

HARUHI IN USA:
A CASE STUDY OF A JAPANESE ANIME IN THE UNITED STATES

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by
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ABSTRACT

Although it has been more than a decade since Japanese anime became a popular topic of conversation when discussing Japan, both within the United States and in other countries as well, few studies have empirically investigated how, and by whom, anime has been treated and consumed outside of Japan. This research thus tries to provide one possible answer to the following set of questions: What is the empirical transnationality of anime? How and by whom is anime made transnational? How is anime transnationally localized/consumed?

In order to answer the questions, I investigated the trans-pacific licensing, localizing, and consuming process of the anime *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya* (*Haruhi*) from Japan to the United States by conducting fieldwork in the United States' agencies which localized *Haruhi* as well as U.S. anime and *Haruhi* fans. The central focus of this research is the ethnography of agencies surrounding *Haruhi* in the United States and Japan. I assume that these agencies form a community with a distinctive culture and principles of behaviors and practices in the handling of the *Haruhi* anime texts.

The research findings to the above questions could be briefly summarized as follows. The worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi* (i.e. a fictitious world of *Haruhi* which is embodied and described through its anime episodes and other related products) “reduces” and “diffuses” as it is transferred on the official business track from the producers in Japan to the localizers in the United States (i.e. considerable number of *Haruhi*-related products are not licensed by Japan and therefore are not officially available in the United States; also, many clues and elements embedded in the anime, which suggest the creators' intentions, were not translated in the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime, etc.) but it is considerably supplemented on the unofficial

(and illegal) track of fan activities mainly taking place on the Internet (i.e. the considerable amount of the contents of the non-licensed *Haruhi* products are voluntarily translated into English by *Haruhi* fans and uploaded on websites, considerable amount of un-translated clues and elements are explained on the English-based *Haruhi* fansites, etc.).

This further suggests that the base-structure of the anime business is still weak and immature in the United States and that the Internet functions as the supplemental infrastructure of the trans-pacific anime process from Japan to the United States. The worldview of *Haruhi* is introduced reductively and diffusively to the United States because there are insufficient platforms for the *Haruhi*-related products to be transplanted to the United States and because there are insufficient capacities for the U.S. *Haruhi* localizers to pick up and translate all the clues and elements in the original *Haruhi* anime. In addition to the on-line fan activities that aim to supplement the missing parts of the worldview of *Haruhi*, the localizers in the United States also depend on the Internet when promoting *Haruhi* business in the United States, both in the B to C phase (such as *Haruhi* promotion in the United States which was conducted almost exclusively on the Internet) and the B to B phase (such as the prospective U.S. distributors' watching *Haruhi* anime on Youtube after its air in Japan and before offering the U.S. distribution contract to the rights holders in Japan).

Although these findings from the case study of one anime in one country cannot be generalized to all anime in all countries, I believe it reveals the essence of the transnationality of anime, since the basic localizing processes of anime are more or less the same in most anime in most countries.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ryotaro MIHARA is an official of the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) of Japanese government. After graduating The University of Tokyo in 2003 (BA in Anthropology), he entered METI and was in charge of WTO negotiations (2003 to 2005) and Intellectual Property Acts amendments (2005 to 2007). Being selected by the Japanese government for full financial support for studying abroad for graduate degree (Japanese Government Long-Term Fellowship Program), he has been studying in Cornell University Graduate School (Anthropology) since 2007, and also been a visiting scholar at the Department of Comparative Media Studies (CMS) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) from 2008 to 2009.

*to the MIHARA Family: my parents, Seiichi and Shizuko Mihara, and my sister, Asako
Mihara*

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The main body of this research is based on fieldwork and interviews I conducted in Los Angeles area during the summer of 2008 on the status quo of an anime, *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya* (hereinafter called *Haruhi*), in the United States. I would like to thank the following U.S. anime companies which are involved in the *Haruhi* business in the United States for allowing me to do the fieldwork on their working sites: Kadokawa Pictures USA, Bandai Entertainment, and Bang Zoom! Entertainment. I would especially like to thank to the representatives who took their time for my interview. Also, I appreciate even the suggestions not directly related to my research from Aniplex of America, Broccoli International USA, Geneon Entertainment USA, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) Los Angeles Center, Kinokuniya Bookstores, Society for the Promotion of Japanese Animation (SPJA), and WOWMAX Media. I am also immensely grateful to the members of the Cornell

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Lastly, I would like to give my biggest thanks to my parents, Seiichi and Shizuko Mihara, and my sister Asako Mihara for their “trans-pacific” support via phone calls and Japanese food care packages while I pursued my research. The United States of America has special meaning for this “Mihara family.” We once stayed in this country about two and a half decades ago. The family head, Seiichi Mihara, my father, was working for an automobile company – within the leading auto industry of

Japan – and was transferred to a U.S. branch in Los Angeles. The memory of the days we spent in the United States, whose landscape and culture was totally different and mainly fresh and enjoyable for us, still largely contributes to band us together as a family. And now, I am “back” in the United States and am investigating Japan’s other potential leading industry, anime. I believe this research will contribute to the restoration of the anime industry, making it the true “leading industry” of Japan in our generation. I believe it as my “duty” to continue in the footsteps of my father’s generation which gave us such an “abundant life.”

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Central Argument of this Research

It has been more than a decade since Japanese anime became a popular topic of conversation when discussing Japan, both within the United States and in other countries as well¹. However, in spite of such transnational popularity, few studies have empirically investigated how, and by whom, anime has been treated and consumed outside of Japan. In the United States, mainstream anime studies still seem to abide by a classical story-narrative interpretation approach (for example, Napier 2005). In Japan, as Tsugata (2004:174) acknowledges, there is only fragmented and biased information about the status quo of anime in foreign countries. Under these circumstances, through this research, I attempt to provide one possible answer to the following set of questions: What is the empirical transnationality of anime? How and by whom is anime made transnational? How is anime transnationally localized/consumed?

In order to answer the questions, I investigated the trans-pacific licensing, localizing, and consuming process of the anime *Suzumiya Haruhi no Yūutsu* (*The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya*: hereinafter called “*Haruhi*”)² from Japan to the United States by conducting fieldwork in the United States’ agencies which localized *Haruhi* as well as U.S. anime and *Haruhi* fans. The central focus of this research is the ethnography of agencies surrounding *Haruhi* in the United States and Japan. I assume that these agencies form a community with a distinctive culture and principles of

¹ Many anime which are often referred as the examples of transnationally popular ones, such as *Ghost in the Shell*, *Sailor Moon*, *Dragon Ball Z*, *Pokémon*, and *Spirited Away*, came out in the United States from mid-1990s to early 2000s (for example, Kusanagi 2003).

² Hereinafter, the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime indicates Ishihara 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, and the original Japanese version of *Haruhi* anime indicates Ishihara 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e, 2006f, 2006g, 2006h.

behaviors and practices in the handling of *Haruhi* anime texts, as one way to get a detailed picture of the activities of fans and producers of a pop culture product (for example, Jenkins 1992). Such culture and principles of the anime (including *Haruhi*) community are represented by knowledgeable anime critics and practitioners such as Ōtsuka (for example, 2001), Azuma (2001, 2007a), and Okada (1996), and ethnographically underpinned by Condry (n.d.) as, I will call, a “worldview approach.” This approach sees the core of anime not in individual story narratives but in the three conceptual poles of “worldview,” “characters,” and “settings,” and assumes that the individual anime episodes develop in and through such concepts being guided by them. These concepts are initially created by producers, and are embodied and described through anime episodes and other related products. These concepts are also open to fans’ access when they consume related products, and are further enriched and developed by fan-generated work such as *doujinshi* (同人誌)³, AMVs (anime music videos)⁴, and MAD movies⁵. The anime texts are produced, localized, and consumed under the general guidance of such worldview, characters, and settings. The involved agencies of an anime, such as producers, localizers, and consumers, more or less share such concepts when they deal with the anime texts. The transnational *Haruhi* (and anime in general) community is, so to speak, a “like minded group” of people who interact with each other, having a somewhat common worldview, characters, and settings in their minds. It is not solely the *Haruhi* anime texts themselves but also the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi* that is

³ *Doujinshi* is a nonprofessional self-published manga most of which borrow freely from existing manga and anime series. They often try to generate hidden potential in their world by dropping their characters into new scenarios (Pink 2007).

⁴ Anime music videos (AMVs) are fan-made (unofficial) music video which consists of clips from one or more anime combined with (often unrelated) popular songs.

⁵ AMV is the designation used in the United States and the same kind of video clips are called “MAD movies” in Japan.

transferred when *Haruhi* is licensed from Japanese producers to U.S. localizers and is provided by them to U.S. consumers.

On the basis of above approach, I present my research findings to the above questions (i.e. what is the empirical transnationality of anime?), briefly summarized as follows. The worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi* “reduces” and “diffuses” as it is transferred on the official business track from the producers in Japan to the localizers in the United States (i.e. considerable number of *Haruhi*-related products are not licensed by Japan and therefore are not officially available in the United States; also, many clues and elements embedded in the anime, which suggest the creators’ intentions, were not translated in the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime, etc.) but it is considerably supplemented on the unofficial (and illegal) track of fan activities mainly taking place on the Internet (i.e. the considerable amount of the contents of the non-licensed *Haruhi* products are voluntarily translated into English by *Haruhi* fans and uploaded on websites, considerable amount of un-translated clues and elements are explained on the English-based *Haruhi* fansites, etc.).

This further suggests that the base-structure of the anime business is still weak and immature in the United States and that the Internet functions as the supplemental infrastructure of the trans-pacific anime process from Japan to the United States. The worldview of *Haruhi* is introduced reductively and diffusively to the United States because there are insufficient platforms for the *Haruhi*-related products to be transplanted to the United States and because there are insufficient capacities for the U.S. *Haruhi* localizers to pick up and translate all the clues and elements in the original *Haruhi* anime. In addition to the on-line fan activities that aim to supplement the missing parts of the worldview of *Haruhi*, the localizers in the United States also depend on the Internet when promoting *Haruhi* business in the United States, both in the B to C phase (such as *Haruhi* promotion in the United States

which was conducted almost exclusively on the Internet) and the B to B phase (such as the prospective U.S. distributors' watching *Haruhi* anime on Youtube after its air in Japan and before offering the U.S. distribution contract to the rights holders in Japan). Although these findings from the case study of one anime in one country cannot be generalized to all anime in all countries, I believe it reveals the essence of the transnationality of anime, since the basic localizing processes of anime are more or less the same in most anime in most countries.

The above ethnographic findings do not simply satisfy the curiosity of those in the anime sectors and in the realm of anime studies, but also have, I believe, several theoretical implications for such intellectual fields as media and legal anthropology and Japanese studies. As for anime studies, these findings supplement the scarcity of the facts in this field in terms of by whom and how anime is actually localized and consumed in the foreign market. This research also introduces to anime studies a new approach, i.e. the worldview approach that goes beyond the dominant story-narrative interpretation approach by regarding the core of anime not as its story narratives, per se, but as transcendent concepts of worldview, characters, and settings in accordance with how anime texts are handled by the involved agencies. This research shows another dimension of anime's variability as it flows transnationally from Japan to the United States, by demonstrating the reductive and diffusive transfer of *Haruhi*, when seen from the perspective of its worldview, characters, and settings. Such reduction and diffusion is, I think, often overlooked by the conventional anime studies (for example, Napier 2007) that tend to imagine anime as circulating seamlessly around the world, without any obstacles and with everyone having equal access to its world.

As for anthropology, theoretically speaking, this research could be considered as another attempt to cope ethnographically with the topic of "globalization," assuming the transnational *Haruhi* process as what Ong and Collier (2005) call

“global assemblages,” i.e. the “specific range of phenomena” (4) that have a global quality, focusing on practices and the interactions -- the “nodes of mediation”⁶ -- of the involved agencies. In this light, this research sheds light on the importance and significance of the agencies who stand in between the producers and consumers in the transnational media process i.e. the localizers who get the license for media products from the producers in one country, localize it for the market of a target country, and provide the localized version of the media product to the consumer in the market. Previous media studies, including media anthropology, seem to have paid less attention to such a localizing agency than to the producer and consumer. Taking into account the arguments of Hall (1980), who primarily focuses on two phases of media process of “encoding” (i.e. production) and “decoding” (i.e. consumption), I will call the localizing agencies “trans-coding agencies.” In this research, I call for the necessity to consider their “trans-coding” activities between the encoding and decoding phases when arguing about the transnational media process, by describing in detail the crucial role U.S. *Haruhi* localizers have played in its anime’s introduction to the United States from Japan.

By inserting the tertiary groups of such trans-coding agencies between the producers and consumers, this research also gives us a nuanced picture of the power relationships among the agencies through media: the topic which is often understood in abstract ways to either worry about the ruling power of producers enforced through their products, or to celebrate the resisting power of consumers demonstrated through freely deconstructing and indigenizing the officially provided media texts. Trying to go beyond the banal arguments which easily conclude “consumers are not passive (and stupid) as we assume” or “there are many ways to understand the anime texts,”

⁶ William Mazzarella, Culture Globalization, Mediation, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:345-367, 2004.

this research aims at showing another aspects of rather “disciplined” commitment of agencies toward the *Haruhi* anime texts in terms of its worldview, characters, and settings observed in the interactions between producers-localizers (and among localizers) and consumers-localizers (and producers).

