can call upon the influence of old artistic styles converging with an appropriation of American comic styles in post-war Japan (K. Ito 35, Thompson xiii). Its current popularity has branched out from appealing just to boys and girls\textsuperscript{5} to also creating new genres for attracting readers as they age; \textit{seinen} (men's) manga made its first appearance in the 1970s as an evolution from the \textit{gekiga} or “drama pictures” art style from the late 1950s (K. Ito 36),\textsuperscript{6} and \textit{josei} (women's) manga emerged in the 1980s as \textit{redikomi} (ladies comics) as a response to the aging of the original \textit{shōjo} readers (K. Ito 43).\textsuperscript{7} Scholars predict that “[a]s baby boomers who grew up reading manga get older, there surely will be a new genre of manga for the elderly” (K. Ito 47). Its appeal has expanded beyond Japan's shores to become a global phenomenon, resulting in the

\begin{enumerate}
\item[4] Until recently, the term \textit{manga} in Japanese stood for all comics, regardless of origin. “Today, most Japanese people use the English word ‘comics’”\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{”}komikku\textsuperscript{”}} as well” (Thompson xiii).
\item[5] While manga anthologies tend to be marketed by demographics, “the most popular manga... are read by both genders” (Thompson xxiii).
\item[6] \textit{Gekiga} is a more serious art style, as opposed to most manga that is done in a more lighthearted style.
\item[7] However, by the late 2000s, women's manga had shed the \textit{redikomi} title (which is now reserved for racy, highly sexualized manga for women) in favor of the term \textit{josei} in order to be treated more seriously (Thompson xxiv, “Josei Manga”).
\end{enumerate}
emergence of derivative styles of manga, and the formation of the International Manga Award to celebrate those who create manga outside of Japan (“The 3rd International Manga Award”).

Manga is marketed demographically (Thompson xxiii). The genres most well-known outside of Japan are shōnen (boys) and shōjo (girls) manga. Both genres target children and teenage boys and girls, respectively, with shōnen manga being more action-oriented and shōjo manga more drama-oriented. These demarcations, however, do not foreclose on the possibilities of being read by either genders, as extremely popular titles tend to be read by manga readers regardless of age or gender (see Thompson, K. Ito).

And while these demographic markers help dictate the genres the manga anthologies will cover, there are elements of Japanese culture that appear in both genres; an element in particular is of the importance of relationships in Japanese society. However, due to the patriarchal nature of Japanese society, shōjo manga (and to a greater extent, josei

8 In most materials and manga translations in North America, the term shōnen has been mistranslated for years. Translation companies like Viz translate the term without the ō in anthology titles Shonen Jump and Shonen Sunday, possibly because the misspelling of the term does not create a new term, unlike shōjo, where misspelling it as shojo changes the term to virgin.

9 Thompson points out that shōnen will often feature “action, sports and battle scenes” (xxiii) as well as “[s]cience fiction and fantasy elements” (ibid.), and that shōjo will often feature “romance, comedy, and drama, often... in the same story” (ibid.) as well as “specialty magazines featuring mystery, horror, and Boy’s Love stories” (ibid.).

10 About the artistic style of manga dictating the importance of emotion: “The appearance of large starry eyes not only in shōjo manga but also in some shōnen and seinen manga... is also an indicator of the relative importance of emotion versus action within a given story; boys’ genres are frequently no less melodramatic than girls.” (Shamoon 154).

11 Stemming from the remnants of the ie system by which the head of the household is considered in charge of all family decisions outside the home; a top-down approach that is also apparent in Japanese
manga) receives less attention from critics and academics than their male equivalents (see M. Takahashi, Shamoon, K. Ito).

However, the gender of the manga-ka or manga artist/author does not determine the genre in which his or her manga will be situated by the artist and distributors, a conclusion one might derive from the sizable number of manga-ka whose bodies of work align with the artist’s gender. The all-female manga team of Clamp have done manga titles that have fallen into the shōjo, shōnen, and seinen (men’s) genres, and Takahashi Rumiko is famous for a number of shōnen titles, including Ranma ½ and Lum – Urusei Yatsura (Amano 200, 302). Tezuka Osamu, considered the godfather of manga, wrote shōnen and shōjo manga throughout his long career (see Phillipps). Before the 1960s, most shōjo manga was written by men, and it was not until the Year 24 Group

12 In a similar way that shōjo manga was written by men until the 1960s, there are a number of women who write shōnen manga in Japan today, not including titles that are so popular, that they are read by most manga readers (see Thompson xxiii and M. Takahashi 132).

13 24 nen gumi

society at large (Davies and Ikeno 119). The ie system was established by the Civil Code of 1898 “which emphasized the authority of the household over the individual and firmly entrenched women in a subordinate position within the family” (Lowy 4). “The role definitions of husband and wife is that the husband is in charge of the house (ie) in its relations to the outside world (house-to-house) but women dominate the inner world of the house (the husband’s mother until she dies, then the wife). For example, women control the money and give husbands an allowance [a tradition that has become] the norm... and has been for at least 50-100 years” (Kasulis) “Japanese housewives have strong power over family matters, especially family finances and children’s education. Most wives are entrusted with their husbands’ salary and give a monthly allowance to the husbands” (English Discussion Society). An example of this can be seen in the anime Crayon Shin-Chan, where the protagonist’s father laments his small allowance. “The ie seido or ‘family system’ was considered a cornerstone of Japanese society until the end of the Second World War” (Tokuhiro 17). The “ie system was abolished, through the 1947 Constitution,” and was accompanied by a change in marriage laws that allowed for people to marry without parental consent (Tokuhiro 18). However, it was not until the late 1960s that love marriages (in which people marry for love) began to outnumber arranged marriages (ibid).
known as the Forty-Niners) – a group of female manga-ka who produced a prodigious amount of *shōjo* manga, and happened to be born in and around 1949 – that manga would see a shift in the number of female manga-ka in the industry (K. Ito 39, Shamoon 138, M. Takahashi 130).¹⁴ Even today, there is a preference towards *shōnen* manga when it comes to scholarly research in Japan, as *shōjo* manga has been classified as “second-class citizens' in the manga world” despite its popularity (M. Takahashi 114). Manga critics tend to see *shōjo* manga as “childish” (Iwaya qtd. in M. Takahashi 131), and see the work of certain *shōjo* manga-ka as not being *shōjo* because the work has depth.¹⁵ A similar view can be taken in the complementary genres for men and women, *seinen* and *josei* manga, in which *seinen* manga anthologies sell better than *josei* manga anthologies, but more live-action adaptations of manga stem from *josei* and *shōjo* manga than their male counterparts (K. Ito 43).¹⁶

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¹⁴ However, as has been previously noted, the introduction of women to the world of manga crafting did not limit artists to writing within the genre of their gender. For example, Hagio Moto wrote a number of *shōjo* manga stories that spanned numerous genres, such as science fiction and fantasy. Scholars would single out her work not as an example of what *shōjo* has to offer, but as an example of work that was not *shōjo* because of the depth of her work. However, Ikeda Riyoko’s *Berusaiyu no Bara* (*The Rose of Versailles*) is a work that is often ignored by critics because of the number of *shōjo* tropes found in her work, despite being one of the best selling manga of all time that has been adapted into film, anime, and numerous plays by the *Takarazuka Review*, an all-female musical troupe (see “Rose of Versailles”).

¹⁵ Mizuki Takahashi conducts a thorough investigation as to why *shōjo* manga has been marginalized in the eyes of the critics, citing the inability of the critics to be able to read a manga style that has its own coding – a style that is easily interpreted by its audience – as well as critics not understanding the history of *shōjo*’s origins (130-36).

¹⁶ This is also reflected in reference guides like *Manga Design*, where definitions are given for *shōjo*, *shōnen*, and *seinen* manga, but a definition for *josei* manga is conspicuously absent (Amano 570).
While the term *shōjo* – meaning “a young woman who is not allowed to express her sexuality” (Treat qtd. in M. Takahashi 115)\(^{17}\) despite being sexually mature physically (as in a pubescent) – connotes a suppressed sexuality due to its very nature and the targeted audience, *josei* (also known as *redikomi*, or ladies comics) targets older female readers with narratives that lean towards more realistic depictions of romance; this is a demarcation that will be explained shortly (K. Ito 43).\(^{18}\) *Josei* manga targets young ladies (late teens as well as adults) which are typically slice-of-life stories that take on mature subject matter and are usually about relationships.\(^{19}\) The art style trends towards realism, which is different from *shōjo* manga as that form is more fantasy\(^{20}\) in its art style with large eyes and dream-like sequences. *Josei* manga stories are “[o]utwardly the most

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\(^{17}\) Takahashi Mizuki argues in her article “Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo Manga*” that “[u]sually glossed with the English word ‘girl’, the term *shōjo* specifically indicates a young woman who is not allowed to express her sexuality” (115), giving a history of the term and the concept of the *shōjo* ideal, a concept she claims was formed by the educational system of Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. M. Takahashi states that the “*chūtōgakkō rei* (the junior high school law) [in 1887] ... sacrificed girls’ education in favor of boys,” and that the subsequent “piece of legislation, the *kōtōgakkō rei* (the high school law) [of 1899] opened the way for girls’ higher education” but that this was restricted to teaching urban middle and upper class young women to be *ryōsai kenbo* (wise mothers, good wives) so that they would become the *shōjo* ideal – desiring “the dream of becoming happy future brides, isolated from the real-life public world outside the family” (116). She also contends that this creation of the “*shōjo* gender role” (M. Takahashi 116) was formed through the educational system, but that its application in the late nineteenth century to differentiate females from males (as the term *shōnen* originally meant “children” but “today mean[s] “boys” (115)) was a way to separate young women “as a distinct entity in need of state (and not merely parental or familial) definition and control (116).

\(^{18}\) In much the same way that *seinen* manga tends to develop the male-friendship relationships at a more realistic level than that of *shōnen*.

\(^{19}\) K. Ito notes that the age range for *josei* readers (15-44) “roughly coincides with a woman’s childbearing years” (43). This is a possible reason why the primary focus of these narratives is about realistic depictions of relationships.

\(^{20}\) Fantasy, as in romantic but in an idealized, fantasy style.
sedate and down-to-earth of all manga … feat[ur][ing] some of the most sophisticated writing” (Thompson xxiv). *Cappuccino*, with its realistic depictions of relationships in turmoil, is a strong example of a *josei* narrative with heavy emphasis on the changing roles of women in Japanese society. It is a rather subdued narrative when compared to Yoshizumi Wataru's seminal work, *Marmalade Boy*, and will be discussed at length in the close reading.

Manga's cultural impact is one that has far-reaching effects, both in Japan and abroad. It is not unheard of for salarymen as well as children to be seen reading manga (Thompson xiv, K. Ito 46), and manga fandom has reached the office of the Prime Minster when noted anime and manga fan Aso Taro served a one-year term as prime minister in 2008 (CBC News). With cosplay cafes, manga cafes, e-manga, and the world's largest manga store, there are plenty of ways for Japanese consumers to embrace and enjoy manga as part of the culture (K. Ito 46). In 2004 alone, Japan produced 1,134,000,000 copies of 297 manga anthologies (ibid.). There is also a thriving *dōjinshi* market in which manga fans (and would-be manga-ka) create manga that is inspired by

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21 *Marmalade Boy* was an eight-volume *shōjo* series in which two teenagers end up step-siblings when their parents marry each other, and involves virtually every character under 18 in love with at least two other characters.

22 This is not an exhaustive listing of genres. It is a starting point through which to begin a discussion on the impact of manga as a form of new media.

23 Cosplay – a fusion of “costume” and “play” – involves fans of anime, manga, and video games dressing up in costumes of their favorite characters.

24 (“Square Enix Details E-Manga Plan”)

25 *Dōjinshi* are self-published manga. Generally done by amateurs in an affinity group, *dōjinshi* are also
their favorite manga-ka (Thompson xiv). The dōjinshi system is a way for manga-ka to get their start without going through the traditional channels of submitting manga to a publisher and having to work through the publishing system (where one's work is heavily guided by changes from the editor and the whims of fickle fans whose interest must be sustained in order for the manga-ka to remain with the publisher until he or she is allowed to do their magnum opus) (Thompson xx). It may be said that the traditional mode of manga production is, in its own way, a geido in which one must work through an established process to achieve success. The dōjinshi system is similar to, but outside of, the traditional manga production in that it allows for people to get published in a different, self-made way. However, in the same way that a person can casually write haiku but have the option to switch to a more formal track, there is this option in manga (Amagasaki). Dōjinshi is popular enough that it has its own conventions where people can sell their wares right to the masses (ibid 39). One of the most popular manga

26 Yoshizumi narrates a story in which she tells the readers that her original ideas for Marmalade Boy included changing the genders of the protagonists, and that she wanted to end the series in a different way, but both decisions were thwarted by her editor (170-177; vol. 8, Nishda et al. “Marmalade Boy Volume 8, Bonus Section”)

27 “Traditional arts” (Sakabe 15) with no disrespect meant to the author or his original intent of the term.

28 “To be sure, we might say that geido is for artists who devote their lives to art, while yugei is for amateurs who enjoy art just for fun” (Amagasaki 31). This article discusses how those who choose to do art outside of a formal system – where the art is one’s life (and livelihood) – and instead can do their artwork just for fun. This idea of yugei has evolved from its emergence in the 18th century to today, where instead of yugei being an individual pursuit to one in which the amateurs are collaborating with each other and creating artistic communities of people sharing similar interests.
producers, Clamp, started out as a group that created \textit{dōjinshi} and has since moved into a more traditional work stream (Amano 200).

The reach of manga has extended beyond Japan’s shores to influence culture globally. \textit{Manwha} and \textit{manhua} are derivatives of manga in Korea and China, respectively. Cosplay is a growing phenomenon in which people create costumes and dress up as their favorite characters, typically to be able to go to anime conventions and show off their work. Other forms of fan appreciation are fan fiction, \textsuperscript{30} fansubs, \textsuperscript{31} and AMV\textsuperscript{32} production. In North America, manga sales started to increase in the 1990s (whereas, earlier releases had limited success) with tie-ins to popular anime programs like \textit{Sailor Moon} and \textit{Dragon Ball Z}, continuing through the endurance of \textit{Pokémon}\textsuperscript{(see Allison)}. Manga's popularity in North American markets prompted the shift away from comic book stores to national chain bookstores due to its popularity amongst the masses, vulgarizing the belief that manga appeals strongly to young women and girls.\textsuperscript{33} Manga has such a strong impact on North American culture that established comic companies

\textsuperscript{29} “[Manga] is the root of the Korean word for comics (\textit{manwha}) and the Chinese word (\textit{manhua}) (Thompson xiii).

\textsuperscript{30} Stories written by fans involving characters from their favorite anime or manga (Levi 52)

\textsuperscript{31} Anime that is translated, subtitled, and disseminated to other fans, usually done not for profit.

\textsuperscript{32} Anime Music Videos, a mashup of anime and manga clips combined with music (M. Ito, “Amateur Cultural Production.”)

\textsuperscript{33} Authors like Douglas Wolk have a very strong belief that manga is read by teenage girls, noting that “the manga phenomenon in the United States is very much a teenage-girl-driven trend” that has the potential to produce a much larger number of American comics by women in the future (70-72). ICv2 also mentions how manga sold to young ladies through bookstores as part of its explanation for the decline in sales of manga (“A Second Bad Year in a Row for Manga”).
have produced comics in the so-called “manga style”, such as Archie Comics relaunch of Sabrina the Teenage Witch and Josie and the Pussycats as manga characters, as well as a manga-style X-men that was, at one time, nominated for the International Manga Award (“Josie & the Pussycats--Manga Style”, “The 3rd International Manga Award”). At the zenith of manga’s financial popularity in the United States (as sales began to fall in 2008, there is a belief that the best of manga’s sales may be over), there was a strong push towards the publication of OEL (Original English Language) manga, with TokyoPop leading the charge. There was a belief that “manga is now an ‘internationalized style of visual storytelling that transcends national origin’” (MacWilliams 17). However, sales of OEL have not been as strong as anticipated, and TokyoPop has reduced its staff drastically due to the soft sales of its OEL manga. Manga, and its sister project of anime have become such pervasive parts of global culture that non-Japanese have appropriated the term *otaku* to demarcate their rabid fan dedication to their hobby of

34 “A Second Bad Year in a Row for Manga.”

35 OEL manga is manga made outside of Japan by native English speakers (or, at least by people who speak English).

36 Based on conversations with other manga readers, and a presentation at an anime conference, OEL manga does not appeal to manga fans as the quality is perceived to be absent, and the narratives are not what they seek when they read manga.

37 TokyoPop had changed its focus towards electronic offerings of manga in its continuing quest to be ahead of the curve, despite no longer being the top seller of manga in the U.S. (“Interview with TokyoPop’s Stuart Levy, Part 2”, “Tokyopop Goes with Zinio”). However, TokyoPop has announced that the company will be closing down its North American publishing arm by the end of May 2011 (“Tokyopop Closing”); the company will still produce films, but is finally bowing out of manga publications.
North American sales have softened for manga in the last few years due to the economy, as well as a belief that both the "Twilight" series and scanlations have negatively impacted sales ("A Second Bad Year in a Row for Manga"), but it is still an important aspect of comic sales (ibid). Industry insiders believe that manga will always be a presence in America.  