Furthermore, this research challenges the common assumptions of legal studies in general, which assume those with rights are always powerful, by showing more complicated and ambivalent power relationships between the culture industry and consumers in terms of copyright and the Internet, specifically in the case of *Haruhi* in the United States. An opposite assumption of, for example, Lessig (2004) and Coombe (1998) is apparent in *Haruhi* cases that show a “cooperative” relationship between *Haruhi* distributors as “small media” and consumers who “communicate” with the industry side. The Internet is, in *Haruhi*’s case, a “site of cooperation and communication.” Distributors of *Haruhi* anime had to “rely on” the Internet for their business by “sacrificing” their copyrights. In fact, cooperative communication between rights holders and consumers over *Haruhi* accelerated the “prosperity” of the *Haruhi* culture instead of “freezing” it. *Haruhi* localizers in the United States did not necessarily enforce their rights against infringers (fansubbers, for example) and therefore could not control the circulation of *Haruhi* anime fansubs⁷ which undermined their business in the United States by making the anime available for free on the Internet. This inability of *Haruhi* localizers’ enforcing their rights and controlling the infringing activities is the result of several inter-related factors, including political (the United States seems not to be interested in protecting the such “foreign” rights as Japanese anime copyrights), economical (U.S. localizers do not

⁷ “Fansub” is, in this research, indicates an anime which are translated into non-Japanese languages (mainly English) by fans (mainly the U.S. anime fans), subtitled into the translated languages, and distributed by the fans mainly for free on the Internet. “Fansubber” is an anime fan who makes and distributes the fansubs. Technically speaking, therefore, to make a fansub of an anime infringes its legitimate rights of their holders.

have the capacity to check and stop all infringing activities, and their licensors in Japan seem not to be interested in protecting their rights overseas), and social (fansubs are said to be the free “marketing tools” for the industry side to educate the U.S. consumers about *Haruhi* before selling its official version). This research shows that at least in a certain aspect, it was rather the consumers’ side, who do not have any rights of *Haruhi*, that had the “power” in the transnational *Haruhi* process from Japan to the United States.

As for Japanese studies, this research and its findings question the viewpoints that over-emphasize the affiliation between anime (*Haruhi*) and the Japanese government and other superpowers such as media conglomerates (i.e., Iwabuchi 2007) when arguing about the transnationality of anime. The social life of *Haruhi*, from Japan to the United States, shows that the Japanese government and media conglomerates are rarely entangled in this process, suggesting the invalidity of placing anime on the trajectory of traditional Japanese studies of the 1980s (i.e., Vogel 1979; Johnson 1982) i.e. the invalidity of considering that anime is strongly backed by the Japanese national system as a whole and the government, just as automobiles and semiconductors were; the invalidity of considering that anime is the next example of Japan Inc.

Theoretical Backgrounds and Implications: Anime Studies

There are several contributions which this research makes in the realm of anime studies. First contribution is that the findings in this research in terms of by whom and how anime is actually localized and consumed in the foreign market will provide the ethnographically grounded facts to the anime studies which is said to be weak in such data. In spite of anime’s worldwide popularity, anime studies in Japan have not investigated in detail how anime is treated overseas. One reason for this is that

Japanese scholars seem to have lacked interest in how Japanese anime is exported and accepted overseas. Tsugata (2004) warns that Japan still has only fragmented and biased information about the status quo of anime in foreign countries. He emphasizes the necessity of gathering accurate data from overseas “to academically analyze the perfection level and competitiveness of Japanese anime with global measure” (174). Although anime studies in the United States offer several arguments about how anime is *accepted* and *consumed* in foreign markets (for example, Allison 2000), there are, aside from the comprehensive tracking work of “the global adventure” of Pokémon (Tobin 2004), still only a small number of works on how anime is *localized* and on the process of localization by the localizers. Therefore, a major contribution of this study is, in a general sense, the substantive information it provides on the transnationality of anime, and, more specifically, on the localization and consumption process of a certain *Haruhi* anime as handled by localizers and anime fans in the United States.

Second contribution is that this research illuminates the limitations of mainstream anime studies in the United States, introducing a new approach to this field. In the realm of anime studies in the United States, they mostly seem to regard the core of anime as the depth and complexity of its story narratives. Napier (2005), a pioneer of anime studies who is said to have established its academic basis, emphasized the artistic value of its narrative form (10). She declares that “anime clearly appears to be a cultural phenomenon worthy of being taken seriously, both sociologically and aesthetically” (4). In this light, she investigates “the themes, imagery, and ideas of some of the more memorable anime created over the last two decades . . . in an attempt to understand what makes anime the distinctive art form that it is” (10). Napier’s primary focus is on story narratives and their artistic values. Her attempt is to find the symbol, representation, and embodiment of something related to psychology, sociology, gender, etc. by going deep inside the story text and expression

of anime itself. For example, she argues that the crater of old Tokyo in *Akira* may be read psychoanalytically as a vagina, which underlies the absence of the maternal throughout the film (47). She also says that the anime *Ghost in the Shell* “firmly resists any postmodern celebration of fragmentation” and “suggests some underlying issues that could perhaps be read through a feminist lens” (111). Such an approach seems to be dominant in current anime studies (for example, McCarthy 1999; Newitz 1994, 1995; Ruh 2004).

And yet I would argue that an approach focusing solely on anime’s story narratives and their artistic values is highly out of touch with the way agents of anime (such as anime producers, localizers, and consumers) cope with anime texts (i.e. how they produce, transfer, and read anime texts). As the U.S. anime otaku⁸ Patrick Macias (2006) suggests, such an approach “to try hard to find the symbols of vagina and anus elsewhere in anime” (172) is in danger of over-intellectualizing anime.

Thus, this research introduces an alternative way to approach anime texts in accordance with how they are produced, transmitted, and read by the involved agencies. On the basis of the accumulation of anime studies in Japan on this topic (for example, Ōtsuka 2001), and on the ethnographic works of Japanese anime production studios (i.e. Condry n.d.), I intend to propose the “worldview” approach as a way to go beyond anime’s story narratives approach. This approach assumes that the core of anime is not its story narrative (and its aesthetic value) per se but rather the three concepts of worldview, characters, and settings which the anime narrative belongs to. They are originally created by anime producers and function as a guide to how its narrative should be developed. As explained in detail in Chapter 2, by generally following the definitions of Ōtsuka (2001, 2006), “worldview” is the whole system of

⁸ “Otaku” is a Japanese word which indicates groups of people who are obsessed with a certain subculture fields such as anime, manga, and video games. The closest synonyms in English would be “geek” or “nerd.”

the world into which all the characters and settings are integrated. It also includes the subjective intentions and messages which all the creators intend to show through their project, which is the reason why the concept is named not just “world” but world“view.” “Characters” are the figures driving the story of the anime. “Settings” refer to the (mainly objective) background setups in which the characters live and act. Characters and settings are thus sub-concept of worldview. This approach corresponds with how anime is actually created in the anime production studio. Condry (n.d.), who conducted fieldwork in anime studios in Tokyo, reports that they do not care about the story narratives of an anime program when they create it but explicitly emphasized what I referred to above as worldview, characters, and settings; Condry noted the studio spared much of their resources on building up first those three conceptual masts, believing that the story narratives can be developed in any direction if worldview, characters, and settings are established -- thus functioning as a kind of “guiding principle” for their anime story creation.

Applying the framework of personal identity formation proposed by Mathews (2000) that assumes personal identities can be configured by purchasing the elements of culture from the “global cultural supermarket” to the identity formation of anime, and the framework of anime character creation proposed by Azuma (2001), which argues that anime characters are created by sampling the elements that attract otakus (*moe* elements), to the anime creation in general, I have defined, in my research, the source of such worldview, characters, and settings as the “global cultural database,” which indicates a kind of pool of discrete fragments of information taken out of existing world cultures (which I call “cultural elements”). The worldview (characters and settings) of a certain anime is created by incorporating cultural elements from the global cultural database. By this incorporating process I intend to point to “brainstorming sessions” and “script meetings” often held by creative teams in the

anime studios. In such sessions and meetings, the members freely discuss what kind of elements they should and could include in their worldview (characters and settings). For example, the creators of the samurai anime for kids once discussed whether they could make their characters (such as samurai and ninja figures) play soccer games in response to the World Cup soccer held in Japan at that time and whether the soccer fits into their worldview (characters and settings) which mainly based on the Edo era (Condry n.d.). This case could be described from my approach as “cultural elements” of (World Cup) soccer in the “global cultural database” is reviewed whether or not to be incorporated into the worldview (characters and settings) of the samurai anime. By illuminating this incorporation process, this research emphasizes how anime is created through sampling various elements from outer sources in its creation process; as Okada (1996:61-75) suggests, anime is created not so much through the inspiration of anime artists but through sampling and borrowing elements from already-existing works and cultures. Such an approach to focus on the sampling process also challenges the validity of the implicit assumptions of the dominant anime studies which focus on anime’s story narratives and their artistic values and which seem to naively assume the “aura” (Benjamin 1968) of anime texts thinking that anime is created from nothing but through the inspiration of anime artists.

The “worldview” approach assumes that texts in the anime form are no more than a part of the whole worldview (characters and settings) created by the producers; as long as the concept of worldview (characters and settings) is established, it is possible for them to develop almost unlimited stories in numerous media forms not limited to anime such as manga, novel, video games, and CDs. Such a configuration of products in multiple media forms, integrated under the same concept of the worldview (characters and settings), forms what Shiraishi (2000) calls “image alliances.” Each text in each media form is closely related and forms a single world as a whole. Indeed,

there are virtually no anime in Japan that are not a part of such a “media mix” strategy. Under this approach, what anime embodies is only a limited part of the whole worldview (characters and settings) to which anime belongs. Moreover, the worldview approach also corresponds to the way consumers read the texts of anime and other media forms; according to Ōtsuka (2001), what they ultimately get by reading texts in each media form is not the texts themselves but the worldview (characters and settings), which transcends individual text narratives and governs them. Consumers very often read the texts in a certain media form in relation to the worldview (characters and settings) to which the product belongs (and to the global cultural database from which such a worldview is created) and to the other texts in other media forms under the same worldview (characters and settings). In this light, it is almost useless to limit the focus, as current anime studies do, only to an anime media form, assuming it is a closed set of texts. The “worldview” approach calls for the necessity of approaching anime texts from the transcendent vantage point of the worldview (and the global cultural database) and to read them in relation to the texts in other media forms under the same worldview (characters and settings).

This research tries to show that the ingredients of *Haruhi*, seen from the viewpoint of the worldview (characters and settings), reduces and diffuses when it crosses the national border and is localized and introduced in the United States. Such reductive and diffusive transfer of *Haruhi* from one country (Japan) to another (the United States) shows another dimension of anime’s variability when it flows transnationally, which seem to be often overlooked by the conventional anime studies which imagine that anime circulates seamlessly around the world without any obstacles and with everyone having equal access to its world. This idea is apparent in the argument of Napier (2007), which designates anime as a global “fantasyscape” allowing us to forget for a while our (sometimes stressful) national and cultural

identities. This fantasyscape allows everyone around the globe to “take pleasure” (10) from it and plays a liberating, compensating, and alternating role creating a space that “people enter and exit when they please” (11) and helping them “keep going” (20) in their irksome and unstable mundane life. This research also calls for us to pay attention to the translation issues, i.e. how anime texts are, or are not, translated in the localized version, which are lacking in the viewpoints of the dominant anime scholars who are often unclear about which countries’ versions they are using when arguing about anime.

Theoretical Backgrounds and Implications: Anthropology

This research sets the stage of its investigation at the locus of *Haruhi* in Japan and the United States, where many agencies (such as the producers and localizers of *Haruhi* and fans in both countries) are involved. My theoretical strategy is to see this field in the combined senses of Callon (1998) and Appadurai (1986). Utilizing the market framework of Callon (1998), I assume that multiple “calculative agencies” (in our case, producers, localizers, and consumers of *Haruhi*) are “entangled” with each other, seeing *Haruhi* (i.e. the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi*) as the interface that enables such agencies to be entangled. From *Haruhi*’s perspective, this strategy could also be described as following the “social life” (Appadurai 1986) of *Haruhi* from Japan to the United States, a strategy to assume that *Haruhi* is passed from hand to hand of such agencies in both countries. Appadurai postulates the importance of following the trajectories of circulation of commodities themselves in different regimes of value in space. In our case, I followed the paths of circulation of *Haruhi* from its production through distribution, and to consumption phases throughout different times and spaces of the United States (and Japan). This will, I would argue,

illuminate the actual “human and social context” of *Haruhi*, thus enabling us to provide an ethnographical case for the transnationality of anime.

More broadly, this research could be evaluated as another attempt to cope, ethnographically, with the issue of “globalization,” assuming the transnational *Haruhi* process as what Ong and Collier (2005) call “global assemblage,” i.e. trying not to get too abstract and to provide an ethnographically-grounded and detailed picture of the “specific range of phenomena” (4) that have a global quality (in this case, the transnational *Haruhi* process), focusing on the practices and interactions of the involved agencies. In this light, I do not associate the transnational significance of anime with the “cultural imperialism” discourse (Said 1994), i.e. to criticize that anime is “colonizing” the mind of its viewers, as some scholars seem to suggest⁹. Rather, I see it on a more decentralized and networked basis, focusing on each agency and their “nodes of mediation”¹⁰.

Central attention is therefore paid to *Harui* producers in Japan, U.S. *Haruhi* localizing agencies, and *Haruhi* fans in the United States and Japan, and the entanglements between producer-localizers, localizer-fans, and among localizing agencies. Here the “entanglement” between producers and localizers indicates the licensing contract of *Haruhi* anime; the “entanglement” between localizers and fans indicates the localizers’ promotion and selling of *Haruhi* anime and the fans’ response to the promotion and purchase of *Haruhi* anime DVDs; the “entanglements” among localizing agencies point to the contracts they made in doing the localizing works of *Haruhi*. Our concern is how such agencies interacted through such entanglements -- and thus how *Haruhi* was introduced to, and consumed in, the United States.

⁹ For example, see Newitz 1994, 1995. However, it seems clear that anime is, at least in the United States, functioning as the “alternative” or “counter” culture toward the dominant Hollywood and Disney culture, not trying to replace it.

¹⁰ William Mazzarella, Culture Globalization, Mediation, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:345-367, 2004.

I believe this framework corresponds to the reality of the trans-pacific anime business in general (not limited to the *Haruhi* anime business) in which there are no superpowers (neither government nor media conglomerates) that control all the anime business processes and relatively small-sized agencies collaborating with each other, ad hoc, on an anime-by-anime basis when distributing anime in the United States' market. Mainly due to the lack of financial and human resources, the rights holders of anime in Japan often form an alliance with local distributors in the United States, relying on them when selling it to Americans.

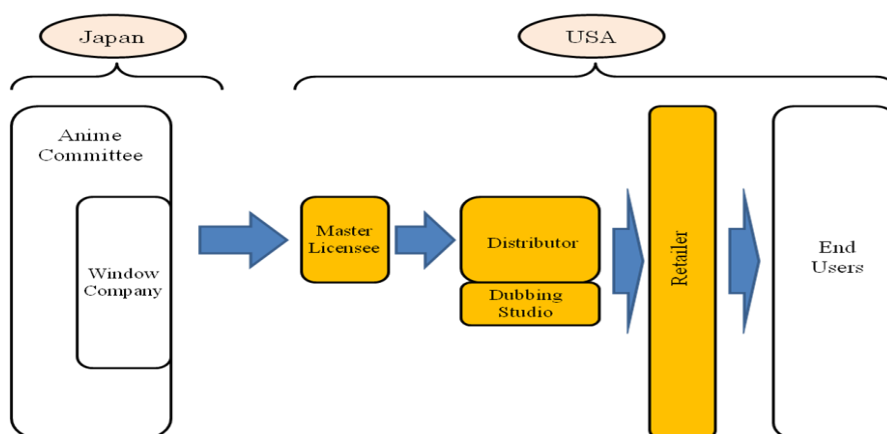


Figure 1.1: The sales outlet of anime in the United States¹¹

The Figure 1.1 shows how multiple players are connected, interdependently, through bilateral networks when distributing anime in the U.S., and how anime moves from Japan, across the Pacific, and into the United States in their hand over. Anime is a joint business; as such, when an anime is in creation, related companies (anime production, music company, TV station, advertising firm, publishers, etc.) in Japan often form a temporal committee for the anime business, jointly owning the rights of the anime and the anime-related products. One of its members who has the know-how

¹¹ This Figure 1.1 is Based on the figure by JETRO (2007:33).

to license their anime overseas becomes a “window company” that operates the business of licensing their rights to foreign companies. They bundle their anime rights (including TV broadcasting rights and videogram sales’ rights) as a master license to U.S. distributors (often home video sales company). The licensee then creates the English dubbed/subtitled version of the anime (they often subcontract this process to the independent dubbing studios) and distributes the DVDs to retailers who sell them to the end users in the United States (JETRO 2007:33-34). With the exception of Japanese TV stations and advertising companies, we can say that all players included in this transnational anime process are small and medium-sized enterprises.

Table 1.1: The list of the United States anime distributors¹²

Name	Note
ADV Films	
AN Entertainment	
Animeigo	
Bandai Entertainment	Owned by Bandai of Japan
Central Park Media	
Family Home Entertainment	
FUNimation	
4Kids Entertainment	
Manga Entertainment	
Media Blasters	
Reeltime.com	
TOKYOPOP	
VIZ Media	Owned jointly by Shogakukan and Shueisha (Japanese publishing companies)

The above table shows how local U. S. distributors are scattered in number and even nationalities. The partnerships between Japanese rights holders and the U.S. distributors are formed on an ad-hoc and anime-to-anime basis. Each anime has its own committee in Japan to negotiate its business and to manage its rights. There are few established relationships between specific committees in Japan and specific

¹² The Table 1.1 is based on the survey by author. This table lists only the “major” distributors which often become the topic in U.S. anime community, and do not include the “minor” distributors which anime distributon dominate only a limited part of their businesses.

distributors in the United States. Japanese rights holders of an anime often get multiple offers from U.S. distributors, choosing one distributor they think is the most appropriate for an anime at that time. For anime fans in the United States, which distributors get the U.S. license of the anime they love is one of their biggest concerns because it directly affects the quality of the anime's English version.

In other words, this approach regards the group of agencies involved in *Haruhi* (and anime in general) as a distinguishable community with a distinctive culture and principles of behaviors and practices to cope with *Haruhi* anime texts. This approach seems not to be an uncommon approach when attempting to get a detailed picture of the activities of the group of fans (and producers) of a certain pop culture product. For example, Jenkins (1992) conducted fieldwork in the fan communities of U.S. TV programs, such as *Star Trek*, reporting their "culture." While Jenkins seems to assume that the community only consists of fans, I see the community in a broader sense, including the industry side and taking into account the practices and interactions between the industry and fans, and within the industry as well.

There was a strong tendency within such community, especially among the localizers and consumers in the United States, to assume that there is what Cubbison (2005) calls "authentic text" of anime (including *Haruhi* anime) to be preserved and thoroughly understood. The agencies' primary aim was to catch and transmit the *Haruhi* creators' intentions and to enjoy the work exactly as the producers had hoped. Many members of the *Haruhi* localizing companies emphasized the need "to be faithful to the original" in their localizing works. One *Haruhi* fan, who is a member of a college anime club, explained (interview by author, May 9, 2008) that they were very careful to preserve the "creators' intentions" when they screen *Haruhi* anime in their public screenings and not to distort them by screening the work loosely or

casually, which resulted in distributing to the screening participants the “liner notes” made by one of the club’s members to explain about *Haruhi* and its texts. Such a “culture” among U.S. *Haruhi* agencies, which assumes the “authenticity” of anime texts and tries to “get” them, seems to be a common practice. Indeed, the history of the U.S. acceptance of anime can be described as the history of rejecting the (destructive) editing by localizers when they import anime from Japan, and of trying to get them in as original a status as possible (for example, Kusanagi 2003; Macias 2006).

On the basis of above agencies’ “principle” when dealing with *Haruhi* texts, this research assumes that it is not solely the *Haruhi* anime texts themselves but also the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* created by the Japanese producers (and potentially the contents of *Haruhi*-related products other than anime that embody such a worldview, characters and settings) that is transferred when *Haruhi* is licensed from Japanese producers to U.S. distributors and is provided by them to U.S. consumers. The U.S. localizers localized *Haruhi* anime in the guide of *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) (i.e. localized *Haruhi* anime being faithful to the originals); the U.S. anime fans consumed the official English version of *Haruhi* anime in relation to *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) and did so by also taking into account how the *Haruhi* world is described in other *Haruhi* products (i.e. consumed *Haruhi* anime trying to get the producers’ intention). Thus, this research investigates how U.S. localizers intended, succeeded, and failed to transplant the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* in their localizing processes, and how the U.S. *Haruhi* fans tried to get full access to *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) by going beyond the officially provided U.S. version which, as is explained in detail in the following chapters, introduced *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) in “reductive” and “diffusive” ways.

I should clarify here that I do not intend to insist that there is “authentic” *Haruhi*, and anime in general (i.e. a “canon,” or a “right way” to understand *Haruhi*, and anime in general, which the outsiders should or cannot get) by indicating the “culture” among the players in the realm of anime in the United States which appreciates the originals in Japan, and by assuming that *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) configured initially by the Japanese producers departs from encoders (Japan) via trans-coders (in the United States) to decoders (in the United States), and that such a worldview “reduces” and “diffuses” as it travels along its path (the central arguments in Chapter 3). Rather, I generally side with the school that believes such “authenticity” is somewhat “constructed” or “invented” (for example, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). I acknowledge the accumulation of the works of media anthropology which illuminates media consumers’ autonomy to read and reconstruct the media texts within their own social context (i.e., Ang 1985). In fact, as explained in detail in Chapter 2, the worldview model does not only suppose the sovereign power of producers but also covers the constructive power of consumers. To assume the concepts of the worldview, characters, and settings as the core of anime (and other related products) means that, once one obtains such a worldview (characters and settings), as Ōtsuka (2001) argues, even a consumer can produce the story texts by himself under the guidance of such concepts, enriching and developing them. Setting aside the copyright issues, such fan-produced outputs do not recognize fundamental differences between the “official” products by “legitimate” producers as long as they share the same worldview (characters and settings). Indeed, such fan-generated texts, such as *doujinshi*, MAD movies, and AMVs (and potentially fansubs and scanlations¹³) form a considerable portion of the worldview approach. There is no

¹³ “Scanlations” are the mangas which are unofficially scanned, translated (from Japanese into, mainly, English), edited, and distributed (mainly for free on the Internet) by fans. Just as fansubs, scanlating a manga infringes its legitimate rights of their holders.

doubt that such texts do contribute to the development of the transnational anime culture – as when we see, for example, the *doujinshi* market held in Tokyo attracting almost five thousand people, twice annually, and countless MAD movies and AMVs are posted on Youtube. I do not deny the social significance of such phenomena.

Therefore, the transnational *Haruhi* (and anime in general) community could be considered the “like-minded group” of people who have a somewhat common worldview (characters and settings) in their minds. They cope with *Haruhi* text, and interact with each other, on the basis of a somewhat common understanding of *Haruhi*. Its worldview (characters and settings) is nevertheless open to their “reflexive practices” (Ong and Collier 2005) as revised and reproduced by them¹⁴.

Being the frame settings and assumptions as such, there are several contributions which this research can make to the discipline of anthropology, especially to the anthropology concerned with media products’ significance for, and impacts on, society. The arguments in this field seem to have accumulated in the binary distribution of two theoretical poles: culture industry theory by Frankfurt School (Horkheimer and Adorno 1991) and the cultural studies tradition that originated in Britain (for example, Hall 1980). First, this research sheds light on the importance and significance of the agencies who stand between the producers and consumers in the transnational media process: following Figure 1.1, the “master licensee,” “distributor,” and “dubbing studio” who get the license for media products from the producers in one country (Japan, in our case), localize it for the market of the

¹⁴ In this light, I associate such an understanding of anime communities and their culture with Bourdieu’s (1980) theory of practice, regarding the commonly shared worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* and other anime as “cultural capital,” and their high-context interactions and communications on the basis of such a worldview, which often does not make any sense to outsiders, as “habitus.” Their habitus-like practice to cope with the *Haruhi* text, such as localizing it and creating its *doujinshi* and AMVs on the basis of their common “capital” of its worldview, results in revising and reproducing such capital and, in turn, preparing the reinforced locus of further commitments of the members. However, it is out of the scope of this research to go into the dense forest of practice theory. Here I just intend to show the significance of the parallel between the behavior of the anime communities and practice theory, suggesting it’s worth investigating further.

target country (the United States), and provide the localized version of the media product to the consumer in such a market. As is typically observed in the arguments of Hall (1980), who primarily focuses on two phases of media process of “encoding” (i.e. production) and “decoding” (i.e. consumption), previous media studies seem to have paid less attention to such a localizing agency than to the producer and consumer. With this in mind, I intend to name the agencies as “trans-coding agencies,” and to call for the necessity to consider their works of localization between the encoding phase and decoding phase when arguing about the transnational media process through describing in detail how crucial role the U.S. *Haruhi* localizers played in its introduction to the country from Japan.

Secondly, by inserting the tertiary groups of trans-coding agencies between the producers and consumers, this research also gives us a nuanced picture of the power relationships among the agencies through media: the topic which is often understood in abstract ways to either worry about the ruling power of producers enforced through their products, or to celebrate the resisting power of consumers demonstrated through deconstructing and indigenizing the officially provided media texts. This research aims to avoid looking abstractly at the single binary entanglement between producers and consumers, instead focusing in detail on the entanglements between producers-localizers (and among localizers) and consumers-localizers (and producers), each of which has different logics of relationships and powers.

Although I understand *Haruhi*'s worldview (characters and settings) in “constructivist,” i.e. its worldview is somewhat “constructed” within each involved agency, as I stated above, I still believe that there is much more to say about the power relationships among the agencies through anime and other related media products than just asserting “consumers are not as passive (and stupid) as we assume” and that “there are many ways to understand anime texts,” which, for example, some do in the

case of the anime *Sailor Moon* in the United States by showing how the program was understood in opposite ways by different groups of people. To some, it was the symbol of women's empowerment, while for others it appeared as a typical example of Jane Crow (Macias 2006:152-156); to some American girls, its heroines were too "girlie" to be taken seriously as superheroes while for others the heroines were the exact ones they were looking for (Allison 2000). The limitations of the ethnographic works on media audiences, which focus in detail only on the phase of their acceptance of the media texts and that tend to end up only celebrating their autonomy to open-mindedly appropriate the official text, extracting the indigenous meanings, have been discussed elsewhere (for example, Ang 1990; Miller 1998; Modleski 1986; Morley 1993; Morris 1988; Seaman 1992). They often criticize that such an approach can only reach a banal conclusion, saying no more than that mass cultural texts are complex and contradictory and therefore, people using them produce complex and contradictory culture (for example, Morris 1988). In order to avoid running into such an it-is-always-complex-and-contradictory impasse, and to keep the critical edge of media anthropology, many alternative approaches have been proposed, including taking into account the culture industry side and their internal logics¹⁵ and being aware of the "structural limits" that the audiences (and other involved agencies in the cultural industry side as well, I would argue) have, i.e. their commitment to the media texts "takes place within specific parameters and concrete conditions of existence" (Ang 2003:365). It is generally in this direction that this research aims to develop the argument about *Haruhi* and related agencies. Setting aside fans' rather open-minded way to indigenize the official texts, I suggest in this research that there seems to be another more disciplined (and measurable) way for the involved agencies to cope with

¹⁵ William Mazzarella, Culture Globalization, Mediation, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:345-367, 2004.

the official media texts, which understands (“constructs”) the media texts in terms of worldview (characters and settings).