*Manga and Genres in North America versus Japan*

Manga has two outstanding features that differentiate it from Western comics: Manga are narrative focused, and "[t]he artist is more important than the property" (Thompson xx). Instead of selling the manga based on the characters in the way superhero comics are sold based on the titular character, it is sold on its narrative, which is a story that has a beginning, a middle, and an ending. This is not unlike Western-style novels that are also sold on its narrative and, at least in the early-to-mid nineteenth century, were serialized (e.g. Charles Dickens' *The Pickwick Papers*). Also, except in

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38 *Otaku* "is a Japanese term used to refer to people with obsessive interests, particularly anime" ("Otaku" a, b), In Japan, the term is used for an obsessive fan of anything, whereas in English it refers to fans of Japanese anime, manga, and video games (to a lesser extent) (ibid). See Norris and Cubbison for more on this culture.

39 "[T]he North American manga market depends on content from Japan, and what is probably less visible to the media here as well as to the readers is the way the market is changing over there as well. ("ICv2 Interview's Viz's Alvin Lu").

40 Or in the way in which some North American comic strip characters (i.e. Blondie, Hagar the Horrible) are sometimes continued long after the original creator has retired or passed away.

41 This serialization is very similar to the anthology system of manga publication in Japan, with the exception being that instead of being serialized in general interest magazines or newspapers, manga is serialized in magazines specifically geared towards manga reading audiences. Originally, this was the only way to read manga; *tankōbons* (manga sold in book format) did not become a regular feature of manga sales until the 1970s (see "Rose of Versailles").
rare cases, the artist retains some ownership of the property, so when an artist dies or retires, the narrative ends as well. These features contribute to the appeal of Japanese animation to westerners.\textsuperscript{42,43}

The previously mentioned genres tend to localize the material to a specific audience in Japan,\textsuperscript{44} but the way in which genres are assigned by North American readers (as opposed to how manga is labeled and marketed by publishers) denotes the narrative style of the text.\textsuperscript{45} Males and females are more willing to openly read manga that is allegedly outside of their demographics because the genre labels serve more as labels of the type of narrative, rather than who the target audience is for the work. This is rooted historically in that wildly successful anime and manga properties do cross demographics rather easily. A prime example of the crossing of gender-genre boundaries is the wildly

\begin{small}
\textsuperscript{42} According to the \textit{Otaku Wish List} (Cubbison), “Do not 'localize' the translation by inserting US cultural elements; if we wanted to watch cartoons written for the US market, we wouldn't be buying anime DVDs.” This is a sentiment that applies to manga as well as anime.

\textsuperscript{43} In terms of what manga-ka think of \textit{dōjinshi}, there is very little that indicates that manga-ka are as bothered by this comic form of fan fiction, as it is generally an homage to the artist and to the characters when done by amateurs and artists. \textit{Dōjinshi} is not the copying of a manga-ka's work and is not in direct conflict with the manga-ka's sales. However, the issue with scanlation is that it is potentially taking profits away from the manga-ka, which results in the vocal protests of Japanese and North American publishers speaking on behalf of manga-ka. An example of \textit{dōjinshi} done by professional manga-ka is the \textit{Sailor Moon Art Book, Volume Infinity}. This was a memorial art book with contributions from a number of manga-ka paying tribute to the end of Takeuchi Naoko's manga series in 1997.

\textsuperscript{44} There are exceptions where a title's popularity spans gender and age [i.e. \textit{Sailor Moon} (Amano 306), an enduring title that still has an active fanbase despite its conclusion in 1997].

\textsuperscript{45} I spoke with a number of young ladies at an anime convention who took a disparaging view towards some of my purchases, because \textit{shōjo} manga is seen as “too girly” and “too pink”. They did, however, take a much more improved view of a manga series I picked up because it was \textit{shōnen} and, therefore, action-oriented (even though the title in question is a parody of Japanese culture and not an action-oriented work).
\end{small}
successful *Sailor Moon* series. It was a children’s show aimed at prepubescent girls that managed to appeal to both genders and a wide range of ages (Amano 306). Its popularity has endured over the years, prompting movies, musicals, a live-action television series, and a re-release of the original manga and anime DVDs. Modern-day examples of popular titles include *Naruto, Bleach,* and *Nana* (Thompson xxiii, “Top 25 Manga Properties – Q2 2010”).

However, there are readers who take a dim view of *shōjo* manga. They see it in much the same way women in the West are reluctant to admit they read romance novels:

Feelings of shame and embarrassment stem in part from the fact that the problems of sentimental love are...relegated almost exclusively to private concerns and popular culture.... The divide between high and low culture presumably makes a distinction between those with educated taste, appealing to the intellect, and those with uneducated tastes, appealing to emotions. (Cumberland 182)

**Scanlations**

Scanlations are comics that have been scanned, translated, edited, and disseminated online. Scanlations can be any comic that is translated from one language to another. Beginning in the 1970s, scanlations of manga started out through individuals and small groups translating manga and disseminating the work via modem or Postal Mail. With the advances in internet access and the lowering costs in acquiring the equipment necessary to produce scanlations, they began to reach a wider audience. Today, there are

46 The aforementioned Rose of Versailles also exhibits this long-enduring (and global) popularity. However, unlike *Sailor Moon,* Rose of Versailles has never been translated into English, and that leaves English-reading audiences with little recourse than to either locate the now out-of-print translations of the first two volumes, or read the incomplete scanlations that are available online (“Rose of Versailles”).
numerous scanlation sites, scanlation “companies” or groups that do scanlation work, and aggregate sites that host scanlations from multiple sources.\textsuperscript{47}

Scanlations are an example of new media:

New media can provisionally be described as a global network of communication technologies and information flow whose material backbone is the digital computer and whose aesthetics and formal properties are heavily shaped by digital processes. Manovich (2001) lists these characteristics as programmability, modularity, automation, and – perhaps most important... – transcoding, that is, new media’s endless translation of information between diverse technological frameworks and cultural hierarchies. (Rehak 160)\textsuperscript{48}

Manga itself has been considered “new media”, due to the fluidity of its adaptation to new narrative styles and styles of presentation, as well as its availability on computers and cell phones in Japan (K. Ito 47). Mimi Ito’s “Amateur Cultural Production” examines the creative processes by which fansubs and AMVs are created. She studied a number of AMV creators and fansubbers and noted the camaraderie and the competition in creating a work, and how one has to become a technology expert in order to create and compete with other creators online (ibid.). In a similar fashion, scanlations share some of these characteristics (including a passion for creating a product and sharing it with others, and a desire to be credited for work done using another's materials) (Lee 1015-16). Characteristics such as these are exhibited by Starry Heaven, and they are to be examined subsequent to the close reading section of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{47} In online articles and blogs that discuss manga, these aggregate sites are seen as pariahs by some (see BruceMcF, Friedman).

\textsuperscript{48} Emphasis is in the original text.
Scanlations are a form of new media that takes advantage of affordable computer technologies as well as the accessibility of broadband internet access in order to provide manga readers a product that they would either not be able to read without translation, or one that will not be available when the fans would prefer (Lee 1016). Translation groups no longer have to be in the same room, or the same part of the world, to be able to work on a project. Scanlators also dictate the level of authenticity that is desired in the translations of said works, an issue that some claim is what draws them to scanlations in the first place (ibid). Scanlations are multimodal in that humans using computers create a product that contributes to digital culture by introducing a Japanese product to a global audience.

Scanlators and *otaku* are treating manga (and anime) as if they are a lens into Japanese culture, and the drive towards authenticity is one where these two groups create (or desire) a lens that has as little of a western filter as possible.\(^{49}\) Authenticity, in this context, refers to the accuracy of the translation in context of the original. Scanlators and *otaku* desire texts that retain the Japanese cultural aspects of the work, without removing

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\(^{49}\) There was a publication called *Mangajin* in which Japanese popular culture was used as a way to educate English-language students on learning Japanese. This also included bilingual manga that included a number of cultural and linguistic notes (a special thanks to Maureen Donovan for letting me know about this magazine). Other than *Mangajin* (which stopped publication in 1997), it is difficult to find examples other than the bilingual manga produced by Japanese publishers working with North American translators which, while intended for Japanese readers, are also useful for English speakers wishing to learn Japanese. These bilingual manga are still published today, with a new translation of Shirow Masamune’s *Ghost in the Shell* being released in Japan translated by Frederik L. Schodt, the man considered responsible for introducing North America to manga and anime. I have, however, found a bilingual translation done in North America. A group of students at The Ohio State University translated all eight volumes of Yoshizumi Wataru’s *Marmalade Boy*, and these translations can still be found online. They did two sets of translations, with one as a bilingual translation to help people learn how to read Japanese.
the cultural references to make the text more accessible to non-Japanese readers (see Lee, Cubbison). For the *otaku*, there is a strong desire to consume as much about Japanese culture as possible from these works, and anything less than “authentic” is considered problematic (see Brennan). For the scanlators, there are multiple motivations behind the desire to be “authentic,” including a desire to expose readers to new manga, and to be able to read more works from their favorite manga-ka (Lee 1015-16). Translations that alter the text to appeal to the sensibilities of the western audience are perceived as flawed, as they are not giving readers the messages that the Japanese themselves would receive. It is a cultural preservation that is occurring in these “authentic” translations, a project that is embarked upon by scanlators and, to a certain extent, by translation companies based on the audience.⁵⁰

Scanlators can be seen as a community of practice with its own set of rules and regulations that they follow. These groups are brought together because of a love of manga⁵¹ and a desire to connect with a favorite artist and/or genre.⁵² In creating their translations, these groups are serving as a bridge between the manga-ka and the fans; it is through becoming a conduit for the community that scanlators build their reputations.

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⁵⁰ Based on the patterns from various translations I've read, “authentic” translations in manga are more common when the target audience is older. However, a number of companies will also include notes explaining what was removed in the translation (see *Othello* and *Sayonara, Zetsubou-Sensei*), a move that is a compromise between the hard-core fans who want authentic translations and an audience that finds the story more important than the cultural references.

⁵¹ Or, at least an appreciation of manga as a tool with which to practice learning Japanese.

⁵² Most scanlators tend to stick to one genre, or focus on one manga-ka in their translation work.
with readers, as well as allowing the scanlators to have a closer connection with their favorite artists. As previously mentioned, authenticity is of a large concern for scanlators as well as otaku, and what unites these groups is their same affection for manga. Seeing them as a community allows for an understanding of why groups are willing to expend their own time and money in translations for which they receive no monetary compensation. It is also a community that welcomes new members by offering the scanlated product as well as offering opportunities for fans to also contribute to the translation process. As will be seen in the analysis of Starry Heaven, these communities have stringent regulations that attempt to preserve the original artist’s ownership of the work as well as to attain some notoriety for being producers of quality translations.

53 Another community of practice that expresses its connection to the community by conversing with each other about their fandom, as well as participating in the group by activities like cosplay, anime convention attendance, and writing fan fiction (see Levi).
Analysis

*Josei* manga is considered a manga style in which realistic depictions of relationships are given to a mature reading audience. In *Cappuccino*, Yoshizumi Wataru holds up a mirror to Japanese society to show young women in transition; fewer and fewer young women desire to give up their careers to stay at home and be solely responsible for running the household (Wiseman, Lo). *Cappuccino* stands in as a visual representation of society, giving young women new models upon which to pattern themselves.\(^{54}\)

*Artifact & Synopsis*

Yoshizumi Wataru is the pen name used by Nakai Mari, a manga-ka who debuted with her first manga short-story “Radical Romance” while still working as an office lady (Small).\(^{55}\) Yoshizumi\(^{56}\) was born in Tokyo, Japan in 1963 and has a degree in economics.

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\(^{54}\) Going back to the origins of *ryōsai kenbo*, there has been a struggle between society’s expectations for women and the desires of some to be able to redefine the woman through her own desires. Dina Lowy’s *The Japanese “New Woman*” looks at how the “new woman” had been trying to define herself beyond the confines of *ryōsai kenbo*. Tokuhiro Yoko outlays the evolution of feminism in Japan, showing that the concept has roots deeper in Japanese history than the western label suggests. Japanese feminism demonstrates the nuanced challenge between the desires of women to marry and the desire to have careers (and be defined by their own individual traits). Yoshizumi Wataru’s *Cappuccino* can be seen as visual extension of the continuing changes in *feminizumu* in Japan.

\(^{55}\) An office lady (or OL) works in an office, and typically had to serve tea to her male co-workers on top of her duties at work (Lo 42, Wudunn).

\(^{56}\) I defer to her pen name, as she is far better known by her pseudonym than her real name.
from Hitotsubashi University (“Wataru Yoshizumi” a, b). Yoshizumi was born around the time that shōjo manga shifted from being written primarily by men to being written by women.57 Her college education status can also be said to reflect a change in Japanese culture where more and more women are college educated and desire to take control of their careers (Wiseman, French).58 She, like other manga-ka before her, began by working in shōjo manga, but has recently written a number of josei works alongside shōjo projects (Small). Yoshizumi often favors titles that involve food,59 but for this particular work the food in the title was a bit more involved than in her most famous work.60 Yoshizumi is best known, globally, for her Marmalade Boy and Ultra Maniac series.61 She does not have much written about her outside of sites by her fans, but she creates a connection with her audience through her talk backs62 in her manga

57 And as women can dominate in the manga workforce due to the nature of the work environment (working from home and only having to answer to one editor and to the fans), it is an environment that encourages females to produce manga (even if critics do not take it seriously).

58 However, it is pure speculation as to whether or not the OL environment drove her to turn to manga.

59 She has used marmalade, mint, and now cappuccino in her manga titles, as well as the adjective spicy (“Wapedia - Wiki: Wataru Yoshizumi”).

60 The title for Marmalade Boy is explained only once in the eight-volume series, and it refers to the personality of the main love interest.

61 This is based on the number of fan sites written about, and dedicated to, Yoshizumi’s career. See “Wapedia - Wiki: Wataru Yoshizumi”, “Yoshizumi Wataru – Aniki” for examples.

62 These are the asides in which the manga-ka talks to the audience about his or her life, their work process, or anything else of interest to him or her.
*Cappuccino* is a one-volume *josei* series following the lives of Kojima Ari and Fujitani Sousuke⁶³, as they decide to break taboos and move in together. Sousuke has an affair with a former student from his prep school, and his relationship with Ari unravels when the discovery of the affair coincides with Ari's traumatic event. The relationship ends when Ari is confronted by the other woman on her own doorstep. Even after the relationship has been terminated, Ari has this sense of arrested development in that she refuses to date anyone after Sousuke. Two years later, Ari and Sousuke run into each other at a friend's wedding, where Ari realizes that she is finally free of her feelings for Sousuke and can move on with her life. This leaves Sousuke to live with his regret, as he realized his feelings for Ari subsequent to the breakup. I will address this scanlation’s authenticity, as well as analyze its presentation of Japanese cultural themes. I will furthermore discuss the feminist themes of *Cappuccino* as well as a reading of this text addressing new media.

**Character Descriptions**

Kojima Ari is *Cappuccino*'s heroine, a stationery maker in a long-term relationship who is willing to break with tradition and move in with her boyfriend. Ari, however, does not deviate from most of Japanese societal norms; while she is willing to live with her boyfriend without even being engaged, she still adheres to the societal rules of respect for her family. She also desires to marry Fujitani Sousuke, but she is unwilling to force the issue. Ari instead is *aimai* or is indirect in the way she expresses her desires.

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⁶³ I am using the spelling as presented by the scanlators, instead of using a macron over the o in his name.
Fujitani Sousuke is Ari’s boyfriend. They have been dating since college and he works as a teacher at a cram school. It is at his job that he meets Masaki Aina, a student who initiates a relationship with Sousuke that goes from being a one-time indiscretion to a full-blown affair. Ari and Sousuke’s best friends are Remi and Inaba, respectively. Both are businesspeople working at different companies, and while we sometimes see Remi at work or on a business trip, we do not get the same information about Inaba. Remi is a rather different character from Ari in that she is a successful businesswoman who is possibly on the sōgōshoku or managerial track in her company.

She has her own office, and is always working on projects that require a lot of overtime and heavy input from her. She, unlike Ari, is not worried about getting married, and is not bothered by being single. Ari, on the other hand, puts up with Sousuke’s aberrant behavior for the sake of the relationship in the hope that he will one day properly propose. Not much is known about Inaba except that he has a girlfriend that he does not love but stays with her because she faithfully stayed with him despite his feelings.

She does things for him, but is unwilling to come out and say to him that she wants to be married.

A cram school is a school where students go to prepare for various entrance exams. In Japan, most colleges have their own entrance exams, but there is also a singular exam offered by the National Center for University Admissions (Kitao and Kitao, 2008).

The reader never learns their last names.

The sōgōshoku (managerial) track has been historically reserved for men, with the ippanshoku (general clerical) track left to women. Only people on the sōgōshoku track can hope to advance to executive status in companies. The ippanshoku track is usually left to women because of the expectation that they will quit once they get married or have children (Bishop 123).

She is very much an example of young women in Japan today who are unafraid to wait on getting married (Wiseman).
Yoshizumi chooses to emphasize the careers of Ari and Remi (either by showing them at work or when they discuss their careers), yet she chooses to explore the emotional sides of Sousuke and Inaba. Yoshizumi makes Sousuke's torment rather palpable when he is propositioned by his erstwhile student, and both he and Inaba are involved in love triangles. This is not to say that Ari's emotional state is ignored; as she is the heroine of the narrative, the reader is treated to her emotional struggle as her relationship falls apart. The story foregrounds the careers of the women; one may also suppose that the emphasis on the emotional sides of the males may be giving women an insight to the way men act and feel, a side that women may not always see. Ari and Remi stand in as reflections of the change in women's perceived roles in Japanese culture (Wiseman & Davies and Ikeno 61).