It appears especially evident that at least the localizers (i.e. licensees), the agencies within the cultural industry, were not as free in coping with *Haruhi* texts as were the consumers in their relationship with the producers (i.e. licensor); the license contract gave formal rights to the producers to control the quality of the localized *Haruhi* anime which trans-coders make; there is the “creators’ intentions” to be reflected in the United States’ version of *Haruhi*. There was, of course, variation in the understanding of *Haruhi* anime by each person who works for the trans-coding agencies of *Haruhi*; the localizers were in fact given a free hand from the licensor (and master licensee) in their localization work (mainly due to the licensors’ and master licensees’ lack of the capacity to control everything). However, I would argue that such differences can be converted to (and measured as) the difference in the level of understanding of *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings), and this is precisely how the localizers cope with the texts of *Haruhi* anime when they localize it. The president of one *Haruhi* localizing company stated (interview by author, July 17, 2008) that the company’s general *Haruhi* localizing approach was to limit its focus on a certain aspect of the *Haruhi* world that they think important. One localizer explained to me (interview by author, August 20, 2008) which texts and cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime were crucial to them (which means that they thought they should understand them thoroughly in order to translate them accurately being faithful to the originals), and which were “bonus” (meaning they do not feel they should understand them and in fact believed they do not have to translate them). One representative told me (interview by author, August 27, 2008) that many of those in charge of *Haruhi* trans-coding thought they were “not otaku enough” to fully understand the worldview (characters and settings) when trans-coding *Haruhi* anime, which might result in a

reduction of information in the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime compared to the original Japanese version (and indeed its texts and cultural elements were reduced in the United States version, as will be shown in detail in the following chapters). Their “construction” of *Haruhi* anime texts is indeed “constructed” and yet disciplined by the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* whose legitimacy was formalized by the licensing contract and loosely presumed by the “culture” of anime community which supposes the “authenticity” of anime.

This approach to cope with the official *Haruhi* texts was also apparent in the behavior of *Haruhi* fans. The facts, as shown in detail in the Chapter 4 of this research, that U.S. *Haruhi* fans supplemented the contents of the officially unavailable *Haruhi*-related products, and that they explained to their fellow English-speaking fans the missing texts, links, and cultural elements in *Haruhi*'s worldview (characters and settings) and in the official U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime, on the Internet, shows another example of the *Haruhi* (and anime) fan community's “disciplined construction” of *Haruhi* texts under the general guidance of the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* as well as their production of *doujinshi* and AMVs. Indeed, the fans participating in such activities clearly seem to see the difference in their understanding of *Haruhi* anime texts (among anime fans and between the official *Haruhi* localizers) in terms of the level of understanding of the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*. The key reason they supplement the *Haruhi* world on *Haruhi* wiki websites is that they think the official localizers do not understand the *Haruhi* world as well and as deeply as they do. Furthermore, the official *Haruhi* localizers' side also assumed the fans' different understanding of *Haruhi* in terms of its grasp of *Haruhi*'s worldview (characters and settings), supposing that some fans may be more familiar with *Haruhi* than themselves. Such an assumption of localizers resulted in a considerably “high-context” web promotion of *Haruhi* anime in the United States,

which “tests” the knowledge of fans about *Haruhi*, not limited to its anime version, by hiding and embedding numerous elements related to the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*.

Such findings in this research, which detected a certain set of norms that are utilized by the agencies in reflexive ways when they cope with anime texts (and the texts of other related products), asserting that in certain aspects they are not completely free to cope with the texts, seem to be on the same trajectory with a certain accumulation of the arguments in the realm of anthropology in general. For example, Appadurai (1981) pointed out that the “past” is not an infinite and plastic symbolic resource for the peoples’ collective use, as is often assumed, but rather there exists the sets of “cultural norms” in any cultures that are followed by them and that regulate their debate about their past. Similarly, Riles (2000) showed how certain kinds of “forms,” such as network, brackets in draft documents, and tabular matrix in brainstorming sessions, functioned as the kind of shared standards for the workers, such as Fijian government officials, internally generating “the effects of their own reality by reflecting on themselves” (3).

The power relationship between the U.S. localizers (plus Japanese producers) and the U.S. *Haruhi* fans (the main topic of the Chapter 4), i.e. the relationship between the culture industry and consumers, was more complicated than the conventional school assumes, especially when we focus on the function of the Internet and copyright on such relationships. The fact argued in the Chapter 4, i.e. the Internet functioned as the unofficial infrastructure to supplement the reduced/diffused worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*, which is provided via the official track to the United States, implies the ambivalent (power) relationship between the media industry side (the U.S. *Haruhi* distributors in our case) and the consumers’ side (the U.S. *Haruhi* fans in our case). The situation, as outlined in Chapter 4, of the

relationship between the U.S. *Haruhi* localizers and fans provides us with quite an opposite picture of the previous arguments about the relationship between the culture industry and consumers through the Internet and copyright (for example, Lessig 2004; Coombe 1998). Such a commonly understood relationship is a “confrontational” one in which consumers “fight against” the imperial power of the culture industry as a “big media.” The Internet is a “site of struggle” between such two players, which, on the one hand, cultural industries try to “gerrymander” in order to maximize their benefit by “enforcing” their copyrights, and on the other hand, consumers use as their “stronghold” in order to keep the culture from being “locked down” by such actions of the industries’ side. Of course, *Haruhi* localizers do have such confrontational attitudes toward fans (as we can see in their anti-fansub statements), which is why I consider the relationship ambivalent. However, an opposite situation is apparent in *Haruhi* cases that show a “cooperative” relationship between *Haruhi* distributors as a “small media” and consumers who “communicate” with the industry side. Thus, the Internet is a “site of cooperation/communication.” The distributor of *Haruhi* anime (had to) “rely on” the Internet in order to benefit from their business by “sacrificing” their copyrights. In fact, cooperative communication between rights’ holders and consumers over *Haruhi* accelerated the “prosperity” of the *Haruhi* culture instead of “freezing” it.

Furthermore, more generally, such a power relationship challenges the common assumption about legal studies, that those who have rights are always powerful. On the contrary, the ethnography of *Haruhi*-related agencies shows that rights holding agencies, i.e. *Haruhi* localizers in the United States, could not necessarily enforce their rights toward their infringers (fansubbers, for example) and therefore could not control the circulation of *Haruhi* anime fansubs which undermined their business in the United States by making the anime available for free on the

Internet, for multiple interlocking reasons, including political (the United States seems not to be interested in protecting such “foreign” rights as Japanese anime copyrights), economical (the U.S. localizers do not have the capacity to check and stop all infringing activities, and their licensors in Japan seems not to be interested in protecting their rights overseas), and social (the fansubs are said to be the free “marketing tools” for the industry side to educate the U.S. consumers about *Haruhi* before selling its official version). This research shows that, at least to a certain respect, it was rather the consumers’ side, who do not have any rights of *Haruhi*, that had the “power” in the transnational *Haruhi* process from Japan to the United States.

Other Theoretical Implications

This research and its findings further question the viewpoints which (over)emphasize the affiliation between anime (*Haruhi*) and the Japanese government and other superpowers (such as media conglomerates) when arguing about the transnationality of anime. As we have briefly seen, and will see in detail in the following chapters, the Japanese government and media conglomerates are rarely entangled in the social life of *Haruhi* (and most of the other anime) from Japan to the United States.

Although many scholars tend to regard worldwide anime promotion as a Japanese national project (for example, Iwabuchi 2007), it seems inappropriate to place anime on the trajectory of traditional Japanese studies of the 1980s: consider that anime is strongly backed by the Japanese national system as a whole and government, just as automobiles and semiconductors were; consider that anime is the next example of Japan Inc. In that era (1980s), the worldwide success of Japanese products was often attributed to the social and institutional systems (such as state, politics, large companies, education, welfare and safety) of Japan as a whole, which enable its nation to make its product competitive (Vogel 1979), or attributed to the strong leadership of

a “pilot agency” (for example, MITI: Ministry of International Trade and Industry) which generates “industrial policy” which chooses which industrial sectors to develop, and “industrial rationalization policy” which decides how to develop such chosen sectors in order to form a “convoy” to sortie to the United States (Johnson 1982). Considering the transnationality of anime in this way contradicts the reality of the international anime business. The system and environment to produce anime in Japan is often evaluated as inefficient, bureaucratic, and hollowing and, therefore, assumed not to be accelerating factors, such as those that produced automobiles in the 1980s, but to be dragging ones. The Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI), ex-MITI, no longer plays the role of pilot agency, with its power and influence on the Japanese industry said to have been drastically weakened (Economist 2005). Although METI officials seem to seek to commit to the anime industry by utilizing traditional policy tools (Hatakeyama 2005:107), they seem not to have figured out the winning formula yet (94-95). The anime industry is said to be traditionally anti-state and, therefore, to be far more difficult for government to control than other sectors. Throughout the interview to Japanese government officials, conducted by Hatakeyama, I detected their strong hesitance to intervene to anime industry which has developed without (and because of such a lack of) governmental support (86-153). Moreover, there are many Ministries and Agencies within the Japanese government in charge of promoting anime overseas (Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters, METI, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, and Agency for Cultural Affairs). It seems inappropriate to see the government monolithically, not investigating the policy-making process by multiple players with multiple interests within the government, and to assume all the members are mesmerized enough to think that anime is globally popular i.e. are enchanted by the idea that anime is truly an example of what McGray (2002) calls “cool Japan.” Prime

Minister's reference to the anime industry, organization of the new headquarters devoted to Intellectual Property (including the property of anime), and the increase in governmental papers about anime industries, does not necessarily mean (or does not mean at all) that the Japanese government is acquiring and enforcing its authoritarian power on the anime industry in and outside Japan. I wonder how "nationalistic" the recent anime industrial policies in Japan are compared to those of the United States (who filed the suit against China to WTO in 2007 in order to make the Chinese buy the Hollywood and Disney DVDs), the United Kingdom (whose Cabinet coined the term "Cool Britannica" about half a decades before "Cool Japan."), France (which is subsidizing its film industry in order to compete with Hollywood movies), and Korea (which has 327 anime related educational institutes) (METI 2003:10, 18, 28); globally speaking, it seems quite safe to conclude that the Japanese policy toward this field is relatively (or far more) modest¹⁶.

Likewise, I do not agree with the assertion of Iwabuchi (2001), who insists that the Japanese anime industry is colluding with the U.S. media conglomerates when distributing its anime overseas and, therefore, taking part in their "Americanization" project (39-41). In fact, most anime is distributed by the local SME distributors and thus their distribution powers are far from dominating the world. Although he raises the example of Miyazaki anime, which had to rely on the Disney's global distribution network when going beyond Japan (41), it is not the case for most TV (DVD) anime, which are distributed by the other U.S. distributors who have nothing to do with Disney or Hollywood. The distribution system of anime in the United States is not as homogenized as Iwabuchi assumes. Table 1.1 shows that we cannot even say that

¹⁶ For example, DCAJ (Digital Content Association of Japan) states that Japan, who positioned the promotion of contents industry as an official national policy as recently as in 2003, still have much to learn from other countries who have been committing to the sector for much longer time than Japan (DCAJ 2007:60).

distributors in the United States are solely American capitals. There are several Japanese capital distributors in the United States such as Bandai Entertainment and VIZ Media.

Iwabuchi also seems to assume that the anime industry can acquire solid and systematic foundation of circulation if they are allied with U.S. distributors. I would argue, however, that the distribution system of anime in the United States is far more temporal and unstable than he assumes. We have already seen that the SME size anime agencies are entangled ad hoc on an anime-to-anime basis on the trans-pacific anime business scene. Furthermore, such contracts, especially between Japanese producers and U.S. distributors, are not as secure as we assume. It is not unusual for fans to hear that “contract issues” between Japanese rights holders and U.S. distributors resulted in the delay (or even cancellation) of the release of anime DVDs in the U.S. market. For example, there was a case in which Japanese rights holders cancelled the license contract of tens of anime titles with one of the major distributors in the United States (for unknown reason) and licensed to another one several months later, resulting in the sudden announcement of indefinite release delay from the former licensee, several months of irritating wait for the fans of those anime, and another sudden announcement of getting the licenses for them from a completely different player. There was even a case in which one distributor who held numerous major titles went bankrupt, and it took more than a year for another player to “salvage” their unresolved licenses. Many anime fans complain that the cable TV network does not air anime until its last episode, often stopping its broadcast or moving its timeslot.

Haruhi in USA

The anime chosen as a case to follow in this research is *Haruhi*. This anime were created by the anime production company, Kyoto Animation, on the basis of the serial

novel by Tanigawa (Tanigawa 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008). It was aired on TV in Japan from April to July in 2006. The rights of this anime in Japan are shared by a committee whose members include Kadokawa Shoten (one of the largest publishers in Japan), Lantis (a music company that mainly produces anime related CDs), Kyoto Animation, and an advertising company. Those companies form the producers' group i.e. encoders of *Haruhi*. The anime was licensed to Kadokawa Pictures USA (hereinafter KPUSA), the U.S. branch of the Kadokawa Group, for North American distribution. KPUSA sublicensed promotion, localization and distribution to Bandai Entertainment (hereinafter BE), the U.S. branch of the Japanese toy company, Bandai. The actual localizing operations, such as translation and English dubbing, were conducted by Bang Zoom! Entertainment (hereinafter BZE), a local anime dubbing studio, which was awarded the subcontract for the work from BE. KPUSA, BE, and BZE forms the localizers' group (i.e. the trans-coders) of *Haruhi*. Its four-volume DVDs (Ishihara 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d) were released in the United States, sequentially, from May to November in 2007.

The basic plot of the anime could roughly be described as “a supernatural high school love story.” The story focuses on an eccentric high school girl named Haruhi Suzumiya who is obsessed with the supernatural. In order to “find aliens, time travelers, and espers and play with them,” she forms a club named SOS Brigade (Spreading Excitement All Over the World with Haruhi Suzumiya's Brigade) and drew into it several of her high school mates who appeared to be an alien, time traveler, and esper themselves. Haruhi herself was also later found out not to be a normal human; she actually has the ability to alter, destroy, or create the world as she wishes. The story is narrated by Kyon, the only normal high school boy in the member of the SOS brigade who does not have any such “supernatural” abilities, and is developed

around him, Haruhi, and their fellow alien (Nagato Yuki), time traveler (Asahina Mikuru), and esper (Koizumi Itsuki). On the background of these extraordinary settings, the central focus of this anime is on a developing romance between Haruhi and Kyon. In addition to this odd Sci-Fi storyline, the anime series is loaded with a vast number of in-jokes and references mainly about the Japanese pop culture. The original story in the novel by Tanigawa has not been concluded yet, and the anime series only picked up a portion of its existing episodes. Both the sequel to the novel and the second series of anime are awaited by anime fans.

As is explained in detail in Chapter 2, the worldview (characters and settings) have roughly three levels incorporated from three categories of cultural elements in the global cultural database. On the appearance level, *Haruhi* was configured as a high-school love comedy, and many cultural elements related to Japanese high school lives were incorporated into *Haruhi*; all the main characters are wearing Japanese high school uniforms; they eat their *bento* (弁当: box lunch) in their classrooms with chopsticks; SOS Brigade members played fireworks, mah-jong, and who-is-the-king game and went to *kimodameshi* (肝試し: courage-testing tour) during their *natsu gasshuku* (夏合宿: summer reterat) in the remote island; they also shot their original amateur film to present at their high school's *bunkasai* (文化祭: cultural festival), in which Suzumiya Haruhi and Nagato Yuki joined the band of the rock club and performed in the *taiikukan* (体育館: gymnasium). On the below-the-surface level of *Haruhi*'s worldview (characters and settings), there is a level of science fiction that masterminds the development of the high school love story; *Haruhi* characters time travel a lot; they go through many parallel worlds; many of the characters have some kind of supernatural powers; many storylines and settings are borrowed from the existing Sci-fi novels; one of the biggest themes of *Haruhi* is the android's ego, which is one of the most popular themes in the realm of science fiction and can be seen in the

episodes developing around an android alien Nagato Yuki. The other below-the-surface level of *Haruhi*'s worldview (characters and settings) is the homage and reference to the Japanese pop culture such as anime, cinemas, and TV programs (Taburoido to Yukai na Nakamatachi 2007); the cultural elements quoted from this category range from *Candies* (a Japanese idol group in 1970s) to *Ikinari! Ougon Densetsu* (いきなり！黄金伝説: the TV variety show which started in 1998).

There are several reasons for choosing *Haruhi* as a case. First of all, it was a huge hit, both in Japan and in the United States (and in other countries as well). *Haruhi* was transnational enough to be followed. Although there are very few statistics available to measure the impact of *Haruhi* in the United States (the U.S. anime companies often do not release the actual sales of their anime titles), judging from available sources, we can say that *Haruhi* in the United States made roughly the same scale of impact as in Japan. For example, the chairman of the Kadokawa Group Holdings answered in the interview¹⁷ that the English version of a certain anime DVD (presumably *Haruhi*¹⁸), which they sold 80,000 sets in Japan, sold 60,000 sets in the United States. If we assume that the market size of anime in the United States is one-third of that of Japan,¹⁹ and the price of an anime DVD in the United States is half that of Japan, we can say that *Haruhi* made impact in the United States as big as, or even slightly bigger than, that in Japan in accordance with their market sizes. *Haruhi* caught the enthusiasm of the anime fans overseas. Anime Expo (the biggest anime convention in the United States held annually in Los Angeles area) in 2007 mainly featured

¹⁷ “Soko ga Shiritai Jisha Kontentsu no Netto Haishin naze Sekkyokuka (The Point We Want to Know: Why did They Proactively Net-stream Their Contents)?” *Nikkei Shinbun*, 5 August 2007, Morning edition.

¹⁸ “Haruhi DVD Beikoku de Rokuman Setto Hanbai YouTube mo Kōken (Sixty Thousand Sets of Haruhi DVD were sold in the United States. Youtube also contributed)?” *anime! anime!*, 5 August 2007. Electronic article, http://animeanime.jp/review/archives/2007/08/dvd6_youtube.html, accessed September 11, 2007.

¹⁹ According to DCAJ (2007), the sale amounts of Japanese anime DVDs were 95,028,000,000 yen (approximately US\$ 950,280,000) in Japan (107), and US\$374,000,000 in the United States (188).

Haruhi. Three original voice actresses of the main characters in *Haruhi* participated in the convention as their guests of honors. One of their key events was the joint live performance of those three, with the American dubbing voice actors and actresses in the English version of *Haruhi*. Quite a few participants lined up all through the night to get into their autograph session. If you search Youtube with the words *Haruhi Dance* or *Hare Hare Yukai Dance*, both of which mean the choreography which the *Haruhi* characters are dancing in its ending animation, you can find a number of video clips in which the actual anime fans from every country in the world are dancing it²⁰. Indeed, *Haruhi* seems to have spread excitement all over the world, and its global spread seems to be random, unpredictable, and sometimes embarrassing. There were cases in which *Haruhi* appeared (without permission) on the protest sign in the Gaza Strip²¹, the snack package in Belarus²², the Beijing Olympic pamphlet in China²³, and the Tylenol commercial in Canada²⁴.

Secondly, *Haruhi* seems to be worth tracking because of the extremely large number of cultural elements incorporated in it from multiple categories, which are quite distinct from one another (Japanese high school love comedy, science fiction, and Japanese pop culture) in the global cultural database. *Haruhi* anime is a copious anime, contrasting strongly with many “stateless” anime (i.e. the anime into which

²⁰ As far as I checked out, the dance seemed to spread to the following countries: Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Sweden, Israel, Russia, Finland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Portugal, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Netherlands, Denmark, England, New Zealand, Australia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, United States, and Canada.

²¹ “Hamazu to Fataha kan no Kinchō Takamaru. Paresuchina Jichi ku (The Tension is Running High between Hamus and Fatah at Palestine Autonomous Region).” *AFPBB News*, 15 December 2006. Electronic article, <http://afpbb.com/article/1174867>, accessed November 11, 2008.

²² “Haruhi Lookalike Appears on Belarusian Waffle Packaging.” *Anime News Network*, 19 May, 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-05-19/haruhi-lookalike-appears-on-russian-candy-packaging>, accessed November 11, 2008.

²³ “Pekin Gorin Panfu ni Haruhi ni Manga Binjō Shōhō ni Hayakumo Fuan no Koe (Haruhi Lookalike Appears on Beijing Olympic Pamphlet: Worried Bandwagoning Businesses).” *J-Cast News*, 29 January, 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.j-cast.com/2008/01/29016106.html>, accessed November 11, 2008.

²⁴ “*Haruhi Suzumiya* Poster Appears in Canadian Tylenol Ad.” *Anime News Network*, 13 September, 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-09-13/haruhi-suzumiya-poster-appears-in-canadian-tylenol-ad>, accessed November 11, 2008.

only small cultural elements are incorporated into its worldview, characters and settings and their source categories are often small in number), like *Pokémon*, which are transnationally popular. Such information overload and multi-layered worldview (characters and settings) in *Haruhi* anime illuminates (i.e. makes more visible and evident than taking stateless *Pokémon*-like anime as a case) the differences in how the involved agencies in multiple countries cope with *Haruhi* texts in terms of the difference in the aspects of its worldview (characters and settings) and also illuminates which parts of the anime are emphasized and which parts are not (and as a result which parts of the anime were kept and which were cut) through the transnational localizing process. For example, being focused on its “Japanese” worldview (“Japanese” high school love comedy and “Japanese” pop culture level), *Haruhi* was initially considered “too Japanese” to become popular overseas, or, at least, *Haruhi* producers seem not to have taken into account the foreign markets from the beginning of their business. Yet it became popular in the United States (and in many other countries as well) seemingly due to its quality as a love comedy (Japanese high school “love comedy”), one of the most popular anime genres in the country. As we will see in Chapter 3 and 4, the *Haruhi* localizers primarily focused on its Japanese high school love comedy aspect of worldview (characters and settings, and actually localized the anime as such) and that the U.S. anime fans tried to supplement the other aspects of it through their Internet-based fan activities.

Thirdly, I believe *Haruhi* is an extreme case that shows how the “media mix” strategy (and the configuration of the related products) commonly used in the Japanese culture industry could (not) be transplanted in the markets outside Japan. I have briefly mentioned that most anime programs created in Japan do not conclude by themselves but are often a part of the configuration of related products in multiple media forms under the worldviews (characters and settings) to which they belong. Such a media

mix strategy seems to have been adopted excessively in the *Haruhi* project. As we can see in Table 2.2 of Chapter 2, each story (texts) in each media form in the *Haruhi* project is carefully crafted and skillfully connected; while in many other projects, anime (and other media products) is no more than a (deteriorated) copy of the original work (such as manga) that forms a “core” of the project, in the project of *Haruhi* each media form has its own independent story (texts) and meanings associated with the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* (i.e. there are many episodes that the original *Haruhi* light novel, a “core media” of *Haruhi* project, do not cover in the anime, manga, CD, and game media forms). Furthermore, each media text of *Haruhi* contains the links that lead us to different related texts in different media forms. *Haruhi* seems to be closer to the “ideal type” of the media mix strategy than many other projects and thus, I believe, will tell us clearer information about what happens when such media-mixed configurations try to go outside Japan, and how the strategy functions or does not function in non-Japanese market.

Fourthly, *Haruhi* is also one of the extreme cases in which the Internet is intensively used in its business in the United States and thus will give us significant information about how the Internet functions in the relationships of the agencies entangled through *Haruhi* (especially the relationship between *Haruhi* localizers and fans in the United States). As will be seen in the following chapters, *Haruhi*'s success in the United States is often attributed to the advertising effect of Youtube. The fansubs of *Haruhi*, uploaded on Youtube before its official release, are said to have “paved” the success of its official DVDs in the United States, educating U.S. audiences about *Haruhi* and contributing to make them purchase its official DVDs when released in the United States. *Haruhi* is also known as one of the few anime in the United States that conducted heavy on-line promotion before the release of its official DVDs (Kazami 2008).

Methodology

I conducted fieldwork in multiple sites in the United States where *Haruhi* appeared. When investigating the transnationality of anime, it seems almost useless to do fieldwork in a single limited site. I believe that conducting “multi-sited ethnography” in the sense of Marcus²⁵ will play a crucial and integral role in constructing the entire and precise picture of an anime overseas highlighting the “unexpected trajectories” of its transnationality. More specifically, I believe a case study of *Haruhi* will construct a grounded image of the transnationality of anime. The “sites” here include websites. I have also conducted a kind of “netnography” proposed by Kozinets (2002), observing how *Haruhi* is promoted, reported, discussed, and distributed via the Internet. Although Kozinets seems only to focus on consumer on-line communities, I expanded the range over the companies’ websites and news sites. Although there are still concerns about the validity of information gathered via websites, it seems not only reliable but also indispensable to use the articles and messages transmitted from the established companies via their websites when investigating the social life of *Haruhi*.

In terms of methodology, first of all, I investigated the *Haruhi* anime itself. I watched all its fourteen episodes in Japanese, English, and Japanese audio with English subtitles to see how the localization process worked on the *Haruhi* anime. In doing so, I did not try to read the interpretative meaning of its scenes, characters’ facial looks and gestures, phrases, and music, etc. as do mainstream anime scholars in the United States. Instead, I tried to find out how its texts and cultural elements are read and understood in relation to the global cultural database, *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings) as a whole, and the other *Haruhi*-related products. I did this

²⁵ George E. Marcus, *Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography*, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95-117, 1995.

by searching the creator's interview articles, commentary books of *Haruhi*, on-line forums, and *Haruhi* explanation sites run by *Haruhi* fans. As for certain texts and cultural elements said to be crucial for Haruhi's worldview (characters and settings), I investigated how they were or were not translated from Japanese into English. I also looked carefully at any scenes added or deleted in the United States version of *Haruhi* by comparing both Japanese and U.S. versions, simultaneously on two screens (and I found there were none). I also surveyed the official availability of Haruhi-related goods in the United States (i.e. which Haruhi-related products are licensed from Japan to the United States and which are not).