Close Reading

The narrative begins with Kojima Ari and Fujitani Sousuke shopping to furnish their new apartment. Having dated for four years, they decide to move in together because they had limited time to see one another due to their careers. Ari and Sousuke were intentionally trying to hide their co-habitation from her family because her parents are known to be strict. However, their cover is blown when Ari’s mother calls her and

69 However, Sousuke is the only one who sleeps with both of his love interests.

70 However, as this was written by a woman, the male perspective is from the female gaze.

71 Cohabitation without marriage is a cultural taboo that, while strong in Japan, is not unknown in other parts of the world. According to Yoko Tokuhiro, the increase in cohabitation amongst Japanese couples is considered a contributing factor in the rise of bankonka “or the postponement of marriage” currently discussed in Japanese media (2). Under the remnants of the le system, the father is still the
asks about the new apartment; when Ari slips and says that the apartment is big (despite being cheaper than her previous apartment), her *aimai* or indirect comment about her apartment alerted her mother to the truth. She realizes what her daughter is doing and promises to keep the secret from her father\(^{72}\) (all the while, Ari is looking more and more stunned as the realization of being caught dawns on her). Ari tells Sousuke that she is going home to explain the situation properly to her mother\(^{73}\) in the hopes of gaining an ally against her father. Ari comes home to get the third degree from both her mother and her married older sister, who want to know more about the cohabitation, and their plans for marriage. Ari explains that, as she is twenty-four, she felt she was too young for marriage.\(^{74}\) Her mother disagrees,\(^{75}\) but her sister points out that they may want to live

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\(^{72}\) He is still the head of his household, and can refuse to give his approval if he so desires (Davies and Ikeno 120).

\(^{73}\) This is a strong theme depicted in a number of manga because Japan is a society that operates on proper procedures, including asking someone out, and asking someone to consider you as a potential mate if they were to ever become single.

\(^{74}\) A new sentiment shared among young Japanese women today, who no longer see themselves as stale as a day old Christmas cake (see Wiseman, Tokuhiro).

\(^{75}\) There is a societal expectation for Japanese women to get married by the time they are 25, so Ari's response is possibly indicative of changes in Japanese societal norms. A reflection of this can be found in statistics provided by the Statistics and Information Department, Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. According to the *Ninjō Dōtai Tōkei* (Statistics of Population Dynamics), the average age of first marriage for women has risen to 28.0 years of age (29.8 years of age for men); this is an increase that
together to find out their compatibility, seeing this as an opportunity to make sure they can live with each other before getting locked into marriage. Okaa-san\textsuperscript{76} and Onee-san\textsuperscript{77} are both concerned that there’s the risk that Ari and Sousuke will live together too long and never get around to planning their marriage and family, so they are both shocked when they find out that the couple has yet to discuss marriage, and only thought about wanting to see each other every day. The panel in which the mother and sister are seen yelling is rather comical in that both women are looking directly at the reader (implicating her as Ari) with wide-open mouths that are reminiscent of a Charlie Brown mouth groaning in frustration (20/23; ch. 1) (see Figure 1). This scene is also the introduction of Ari’s personality as being that of a rather docile nature.\textsuperscript{78} She explains to her family that she has not brought up the conversation of marriage with Sousuke because she does not want to force him; Ari wants Sousuke to ask her properly. She inadvertently tells her father the truth of her living arrangement when she says that living together is the first step towards marriage, right as he enters the room (see Figure 2). This is set up quite well, as the panel preceding Otou-san’s\textsuperscript{79} entry is only filled with a talk bubble and

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{76} “mother”, formal “not familiar” term with the “o” prefix. \\
\textsuperscript{77} “older sister”, formal “not familiar” term with the “o” prefix. \\
\textsuperscript{78} In using the o- prefix when speaking to her family, Ari is using the teineigo level of polite language, a form of keigo (honorific) language “that... is used not only with seniors but also with people around oneself as a way of expressing respectful politeness in a general sense.” (Davies and Ikeno 190). \\
\textsuperscript{79} “father”, also formal with the “o” prefix.
\end{tabular}
background. To everyone's surprise, the next panel is her father asking “What's this talk about living together without being married” (21/24; ch. 1). The readers are then confronted with the surprised looks on practically everyone's faces (Maju, Ari's niece, is the only non-surprised person in the room).

Ari's father provides the reader with a rather strong interpretation of the concept of marriage in Japan. He asks Ari why she did not just ask permission to marry instead of doing a “slutty” thing like sneaking around to live with her boyfriend (23/26; ch. 1) (see Figure 3). Ari, still in the docile pose, looks downward as she is yelled at by her father. She has not looked up since she arrived at her parents' home, always looking downcast and showing everyone the utmost respect. It is not until Sousuke arrives that things start to change for Ari. She sent Sousuke a text letting him know that she would not be home anytime soon, so when he arrives at her doorstep in a suit, it is quite a surprise. He introduces himself and says that he came over to properly ask to be allowed to live together without being married. When asked why he does not properly marry Ari, he tells her father that he does not have the financial means to buy a home to support a wife and children. When pressed further, because Ari’s father believes that Sousuke should just

80 As translated by Starry Heaven
81 Texting, and cellular culture in Japan overall is even more pervasive than in the U.S. (Faiola, Foster)
82 Typically, when a Japanese woman marries, she gives up her career to become a housewife and, subsequently, a mother (French, Wudunn, Davies and Ikeno 180). Sousuke’s concerns about his financial solvency is not unheard of; one of Tokuhiro’s case studies focuses on a man named Hiroshi, and how he has remained single for 14 years partially because of the pressure to make a wife happy through “maintaining a secure financial position as well as social status” (110). Toshiaki also discusses this at length in the chapter on marriage and divorce. Seen as an obstacle to marriage, not having the
endure the separation until he is financially ready, he explains that the separation they were experiencing due to their work schedules was putting a strain on the relationship that may result in lost feelings. Ever the prodding father, when Otou-san asks if he intends to marry Ari when he does have the means, Sousuke says yes. This comes as a shock to Ari, as he had never been willing to discuss marriage with her, nor had he proposed.\textsuperscript{83} When Sousuke states his marriage intentions, Ari’s father gives them permission to cohabit until such time as they sign the marriage register.\textsuperscript{84} Ari accepts this moment as being a proposal,\textsuperscript{85} and this makes her feel happy.

The dialogue between Sousuke and Ari’s father is interesting in that Sousuke is often apologizing for what he has to say, as he is trying to be respectful of her father and her family’s position about marriage. What the reader never sees are the father’s eyes. They remain hidden behind glasses, and even when other characters are reacting to what is being said, he is never portrayed with exaggerated features when showing emotion.

\textsuperscript{83} It is also surprising in a general sense because, according to Davies and Ikeno, Japanese people, in general, tend to speak indirectly about things, using \textit{haragei}, defined as “the verbal or physical action one employs to influence others by the potency of rich experience and boldness, and ... the act of dealing with people or situations through ritual formalities and accumulated experience.” (103). This is something done between those who are intimate with each other as words are not needed because they are close to one another. Sousuke seems to either be uninterested or oblivious to Ari’s desire to be closer to one another.

\textsuperscript{84} When Japanese couples get married, the wife is added to the husband’s family register.

\textsuperscript{85} He is not asking her directly, but the implication is there that he intends to marry her.
(unlike the pratfall-esque depictions of the rest of the family in this scene). In that regard, it could be said that the only emotion he showed was anger, and the volume of his words was enough to show his displeasure. Otou-san stands in as a representation of traditional-values Japan. He is stern, and even though the law no longer gives him absolute control over his family, he still has final say over people from his home (Davies and Ikeno 120). As he is the representative of a patriarchal society, his reactions are very important to monitor throughout the narrative.

Ari and Sousuke settle into a routine which involves Ari accepting the responsibility to cook and clean the apartment, even on days that Sousuke has off from work (instead of asking him to pick up some of the household responsibilities when he does not have to work). This behavior is standard in a traditional relationship in that the woman is expected to take care of the housework, even while employed outside of the home (Davies and Ikeno 179). It is also indicative of Sousuke's amaе, a form of “depend[ance] on the benevolence of others” (Davies and Ikeno 17). He relies on Ari to do things for him in the relationship, like cook and clean (even though they are not married), and he does not show any appreciation.  

Ari, in turn, also participates in amaе in that she is unwilling to risk the relationship by confronting Sousuke about her feelings. Remi tells her best friend that Ari should not hide her displeasure about aspects of the relationship and to tell him about her concerns because she “can't endure it all alone,” but

86 He shows no appreciation because Japanese people in an amaе relationship “do not express their appreciation as much to people they are close to and with whom they can amaе”, even though they would show more appreciation to someone who is not as close but did something to which they were obligated to reciprocate (Davies and Ikeno 18).
Ari declines (6/9; ch. 2). Remi’s reaction is that of a growing number of females in Japan who feel resentment towards men who expect them to do the housework if they continue to work, leading a number of women to cite this as a primary reason for waiting to marry (Wiseman, Tokuhiro, and Toshiaki).

A pivotal moment in the manga, and in Ari and Sousuke’s relationship, is when Sousuke begins a supposedly one-time affair. Sousuke’s infidelity occurs six months into their cohabitation when Masaki Aina, a student at his prep school, confesses her feelings for him and begs him to take her out on a date so she can “make lots of memories” and be able to forget about him (20/23; ch. 2). He is reluctant to do so, but ultimately agrees to take her on the date on a day where he gets off of work early (he makes the fateful decision to not tell Ari about the date ahead of time). The date goes from mostly innocent to crossing the line when she begs him to kiss her and he complies. However, while on his date, Ari tried to call Sousuke and was surprised that his phone was not on. She finds out that he lied to her about having to work overtime when she calls the school (and finds out that he has gone home for the day). Instead of getting angry, she decides to make cappuccino with a heart design in milk, and pretend that nothing happened. This food offering can be seen as enacting a form of social obligation, in that Ari makes him a gift of a beverage that he is obliged to reciprocate. After a loving embrace from him...
when he gets home (stemming from a number of reasons), she firmly agrees to overlook the deception. His hug can be interpreted to be the reciprocation to her coffee, and Ari’s *amae* emerges again in that she is unwilling to accost him about his lies.

At this point, it is important to note Yoshizumi Wataru’s use of coffee throughout *Cappuccino*. Coffee is used as the litmus test for Ari and Sousuke’s relationship throughout the narrative. As will be further explored later, their cohabitation begins with the purchase of matching coffee mugs and ends with the mugs’ disposal. Coffee represents the health of their relationship; as the relationship decays, so does the artistry of the cappuccino coffee designs.\(^89\) Yoshizumi’s use of food-like references emerges in previous works,\(^90\) but this is the first work in which the metaphor is frequently referenced.\(^91\)

The affair resumes six months later, as Aina has gotten into college. He sees her as a pretty young lady and does not hesitate to take her out when she asks for a congratulatory meal. When she confesses her feelings for him, he tries to dissuade her, but she refuses to back down. He then embraces her, marking the beginning of an undeniable infidelity. Coming home late that night, Sousuke is surprised to see that Ari is

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\(^89\) Ari learns to create designs in the coffee with milk, and warns that the coffee has to be consumed while it is still hot or the design will disappear.

\(^90\) In *Marmalade Boy*, it referred to the personality of the lead male protagonist, and in the series *Spicy Pink*, it refers to the female protagonist and her line of work as a manga artist.

\(^91\) As will be discussed later, the emphasis on coffee, as opposed to tea, is indicative of a Western flavor injected into Japanese culture. According to Boye De Menthe, coffee shops came to Japan in the 1920s by Japanese who spent time abroad and were trying to recreate the Paris coffee experience (74). Today, the shift in coffee itself is towards Italian-style coffee, though that is mostly from companies based out of Seattle, Washington (Yoshida).
still awake, and lies about his whereabouts. She detects the faint scent of perfume and figures out that he is lying to her again, but she refuses to confront Sousuke and tries to accept the deception as part of her reality. He constantly lies to Ari while continuing the relationship, leaving Ari to live with her bitterness as she is unwilling to confront him out of fear of losing their now five-year investment in their relationship, hating herself and Sousuke in the process (24/27; ch. 4). At this point, Sousuke is very comfortable in his relationship with Ari and is relying on her kindness to keep the relationship going. Even though he is cheating on her, he feels that he can keep it from being discovered.\textsuperscript{92} Ari has invested too much into the relationship to be willing to walk away, but because she is too polite to state her concerns and because she wants to believe that their relationship is close enough that she does not need to communicate her displeasure,\textsuperscript{93} she is left with her feelings.

There are only a few depictions of anything resembling sexual activity in the series, and two of them involve Ari and Sousuke. The first is the opening page of chapter

\textsuperscript{92} He is able to conduct himself in this manner because they are in such a close relationship (an inner-circle relationship), that he can take things for granted (see Davies and Ikeno). There are generally two types of relationships in Japan: those of the inner-circle (the people with which one is close) and those of the outer-circle (people with which you have a relationship, but it is not as intimate). One can speak more freely, and about more intimate matters, with people in the inner-circle than those who are not as close. In Sousuke’s case, he is taking for granted Ari’s kindness, and thinks that because he has not been caught, that he can still take part in his affair and still continue his relationship with Ari unabated.

\textsuperscript{93} This goes back to earlier in the narrative when Ari complained to her friend Remi about how he does not help out around the house. Remi tells Ari that she has to tell Sousuke what she feels, but she refuses. There is an undercurrent of frustration in that Sousuke is not able (or willing) to be as intimate with Ari as she wishes, because he will not pick up on her cues. In this first instance, Remi calls up Sousuke and yells at him for not being kind to Ari, resulting in a temporary change in his behavior at home.
3 when we see the two of them asleep in the same bed, the second is with Ari and Sousuke when he gets home from his “date” (where they are fully clothed, but based on the way they are holding each other, it is evident that they are a sexual couple), and the third involves Aina (see Figures 4-6). Sousuke confesses to his best friend Inaba\textsuperscript{94} that he has been cheating on Ari, which makes Inaba furious. Sousuke is surprised and hurt by Inaba's reaction because he was “confiden[t] [that] any sin [would be] forgiven” based on being very close to one another (Davies and Ikeno 18).\textsuperscript{95} However, by “betray[ing] the trust of members of his own group” he was hit with a stronger sense of guilt than expected (ibid). Inaba demands that Sousuke end the relationship with the other girl. Sousuke says that he will, but thinks instead that he wants to enjoy things just a little longer, and you see Sousuke and Aina kissing each other as part of his fantasy. They are nude, but only shown from the waist up, and her back is to the reader. This image is given to the reader to make very clear what Sousuke is doing with his other relationship.

Just as Sousuke thinks things are going well,\textsuperscript{96} Ari gets mugged on her way home from work; this is an act that results in the unraveling of Sousuke's lies. Ari was distracted because she had started to sense something was going on with Sousuke the night he came home after his reacquaintance with Aina,\textsuperscript{97} so when Ari gets mugged, she

\textsuperscript{94} We never find out the last names of either best friend in the series.

\textsuperscript{95} It is also a surprise because, until recently, mistresses were an accepted part of Japanese culture. This will be explored further later in the paper.

\textsuperscript{96} Because he believes Ari is in the dark about his relationship with Aina.

\textsuperscript{97} Referred to as Masaki-san for most of the series. It is also an indication of her outsider status from the
is horrified, stunned, and tries to figure out what to do. She thinks about how everything was in her purse...except her cell phone, which she uses to call Sousuke, praying that he will answer. Instead, she gets a message that his phone is turned off, leaving her feeling very alone.

The scene of the mugging is set up with black gutters,⁹⁸ which are ominous in their nature (see Figure 7). Ari only has just enough warning to turn to see the motorcycle approaching right before the rear passenger snatches her purse off of her shoulder, knocking her into a wall in the process. Ari starts to panic, and quickly thinks of what she should do. She wants to contact the police and cancel her credit cards, and has an “oh!”⁹⁹ revelation moment when she realizes she still has her cell phone (see Figure 8).

The “thump” effects on page 13/16 are in place of the “dokun” sounds that were originally in the panel, demarcating her rapid heartbeat as she is trying to process what has occurred (see Figure 9).¹⁰⁰ Dokun is a heartbeat gitaigo¹⁰¹ which is also telling of the group (Kasulis).

⁹⁸ Gutters are the empty spaces between the panels. (Lefèvre 160)

⁹⁹ A moment of relief.

¹⁰⁰ This is similar to the “doki” gitaigo that one would see in manga; however, while “doki” reflects nervousness and/or the fluttering of a heart in a romantic situation, “dokun” is a heavy thump that represents fear.