Participant-Observation: I participated in the critical sites in which *Haruhi* appeared in the United States. Such sites were mostly related to the localizers group of *Haruhi* (KPUSA, BE, and BZE), the anime conventions held around the United States (Anime Expo, "Otakon" in Baltimore, "New York Anime Festival" in New York, "Anime Boston" in Boston, and "Anime NEXT" in New Jersey area), and the anime club of Cornell University (CJAS: Cornell Japanese Animation Society). When observing these sites, I focused on how the players coped with and cooperated through *Haruhi*. For example, on the level of fan-based activities, I intensively observed the activities of CJAS, where I am myself a member. In the spring semester of 2008 (from January to April), CJAS chose *Haruhi* as one of the anime programs chosen for their weekly anime screening, held every Saturday open to public. I attended the showing and observed the responses of audiences toward *Haruhi* to analyze, for example, whether they seem to understand the quotations and in-jokes embedded in the episodes. As for the "netnography," I benchmarked several United States and Japanese on-line *Haruhi* (and anime) fan communities to see their response toward *Haruhi* and activities related to it (discussing in the forum, constructing wiki, distributing *Haruhi* fansubs and scanlations, etc.). Although there are still concerns about the validity of

information gathered via websites, mainly because of the anonymity of their users and posters, I found it at least worth noting how fans built up the on-line environment by themselves in order to enjoy *Haruhi*. I also went through the history of the on-line promotion campaign of *Haruhi* in the United States, conducted by BE from December 2006 to April 2008 to see how it was conducted and how the U.S. anime fans responded to it. Although not directly related to *Haruhi*, I observed several dubbing sessions of the anime called *Tweeny Witches* and *Tengen Toppa Gurren Lagann*, held at BZE in the summer of 2008. Since the dubbing process of *Haruhi* had already finished when I started my research, and since the dubbing mechanisms and processes are basically the same in all the anime they dub, I did this in order to analogize how the *Haruhi* dubbing actually occurred. On this point, I further obtained the scripts of *Haruhi* actually used by BZE in the dubbing sessions, attempting to get as close as possible to the picture of the actual dubbing process of *Haruhi*.

Interview: As for the *Haruhi*-related companies, I interviewed three workers in KPUSA (President, Senior Vice President of Operations, and a staff in charge of *Haruhi*), three in BE (President, a staff member in charge of *Haruhi* promotion, and one in charge of *Haruhi* localization), and three in BZE (President, Vice President, and Co-Producer). The main topic of the interview was how they localized and promoted *Haruhi* in the United States and how they co-worked during such a process; how and why they picked up *Haruhi* from the anime stock in Japan; how they constructed the rights-relation each other; how they controlled the quality of *Haruhi* when localizing it; how they translated or did not translate the crucial texts and cultural elements into English and for what reasons; how they conducted the English dubbing sessions with the United States voice actors and actresses; and what the basic principle of the *Haruhi*'s promotion was. I also conducted interviews with anime fans and asked how they understand *Haruhi*. In order to relate *Haruhi* business to the

general context of the United States anime business, I also interviewed several other players in the United States anime market: the representatives of Broccoli USA (known as the United States branch of the anime-related character merchandising company mainly promoting Digi-ko in *Di-Gi-Charat!*), WOWMAX Media (anime marketing consultant company), Geneon USA (an anime distributing company), and SPJA (Society for the Promotion of Japanese Animation: the organizer of Anime Expo).

Organization and Summary of this Research

In the next chapter (Chapter 2), I will propose and explain in detail the approach of the worldview (characters and settings): to approach an anime not from its story narratives but from transcendental concepts of the “worldview,” “characters,” and “settings,” which are configured by incorporating “cultural elements” from the “global cultural database” and that are accessed and embodied through their outputs i.e. the official and unofficial products in the multiple media forms (including anime). In doing so, I will argue the theoretical background of this framework, its limitations, and yet its sufficient effectiveness to understand the transnational move of anime. I will also investigate how *Haruhi* fits into this approach and how we can understand *Haruhi* in a different way from the conventional anime studies in the United States. The assumption of this research is that it was the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* that goes from the producers (in Japan) to the consumers (in the United States) via localizers (in the United States), together with the *Haruhi* anime text, when the anime was introduced from Japan to the United States.

Chapter 3 illuminates the significance and importance of the “trans-coding agencies” who stand in between the encoders and decoders in the transnational process of media products (anime, in our case). I will argue that the worldview (characters and

settings) of *Haruhi* was localized in the United States by the trans-coding agencies (they are: KPUSA, BE, and BZE in the case of *Haruhi* anime) in “diffusive” and “reductive” ways, and thus the worldview (characters and settings) of the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime was “diffused” and “reduced” as well; as for *Haruhi*-related products including anime, only 40% (16 out of 40 items) of the products are currently available in the United States; as for *Haruhi* anime, KPUSA, BE, and BZE mainly understood and focused only on the above-the-surface level of Japanese high school love comedy of *Haruhi*’s worldview (characters and settings); as a result, quite a few crucial texts and cultural elements on below-the surface level of science fiction and Japanese pop culture were left un-translated in the United States’ version of *Haruhi* anime. I will also suggest the base-structural reason for such “reduction” and “diffusion”; the industrial infrastructure of anime business is still weak and immature in the United States; the localizers did not have enough capacity (in time, money, and person) to thoroughly understand and cover all the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*.

In Chapter 4, expanding our view to the *unofficial* track (i.e. fans’ activities) that goes beyond the official track, I will show that the Internet is functioning as the crucial and unofficial infrastructure to supplement the diffused and reduced worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*, provided via the official track to the United States. The on-line fan-based activities make at least 75% of *Haruhi* related products (30 out of 40 items) available in the United States (by autonomously translating and uploading unavailable *Haruhi* light novels without permission, scanlating unavailable *Haruhi* manga, etc). The *Haruhi*-fan websites explain many crucial cultural elements in *Haruhi* (i.e., at least about 60%, or 45 out of 76 cultural elements as a whole and at least 50%, or 9 out of 18 of non-translated cultural elements). I will also show that the Internet is functioning as the infrastructure for the official anime business in the United States as well in the B to C phase such as the advertising and educating effect

of *Haruhi* anime fansubs that were posted on Youtube before their official release in the United States, and the localizers' heavy and almost exclusive use of the Internet when they promote the anime in the country, and the B to B phase such as the localizers' supplemental use of fansubs distributed on the Internet when offering the contract to the anime's Japanese rights' holders, and the promoters' loosely seeking promotion materials from the Internet -- beyond the officially allowed materials provided from the licensor. I will further argue how we can re-think previous arguments about the relationship between the culture industry and consumers through the Internet and copyright, from the functions of the Internet in the *Haruhi* case.

In the concluding chapter, I will argue how we can relate the *Haruhi* anime case in the United States, as presented in this research, to the larger picture of future anime studies in the United States and Japan and to anthropological Japanese studies.

CHAPTER 2

WORLDVIEW, CHARACTERS, AND SETTINGS

Overview

In this chapter, before discussing the transnationality of *Haruhi* and in order for us to have an effective approach to comprehend it, I propose the following approach to grasp anime: understanding it as the outputs from the configuration of “worldview,” “characters,” and “settings” each of which is made by sampling and quoting “cultural elements” from the “global cultural database.” While conventional anime studies focus on anime’s story narratives, this approach sees anime from a more transcendent perspective – through the three concepts worldview, characters, and settings -- enabling us to distance ourselves from such a close reading of the stories. The assumption throughout this research is that anime texts are produced, localized, and consumed under general guide of a worldview (characters and settings) and that the involved agencies in this process more or less share such concepts when they cope with the texts; it is this conceptual set of worldview, characters and settings that enables the entanglements between the agencies in the realm of anime.

I will clarify that such a worldview approach is mainly derived from the practices of the anime community, which has been represented and explained by many knowledgeable practitioners and critics in the anime sector, such as Ōtsuka (2001), Okada (1996), and Azuma (2001, 2007a). The approach I propose in this chapter tries to orchestrate their arguments, supplementing their viewpoints and shortcomings.

The conceptual figure of the worldview approach is shown below as Figure 2-1. The detail, strengths, limitations, and justifications of the model are explained in the following sections.

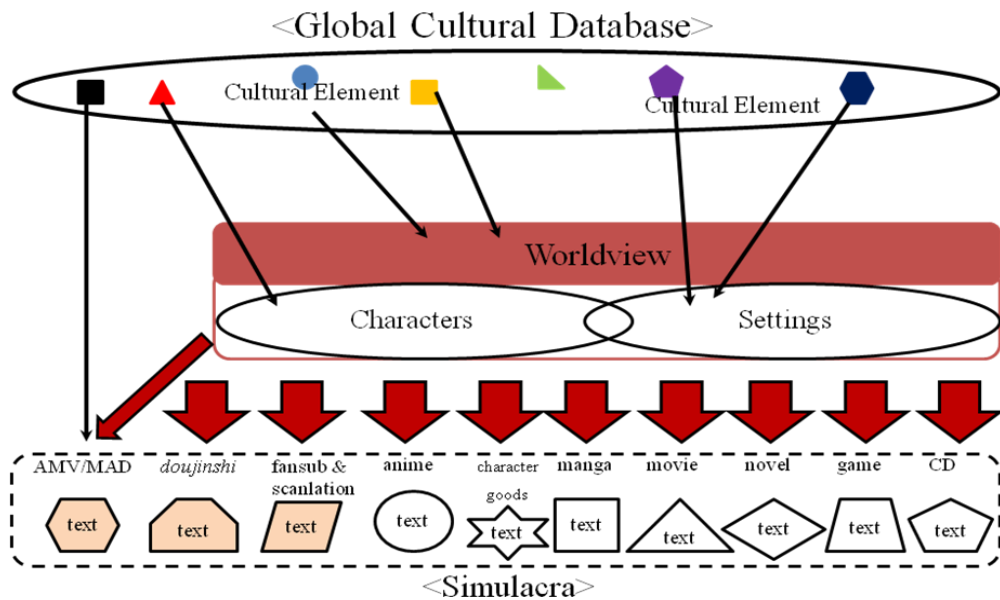


Figure 2.1: The overall concept of the worldview approach

Incorporating Cultural Elements from Global Cultural Database

I owe the overall idea of this approach that identifies anime by the elements incorporated from outer sources to the argument of the Cultural Anthropologist Gordon Mathews (2001), who proposed that we see the individual identity from what was purchased from the “global cultural supermarket.” As I will argue, his basic idea is applicable to the identity formation of anime. Mathews points out that the cultural identity of an individual today can go beyond his or her given nationality and can be constructed by choosing and purchasing the elements rather freely from the “global cultural supermarket.” Mathews argues that in today’s world of massive global flows of people, capital, and ideas, the market-principle based formulation of cultural identities have become significant eroding their nation-state based formulation; cultural identities have become a matter of fashion, taste, and flavor which we can choose from the source of information and fragments of potential identities (such as art, music, food, and even religion), which Mathews named the “global cultural

supermarket,” just as we pick and choose Kenyan beans, Southeast Asian shrimp, and Californian avocados from the material supermarket. The parallel between the identity formations in anime seems significant when we consider the fact that the identity of anime is often a matter of taste and flavor; *Cowboy Bebop*, for example, is often said to have used the “style” of film noir and to have the “flavor” of jazz.

By this incorporation process from outer world, I indicate the “brainstorming sessions” and “script meetings” that are often held in Japanese anime production studios by their members before creating anime episodes. Condry (n.d.) ethnographically showed that in such meetings they often open-mindedly discuss the kinds of elements they can sample from the outer world into their anime worlds. He reports one script meeting of the anime program *Zenmai Zamurai*, the samurai anime that loosely sets its historical backdrop in the Japanese Edo era, which mainly aimed at schoolchildren and was aired on NHK Educational channel. Once in the meeting, Condry reports that one of the script writers proposed an episode in which the characters (samurai, ninja, etc.) play a soccer game. It was the time when Japan was holding the World Cup Soccer with Korea and the script writer intended to bring in the current hot topic into their anime episode.

Here I name the elements incorporated by the producers when creating anime (i.e. in above examples, “the style of the film noir,” “flavor of jazz,” and “World Cup Soccer”) as the “cultural elements,” which I define as the discrete fragments of information taken out of existing cultures in the world. Here I intend to use the word “cultural” in Mathews’ (2001) sense; the “cultural elements” are disconnected from the bounded groups of people or places to which they inherently or indigenously belonged and are ready to be used as a style, taste, fashion, and flavor; although *Cowboy Bebop* uses the “cultural element” of jazz in its opening animation, for example, the reason for its use is to make the anime “cool” and not to understand the

history of African American. Except for such reservation, however, the word “cultural” here is used in the broadest sense of the term. Just as “every tome gathering dust in a library, every shortwave radio broadcast and Internet homepage, every T-shirt slogan” (20) can become the source of personal identities, the choice of the cultural elements as anime’s identity is indeed considerably wide and diverse, such as Shakespeare (the basic motif of the anime *Romeo & Juliet*), Vampire (from which the anime *Hellsing* borrows basic ideas), Venice (female) gondoliers (the background settings of *ARIA the Animation*), Harry Potter and a tsundere girl (*Zero no Tsukaima*), and aliense plus time travelers plus espers (*The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya*).

I will call the accumulated diverse chunk of such cultural elements as “global cultural database.” The reason I use the word “database” instead of “supermarket” is that, as we can see in the portrait of *Zenmai Zamurai*, the creators of anime often actually do not “purchase” from the pool of cultural elements but rather “quote,” “borrow,” or “appropriate” from it. The global cultural database is the source pool used by the anime producers in what Swidler (1986) calls “culture as a tool kit”; the matter is more the strategies of the creators of how to shape (and sell) anime by utilizing the cultural elements than caring how the each culture is inherently and indigenously like.

By setting the global cultural database as the source of the anime creation, I do not intend to say that such database really exists. Rather, I take particular note of the fact that such a source is assumed and imagined among anime producers and consumers to exist beyond the anime works (and its worldview, characters, and settings) per se. Such “sense of outer source” seems to be one of the significant and important assumptions among the involved agencies. For example, Okada (1996) argues that more than 40 years of anime history in Japan can be described not as a history of creation as much as a history of imitating, borrowing, and sampling from

outside. He shows how heavily anime has relied on copying and borrowing from other pop culture works, such as special effects films and Hollywood movies (each of which can be understood as the cultural elements in our approach) in its development history. Okada emphasizes the importance of being aware of the source of references that exist beyond the anime itself when watching and understanding anime.

In fact, the otaku culture (such as manga, anime, video games, and special effects films) develops by quoting each other. It evolves on the basis of such accumulation of quotations. Therefore, for instance, it is impossible to understand an anime work by exclusively seeing only that anime. [30]

As for another example of the sense of outer source, Ōtsuka Eiji, a cultural critic and producer of several anime, straightforwardly argues that Japanese cultural industries have developed through “plagiarizing,” criticizing attempts to seek the naïve “originality” and “creativity” in the works produced by them (Ōtsuka 2003:47-51, 2006:41). He seems to assume that anime (and other pop culture) scenarios could be better understood in the sense of pre-modern folktale and myth rather than modern established literature. Therefore, they can be engineered through a combination of patterns (i.e. combination of cultural elements) that we can get from numerous existing stories. He even encourages wannabe scenario writers to be aware of the existence of the structures in the stories they consume, and to proactively steal the patterns from existing works when creating their own stories. Being the creator of several manga himself, Ōtsuka confesses that he appropriated many structures and patterns into his works from previous anime, manga, and Hollywood movies (Ōtsuka 2003, 2004b:15-21, 22-23, 69-73, 2006:101-104, 188-190). He applies the same methodology to character creation. He devotes an entire book to prove that the characters which appear in the pop culture works are nothing more than combinations of patterns incorporated from outside. He again discloses how he created his own

characters by borrowing from Japanese cinema, Tezuka Osamu, anime *Mazinger Z*, etc. (Ōtsuka 2006:42-49, 58-68)

Likewise, Azuma (2001) argues that what otakus (at least in Japan) read through consuming anime-related characters is the database of the elements (“*moe* elements”: the popular elements used to make characters attractive) from which the characters were created; they read the character in terms of what kind of *moe* elements were incorporated from the database of them (“database consumption”). Taking *Di Gi Charat!* as an example, he shows how its main character (Digiko) was created by picking up, sampling, and remixing *moe* elements (Digiko is a “little girl” character who has “cat ears” and “cat tail” and wears a “maid uniform”) from the huge bank of their database and consumed much more in relation to such elements and database than in relation to the story narratives of *Di Gi Charat!* My assumption here is that such an approach is not limited to anime-related characters but to anime as a whole (including characters); Azuma’s *moe* elements form a part of cultural elements, and the database of *moe* elements is also a part of the global cultural database under this approach²⁶.

Worldview, Characters, and Settings

I will name the sets of concepts configured by incorporating cultural elements from a global cultural database as “worldview,” “characters,” and “settings.” Here “characters” are the figures involved in the created world; “settings” means the (mainly objective) background setups in which the characters live and act; “worldview” is the whole system of the created world into which all the characters and

²⁶ However, Azuma seems to be aware that his framework can explain only a part of pop culture works. In the talk article with Otsuka, he acknowledged the limitations of his approach and evaluated the works of Otsuka as a products created from the database of “real world”; he seems to have reached the understanding which is very close to my approach (Ōtsuka & Azuma 2008:15).

settings are integrated and also includes the subjective intentions and messages that the creators intend to show through their project. The assumption throughout this research is that these worldview, characters and settings are the key concepts utilized by the producers, localizers, and consumers of the anime and other related products developed under the same worldview (characters and settings) when they produce, localize, and consume them; the producers and localizers first try to establish and understand the worldview (characters and settings) of their projects and then develop, or localize, each story in each media forms under the guide of such concepts; throughout consuming their products, consumers try to get the full picture of the worldview (characters and settings) that governs all the related products, reading each text in relation to the worldview (characters and settings).

It has been argued that, for 20 years, this way of producing and consuming is the mainstream practice in the realm of cultural industry in Japan. The approach in this research intends to conceptualize such practice. Ōtsuka repeatedly argues, throughout his numerous books, that when producing a project, the important thing is not the stories, per se, but the environment that guides us to configure them. He emphasizes the importance of the “*sekaikan*” (世界観: worldview) from which stories are sorted out and in which characters act. In addition to the worldview, he seems to subcategorize “characters” and the “*settei*” (設定: settings) under it, assuming that these three are the key concepts for creating and understanding anime (and other related products). Although he does not define each concept clearly, he seems to assume that the three concepts are related to each other; “worldview” is a whole system into which numerous settings are integrated. He raises the key examples of “settings” as explanations of chronological, spatial, and personal backgrounds, international and individual relationships, history, and customs in which its characters live and, if there are robots, the consistency of their designs and functions in the light

of the scientific capability of the era in which they exist. Each setting is expected to be integrated into a single grand establishment as a whole, and such accumulation of settings is called the “worldview” (Ōtsuka 2001:12); one of the reasons why he does not call it “world,” but rather world“view,” is that he intends to imply the importance of how the characters “view” the world they live in (Ōtsuka 2006:201-217); characters’ backgrounds, appearances, relationships form one aspect of settings. Ōtsuka’s premise seems to be that the stories in certain genres of popular culture in Japan, such as anime and related products, can be configured almost infinitely in any direction --when given a certain worldview, characters, and settings.

To see anime from the viewpoint of worldview, characters and settings, and to output stories on the basis of these components, has become a dominant trend in Japan during the 1980s. These perspectives and practices were, according to Ōtsuka, partly established by the boom of table talk role playing games (TRPG), which the Japanese cultural industry imported from Europe and the United States at that time. Being one of the main contributors in establishing the *Kadokawa Sunikā Bunko* book label, which today plays a central role in mass-producing “light novels,” a kind of novel-version of anime and manga-like stories, during the late 1980s, Ōtsuka shows how such a worldview played the key role among the producers in creating the episodes of *The Record of Lodoss War (Lodoss)*, the series that enabled the label to start and take off in the market, and how widely and deeply the method influenced the creative practices of future generations. Ōtsuka explains that the novel *Lodoss* was in fact a novelization of a “replay” of the TRPG of the same name (the report of how the participants actually played the game). The game design (“worldview”) of the TRPG version of *Lodoss* was based on the classic TRPG *Dungeons and Dragons (D&D)*, which is roughly based on J. R. R. Tolkien’s *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. He argues that, just as the actual game play of the TRPG may develop in any

directions, the episodes of the novelized *Lodoss* only describe a part of its world. The world of *Lodoss* is open-ended; there remain immense possibilities of other stories. The huge success of the novel *Lodoss* in the early 1990s (Ōtsuka introduces the result of the questionnaire survey that says the *Lodoss* was at that time the most widely read novel in all genres among junior high school students in Japan, including me), he argues, built one of the biggest momentums for this method (i.e. to create and set up the worldview first and produce countless stories under such worldview) to become the major mode of production in pop culture industries in Japan (Ōtsuka 2004b:29-32, 2006:35-40, 114, 156-175, 203). Since then, many creators of pop culture works have started to care about setting up the worldview before creating the stories. Their central attempt was to make the worldviews as “real” as possible by designing and building up the complete “other worlds” and their “histories.” The 1980s was also the era in which anime went beyond kids’ entertainment and started to acquire adult audiences. These creators also expected anime to be real, i.e. to have a deep worldview. The denser an anime’s settings, the more it was admired as real. Consequently, anime with excessive worldviews have been massively produced in the era such as *Gundam*, *Silent Möbius*, *The Five Star Stories*, *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*, *Akira*, *Saint Seiya*, *Legend of Galactic Heroes*, and *Dragon Quest* series (for example, Ōtsuka 2004a:210-224).

Above kinds of practices among the involved players in the realm of cultural industries in Japan were also ethnographically portrayed, in detail, by the Cultural Anthropologist Ian Condry. Condry (n.d.) revealed that above the approach to grasp anime as a configuration of worldview, characters, and settings is actually utilized as a kind of “conceptual tools” and “operating system” among the anime creators (directors, producers, script writers, animators, etc.) who work in anime production studios in Japan. Conducting the fieldwork in multiple anime production studios in Tokyo,

Condry discovered how seriously they try to set up the “world-settings (equivalent to “worldview” in our terminology),” “characters,” and “premises (equivalent to “settings”)” before producing each episode and how open-endedly they think anime stories “can (and hopefully will) be elaborated later in many possible directions” (51) as far as the three masts are established; the director and producer of *Red Garden*, whose locale is New York City, actually travelled to the city and “took thousands of photos” (18) in order to get the real sense of its landscape and atmosphere; the episodes of the anime program *Zenmai Zamurai*, the anime that was developed around the worldview “*Karakuri Oedo*” (Clockwork Old Tokyo), which implies that the stage of anime is the imaginary old Tokyo in which everything works and moves in a clockwork mechanism without any electricity and “black box,” and the creators were very careful about maintaining the worldview, making the subject matter of the episodes fit into it (once one script writer proposed an episode with a soccer match at the script meeting, but the proposition was eventually rejected because soccer was deemed ill-suited to the worldview of clockwork old Tokyo) (77-83).

Although Condry proposes using the term “world-setting” to describe what I call “worldview,” I intend to stay with my terminology. By the word “world-setting,” Condry intends to exclude the “subjective orientation” implied in the word “worldview,” which often means “how one looks out at the world” (62). However, my argument is that it is the subjectivity that sits at the core of the worldview and that distinguishes it from other settings. Each setting, including chronological, spatial, and personal backgrounds, international and individual relationships, history, and the customs in which characters live, is objective. But they become a worldview, as a whole, only when a certain subjective vision is added to the sum of such settings. This subjectivity includes that of characters, which we saw in above Ōtsuka’s argument (how they view the world they live in). But I would emphasize that the word

“worldview” also includes the subjectivities of creators themselves; it is about how these creators view the world that they themselves have created; it is about the creators’ view of how the world *should be*. Worldview is not a mere sum total of settings but rather integrates such an accumulation of dense settings comprehensively, under a subjective “vision,” “message,” and “theme” that a creators want to transmit by constructing their world and presenting their works. In this light, Condry seems to confuse worldview and settings; although he insists that world-setting is objective, he himself introduces the subjective way such world-settings are configured. In its script meeting, soccer was *subjectively* not included in the worldview of *Zenmai Zamurai* (83). The worldview of *Zenmai Zamurai*, “Clockwork Old Tokyo,” carries its creators’ *subjective* message that we are too much used to the world filled with black-boxed things, like iPod, that we don’t know how they work (79-81). Watanabe Shin’ichirō, the director of *Samurai Champloo*, *subjectively* criticizes contemporary Japanese society in which many people try to be inconspicuous hiding themselves in the group, by counter-presenting the *Samurai Champloo* world which is a combination of the samurai era when many samurai represented themselves and hip-hop where representing oneself plays a key role (88).

Although the worldview, characters and settings are created through quoting and sampling fragmented forms of cultural elements from the global cultural database, I would argue that such a worldview often has more than “taste” and “flavor” and is more than a “pastiche” whose central characteristics are its “depthlessness” and “lack of history” (Jameson 1984). The anime creators are driven by a kind of “modern motivation” to make their worldview as dense and deep as, and as real as, possible. Their attempt is to build up the complete “another world” and “fictious history.” For them, the worldview construction is not about a patchwork of cultural elements but about organizing and elaborating them into a tightly-knit consistent whole. It is a

common strategy among anime companies to publish the “*settei shiryōshū*” (設定資料集: booklets of settings) of their anime while, or after, they are aired on TV, to disclose the settings (such as historical backgrounds and the technological mechanism of robots, if any) that are not explained in the anime episodes. The *Xenogears* (*Xenosaga*) project, for example, which developed from a computer game soft for the hardware Play Station, to anime, manga, light novel, CD, etc. published thick *settei shiryōshū* during the late 1990s and early 2000s. When you open the preface page of the setting booklet of *Xenogears* (Square Soft 1998), you are told that the game you played, which takes 60 to 100 hours to complete, actually covers only a few years of the whole 15,000-year history of the *Xenogears* world (2-3). This 300-page booklet explains the “History,” “Social Structure,” “Geography,” “Monster,” “Science,” “Gear (robot),” “Character,” and “Drama” of the world. In the science section, for example, they explain the mechanism of how the “slave generator” activates the Gears (robots) (74-75). The slave generator is referred by the character in the game as a common sense of their world and thus we cannot understand its mechanism at all by only playing the game. In the geography section, the altitudes of the cities in the world are all mapped in comparison with Moscow (42-43). It is suggested that this grand and dense world is, however, created by sampling the elements of the real world. The heroine first appeared as a member of the militant organization and is explained as an alumna of its military school named “Jugend,” which clearly refers to Hitlerjugend to emphasize the evilness of the organization. Tanaka Kunihiko, the character designer of the game, confesses in the staff commentary pages at the end of the book that he got the idea to make one character wear the goggles when he saw “the goggles of the Swiss army,” and that he drew the face of one female character on the basis of that of Adachi Yumi, the popular actress in Japan (288)²⁷.

²⁷ In order to make extra sure that the production mode of *Xenogears* is not an exceptional case that

Being the production mode of anime creation as such, one major ideal is to embed the dense settings beneath the surface, representing the scenes of anime casually, as if there are no systematic backgrounds: hide the settings that make a scene inevitable and show it as if it occurred by chance. For example, in the anime *Air*, there is a split-second scene in which the heroine, Misuzu, looks tearful for a moment when she asks the protagonist, Yukito, to become her friend. We can hardly recognize this scene and her look when we see the anime for the first time, and it does not make sense even if we notify it. The scene become recognizable as a (still almost unidentifiable) slight foreshadowing, which Kyoto Animation embedded, only after the story develops and we find out that Misuzu has a kind of mental “disease” that makes her intensely cry when she finds herself starting to have a close friendship (the setting of character). This “disease” forms the backbone of the closed and solitary circumstances in which she lives, governing the whole gloomy atmosphere of the *Air* world (worldview).