¹⁰¹ “The Japanese recognize two different kinds of onomatopoeic giseigo or giongo, which are words that mimic real sounds and gitaigo which are words that mimic psychological states and non-auditory sounds” (Petersen 167). Dokun (which is often written repeatedly in texts) does mimic a heartbeat which would make it a giongo effect. Dokun has an onomatopoeic effect; the effect is not in the word itself, but what it is standing for, but because it is also an actual sound, it is giongo.
emotion behind it.\(^{102}\) In this case the sound gives the reader a strong sense of the horror she is feeling after being attacked. There is an emotional weight in this *giongo* that may not have the same bearing in English, as the thump of a heartbeat would be a stand-in for the real heartbeat of a person and not have the cultural signifier that exist in the *giongo* presented.\(^{103}\)

Her relief in finding her phone quickly disappears when she hears a vehicle and is afraid that the muggers are coming back (see Figure 10). She is hoping that Sousuke will come to her aid, as she is very frightened, and the reader gets to the bottom of the page wondering if Sousuke will actually answer. What Ari gets instead is the message that his phone is off, leaving her to fend for herself. She adopts that same resigned look that she gets whenever she thought of Sousuke when he would lie about his whereabouts. In the *tankōbon*, the page where she finds her phone and where she gets the automated message are part of a two-page spread, something I deciphered prior to getting the book based on the layout and the placement of the gutters and panels. Not having the two-page spread

\(^{102}\) The emphasis of the heartbeat reflects the importance of sound in comics and manga. “Sounds appear across the densely drawn pages of manga punctuating the flow of the page and creating visual patterns that unify and add complexity to the composition.... The shape and placement of sound in manga is not incidental to the narrative sweep of the manga, but in an important way reflects the larger dramatic movement of the story” (Petersen 166). Unlike in a novel where the emphasis would be on describing the character’s emotional state, the heartbeat adds to the overall tension of the page. It is also important to point this out in that the emphasis would be different if this were a western comic book. Instead of an audible heartbeat, the focus would be on rapid breathing and the visuals of the look on the character’s face. Pointing out the importance of the heartbeat to the narrative flow of manga demonstrates the importance of these effects to the ways in which they work in manga as opposed to other comic styles.

\(^{103}\) Also discussed in Thompson.
changed the pacing of the story, and since it can take time for pages to load, it takes longer to find out the results of her phone call.\textsuperscript{104}

Ari calls her best friend Remi, who is out of town on a business trip but she recommends that Ari call Inaba as he lives in the area. He comes to her aid and helps her get situated with the police as well as with her landlord (who has to let her into her apartment). He also stays with her until Sousuke comes home. While sitting together, she expresses her suspicion that Sousuke has been cheating on her, which surprises Inaba because he thought (based on what Sousuke told him) that Ari did not know about the affair. When Sousuke gets home, he is surprised to see Inaba in the house. He asks if something has happened, and Inaba yells at him for not being available when Ari was attacked. When Sousuke asks if she is alright, she yells at him that she's not alright and runs off. Inaba is left to tell Sousuke the news that Ari knows about the affair, leaving Sousuke no choice but to apologize and tell her the truth. The emotional weight of the affair was greater than her desire to get along with Sousuke, so Ari is forced to be direct in her feelings.

When he is finally able to talk to Ari, he tells her everything and asks for forgiveness. She does not give him a response until the next day when he comes home and tells Ari that he has ended the affair with Aina. Ari then says she understands and is

\textsuperscript{104} In this instance, Yoshizumi wanted the reader to see Ari’s reaction in juxtaposition of her relief of finding her phone in the first place. The drama of the preceding pages quickened the pace of the event, allowing Ari to have a brief moment of relief and hope to be dashed by her inability to reach Sousuke as depicted in the two-page spread. In reading the spread as two isolated pages, the narrative is slowed down, taking away control of the pacing from the manga-ka's original intention. Pacing issues will be covered in a subsequent analysis, but the issue needed to be mentioned here.
willing to forget everything and start fresh. Sousuke is relieved, but their relationship has been altered. Ari is still willing to endure it because they have invested so many years into the relationship, but things that she previously tolerated begin to bother her. The *amae* they once had was now strained because Ari could no longer rely on Sousuke in a reciprocal manner. In this way, Ari is experiencing issues that many young women in Japan no longer want to endure (Harden). Sousuke takes advantage of her kindness, but it irritates her now when it did not bother her before the bond was broken. When she tells Inaba about her concerns, he sees it as the right moment to explain the nature of his relationship with his girlfriend Tomoka. He says that, essentially, he is only with Tomoka because the woman he wants is his best friend’s girl, and he asks her to consider breaking up with Sousuke and going out with him instead.

Ari and Sousuke’s relationship takes another violent turn when Aina confronts Ari at her front doorstep. Aina demands that Ari breaks up with Sousuke. She refers to him as *sensei* (teacher), reflecting the strength of hierarchy in Japanese culture; Aina is involved with Sousuke, but she still sees him as a superior and refers to him with a title of respect ([Davies and Ikeno190]). Aina tells Ari that he loves her more, but is only staying with Ari because he promised to marry her. With fury in her eyes, Aina shouts to Ari: “Let *sensei* be free” (19/22; ch. 6). Frightened, Ari runs into the house, with Aina’s catcalls behind her.

Masaki Aina is an interesting character in that she is young, but she too obeys the rules of societal politeness. Like more young women in Japan today, she is very forward and decisive. However, what sets her apart is that she is assertive about wanting Sousuke
to the point that she is violent. It would at first appear that she is a modern woman in her assertiveness, but her desires are rather traditional. Presumably, she wants to marry Sousuke, but she feels that he is too honor bound to continue his five-year engagement and, therefore, she has no choice but to go to Ari to ask that she end their relationship. If given the opportunity, Aina would more likely push for marriage if Sousuke were available, and that would make her character less like a modern young woman and more like a child who impetuously pushes for what she wants. Read another way, Aina is a representation of what men fear about aggressive women (Lo, Wiseman). Her aggression goes beyond even Remi’s assertiveness to the point where she verbally assaults another woman. In this case, it renders Aina as a non-feminine woman who is undesirable because of her aggressive behavior.

When Ari tells Sousuke about the confrontation, he assures her that Aina has gotten the wrong impression about their relationship, and that he did end it with her, but

105 According to a number of texts looking at marriage in Japan today, many single women desire to get married; and while there are various reasons as to why they do not marry (e.g. finding a suitable partner, a desire to still retain independence while married, etc.), the desire is there. For example, in Toshiaki’s book, 90% of single women desire to be married; however, “40 percent of wives indicate they would not mind being single their whole life” (121), indicating that those who are single desire to be married, but once they are married, some feel that being single is not that problematic.

106 What Aina does not know is that Sousuke is heavily invested in this amae relationship of reliance upon Ari. Whether he loves her or not, he wants to be in this symbiotic relationship. All Aina sees is a man trapped in an obligation, which only fuels the conflict.

107 Ari and, to an extent Remi, are able to represent positive images of women in the Japanese workforce as they are hard workers who operate within societal rules of politeness. Remi is never depicted interacting with her co-workers, which means if she is an assertive woman at work, the reader is shielded from that aspect of the workplace, and it retains the image that a woman can work in the management track and still retain her femininity.
that Aina still calls and texts him (which he claims to ignore). Ari tells Sousuke that she was afraid that Aina was going to harm her, but his response is to say that Aina is not that type of girl. And for the first time in the series, Ari gets angry. She is angry that he is sticking up for the other woman. She finally confesses that she is still angry about the affair. Sousuke, looking a bit hurt, says “So you really haven’t forgiven me?” and she has to tell him that she wanted to, but she can no longer trust him (23/26; ch. 6). She decides that she has had enough misery and ends the relationship.

The ending of the series deserves a critical look, but in order to properly address it, another concept must be dealt with first. A major subtext of the narrative that also speaks strongly to Japanese culture is about marriage and the modern Japanese woman. Ari is an every-woman character who wants to break a cultural taboo in order to be able to spend time with her boyfriend, but even as she is shunning the cultural expectation of marriage, she is learning to operate in the proper role of ryōsai kenbo. Once they get into their routine, Ari is left to cook and clean daily, even on days that Sousuke is off work, and he refuses to take her out on dates (preferring, instead, to stay at home and eat her cooking). She admits to Remi that she likes to clean, but that it is frustrating when she

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108 Sousuke refers to her as Aina, reflecting how close he had gotten to her in their relationship. It is shocking because he is not supposed to be that close to any other woman, but Aina still sees herself in a subordinate position.

109 As cohabitation rates have increased in Japan, this is a taboo that is becoming more accepted in society. “Unmarried couples living together are no longer a rarity, and we can expect this trend to continue in the future as well” (Toshiaki 121-22). Tokuhiro outlines in her text how Japanese women today, in their own way, are pushing against the societal expectations of being a wife and mother by delaying marriage, which includes an increase in cohabitation.

110 “Good wife, wise mother” (see Davies and Ikeno 179-186).
is tired and he has been home all day and he does not offer to cook. Remi, a very outspoken businesswoman, tells Ari to tell Sousuke how she feels, but Ari does not want to make waves. It is only after Remi calls Sousuke to chew him out that he starts to treat Ari better (This phone call, coincidentally, was the same day that Sousuke took Masaki Aina on her date). Sousuke's treatment of Ari is considered the standard for an *amae* relationship. They are close enough that he is no longer obligated to show his appreciation for her work; but many young women want to be treated as equals in the home, and that includes sharing the housework (Harden).  

Ari gets concerned about her situation when a co-worker in a similar setup, Kuroda-san, is about to get married. Ari asks her how they finally got around to getting married, and Kuroda-san tells Ari that she grabbed some wedding magazines and said “Isn’t it about time?” (3/6; ch. 4). Kuroda-san’s approach is rather indirect, but it is one that is acceptable in Japanese culture due to its non-assertive nature. Kuroda-san and her fiancé had been living together for three years, and Kuroda-san warns her that men like the idea of having the wife at home without the financial responsibility.  

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111 Also, see Tokuhiro, Lowy, and Toshiaki on further discussions about women and their views on housework, and why seeing it as only a woman’s job is problematic and a potential barrier towards marriage.

112 Not unlike parasite singles: “young people who sponge off their parents and use their rent-free incomes to splurge on designer goodies, expensive dinners and trips abroad” (Wiseman). This concept is challenged by Tokuhiro in that she sees the evolution of the term originating with the *Hanakozoku* or Hanako Groupies; these were women targeted by *Hanako* magazine who traveled and lived a leisure-focused lifestyle, but this became a negative thing when the economic bubble burst because “a perception started to spread that the *Hanakozoku* were sustaining their luxurious lifestyles by living with their parents, thus enabling themselves to spend almost their entire income on themselves” (44). This gradual development of the term challenges Wiseman’s perception of parasite singles because Wiseman’s presentation is as a matter-of-fact observation, and Tokuhiro shows that it is a more
her that there is always the possibility that another woman can steal him away, so it is best to get married and get settled if you have decided he is the one. This advice comes right before Aina reenters Sousuke’s life, so it does serve as a moment of foreshadowing. However, Ari once again refuses to press the issue with Sousuke, because he is supposed to pick up on Ari’s desires and ask without being prompted to do so.

A scene that supposedly speaks to a Japanese woman’s desires is the moment Ari has with her sister and niece Maju. Her sister wants to know how things are going, and gets excited for them when she hears things are going well. When Onee-san asks if they will be getting married soon, she is surprised to find out that they still have not spoken of marriage. When her sister suggests that Ari get pregnant to force the issue, Ari tells her that Sousuke is extra cautious about that sort of thing, so it would be very difficult to do. After her sister leaves, Ari stares fondly at her niece and thinks to herself “I’m the same after all...Women want children” (9/12; ch. 4). Ari’s maternal desires are awakened because the conversation with her sister caused her to align her desires with the ryōsai kenbo ideal. At this point, she wants to stay home and raise children, and this also makes waiting for a proposal more difficult.\(^\text{113}\)

Ari tries to endure her relationship with Sousuke when she suspects him of cheating when she smells perfume on him. She puts up with relationship issues, but she begins to hate Sousuke and herself for being unable to confront him on his infidelity. She

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\(^{113}\) This scene will be further analyzed in the section on motherhood in Japanese culture.
is afraid to confront him because of the risk of losing their now five-year relationship. With Remi busy with work, Ari has nobody to turn to as her resentment of Sousuke grows. So when she is mugged, and Sousuke is forced to tell her the truth about the affair, her ability to put up with things that bothered her before starts to falter. She realizes that their relationship has changed. She forgives him but is unable to let their relationship go back to what it was before. She has a conversation with Inaba where his feelings for Ari come out,¹¹⁴ but her relationship with Sousuke finally ends after she is confronted by an angry Aina. The realization of Aina and Sousuke’s relationship is the tipping point.

In a sign of a softening of her parents' views (and a commentary on the changing opinions of the patriarchy), when Ari told her parents about the breakup, they were very sympathetic and told her that all that mattered was her happiness, and that it was best that they broke up before the marriage, because if she had married him she “would have lost everything” (5/7; ch. 7).¹¹⁵ In this case, Ari’s father is representing a change in Japanese culture because he is more concerned for his daughter's well being over the expectation that she should have stayed in a relationship that made her uncomfortable (see Davies and Ikeno 63, 119). Her father is also not as angry about the changes he is forced to accept when she tells her parents that the relationship has ended. Initially, he was very angry that the couple had chosen to live together without allowing for arrangements to be made with

¹¹⁴ Inaba was willing to tell her only because of Sousuke's infidelity, but asks her to consider him for a boyfriend if she and Sousuke break up.

¹¹⁵ “If you so unreasonably went as planned and got married, if you had been uncomfortable, then you would have lost everything.” (5/7; ch. 7)
Sousuke's family. His reactions appear to be more accepting of the changes that are occurring within his family (and possibly a change in society's acceptance of these relationships) as a representation of flexibility in the standard traditions of Japanese culture. Ari then tells Remi about the breakup, and Remi feels rather sorry for her because she was not available during Ari's crisis. Ari then calls Inaba to turn him down, telling him to turn his feelings towards the girlfriend who has stood by him through everything. Ari also says that she does not want Sousuke to lose both his girlfriend and best friend at the same time, refusing to be selfish and start a new relationship on the heels of the old one.

After 5 ½ years together (and 1 ½ years of cohabitation), they finally move out of their apartment and out of each other’s lives. It is two years before they have another encounter. By this time Inaba, Ari's would-be suitor is marrying his girlfriend Tomoka, and Ari and Sousuke have a chance to talk. He asks how she has been, and she tells him that, at first it was difficult because "I loved you and I regretted not trying harder to make it work" (19/21; ch. 7). Things changed for her, however, when she got a reassignment at her job to a department in which more was expected from her at work. While her superior scared her with his demanding demeanor, she put in the extra time and effort to research the products on her off-time. She threw herself into her work and started to see results.

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116 The reader never finds out if Sousuke told his parents about his living arrangements with Ari.

117 The reader discovers that both Remi and Inaba had feelings for Sousuke and Ari, respectively, but only Remi and Inaba knew the truth. It makes the friendship that Remi and Inaba were willing to spend so much time investing in with Ari and Sousuke rather interesting (if not a little bizarre for Western readers).
Her ideas were getting heard and products she worked on were coming onto the market. It was then that she realized that her desire to marry and have children was driven by her previous position at work, where she felt she was only doing it to bide her time. She now has a job where she feels fulfilled and she does not need to be married to feel that kind of fulfillment.\textsuperscript{118} She also realized that, after seeing Sousuke for the first time in years, that she felt healed and could look back on their relationship with fondness and finally move on with her life, to possibly find a new love. Sousuke is left without being able to tell Ari that he still loves her and wants to reunite, while Ari accepts a date from her superior (whom she had turned down numerous times prior).

Ari’s declaration of job fulfillment is a startling change for her character, and it also tells the reader that one does not have to fear passing the age of 25 without being married.\textsuperscript{119} Her desires to have children and marry stemmed from working a job for which she had no passion. She was trying to passively wait for a proper proposal, but instead found her own voice in her career and the ability to make changes. She has become a bit more like Remi in that she works her job and loves what she does, but there is still a part of her that is willing to let love in. Ari is not like the expected young lady of Japan, and she offers a warning: If you cannot tolerate infidelity, it is better to separate than to stay in the relationship.

\textsuperscript{118} A sentiment shared by a number of Japanese women today (French, Wudunn, Wiseman).

\textsuperscript{119} “Better educated, more widely traveled and raised in more affluence than their mothers, young women no longer feel bound by the Japanese tradition that says a woman unmarried after age 25 is like a Christmas cake on Dec. 26 — stale. Men, meanwhile, seem intimidated and bewildered by assertive young women who are nothing like their moms.” (Wiseman).
Before embarking on a textual analysis, a further exploration into the literary uses of *giri* (obligation) and *ninjō* (human feelings) as they emerge in this text is necessary. As these are issues that have been utilized in Japanese literature in previous works, it is a concept worthy of attention. *Giri* means “moral debt; obligation; duty” (Nakao 71).

Described as an obligation to family and friends, *giri* is exhibited in Japanese society through the practice of obligatory gift-giving where one not only has to give gifts to family and friends with which you are familiar, one must also give gifts as thanks for the gifts that were given.\(^\text{120}\) In terms of literature, *giri* is often paired with *ninjō*, which means “sympathy; human feelings” (Nakao 169). The two terms are often featured together as *giri-ninjō*, implying that there is not only the possibility for the two terms to be in conflict with each other, but that “this attitude on duty and affection in interpersonal relations means a mixture of (a) warm-heartedness, humanness, and personal feelings, (b) complicated feelings rooted in the discord between duty or loyalty and personal sentiment” (Hayashi 12).\(^\text{121}\) Seeing the terms as separate should “not, however, be taken to mean that *giri* represented human ideals, separated by a gulf from *ninjō*, the reality of the human spirit. The two factors were present in all actual situations, perceptions and ideals” (Katō and Sanderson 140).*Giri* and *ninjō* have been present in Japanese literature since at least the eighteenth century in such works as Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s *Love*

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120 It is this gift-giving practice – one that can cost thousands of dollars a year in order to maintain relationships – that is referred to when discussing Japanese culture.

121 Also, see Rosenberger.
Suicides at Amijima in 1721, where the concept of *giri* is complicated as the characters Osan, Koharu, and Jihei have to grapple with love for one person and *giri* or an obligation to another (Keene 260, Shirane 142-43). In *Cappuccino*, there are several characters who are trying to deal with these issues: Sousuke, Ari, and Aina, as well as Inaba and Tomoka.

Sousuke is involved in a relationship with Ari and has been with her for a few years. In order to make Ari’s parents comfortable with the idea of the two of them living together, he declares that he will marry Ari once he has the financial means to support a wife. He has made an obligation, or *giri*, not only to her parents but to Ari as well.\(^{122}\) However, his involvement with Aina complicates the situation. He is compelled to take Aina out on a date while she is still a student at his cram school, and while he reluctantly goes along with her wishes, he seems uncomfortable with the situation.\(^{123}\) Aina returns six months later as a college student and, unlike their first date, he allows *ninjō* to take over as he embraces her on a busy street. Sousuke believes he has achieved a balance between his *giri* towards Ari and the *ninjō* that he explores with the affair he has with Aina because Ari does not appear to be suspicious of his excuses.\(^{124}\) Belief that he had achieved this balance can be seen in the conversation Sousuke has with Inaba when he

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122 It is not a formalized proposal, since Ari’s father did not meet with his parents, but Ari at least sees it as a proposal.

123 He is depicted with a sweat drop near his forehead every time she asks him to do something different on their date, but this does not stop him from kissing her when she begs for a kiss.

124 Until Ari’s mugging, Sousuke does not know that she has discovered the affair but kept it to herself.
confesses about the affair; however, this is disrupted as Inaba gets angry with Sousuke for cheating on Ari and tells him to end the affair. Sousuke promises to do so, but instead continues the affair, hoping to have a little more time to enjoy himself. He also seems to exhibit *giri* towards both Aina and Ari, as he does not want to make Aina cry, but he also feels that because he has been helping out at home and kinder to Ari that there are not any problems that would compel him to end the affair (9/11; ch. 5). He does not even consider ending his relationship to Ari, but he wants to continue his affair for a little longer (ibid). His relationship with Aina exhibits a sense of obligation towards her feelings, and *ninjō* towards his own for her. The balance is finally disrupted when Ari reveals that she knows of the affair. He promises to end the affair and, after a night to think about it, Ari agrees to forgive him. However, with the arrival of Aina to confront Ari about ending their engagement, it is unclear if Sousuke actually ended the relationship, or if he continued seeing Aina. After Sousuke and Ari break up, he learns that Ari has moved on with her life, while he still desires to be with her. It is only at the end that the reader learns that Sousuke did still have feelings for Ari and that he was not only staying with her out of *giri*, but that his *ninjō* for Aina interfered with his feelings for Ari.

Aina is a character who, unlike most of the others who exhibit some balance between *giri* and *ninjō*, is a very impulsive character who only thinks of her desires. Starting with her first encounter with Sousuke, Aina appears to operate solely on *ninjō*. She asks her cram school teacher out on a date, and she insists upon turning off their cell
phones. Aina is pushy and demanding; on their date, she compels him to take her to numerous locations because she believes that going out on a date will help her forget about him and allow her to focus on her schoolwork (20/22; ch. 3). Six months after their initial date, Aina runs into Sousuke and she insists that he take her out for a celebratory dinner for getting into college. When she refuses to go home without him, he embraces her and they begin their affair. The readers do not hear from Aina again until after Sousuke claims he has ended the affair. Aina shows up at Ari’s door and demands that Ari “Let sensei be free!” (19/21; ch. 6). Aina believes that Sousuke is only with Ari out of giri because he promised to marry her, but because Aina believes he cares for her more than Ari, she wants Ari to end the relationship. The only concern for giri that Aina exhibits throughout this narrative is the obligation that Sousuke has towards Ari. Aina only thinks about ninjō, she is only concerned about feelings and does not see a problem with asking Sousuke’s girlfriend to end the relationship. Aina leaves only after screaming at Ari as she runs into her home.

Ari feels as if an obligation (giri) has occurred when Sousuke promises Ari’s father that he will marry her once he can financially support a family. She then takes care of the household while maintaining a job without asking Sousuke to help out with the housework or the cleaning. She feels comfortable in complaining to Remi about his …

125 It is this move that initially creates suspicion in Ari’s mind when she calls him about a tankōbon (a book of manga) she wants to buy him. By not answering his phone, she discovers from his employer that he lied to her about having to work late.

126 Considering that she is going to the college he attended, it is hard to believe that this was a coincidence.
unwillingness to volunteer to do housework, but she does not want to confront him directly. She is obligated to do the housework in exchange for an anticipated marriage. She also cares a great deal for Sousuke, so she tries not to complain when he does not help around the house, nor does she confront him the first time he lies to her. Once she suspects that Sousuke is having an affair, she still feels *giri* towards their relationship.

Her *ninjō* for Sousuke is still evident when she is attacked; once she realizes that she has her cell phone, Sousuke is the first person she calls, but he has his phone turned off and she is left to call Remi for help. After the affair is brought to light, Ari says she forgives him, but her *ninjō* (personal feelings) interfere with her ability to stay obligated to the relationship, because she becomes annoyed by his habits, and after the confrontation with Aina, Ari realizes that she cannot forgive Sousuke for what he had done and decides it is time to end the relationship. Ari realizes that she can follow her feelings and not have to feel obligated to an idea. Throughout the narrative, Ari was motivated to marry, quit her job, and have children. It is not until the end that she discovers that she can find fulfillment in her career and not have to be wedded to an idea of being *ryōsai kenbo* and can find her own happiness. Ari’s story is that of allowing one’s *ninjō* to overtake an obligation (*giri*) that would end in unhappiness.

Inaba is another character with a *giri-ninjō* conflict. He is dating Tomoka, but he has feelings for Ari that he has been holding back because she is dating his best friend. Once he discovers that Ari has suspected Sousuke and his infidelity, Inaba offers himself

127 This is the day that he takes Aina out on a date.
as an alternative boyfriend if she and Sousuke were to end their relationship. Inaba's obligation to Sousuke is to not interfere with his relationship with Ari, but he feels free to express his feelings (ninjō) towards Ari when there is a possibility that their relationship would end (which would free him from his obligation towards Sousuke). However, even after Ari breaks up with Sousuke, she tells Inaba that she will not go out with him because she does not want Sousuke to lose both his girlfriend and his best friend at the same time (7/9; ch. 7). Ari tells Inaba that she does not want to be selfish; Ari is putting Inaba and Sousuke's friendship ahead of her own feelings, and she tells Inaba to look at Tomoka as a “proper girlfriend” (ibid). In the end, Inaba does marry Tomoka, and he says that he did it to “grant her wish” (17/19; ch. 7). He tells Remi and Ari that while he does not love her, feelings have grown for her. He marries her out of giri because she stayed with him despite knowing that he cared for another woman, while what we learn of Tomoka is that she stayed with Inaba despite knowing that his true feelings were for someone else. It is unclear as to whether Tomoka stays with Inaba because she loves him (ninjō) or because she felt obligated towards him, but I suggest that Tomoka stays with Inaba because she loves him. It is ninjō instead of giri because she is with a man who would leave her if he had another option. Inaba is not particularly obligated to Tomoka until after Ari tells him that he should look to Tomoka as a girlfriend. Or, an alternate

128 She may have also been turning him down because she does not share his feelings, and this may have been a nicer way to let him know.
view is that Inaba was obligated to stay in a relationship with Tomoka, but that the obligation could be broken for his feelings if Ari reciprocated them.

Many of the characters in this story are dealing with *giri-ninjō* at varying degrees. Most of the characters end up breaking with the *giri* (obligations) they have with others because of their *ninjō* (human feelings). Inaba marries Tomoka out of obligation, but has developed some feelings for her so that his marriage is not completely out of an obligation to please someone else. Ari spends most of the narrative wanting to make others happy and staying with her obligations in the belief that she will also obtain happiness in the end. Ari learns that she can find happiness if she follows her feelings and finds fulfillment in other aspects of her life. Aina only operates on the level of feelings and she ends up losing Sousuke as well.\(^{129}\) Sousuke has paid the price for following his feelings and is now alone. Yoshizumi has written a narrative that complicates the nature of relationships by allowing for elements of obligation and feelings to succeed for different characters.

_Motherhood in Japanese Culture: The Desire to Be a Mother_

In revisiting the scene in which Ari wistfully thinks that “Women want children” (Yoshizumi 9/12; ch. 4), one has to look at the number of factors that are going into Ari’s reaction to wanting children. Some of these factors, when encountered by Western readers, may give the reader pause.\(^{130}\) Ari has had a number of moments leading up to

\(^{129}\) It is implied that he finally ended things with Aina and had been holding out hope for Ari for the past two years.

\(^{130}\) A reaction that is not to be expected by the originally intended Japanese audience.
this point in which she has expressed interest in quitting her job and wanting to become a housewife, but this is the first time she expresses interest in being a mother. There have been studies that show that Japanese women still desire to have children despite the declining birthrate, but that there have also been changes in what Japanese women expect from their mates in a relationship. It appears to this scholar that Ari’s feelings are somewhat suspicious, and it may lie in the cultural expectations to get married and have children. Tokuhiro Yoko conducted a series of interviews which resulted in having a great deal of case studies on which to base her conclusions about Japanese marriage in contemporary society, and she reports that her "[i]nformants seemed to have extremely firm believes that it is ‘normal’ to get married and have children, or that if you are ‘normal’ it is atarimae no koto (a matter of course) to get married and rear children. The prevailing ideology predisposes them to feel this way” (26). She also shows that this predisposition is so strong that in another researcher’s findings, gay men have been known to marry women because it was common sense that “marriage is what you do and they [his informants] had no reason to question that” (Lunsing qtd. in Tokuhiro 26). Combined with Ari’s confession towards the end of the text about her motivations for

131 For example, Toshiaki cites a study by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research which shows that married couples desire to have between 2.3 and 2.56 children, with the number increasing the longer a couple has been married (139). “If couples actually had this number of children, the current concerns about the declining birthrate would evaporate and the population would grow considerably” (ibid).

132 Tokuhiro looks at this issue when she notes that many young Japanese women today are holding out for partners “who can (or are willing to) live up to their changing perceptions an expectations of marriage based on more egalitarian relationships” (27).
working (which shifted once she had a more fulfilling job),\textsuperscript{133} it led this analyst to be suspicious of her motives for wanting children.

Placing this text within the context of Japanese culture, this text is presenting an example of what Tokuhiro calls the “female principle”; this was a concept promoted by Aoki Yayoi in the mid 1980s, in which this freelance writer promoted \textit{bosei} (motherhood) to the extent that it categorized women as only having one purpose in life. “In [Chizuko] Ueno’s words, Aoki’s use of the concept could reinforce the idea ‘that the maternal function is the only acceptable or worthwhile function for all women’” (Ueno qtd. in Tokuhiro 37).\textsuperscript{134} It could be argued that Ari is subsuming this principle as she gets comfortable with her routine with Sousuke as she is longing to marry. However, as a self-sustaining woman with her own career,\textsuperscript{135} it would make just as much sense for Ari to question this desire instead of accepting it as natural instinct.

\textsuperscript{133} Ari admits at various times that she is only keeping her job until she gets married; this is a sentiment that emerges after Sousuke “proposes” an agreement to marry to her father. By the end of the manga, she has found fulfillment in her career and admits to not working as hard before the change at her job.

\textsuperscript{134} Ueno briefly discusses this clash in her piece “Are the Japanese Feminine?” She discusses how this debate between “Japan’s indigenous feminism” and “Western individualism” has been a topic of interest since at least the early 1910s. As to the debate in question that Tokuhiro refers to, it “was between ‘maximalist’ and ‘minimalist’ feminists. Maximalist feminism was a new wave of feminism...also referred to as ‘ecological feminism’ and drew support from a counter-cultural movement for alternative technologies.... It began to resemble a new nationalism when it proclaimed the virtues of such concepts as nature, motherhood, and ‘vernacular’ values (after Ivan Ilich)” (Ueno 298).

\textsuperscript{135} Which has been an ongoing concern for Japanese women in that marrying can either force a woman to give up her career (see Wudunn), or are forced by governmental tax restrictions in limiting the amount of money they make as “[m]ore than 30 per cent of part-time housewife workers adjust their income to match what is allowable by Japanese law and not to exceed their husbands’ monthly spouse allowance” (Japan Institute for Worker’s Evolution qtd. in Bishop 102). This is why careers have been seen as a potential barrier to marriage (see Tokuhiro, Toshiaki).
Ari, however, is not one to question any aspect of her relationship; even when she is pressed to defend herself from being taken advantage of, Ari is slow to react and would rather avoid a confrontation than to speak up for her own happiness. This is indicative of the challenge to change the overall mindset about marriage and procreation. Toshiaki Tachibanaki looks at how, statistically, attitudes have changed in Japan about marriage and motherhood. In his chapter “Children and a Woman’s Life,” he notes the shift for women in terms of when a woman’s life changes; he states that it has gone from the point when a woman marries to when a woman becomes a mother (Toshiaki 157-58). Tokuhiro Yoko, on the other hand, takes a case-study approach to understand the creation of the motherhood ideology, questioning the notion that motherhood is a “natural inbuilt trait” (76). What she discovers is that the motherhood ideology was perpetuated by the Japanese government beginning in the Meiji era. And while this ideology valuing motherhood has been seen as oppressive by some, it did lead to some advances for women.  

This ideology, which is evident in Ari’s attitude, is also seen as a hindrance for women who want to stay in the workforce. Not only is there an attitude from married people who feel that a mother should stay at home for at least the first few years of a child’s life, but this attitude is also reflected by co-workers who may pressure women into quitting their jobs once they have had children (see Toshiaki, Wudunn). It is because of how ingrained this ideology is that Japanese feminists find it difficult to convey their  

136 An example of this is how the ideal of  
ryōsai kenbo spurred the need for women to be educated in order to make sure that educated children came from their homes (Tokuhiro 76).
messages to housewives who are also stay-at-home mothers. This ideology, combined with Ari’s general disposition, leads to a situation where she self-acknowledges a maternal desire that comes from an ideology that is socially constructed (Tokuhiro 76).

An alternative reading also posits Ari as trying to convince herself that this is something that she desires; this is a reading that would challenge the “female principle” and would position Ari more alongside young women in modern Japan who “show little appetite for participating in any social movement” (Tokuhiro 51) but are “cryptofeminists” who are no longer accepting societal norms as the only viable option (52). In this light, it makes Ari’s statement about desiring children less problematic; instead, her desires reflect the complexities of the issues facing young women in Japan.

137 This is not to say that there is no such thing as a “maternal instinct” but, rather, that there are some Japanese women who are influenced by society to marry and have children. The two are usually intertwined; while cohabitation is less taboo than it was in the past, having children out of wedlock is still frowned upon (mostly due to finances, because it is extremely difficult for a Japanese woman to have a child out of wedlock and find adequate childcare that is compatible with her schedule).

138 With the evidence presented from Japanese scholars about the issues surrounding marriage in Japan (which ultimately says that while women in Japan still want to marry, many are holding out for various reasons), I initially reacted strongly to Ari’s statement; while I could understand her reasons for staying with Sousuke (including her reactions to his infidelity), it seemed that her response about having children (which only comes up once) was a bit surprising and somehow did not seem in step with the rest of the narrative. However, with the scholarship available, her reaction reflects sentiments that are shared by women in Japan who strongly desire to marry but, unlike Ari, these women know what they want and are willing to wait for the right match. Tokuhiro remarks that a large number of her interviewees were in favor of marriage and a few earnestly desired children, but as these women were older, it was less surprising to hear their reasoning for wanting children than it was to hear it from Ari.

139 When looking at a text such as this, keeping the audience in mind is helpful in mitigating the reactions of the reader when she is not the intended reader. Cappuccino was written for Japanese women, and in that light the story is authentic to its audience. Some of Ari’s reactions may seem disingenuous to other (especially Western) readers, which is why (as will be seen later) some online respondents felt it necessary to educate angry readers about Japanese culture in order to bridge an understanding between a Western feminist reading and an Eastern one. This is also why an attempt has been made to clarify my reaction to Ari’s statement; it is not borne strictly from a Western view, but a view that also


*Mistresses in Japanese Culture*

Much like the section on motherhood, this is another segment of Japanese culture that needs to be examined. According to the Japan Encyclopedia, mistresses (*nigo san*) “were a common and accepted part of Japanese society – just as they were, and still are, in many other parts of the world” (De Mente 333). Mistress-keeping started out as an upper-class man’s luxury (in the imperial court), but later became available to merchant class men as well. De Mente notes the changes in mistress-keeping, in that it is “no longer totally sanctioned by society or the law” (*ibid*), but there is evidence to show that it is still an accepted practice for some married men, even if society is more vocal in its objects to the practice.

A number of respondents to Tokuhiro’s study refer to mistresses and their current prevalence in people’s lives. One man, in talking about how his father served as a role-model of what not to do in a marriage, said the following: “Generally speaking, I’m opposed to the idea that it’s okay to have extra-marital affairs, smoke, and drink simply because of being a man” (Akira qtd. in Tokuhiro 86). It appears that while men can still considers Japanese positions on marriage and children.

140 An early example of this is Shikibu Murasaki’s *The Tale of Genji* which follows the titular character and the various women with whom he was involved (which included a wife as well as concubines).

141 Tokuhiro mentions the scandal of Prime Minister Uno Sousuke in the late 1980s; it was discovered that Uno was paying a *geisha* a lot of money for sexual favors (37). While some saw the women who turned away from Uno and his Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as a feminist move, many feminists say that it was women who were “consumerist individualists” rather than those interested in raising awareness for women’s issues who moved away from the LDP (*ibid*).
pay for sex through shutcho sabisu,\textsuperscript{142} it appears that these services are used by single men and that married men would have affairs with unattached women. Two of Tokuhiro’s respondents were women who are unmarried but are conducting affairs with married men. While Masako notes that she went into the affair without the intention of stealing away someone else’s husband, Shiori professed her feelings to her lover, who told her that because his wife “is a full-time housewife [who] has no means to support herself”, he did not want to abandon his wife simply “because she is no longer young” (Tokuhiro 49).

Masaki Aina appears to be like Shiori from the marriage study, in that she carried on an affair with a married man, knowing that he was in a relationship. Unlike Shiori, Aina felt bold enough to ask Sousuke’s girlfriend to end their relationship because Sousuke and Ari were not married (and, therefore, they did not need to get a divorce). The affair she had with Sousuke began as a one-time flirtation of a student with her cram-school teacher, but it blossomed into a relationship that Sousuke had to keep away from Ari. Unlike in the past, where people would take mistresses as a show of status,\textsuperscript{143} these affairs seem to be fulfilling the sexual desires of both the male and the female. However, since many women in Japan still desire marriage, Aina saw their relationship as one

\textsuperscript{142} According to Hideo, one of Tokuhiro’s interviewees, he believed that “sexual desire for men is similar to women’s desire to eat sushi” (Tokuhiro 50). Not only does his attitude represent the slow-to-change mindsets of Japanese men, but it also shows a disregard for the sexualities of women who may also want to engage in sexual activity outside of a relationship.

\textsuperscript{143} If a man could afford to keep a mistress and support a wife, he was rather well off.
where she had a chance to marry Sousuke if he would only break up with Ari, but one gets the sense that Sousuke did not see the relationship in that fashion.\textsuperscript{144}

What is also different about this relationship is that it is not a man in an arranged marriage getting involved with another woman for the emotional (or sexual) fulfillment he is not receiving from his wife; this is a man who is not married and could, in theory, leave his girlfriend to pursue his relationship without creating a financial hardship for Ari. The presumption is that Sousuke is in a love relationship with his girlfriend Ari, so the affair he has with Aina is one of convenience and the instant gratification of having two relationships at once. What Sousuke did not count on was a) Ari finding out about the affair and b) Aina wanting to marry him.

There was a time when Sousuke’s affair would have been accepted by society, but in \textit{Cappuccino}, he leans that his best friend refuses to tolerate the affair.\textsuperscript{145} Inaba is angry that Sousuke is having an affair, and he tells Sousuke to end it immediately. This is not a reaction one would expect from a person in your inner circle, but Inaba’s feelings for Ari (unbeknownst to Sousuke) were shown through his reaction and desire for Inaba to be faithful to his girlfriend and to no longer spend time with his mistress. Mistresses are no longer tolerated as they once were; when marriages were arranged, mistresses were an accepted part of a marriage, but with love marriages as the majority of these pairings, mistresses have fallen out of favor. Sousuke’s attitude about the affair can be explained

\textsuperscript{144} Sousuke does not express a desire to leave Ari for Aina, even though he wants to continue the affair for a while longer.

\textsuperscript{145} Although some of that motivation stems from Inaba’s feelings for Ari, so that mitigates the argument.
by the previous prevailing views on mistresses, but Inaba is the voice of modernity in that he makes it clear that Sousuke should no longer continue an affair.

Textual Analysis

There are two areas of note that deserve a bit more attention: the seemingly Westernized feminist messages in the text and the meaning behind the series' title. Feminist\(^{146}\) messages are conveyed through Ari, her best friend Remi, and Inaba's girlfriend Tomoka. The title refers to a coffee beverage that also serves as a subtle sub-narrative in the text.

Ari's relationship and personality spanned a spectrum that can, arguably, be bookended by Remi and Tomoka as extremes of the spectrum. Remi works hard at her job and is very driven in her occupation. She is also unafraid to speak her opinion and has no problem in speaking for those who are silenced. And because she was also friends with Sousuke, she had no compunction about calling him and telling him that he abuses Ari's kindness. She has had lovers (which is only briefly mentioned), and does not show concern over her lack of marriage status. She talks of being introduced to men in her company and not feeling a spark for any of them, but has no problem casually dating (9/12; ch. 1). She is the friend that Ari depends on when she wants to vent about issues in

\(^{146}\) By this I mean the feminist messages that appear to be Western in nature. This is not to gloss over the work of Japanese feminists who have worked hard for changes in women's roles in Japanese society (as has been addressed in various points in this thesis) but, instead, is a look at how seemingly Westernized attitudes are conveyed in this narrative. Also, as each woman represents a different type in Japanese society, the differences between the characters demonstrate that not every woman has to forgo marriage; traditions in Japanese society are being disrupted but not completely overthrown.
the relationship, but due to being unavailable during the most contentious part of Ari and Sousuke's relationship, Ari had to endure her problems alone. This set up Remi as an example of what Ari could become (a working woman fulfilled by career instead of through marriage), but in order for Ari’s evolution to occur, Remi had to become the absent friend. Remi’s depiction as a successful businesswoman who is never depicted as struggling with her career is an example of the changes that have transpired for women in the Japanese workforce. Remi shares a number of traits of Etsuko, an office lady (OL) featured in Jeannie Lo’s *Office Ladies/Factory Women*. Etsuko was an aggressive business woman given a lot of work in the early part of her career. Her aggressive behavior was noted amongst her male co-workers who admired her hard-working nature, but feared her perceived lack of femininity through her outspoken nature (Lo 89). How Etsuko and Remi differ is that Etsuko left the company in 1986 under unclear circumstances,¹⁴⁷ and after losing a second job with a trading company for “being too willful and for offering too many of her own opinions,” she retired, “studied tea ceremony and flower arrangement” and married a salaryman (Lo 91).¹⁴⁸ Etsuko’s demeanor changed subsequent to her retirement; she was now soft-spoken and less aggressive than she was in her working days. However, Remi shows no outward appearance that she is struggling with her work environment. As she is depicted as having an office and traveling for her job, I presume that she is in the sōgōshoku

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¹⁴⁷ “The company management reported that she decided to quit her job; Etsuko said that she was fired” (Lo 90-91).

¹⁴⁸ Her mother taught her those skills.
(management) track, and at least has the outward appearance of acceptance (or, at least, a lack of open hostility) from her unseen co-workers. Remi stands in for a 21st century Etsuko, demonstrating the changes in the Japanese work environment over the course of twenty years.

Tomoka, while not often seen, is at the other end of the spectrum in that she patiently endures dating Inaba, despite the fact that he is in love with Ari [keeping that secret from everyone but Tomoka, who only suspected who the woman was without knowing for certain]. She seems to be a sweet young woman who is quiet and not interested in hanging out with Inaba's friends. She (presumably) suffers in silence, only appearing once to see what the other woman in his life looks like, and she apologizes to Inaba for suddenly appearing at his favorite bar. She cries because she is hurt that there is another woman Inaba is interested in, but she apologizes for being the intruder in his social situation. When he says “we only think of unpleasant things, don't we?” she brushes it off, saying that “it was something [she] knew from the beginning” (17/20; ch. 2). While explaining his relationship to Ari, he admits that he turned down Tomoka numerous times, until she offered herself as a substitute for Ari, the woman he really wants.149 In the end, Inaba marries Tomoka, and when Remi and Ari ask him if he has finally fallen in love with Tomoka, he says no. He claims that he has grown feelings for her, and that because she has endured so much while with him he “rewarded her and

149 When told there was someone else he had feeling for, she said “That's no problem.... Until she looks at you, it's okay to use me” (14/17; ch. 6).
granted her wish” to be married (17/20; ch. 7). Inaba's revelation shocks and embarrasses Remi and Ari, but it also shows Tomoka to be the type of retiring woman that Ari failed to become (or managed to avoid, depending on the point of view of the reader.).

Inaba is treating the marriage as a sort of “social duty,” except that he felt a duty to Tomoka (Davies Ikeno 66). Tomoka is assumed to have a career, and is reminiscent of the women in *Office Ladies/Factory Women* who take jobs with the intention of working until marriage. Jeannie Lo asked a group of women who worked for Brother how long they intended to work, and the top two responses were between the women who were going to work until they had a child with the intention to return to the workforce once the children were grown, and the women who were going to work until marriage (119). Brother also had a cartoon depicting how long they anticipated the women to work for the company, with the implication that a woman would marry and leave as soon as possible (Lo 65) (see Figure 14). And while Tomoka was not able to marry quickly, she stayed with Inaba until he finally decided to marry her.

Ari tried very hard to endure a boyfriend who was unwilling to commit to a more permanent relationship, waiting patiently for the day she would give up her career to stay home and have Sousuke's children, and even put up with his lies and infidelity in order to make her “dream” a reality. One wonders what would have happened if Aina had not confronted Ari: would she have married Sousuke, and would she have been happy with

150 There is an angry hash-mark in the “eh!” comment (presumably by Remi) when he says he does not love Tomoka, and a sweat-drop in Ari’s comment bubble in the last panel when he “grants her wish”. Both are artistic tropes used in manga to express anger and embarrassed shock, respectively.
that decision? It appears that Ari is the “happy medium” between career-driven Remi and reticent, long-suffering Tomoka. Ari is finally ready to look back on her nearly six-year relationship with Sousuke with fondness, and possibly find a new love in her *sempai* without the need to get married and have kids in order to find personal fulfillment. Ari is an example of a woman who, eventually, discovered when it was time to finally let a relationship go, even though she endured a lot of heartache in the process. She had her regrets, but those seemed to fade when work gave her a much-needed distraction, and a way to find her own voice. It is a commentary on women in Japanese society as it is a commonly-held belief that a woman needs to be married by the age of 25. Starting from Ari’s rather Western view that she is too young to be married at 24, Ari was going against a trend while, at the same time, hoping to get married the proper way (by him asking her). By the end of the series, she is a happy, vibrant woman in her late twenties who has a career worth pursuing, and one gets the sense that she may not feel the need to walk away from her job if she ever were to marry in the future. It is also satisfying to see Sousuke left behind to deal with the consequences of his actions.

Coffee – in the form of coffee shops – has been an important part of Japanese culture since the 1920s, when Japanese who had been to France tried to replicate the café experience (De Mente 74). Other than the canned coffee drinks available in vending

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151 *Her sempai* is a male co-worker who has been working in her department longer than she, hence being seen as a working superior.

152 This does not foreclose the idea that she will never marry. Many Japanese women still desire to be married (Davies and Ikeno, Smith), but are more willing to wait for the right suitor.
machines and convenient stores around Japan, Italian coffee has made inroads in Japan via Seattle. It is through this new wave of coffee consumerism (with a Western romanticism) from the United States that results in the use of coffee as a metaphor for Ari and Sousuke’s relationship. The title of the manga is translated into Italian as *Il Cappuccino*, and every chapter is called caffè. Because of the artistry done by baristas with cappuccinos and other Italian coffees, the choice of this beverage (in this fashion) allows for metaphors connecting the drink to the health of their relationship. It is also a Western product used in a story that reflects a seemingly more liberal view of relationships that one would see in a country like the United States.

Yoshizumi Wataru often favors titles that involve food, but for this particular work the food in the title was a bit more involved than in her most famous work. She starts with the couple buying his-and-her coffee mugs in red and blue. Once they have moved in together, Ari makes them cappuccinos using a regular coffee maker and a milk steamer, placing the coffee in these his-and-her mugs. They bond over their first night as

153 All of the *romaji* on the cover is in Italian. It translates as “Cappuccino. A Bitter Love Story for Adults. Drawn by Wataru Yoshizumi.”

154 This is opposed to canned coffee drinks which are distinctly Japanese.

155 I see a conflation of Italian and American influences in this narrative because of the influence of Starbucks and other Italian coffee franchise stores; these stores originated in the United States, and so the connection to both countries is present in the work, with a primary emphasis on Italian coffee and a relationship that is more acceptable in Western countries.

156 She has used marmalade, mint, and now cappuccino in her manga titles.

157 The title for *Marmalade Boy* is explained only once in the eight-volume series, and it refers to the personality of the main love interest.

158 The first few pages of the *tankōbon* are in color.
a live-in couple, and Sousuke remarks on how, “from now on, I can always drink this” (12/15; ch. 1). The cappuccino is a stand-in for the health of their relationship. Ari is happy that she was able to make something that Sousuke enjoys, and it is a beverage that is showing how happy they are in the relationship by being an uncomplicated thing to savor. A number of the more important conversations take place with food and coffee present, but it is foregrounded when in the context of Ari and Sousuke's relationship. Ari's gift of cappuccino is also a sign of wanting to be close to Sousuke.\(^\text{159}\) She shows how much she cares for him with a gift of a beverage, and he showed his appreciation indirectly by commenting on how he looks forward to these kinds of treats.

By chapter three, Sousuke has gone on his date with his student, and lied to Ari in the process. She suspects that it may be the student that they ran into before, but decides to push away the concerns she has and, instead, made him a cappuccino with a heart design in milk. Ari escalates the sense of obligation by giving a more elaborate gift to be close to him. He goes from being impressed by the work, to being ashamed for what he had just done to Ari.\(^\text{160}\) Sousuke hugs her and thanks her for her kindness, commencing an intimate moment without getting to drink his coffee. She refuses to press him on the lie he told, but notes that his sudden kindness may be stemming from guilt. When asked

\(^{159}\)“[W]hen the Japanese want to be close to someone, they offer a present or treat the other to a meal. As a result, the other is in their debt in a sense, and a relationship based on amae has been arranged between them” (Davies and Ikeno 19). This is in reference to amae (dependence) and how Japanese relationships are much more structured to retain lifelong relationships when compared to their western counterparts (where it is easier to move and make new friends), which is why Japanese people are less willing to say “no” out of fear of disrupting the relationship.

\(^{160}\) A transgression that may have been forgivable if he had been forthright with the information
if he wants his coffee, he says he will drink it later, but we are warned by Ari's thoughts that if you wait to drink it until later, “the froth in the cappuccino will disappear, and the cocoa heart will be gone” (27/30; ch. 3). This is also a warning to Sousuke and Ari about waiting too long to tell the other what they have been holding back, as well as possibly warning against waiting too long to marry. If they wait too long to tell the truth, they risk losing the relationship.

Coffee returns to the narrative in chapter five after Ari's mugging. She makes coffee for herself and Inaba in smaller coffee cups while waiting for Sousuke to arrive home. When Sousuke asks her if she is fine, she explodes in a rage and runs off to their bedroom. Sousuke is left to ruminate on his thoughts that he always assumed that Ari did not know about his affair and was carrying the hurt inside her. He waits outside of their bedroom and is surprised when Ari is willing to come out and listen to his confession. With Inaba having left for home, they have coffee in their mugs, and she listens to him tell her what she already suspected. Having figured it out in advance did not spare her from feeling hurt by the news all the same. Ari notes that “the coffee got cold while we didn't drink it” as he is asking for forgiveness, all the while he is assuring Ari that he is going to end the relationship. The mugs appear to be not as full, and without the milk, there is nothing left to disappear except the heat of the drinks themselves. It is as though the heart that she made the last time did, in fact, disappear. He waited too long to tell Ari about the affair, and their relationship, like the coffee has gone cold. Ari herself does not say she has forgiven him until the next day, when he claims he has ended the relationship. She says she has forgiven him, but the relationship has changed as a result; once their
relationship (like coffee) has gone cold, it is not the same when they “reheat” it by trying to start over.

After the violent encounter with Aina and the subsequent breakup, Ari and Sousuke end up living together as roommates until they can both leave their apartment at the same time for new leases. They pack their things and, in a final gesture to the relationship, Sousuke asks Ari what she wants to do with the coffee mugs. He asks if she wants to keep one, and instead she asks him to throw them away. The coffee is all gone and the relationship is at an end, Ari opts to have him throw away the vessel for the symbol of their relationship, leaving her all alone in their former apartment. And while the manga ends on a happy note for Ari, the coffee metaphor is cast away, along with any chance Sousuke had of getting back together with Ari. Once the coffee mugs are discarded, the vessels of their obligation were discarded.

Translation

One of the things that really stood out with the translation of this series is that the cover page for each chapter was translated by the translation team, Starry Heaven. These pages are what readers see when encountering the manga in an anthology or magazine, and are not always translated by the scanlation groups. However, Starry Heaven's translators did not translate the text that may have been a note from the manga-ka or may have been an advertisement at the bottom of the page, nor did they translate the text that appeared at the top of some pages.161 Text would be translated that had to do with the

161 As I cannot read Japanese beyond the hiragana ("Japanese syllabary for native words" – Nakao 87)
narrative, and the information about the availability of other manga that Yoshizumi has
done on the front covers of each chapter is also translated.\textsuperscript{162}

The translators would sometimes opt to do a \textit{romaji}\textsuperscript{163} translation instead of
translating all of the terms into English. For example, when Ari’s mother calls her, Ari
says “Okaa-san”. Translating the way she addresses her mother implies that the reader is
familiar enough with Japanese to know what it means as there are no translation notes for
these terms.\textsuperscript{164} This also goes along with the translators retaining the use of honorifics.\textsuperscript{165}
However, there are times when people say names without honorifics. That is reserved for
people so close to you that you can call each other by name without the suffix, which is
why Sousuke and Ari call each other by name only, and why Sousuke refers to Inaba
without an honorific (with the same thing applying to Ari and Remi). When Ari called
Sousuke’s school, she introduces herself as Kojima, looking for Fujitani-Sensei (when he

and the \textit{katakana} (“Japanese syllabary for foreign words” – Nakao 119), I do not know what the
messages at the bottom say. The top messages say “Chorus” (presumably the name of the anthology in
which it appeared) and that it is sold on the 28\textsuperscript{th} of every month [See Figure 2 for an example]. The
bottom message remains untranslated because the scanlation page was too unclear to be legible to my
translator, and the \textit{tankōbon} does not have this text. I am forever indebted to Laura Bolling, Master’s
degree student in East Asian Studies for help in the translation.

\textsuperscript{162} Readers are told that the \textit{tankōbon} of \textit{Marmalade Boy} and \textit{Spicy Pink} are currently available. As this is
a manga from 2008, it is surprising to see mention of MB for two reasons; it was officially sold as a
\textit{shōjo} manga under the Ribon manga imprint, and it was published in 1992-1994, so it is an older work
that may have been re-released. The MB anime was popular among housewives in its day, so the
melodrama of that series may have a continuing appeal for today’s housewives.

\textsuperscript{163} Meaning literal translation of the kanji or kana into Roman letters.

\textsuperscript{164} Even if the reader is not familiar with \textit{why} she is so polite to her family members, there has to be a
basic understanding of honorifics in order to get through the reading.

\textsuperscript{165} The various suffixes and prefixes applied to a person’s name, giving respect to the person to whom
you are speaking.
is at work, he is referred to by title). Exclamations that have no English equivalent like “eh!” or “wah” are also translated in romaji.

Most of the *gitaigo* and *giongo* are translated with the English (or the transliteration of the effect in romaji when there is no English equivalent) replacing the Japanese text. On the occasion that the *gitaigo* or *giongo* is so large that it cannot be easily erased, the translators opt to either do a *romaji* translation of what it would be to a Japanese ear, or to translate it to sound like what it would to an English speaker’s ear. This is problematic only because certain translators for Starry Heaven would do the former, and others would do the latter, causing a loss in continuity in translation that is evident when one reads the entire series from start to finish. This occurs because different translators worked on the various chapters, and with the passage of time between translations, there are changes that have been made. According to the data from Manga Fox, the first chapter was uploaded on December 19, 2007 and was contributed by TheRandomChocolate, a name not listed as one of the contributors on their contributor page (credits; ch. 1). Cheebs is listed as the translator for all seven chapters, but there were changes in personnel before the last chapter was uploaded to Manga Fox on September 27, 2009 (Cappuccino MangaFox).

**Reading Experience**

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166 Leaving the honorifics as *romaji* harkens back to 19th and early 20th century European texts in which a text written in English using references in another language (i.e. German or French) would publish the passage in its original language without a translation. There is an assumption that the audience is sophisticated enough to be able to read these passages without assistance from the author.

167 Chapter 3, page 24 (28), last row, middle panel.
Initially, this scanlation was read online on Manga Fox’s website, and while it is also possible to retrieve the images directly from Starry Heaven’s own webpages, the reading experience is taken from the online reading. The reading experiences are similar, as the reader can only read one page at a time, but the experience of reading online is more problematic due to the ads and load times for each page. Each page appears on a Manga Fox page with a banner ad above the image, and two ads below the image. The pacing of the manga is no longer dictated by the manga-ka or the reader, but by the load time of the page itself. In moments where the manga-ka created a two-page spread, the reader only gets to see one page at a time, so when Ari gets her purse snatched by criminals on a motorcycle, the reader does not get to experience Ari’s panic the way the manga-ka intended it to be read (see Figures 11-12), as it sweeps across the two-page spread as she tries to contact Sousuke and is unable to reach him in her time of need.

When comparing this scene to the depiction in the tankōbon, the pacing of the narrative is

168 Starry Heaven has a blog and a forum, where all announcements made on the blog are directly piped into the forums, and links to download zipped files of manga are accessible from both sources.

169 Many readers of scanlations are more likely to discover manga through hosting sites like Manga Fox than from the scanlators directly, unless the reader knows exactly which title he or she would like to read.

170 I recently heard of a product call Cooview that will duplicate the experience of reading online manga in a two-page spread format, but this is predicated on the scanlators coding their work to load properly into the product.

171 Another example of an effective use of the two page spread comes from the Marmalade Boy manga. On pages 60-1, it shows Yuu watching Miki (the girl he loves) board a train after breaking her heart. She is on a train heading away from him (and from the page), and he is left behind to think about the decision he made to hurt her. The momentum of the moment is quickened by the layout. The third panel of page 60 opens into the space on page 61, which shows him alone at the train station. Looking at one page at a time via a digital device slows down the momentum.
moderated by the physical layout of the book itself (see Figure 10). The moments leading up to the purse-snatching flows faster as the suspense is created by delaying the visual of the assailant for a page turn, after the intensity has been built by the set up of the black gutters in the panels preceding the attack.

A perceived benefit to this format of one-page-per-view is that it takes away the issue of having to read the entire book from right to left. However, as the images themselves are preserved in their original right-to-left format, the reader still has to be able to read the pages appropriately; this experience is troubled by the fact that, on most computer screens, the manga page is not completely visible and requires the reader to scroll down the page in order to see the whole image. This can complicate reading certain passages as the page may be set up to read the first column on the right, then as you work your way across the page, the reader has to come back to the top of the page to continue the reading (and when one does not realize that the reader has to go all the way to the bottom in order to see the panel in its entirety (see Figure 13), it takes away from the experience of seeing a character's reaction before quickly reading through the rest of the page's dialogue). Not being able to see the entire page at once disrupts the reading of the passage and makes the reading experience less organic than encountering the passage in print.

Scanlation readers have several options for reading a scanlated manga. They can access it through aggregates and read the manga online, or they can go to various

172 A concern in the early days of translation (Thompson)
websites that host the files as downloads (including from the scanlation group itself).

When reading manga online from an aggregate, the reader is subjected to advertisements that surround the artwork (some of which are video ads), as well as to advertisements from the scanlation group itself as it looks for workers for future projects. Since ads are not part of the tankōbon, it is a further distraction from the work because the ads usually have to load before the work itself; and when reading a manga that is very long, the ads are enough of an annoyance to drive a reader to find the download file.

As image orientation was a huge issue in the early days of manga translation, not “flopping” the artwork goes a great distance towards authenticity. There have been attempts to make electronic copies of manga online (ICv2, ANN), including the OpenManga project, which is an attempt to bring manga to the global masses by teaming up manga-ka with translators in different parts of the world (“Open Manga”). In the U.S., other companies (some scanlators and some distributors) are looking into ways to make manga available digitally (e.g. Viz' Shonen Jump offers manga for purchase on iPads), so the future of online manga outside of Japan is uncertain.

Unexpected translation choices also impact the reading of the text. In this manga series, there were a number of occasions where the text was translated in a more literal way, which does not read as naturally in English due to the different word order in

173 Flopping is the term for making a mirror image of the page
174 At least in Japan, it seems that digital downloads only seem to affect anthology sales, as people who would not normally read manga are being drawn to manga they otherwise would not buy.
Japanese and English sentences. For example, on page 14 (17) of chapter 1, Sousuke says the following to Ari’s father: “If the conditions where we cannot see each other will continue for a long time, perhaps I will lose my feelings for her or perhaps no good will come of it, and it scared me.” Another example deals with characters who are flattered that someone is interested in them; however, the translators chose to say things like “Your feelings make me happy” (19/22; ch. 2), which makes it seem as if the person is pleased to hear confessions of feelings instead of being flattered that they are thought of as a romantic interest. These awkward phrasings insert unintended pauses in the reading as manga readers who do not translate manga (or know the native language in which this is written) notice the aberration and have to pause to figure out the intended message.

Another issue about scanlations is that because the original sources for the manga pages are coming from their anthology publications, the art work may not be the best or final choice that the author will make with the work. Manga-ka will oftentimes improve the quality of the work for the tankōbon, or book publications of their work, and at least one manga-ka has actually changed significant passages of his work from the time it was published in the anthology to the time it was released as a tankōbon. Anthologies are

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175 As Matt Thorn quotes “Translations are like wives: the faithful ones are not beautiful, and the beautiful ones are not faithful” (“On Translation”). As a well-regarded translator of manga and a professor in Kyoto, Thorn understands the need to achieve a balance between authenticity and accessibility in a translation.

176 The dual page numbers note the page number associated with the image, as well as the page number as one reads it on Manga Fox.

177 Matsumoto Izumi, the creator of the 1980s shōnen manga Kimagure Orange Road, made significant changes to the end of his manga that altered the ending of the story.
treated as disposable items, so the work is improved for the second publication so as to attract buyers. What the readers of scanlation may not get to see is the manga-ka's best work, as the translations use anthology sources.

And while this was previously mentioned, it is worth noting that there is an expectation that the audience is familiar enough with Japanese culture to know certain cultural cues. There are no explanations for honorifics, nor does anyone who worked on the piece feel it necessary to explain Sousuke's job at a cram school. However, there were a number of themes that, while they are issues in Japanese culture, are not unknown outside of Japan. Cohabitation, infidelity, and not wanting to walk away from a relationship one has invested a lot of time in are issues that many people are at least familiar with, if not something they can understand. This is a product that was written for a specific audience that has been translated to be available to any English-speaking audience that can access the internet. Looking at the comments on Manga Fox, there were readers who had adverse reactions to Sousuke's infidelity, as well as to Ari's reactions. There is a thread where people talk about what they would have done in Ari's shoes (“If You Were Ari...” 1). In the thread “Its Not All The BF' Fault,” a number of commentators were either making excuses for Sousuke, or were trying to blame Ari for not standing her ground. Commenter kchibi tries to get other posters to understand the differences

178 This was not always the case; before tankōbons became part of the industry standard, the only way to retain a favorite manga was to save the pages out of the anthology (“The Moto Hagio Interview”).

179 The “he's a guy, so he falls for temptation” excuse.
between Japanese culture and Western culture, a point that is eventually discussed by others. What makes the online discussion a rich medium is that a responder from Korea (FateorDestiny) also weighed in on the message boards to give a male perspective on Eastern marriage standards; it was a perspective that led others to talk about their own cultures' views on women and marriage (“Its Not All The BF’ Fault” 3).

Scanlator’s Information

The translation company that worked on this manga, Starry Heaven, self-advertises their translation work in every chapter, a common practice among translators of scanlations (Lee). The first page of every chapter gives the web-address of Starry Heaven, and it is usually an image from another manga accompanying the advertisement. Manga Fox, for its part, lists a disclaimer on every page under the manga image to absolve itself of liability. The second page is a list of credits for those who worked on the translation of the manga. Starry Heaven gives credit to the people who do the scanning and translating of the work, but the name of the original artist is conspicuously absent. At least, on this page, it includes an image from the featured manga with the credits. The third, and final, page of preliminary information is a disclaimer from Starry Heaven stating that they “had nothing to do with its production

180 Kchibi wants people to judge the characters based on the characters’ culture, and not the culture of the reader.

181 The first image may be from the manga series Full Moon o Sagashite, a manga that has been commercially available for years in the United States.

182 “This image is hosted at mangafox.com, we take no credit for the creation or editing of this image. All credit goes to the appropriate parties involved in the creation or editing of this image.”
and all rights belong to the original publisher and manga-ka.” They also state that anyone who has purchased this translation has been ripped off. Starry Heaven, like other translators, encourage readers to support the manga-ka by purchasing the work when it is available in the readers' country and/or language. Starry Heaven ends the disclaimer by saying that, as much as they want people to support the manga-ka, that they would appreciate support – in the form of comments on their site – as well.

Some scanlators contend that their work gets people interested enough in the manga-ka's work to seek out more of the artist’s work (Lee). I am not sure if translators believe that their work may lead to an unlicensed work being licensed in North America or elsewhere, but as the practice of scanlations has increased, publishing companies have become concerned that this practice is hampering their sales, a view that some scanlators (and online manga readers) say is opposite of the truth (ICv2, Lee). Scanlations are easy to find on the internet, and there are countless organizations that exist to either translate or host scanlations, so the halting of the biggest offenders may not make enough of a dent in the internet market. (ICv2)

Translatability

What Starry Heaven and other scanlators set out to demonstrate is that the cultural referents that speak to Japanese culture are translatable and understandable if the

183 http://www.mangafox.com/manga/cappuccino/v01/c001/3.html
184 Erica Friedman talks about this with her views on “ethical’ scanlation circle[s]” on her blog (Friedman).
185 This was a common practice for fansubs before the late 1990s anime explosion.
translator bothers to attempt to translate with a high degree of authenticity to the original text (see Levi, Lee). Especially since scanlations are available to anyone with the internet access necessary to acquire the text, the translations of the text are not an attempt to translate the text for a particular audience. Walter Benjamin wrote, “[f]or a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life” (76). Starry Heaven, and others, strive to achieve this sentiment. They seek to translate manga that has not been commercially licensed outside of Japan. What this implies is that there is an international market for manga, and that the issue of scanlations will not be easily mediated by shutting down larger sites, nor will making manga available for purchase digitally be the sole answer to the problem. The Open Manga project seems to be a viable option that will allow for more manga leaving Japan's shores in a legitimate setting (OpenManga).

A task that Starry Heaven seems insistent upon achieving is the following: “The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect [Intention] upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original” (Benjamin 79). For a scanlator, since spoken text is not the only translation hurdle to overcome, the gitaigo and giongo, the onomatopoeic sound and emotive effects must also be negotiated. Many scanlators choose to ignore these effects in translation, but Starry Heaven has a

186 Speed of access is another issue behind the popularity of scanlations, and legitimate outlets may not have the ability to translate manga as quickly as the scanlators (Lee).

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mandate that requires that translators be able to not only “understand grammar, recognize modern-day slang, as well as have an extensive vocabulary,” it is also required “that everything be translated, including bubbles, side comments, narration, and sound effects” (Starry Heaven). And since gitaigo and giongo are believed to add to the immersive effect of reading manga (see Petersen), the fact that the translation company seeks to translate all textual aspects of a work goes to show they are up to the task of a translator to provide that link between the new and the original. Scanlators seek to give authentic translations to manga; it is through these translations that other manga readers will encounter manga in similar ways to the Japanese. It is an opportunity for the readers (and the scanlators) to experience Japanese culture through popular mediums.

The stakes for scanlators are high; the authenticity of the translation is important not only for the conveyance of Japanese culture through the manga itself, but it showcases the translator’s abilities as translators to the community. If the translators are so heavily invested in supplying an “authentic” experience, what is it that they are trying to accomplish? The translators are attempting to stand in for the author’s voice without overlaying their voice as a replacement. The text must reflect what the author said as well as what the author does with the text. For example, the font used for Ari’s

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187 However, as has been demonstrated in the Manga Fox comments, just because someone reads similar text to that of a Japanese audience, it does not mean that the reader will comprehend the culture the same way.

188 There are a number of scanlators in the Lee article who have aspirations to work as translators in legitimate avenues, so showcasing the translator’s talents serves to possibly help the translator gain employment in the future.
father in the tankōbon reflects an older style of writing, possibly referring to the old societal expectations for women in Japanese culture (see Figure 15). Starry Heaven’s translator tries to recreate the various ways in which font is used to convey different meanings and voices by using formal and informal styles as needed. Onomatopoeic terms are also preserved in some situations because of the translator’s discretion. This is part of a bigger argument stemming from the way in which gitai go and the like are seen by translators: either as text or as art. I argue the stance that these effects are part of the artwork and are integral to the flow of the narrative; translations in which the effects are completely erased disrupts the artistic intention of the author’s creation, as these sounds are not locked into speech bubbles and float around the page. A new question then emerges: is this push towards authenticity an orientalist one? While some could argue that there is a fetishizing of Japanese culture on the part of the translator in refusing to see the universality of manga as a medium, I contend that the desire to be authentic is less a fetishization than a preservation of the manga as a cultural referent. Cappuccino is a narrative that can be read as a western text in its concluding stance of female empowerment, but to give that kind of a reading is to ignore the nuances of what makes this manga distinctly Japanese. Ari is not a character that would be relatable for many western readers. As it has been previously discussed, fans on message boards make a point of mentioning their displeasure with her for trying to stay with Sousuke as much as they hated Sousuke for cheating in the first place. Giving a transliteration of the honorifics implies a level of sophistication on the part of the reader; it is a level of
cultural understanding that western fans of Japanese manga have developed over the years from anime, manga, and other sources (“Image, Text, and Sound”).

Receptivity

*Cappuccino* is received with mixed reviews, with many readers (male and female) enjoying the realism of the narrative.\(^{189}\) It appears that readers who hated the ending are young people who hate that the story does not have a “traditional” happy ending. Most comments about the narrative revolve around trying to understand Sousuke’s motivation to cheat, and Ari’s motivation to stay as long as she does. When readers are perceived to bring too much of a western sensibility to the message boards, this is quickly offset by readers (some of whom are from various parts of Asia) who point out that one must remember that this is a text about a different culture; not every woman is going to have the same reaction to infidelity. The number of male readers who make a point of saying “I don’t like *shōjo* manga, but I loved this” is substantial;\(^{190}\) readers really enjoyed the nuances of the story itself, and while not every reader is happy with the infidelity, many see the ending as a positive one. It is valued by its readers for telling a story that is not often seen in a comic, and it is a story that focuses on the psychological aspects of infidelity as it impacts all involved. Readers who liked the ending of this manga are drawn to the message that a woman does not need to be married to find happiness, even as some readers give criticism to Ari for waiting longer than they felt necessary to end the

\(^{189}\) See Starry Heaven’s *Cappuccino* page and Manga Fox’s message boards.

\(^{190}\) This is a recurring issue with *shōjo* manga, and part of a continuing problem with how it is received critically. These barriers make any “good” *shōjo* seem like an aberrant occurrence (“Rose of Versailles”).

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relationship. The reception of *Cappuccino* was vastly different for eastern readers versus western readers. Readers who hated the text were very vocal about their hatred towards Sousuke. However, it was when people turned their anger towards Ari that others would step in and try to give a cultural perspective on Ari’s actions. One commenter from Korea pointed out that Ari’s reaction is not much different from what is expected from women in his country, so his reaction was not nearly as strong as those who hated one or more of the characters.

*Interconnectivity*

Manga is produced in Japan with the idea that there is interconnectivity between the manga-ka, the manga, and the audience. This holds true for traditional manga production as well as the more casual, *dōjinshi* manga production. Manga is not produced in a vacuum: manga artists will often work with assistants (some of whom work inside the manga-ka’s home), and will write messages to the audience in notes in either the side or bottom margin. And since most manga is written for the home (Japanese) market, there are numerous cultural references that make their way into a work. Even manga that are non-historical or primarily about other cultures (i.e. the steampunk manga *Steam Detectives*, and the gun-toting American girls of *Gunslinger Cats*) still adhere to Japanese cultural rules of politeness and social order. Manga-ka appreciate their fans (because, in a very real way, their fans make their careers) and will meet them at events and answer fan mail or leave messages to their fans in their work. In order for manga to be a success, it

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191 I am not sure how common this is among *seinen* manga, and it appears to be very limited in *josei* manga, but these notes are very common among *shōjo* and some *shōnen* manga.
has to be able to connect with the reader in a palpable way. Manga is not a product that should be taken and analyzed in isolation away from the manga-ka and the reader, as all of the players have to connect for the product to work.

There are ways in which scanlations have a similar interconnectivity to the work and the fans, and there are ways that are distinctly different. When manga is produced with assistants, all of the workers are in a room together\(^{192}\) making sure that deadlines are met. With scanlations, the editor, translator, and scanner are not in the same room and may not even be in the same country, but they are connected through the internet. Broadband access allows large-sized files to be transferred from one person to the next, facilitating an interconnectivity that does not need the physical corporeal bodies to be present to make it work. But it is also not produced in a vacuum. Scanlators also have their ways of connecting with their audience. Starry Heaven chooses to allow fans to contact them through their websites and other internet locales in order to create a dialogue (which is usually made up of fans thanking them for their hard work, and with some admitting that they are reading a work about which they would otherwise have no interest).\(^{193}\) And with Starry Heaven in particular, the translations are an opportunity to expose manga readers to the cultural mores of Japan in as close a translation as possible.

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\(^{192}\) Yoshizumi Wataru's *josei* manga *Spicy Pink* is, in some ways, an instructional guide as to how the manga industry works. Also see *Full Moon o Sagashite* for stories about a manga-ka and her assistants.

\(^{193}\) A post from a reader named Peter (5/10/10) is a prime example of the latter: “I usually despise shoujo, and even with an interesting plot, the art is usually so terrible that the series becomes unreadable. Not so with “Akuma to Love Song”. GREAT story, nice art, thought provocative, and basically an all around awesome manga. Thanks so much to Starry Heaven for the great translations and scans!!!!!” [http://shscans.com/current-projects/akuma-to-love-song/]
Cappuccino is a Japanese story that has a Western appeal due to the themes of infidelity and cohabitation, but what may be the barrier to this piece being translated may be the target audience: Not much josei gets translated in North America, and so this may be a tough sell to publishers (see Thompson). And the fans are just as important to scanlators as they are to manga-ka, even if they serve slightly different capacities. Manga-ka depend on their fans to purchase their manga to keep them employed. Scanlators desire the accolades of their fans in the hope that they will contribute with donations, to work for them, or to just spread the word to others about the quality of their work.

What should not be forgotten is that, for many translators, there is a connection to the manga-ka that they share in that they are generally invested in the artist him- or herself (Lee 1019). Translators see themselves as mediating between the manga-ka and a potential audience of manga readers. In translating unknown works, scanlators bring attention to manga artist that they believe will bring readers and purchasers to the manga-ka. So the interconnectivity extends beyond that of the translator all the way back to the manga-ka him- or herself.

Starry Heaven, Authenticity, and Culture

194 Manga Design doesn't mention josei at all, even when it is featured in by artists, and the biggest publisher in the U.S. does not sell it. ICv2 does not mention it either.

195 In the Lee article, scanlators believe that they have some influence on getting people to purchase legitimate copies of manga from a favored author.
Starry Heaven is a translation “company” in that there are workers who do translations and editing of various manga texts for dissemination. Company is a qualified term because, like most scanlators, they do the work for free. Outside of donations to help pay for manga purchases, Starry Heaven does not profit from their work. They do, however, have minimal ad support on their forums page via small Google ads (a banner ad at the top of forum listings, and text ads that are mostly unobtrusive), which may support the bandwidth costs for the forums as they do not disclose this information. Starry Heaven uses their blog, forum, and IRC channel to communicate with their fans (which is the payment that Starry Heaven claims it desires). This appears to be a common trait amongst new media producers in the production of Japanese products for global consumption: to seek bragging rights from being popular among your fans (M. Ito, “Amateur Cultural Production.”).

What makes Starry Heaven a standout is the rigorous standards for the people they recruit to work for them. Translators of both Japanese and Chinese languages have to be able to pass their examination to prove that they are capable of understanding the text. Scanners must own a scanner and have purchased the manga ahead of time for the project. There are also requirements as to how large the scanned image has to be, and how high the quality has to be of the image (Starry Heaven). Japanese proofreaders are

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196 For Chinese manhua, the only difference in expectation is that gitaigo and giongo can be ignored in translation if the translator can only read Chinese and not Japanese, since the effects are in Japanese in some manhua.

197 Not an unreasonable request.
also tested and must be able to read both Japanese and English. Editors have to be proficient in Photoshop to be considered for Starry Heaven's staff. Their exams are rigorous because they strive to achieve a level of authenticity in their translations that some feel is missing from commercially licensed manga.198 A common complaint is that licensed manga will make changes to the script to make the material more accessible to readers (Brennan) and scanlators like Starry Heaven seek to provide readers with manga that keeps the Japaneseness of the product intact. Also, Starry Heaven anticipates a reader who is educated in some basics of Japanese culture (e.g. honorifics), as they do not offer explanations for the translation of names and titles with the honorifics intact. Starry Heaven also walks a thin line in that the manga projects they undertake are of works that have not been commercially licensed to other markets.199

Starry Heaven creates a digital cultural product in their manga that influences the way in which scanlations are read and appreciated. Fans have multiple avenues of access to the translation company itself, as well as arenas in which they can talk about the manga (e.g. on Starry Heaven's sites as well as those of aggregate sites like Manga Fox). Starry Heaven is creating a cultural product through which readers are entertained, and in some small way educated about Japanese culture, through this artifact of new media.

198 This is a given reason why some manga readers turn to scanlations (Lee), but since Starry Heaven chooses manga that have not been licensed in English, their intention is more likely to strive for quality for the sake of their fans, and not as competitors with English-language publishing companies.

199 Since all scanlations are technically illegal (Lee), what Starry Heaven does falls into a gray area once inhabited by fansubbers who would drop projects once they became commercially available. Why this is no longer the case for fansubbers is because their products come out so quickly that it makes it difficult for anything to be licensed when it has already been seen.
Other fans, who are so inclined, also have the opportunity to join Starry Heaven's team and work on something they love: manga. Scanlations allow fans to bond over their favorite manga and manga-ka, as well as to talk to other fans all over the world in ways that would have been unheard of before the prolific days of the World Wide Web.

Manga, in some ways, does not lend itself to the new media format it currently takes, but as it allows consumers to read something that is often unavailable in their home market (whether it be due to licensing issues, translations that sacrifice Japanese cultural referents for North American accessibility, or because of narratives that are not available in their own markets), readers have adapted to this new format in order to read unlicensed manga or to gain access to licensed manga faster than the distributors can or will allow. There is also a movement of sorts in Japan to make manga available for download on cell phones, but it is uncertain if this model negatively affects tankōbon sales (K. Ito 47). This will elicit further attention in the analysis of the aggregates.

### Aggregates and their issues

200 Jason Thompson (under his LiveJournal username khyungbird) talks about issues with censorship on the iPad, for example (khyungbird).

201 Since it takes time for a distributor to produce and get manga to various markets, it can take several months for manga to come out in legitimate markets. (cite the letter to fans, distributors, and scanlators)

202 K. Ito implies that these cell phone downloads may impact anthology sales because people see the downloads as more convenient than carrying a heavy anthology the size of a phone book, but that does not foreclose on the notion that people are still willing to buy tankōbon copies of manga. She believes, instead, that because “[e]lectronic manga appeals to those who have not read comics, … this audience may eventually purchase comic books because they liked the electronics version” (47).
*Cappuccino* was initially found on the aggregate website Manga Fox, one of many aggregate sites on which numerous manga are hosted. It is also a site that has its own scanlation studio and an active and vibrant forum community.²⁰³ Manga Fox and other aggregate sites are the destination for active discussions on scanlations as well as conversations about manga, anime, games, and whatever else is of interest to the community.²⁰⁴ Aggregates host conversations about scanlated manga because it is not unheard of for a scanlation project to be worked on by more than one scanlation group. One group may begin the work and do a few chapters, and another group may end up finishing it. While scanlators like Starry Heavens seek bragging rights (and use aggregates for that aim), Manga Fox seeks more and more members because the more eyes on Manga Fox, the more eyes and ad revenue the site receives. This is a rather important point because Manga Fox can be, and has been, affected by outside forces.

On April 15, 2010, Manga Fox made the announcement that a number of titles that were considered inappropriate were pulled from the site by the host company. The company had, in turn, received an e-mail from Google Ads claiming that materials that violated their terms of use had to be removed (and this stemmed from an article from an irate person who, after accusing anime and manga of being entirely made up of children’s pornography, claimed that certain genres were in violation of Google Ads' terms of

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²⁰³ As of July 11, 2010, there have been over sixty-seven thousand posts of Manga Fox visitors who have introduced themselves to the Manga Fox community.

²⁰⁴ However, aggregates are not without criticism. Several bloggers refer to these groups as pariahs of the scanlation community because of the money they make from the ad revenues (see Friedman, BruceMcF).
service (TOS) in a move to get these titles removed from the internet (Putnam). The reaction from Manga Fox's readers was quick and vocal: Bring back our manga! Any manga that was labeled mature, adult, yaoi,\textsuperscript{205} or hentai was quickly removed; this was a move that was problematic in that manga that was not considered to be part of the ban had been removed,\textsuperscript{206} prompting Manga Fox to ask readers to submit lists of mistakenly removed manga to the administrators so that they could work on re-establishing the links. A sub-flare-up occurred when a number of people made statements claiming to either not care (or be happy) that yaoi manga was removed, but wanted their stuff returned. Yaoi supporters were offended, with one young person claiming that she would defend other genres under fire, so why attack yaoi.\textsuperscript{207} And while it appears that these titles have managed to return to the website, this crisis did prompt the site to consider how to deal with minors reading materials that they are not legally allowed to read.\textsuperscript{208}

In a similar turn of events, the aggregate site Manga Helpers discovered a notice published in the anthology *Shonen Jump* from the Japanese manga publisher Shueisha in April 2010 asking that raw\textsuperscript{209} copies of their manga-ka's work be pulled from the internet:

> To all our readers

\textsuperscript{205}“Boy’s Love”, a genre depicting males in (sometimes sexual) relationships, but written to appeal to women.

\textsuperscript{206}Actually, the links to these materials were removed. Anyone who had a direct link to the material could still access it.

\textsuperscript{207}As debated on MangaFox in April, 2010.

\textsuperscript{208}The current practice is that the reader must acknowledge their age by clicking on a check box.

\textsuperscript{209}Raw manga is scanned manga that has not been translated.
There are now many people unjustly posting copies of manga on the internet. These unjust copies are inconsistent with [sic] manga-kas' feelings. They are also distorting the authors' intentions of "I want the work to be read this way". The actions of posting these unjust copies on the net, into which the manga-kas have poured their hearts,\textsuperscript{210} are not only hurting mangakas in real life but are also against the law, even if done in a light-hearted manner. Every time we discover such "unjust copies", we talk to the mangaka and consider every possible countermeasure. But the number of inconsiderate people is great, and at present we cannot deal with all of them. We have a request for all our readers. The unjust internet copies are deeply hurting the manga culture, mangakas' rights, and even mangakas' souls. Please understand once again that all of that is against the law. Also, the mangakas and Shueisha will severely deal with any unjust copies found on the internet. We ask that our readers please continue to support us.

~Weekly Shounen Jump editorial department ("Shueisha asks for the end of scans").\textsuperscript{211}

Readers of manga on Manga Helpers responded with disbelief at the notice, and then chalked things up to being another futile attempt by a traditional industry to control things that are no longer under their domain. However, Manga Helpers took steps to appease the publishers by removing all manga from Shueisha and affiliated publishers, and restricting access to raw manga to prevent anyone from Japan from accessing free manga. The site also issued an apology to Shueisha, saying that they only intended to expose people to manga and to not hurt their business [Manga Helpers 2010a]. But, as this paper is dealing with a fluid medium, fortunes changed for Manga Helpers in a

\textsuperscript{210} An emotional response that has different implications for Japanese readers and Western readers. Since the connection between the reader and the manga-ka is strong, the emotional plea is likely to incite a little guilt in the Japanese reader (Thompson , Davies and Ikeno, Kasulis)

different direction than for Manga Fox. While Manga Fox appears to have resumed some semblance of normalcy, Manga Helpers has ceased to host manga on their site (Nimloth).

In what has been deemed “a historic move,” a number of U.S. and Japanese manga publishers have joined together to form a coalition to go after the thirty largest aggregate sites who “now host thousands of pirated titles, earning ad revenue and/or membership dues at creators' expense while simultaneously undermining foreign licensing opportunities and unlawfully cannibalizing legitimate sales” (“Multi-National Anti-Piracy Coalition”). The coalition sees “illicit digital copies of manga either translated by fans or scanned directly from legitimate English releases” as a problem, and even note that smart phone applications that make it easy for people to download scanlations to their phones are also contributing to the problem of lost revenue (ibid).

Manga Helper's response was to no longer host any scanlations on the site, even though they had not received any legal notices to cease and desist (Manga Helpers 2010b). They also make the argument that they feel they provided access to manga for many people worldwide who would otherwise not be able to read it, and that the group has tried to work with members of the industry to create “OpenManga,” a platform that would allow for manga to be distributed online legally while still making a profit for manga-ka and their publishers (as well as being multilingual by doing legal scanlations). While that project is currently ongoing and still in the beta stage, Manga Helpers is reducing its

support to being a forum that no longer supplies raw and translated scanlations. Manga Helper's decision (and simultaneous announcement of their OpenManga project) highlights the struggle between those who prefer older distribution models and those who feel they are providing a service as a bridge between old models and new media.
Conclusion

Digital culture is made up of ephemera which challenge a static look at a fluid medium. Scanlations make up part of this digital culture that creates a cultural bridge between Japan and the rest of the globe by creating translations that strive for authenticity to the original work. By looking at a single scanlation (Cappuccino) from a scanlation group (Starry Heaven) with highly rigorous standards, I sought to take a close look at digital cultural production at work. Various issues with Japanese women, marriage, and childbearing were also discussed, as the decrease in the Japanese birthrate has become a point of concern for the country. There is a lot at stake for scanlators, manga-ka, their publishers, and the readers; and with the rapid changes facing digital production in the new coalition to crack down on scanlations, the future of this new media is uncertain. It is not going to go away overnight, and with the OpenManga project an attempt to find a middle ground, this is a landscape that, while ever changing, will stay interesting for a time to come.
Appendix
Figure 1 - Okaa-san and Onee-san's reaction. Image ©Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 2 - The Family's reaction to Otou-san's appearance. Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
**Figure 3** - Otou-san chastises Ari. Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 4 - Ari and Sousuke’s intimacy 1. Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 5 - Ari and Sousuke's intimacy 2. Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 6 - Sousuke and Aina's intimacy. Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 7 - Ari's mugging, scene 1 (tankōbon). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 8 - Ari's mugging, scene 2 (tankōbon). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 9 - Ari’s mugging, scene 2 (scanlation). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 10 - Ari's mugging, scene 3 (tankōbon). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 11 - Ari’s mugging, scene 3a (scanlation). Copyright for image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 12 - Ari’s mugging, scene 3b (scanlation). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 13 - Example of a full-column image (tankōbon). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
Figure 14 - A cartoon about marriage, courtesy of *Office Ladies/Factory Women* by Jeannie Lo.
Figure 15 - Otou-san's speech (tankōbon). Copyright of image belongs to Yoshizumi Wataru.
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