The selection of the cultural elements and the way they are incorporated into the worldview reveals the genre to which the creator is faithful. For example, the creator who built up the worldview of science fiction by quoting Sci-fi cultural elements are evaluated by the consumers how well he knows the genre and how accurately he used the elements in his worldview. When he uses them superficially or inaccurately, he is accused of having more to learn, and his worldview is criticized as “not real.” On the contrary, when he uses these elements accurately, following the

attracts few attentions of Japanese otakus, I will point out that the game has retained its deep-rooted popularity until now. The game took fourth place in the survey as the most fun game ever and second place as the game that is desired to be remade. Both were conducted by major computer game news sites in 2008. See “Ankēto Kekka Happyō Ichiban Omoshirokatta Gēmu Taitoru wa (Results of the Survey: What was the Most Fun Game Title)?” *Dengeki Onrain*, 5 March 2008. Electronic article, <http://dol.dengeki.com/data/news/2008/3/5/17cb4f32b0d592ef30e5407df6f2fa6c.html>, accessed November 11, 2008, and “Ankēto Kekka Happyō Rimeiku shite hoshii Gēmu Rankingu (Results of the Survey: The Ranking of the Game which You Want to be Remaked).” *Dengeki Onrain*, 30 April 2008. Electronic article, <http://news.dengeki.com/elem/000/000/077/77676/>, accessed November 11, 2008.

“grammar” of the genre, he is admired that he “really understands” the genre and therefore his worldview is “real.”

Media Mix Strategy

To see worldview, characters and settings as the core of the projects conducted by the culture industry in Japan also seems to form the conceptual basis of their media mix strategy: to develop multiple products in multiple media forms under a single consistent concept, which is dominant and popular business practice in the Japanese cultural industry. Indeed, there are almost no anime programs that are not a part of such media mix strategy; you may most probably find the related products such as mangas, movies, novels, CDs, and character goods. Such products in multiple media forms could be understood as the output of the same worldview. In other words, the concepts of the worldview are embodied in each product and each of them represents one case, one aspect, and one possibility of the worldview, characters and settings.

The business method to extract parts of the same worldview onto the multiple media platforms, i.e. the “multi-use strategy” (Uchida 2008), has been the traditional and common practice of the pop culture industries from their beginnings in Japan. This strategy first started as character merchandising: Nakano (2004) shows how the character Atom in *Astroboy* was duplicated in various character goods such as toys, stationery, household goods, garments, and snacks when the anime was aired in the early 1960s (75). With the development of media technology, the source of such duplication has expanded from characters to worldviews, and they have started to develop different stories in different media forms such as DVD, movie, manga, video game, novel, and CD.

This “media-mix strategy” has become so intense today in Japan (currently there are virtually no projects that do not split the stories, episodes, and characters into

different media) that the relationships among the products have become increasingly more interdependent and complicated; all products in all media forms in one project embody the worldview of their project as a whole, being knit together and intricately related to each other. In such a situation, consumers of a certain project have even started to experience “media-mixed” consumption; although they remember a certain scene of *When They Cry: Higurashi*, for example, they do not remember whether they saw it in its anime, PC game, novel, or manga.

This further means that each media product (and each episode and story) can be evaluated as a “simulacra” (Baudrillard 1994) of the worldview, characters, and settings (and the dense environment of the products can be evaluated as “simulation” of the worldview). The difference between the media forms has little importance, and there are no vertical relationships between the superior original and the inferior derivative works in so much as they share the same worldview, characters, and settings; any of the products do not have the genuine “originality” (the originality might lie, to stretch a point, in the configuration of worldview, characters, and settings as a whole that governs all the products) and each of them just shows one case, one aspect, and one possibility of the world.

The each drama described in each episode or a set of series of an anime program will become, seen from the “worldview” as a whole, no more than a tiny fragment of this immense world, focusing on one person as a main character and portrays the events occurred around him or her in a limited time period. Theoretically speaking, there is a possibility for an infinite number of dramas to exist in this worldview by, for example, focusing on a different person in the world. [Ōtsuka 2001:12]

Ōtsuka (2001) argues that, since the 1980s (more specifically, after *Urusei Yatsura*), the fundamental difference between the original works and their derivative products has vanished. Although technically the manga series of *Urusei Yatsura* by Rumiko

Takahashi are the original works, and the movie *Urusei Yatsura: Beautiful Dreamer* directed by Oshii Mamoru is the derivative work (and the movie has a completely different atmosphere from the original works), both are on the same level from the perspectives of consumers. All products related to *Urusei Yatsura* are equal under the “concept,” i.e. worldview, characters, and settings, of *Urusei Yatsura* (74-79).

Such a media-mixed environment does not mean that there is no “core” media that leads the fleet of a certain project. Anime, especially, is often created on the basis of other media; manga has long been its source, and other media, such as light novels and computer games, are recently emerging. We can still detect the sense of “coreness” that consumers find in a certain media out of the others under a certain worldview when we see, for example, the fans of *Fate/Stay Night* having the on-line controversy about whether or not they should play its PC game, which is the “*gensaku*” (原作: original work) of the project, before seeing the anime or to completely understand the worldview of *Fate/Stay Night*. My argument is, however, that, in spite of such a distinction between core and non-core, they do not necessarily stand in the vertical relationship of superior core and inferior non-core. We can choose any media when we want to enjoy the world of a certain project as long as they are associated with its worldview, characters, and settings.

The reason the culture industry in Japan forms such “image alliance” (Shiraishi 2000) is to boost and maximize its sales by the synergic effect of the multiple product in multiple media forms, and to provoke the demand of the consumers toward as many products as possible by exposing them to the ubiquitous environment of the multiple media products under the same worldview (characters and settings). Indeed, such a “Ubiquitous and Proteus” status of contents commodities, the environment in which contents are available anywhere in any forms (Arai et al. 2004:48-52) seems to provoke a special and fierce appetite and addiction, i.e. what

Allison (2006) calls (by using the terminology of Freud) “polymorphous perversity” (9-10) toward the products and eventually the worldview itself.

Consuming Worldview, Characters, and Settings

It is the worldview, characters and settings that are the basis of entanglements between producers and consumers, through which they communicate, and which make such communication meaningful, fruitful, and high context. We have seen that the producers output the media products under the guidance of the worldview, and that the concepts of worldview, characters and settings are embodied in each product. This means, from the consumers’ perspectives, that what they ultimately try to get by reading individual texts in individual products is the worldview that transcends each product and governs them. The more consumers consume the products, the more they are able to get closer to the entire picture of the worldview. Each text in each product is important and significant for consumers insofar as they represent a limited part of their worldview and provide them the access to it.

It is said that such a way of consuming the texts of anime (and other related products) in relation to their worldview (characters and settings) has long been the dominant practice of the otakus in Japan. One significant, and recent, example was presented by a manga critic, Itō Gō (2005). He argues that in many projects the same characters appear in multiple media forms; mainly under the media mix strategy, the same character becomes ubiquitous inter-textually by being detached from the texts and stories to which they originally belonged. Such a situation, named by Itō as the “*kyara no jiritsuka*” (キャラの自律化: autonomization of character), is, in nature, an extraordinary one, but consumers mainly take it for granted, acknowledging the same character A in manga, anime, light novel, movie, CD, and game as the identical character A. Such a way to consume texts in multi-media products is evidence for the

fact that consumers are ultimately consuming the worldview (characters and settings) of the project when reading each text in each product; in the above case, they are recognizing the transcendent concept of characters when consuming the products.

The more proactive trend of consuming the projects of culture industry, as in the dominance of *doujinshi* and other fan works in the realm of anime and related communities in Japan, can be understood in terms of worldview; a fans' publishing *doujinshi*, and other fan works, means that they acquire the worldview of a certain project through its official products, and then that they produce another output of its worldview (characters and settings). *Doujinshi* and other fan works are the alternative cases, aspects, and possibilities of (i.e. the "simulacra" of) the worldview (characters and settings) and, in this light, are on the same level of the official products under the same worldview. This trend also provokes the interesting nuanced arguments about copyright by blurring the hierarchical power relationship between the superior legitimate/producer/professional and the inferior illegal/consumer/amateur.

As Ōtsuka (2001) argues, if it is the case that the legitimate creators in anime companies can theoretically create countless stories from the worldview (characters and settings), this means that the consumers' side is also able to produce the stories of their own, without permission, if they acquire and understand the worldview, characters, and settings. Since the subject matters of the copyright protection are products output from the worldview, and not the worldview concept itself (we cannot copyright the whole "other world"), it is difficult to say whether the stories created by fans are plagiarism or not; they are just variant stories about the uncopyrightable worldview as a whole, not copying the exact stories of the author. With this mechanism, the border between legitimate stories by anime companies and the illegal stories of consumers are blurred because both are equal, as the outputs from the same worldview (15-20, 75-79). He called this active mode of consumption among fans

“monogatari shōhi” (物語消費: narrative consumption) i.e., “consuming by creating”; they are not creating their stories out of nowhere -- therefore their activities are in a narrow sense not “creation” -- but by following a certain set of worldview, characters, and settings -- therefore their activities are literally not “consumption”; they do not just passively read or watch the products they are given (Ōtsuka 2004b:26-29), but do so in a “disciplined” way under the guidance of the worldview (characters and settings).

Such an argument has emerged in response to the rise of the *doujinshi* culture in Japan. Currently, it is virtually impossible to argue for the anime (manga, and other related pop culture) community in Japan without mentioning their *doujinshi* culture. *Doujinshi* have been organizationally produced and sold since 1975, without proper holders’ consent, in their sale-and-exhibit convention called Comic Market. Currently, the Comic Market is held in August and December on the bayside of Tokyo every year, attracting about a half-million people and more than 30,000 independent circles (most of them amateurs) who hold the booths there to sell their own *doujinshi* works. There are also countless other smaller *doujinshi* conventions held all around Japan. Most *doujinshi* works are technically infringing the copyright of original authors; Pink (2007) assures us that the American intellectual property lawyer probably will not last more than 15 minutes at the site. However, he questions how “illegal” *doujinshi* works really are by introducing several of them, including the *doujinshi* of *Chibi Maruko-Chan*, a series about the school life of a sassy third grade girl. The *Chibi Maruko-Chan doujinshi*, which Pink picks up as an example, reveals what happens in an alternative universe where the characters actually age, suggesting that it has some sort of creativity and originality. Pink accurately notes that the people selling their wares at the Comic Market are consumers *and* producers; where there once was a clear divide between the two, the boundaries are now murky. According to Ōtsuka (2001),

doujinshi works are the typical example of narrative consumption; fans consume worldview by producing a narrative out of it in their manga form.

Seen from another perspective, this situation also means that the hierarchical power relationship between the superior professional and inferior amateurs is melting down. Pink (2007) also realizes that the rights' holders and *doujinshi* communities are forming a kind of "ecosystem" in which to co-exist and co-prosper, based on the *anmoku no ryōkai* (暗黙の了解: unspoken and implicit agreement) for both sides not to get too strict and go too far. The *doujinshi* artists attempt to produce their works only in limited editions in order not to cannibalize the market of original works and, to that extent, the rights' holders overlook their illegal activities and accept their "freedom of expression." Moreover, it is somewhat better for the professional pop culture industries to preserve this *doujinshi* marketplace as a pool for finding new talents and materials. This *doujinshi*-market-as-a-pool-for-future-professionals/products discourse has been discussed elsewhere,²⁸ and the trend has recently become widespread. We can name many major professional (manga) artists who came from the *doujinshi* scene, such as Hirano Kōta (author of *Hellsing*), CLAMP (creator of *Cardcaptor Sakura* and numerous other blockbusters), and Rikudō Kōshi (author of *Excel Saga*), and many major commercial products that were initially sold in the *doujinshi* markets, such as *When They Cry: Higurashi*, *Tsukihime*, and *Fate/Stay Night*. Recently, it became a hot topic among anime fans when Kyoto Animation hired the amateur singer Chata, who was building her musical career in the *doujinshi* market and selling in the Comic Market her amateur music albums, including the arrange CDs of the music of the PC game *Clannad*, no doubt without any permission, as an official singer of the official anime version of *Clannad*. Such artists often continue their amateur works in the *doujinshi* market even after their

²⁸ For example, see Kemps (2007).

“major debut.” Professional artists also actively participate in such conventions by selling their *doujinshi* works in order to experiment with their expression and draw what they really want to draw, free from the rules and regulations of the commercial market. As Pink argues, the participants in the *doujinshi* marketplace are “amateurs and pros” at the same time.

Under such circumstances, fans flatly regard the works of the “legitimate” and “professional” “producers” and the “illegal” *doujinshi* works created by the “amateur” artists as a part of their “consumption” activities on the same level as the outputs from the same configuration of worldview, characters, and settings. We can add a *doujinshi* work, therefore, as Azuma (2001:40-42) argues, to the same plane level of the “simulacra,” along with the products in multiple media forms by the established rights holders, as another variant of the worldview, characters and settings, with no fundamental difference between them.

Although this plane of simulacra around the anime culture seems to have originated and been developed mainly in Japan, it seems to be extending beyond the national border. The plane mostly overlaps with what LaMarre (2006) calls the “distributive visual field” of anime image. He argues that this field, filled with anime images, is the field of “otaku movement” whose principle can be described as a “Gainax discourse,” which refuses the modern distinctions and hierarchies between producers and fans / labor and play, and makes claims for the end of such distinctions / hierarchies. Incorporating the discussion of Antonio Negri, he evaluated such power logic among otakus as “constituent power.” Otakus are now simultaneously producers and fans, and their fan activities, which they conduct for their pleasure, often result in (and are indistinguishable from) the productive and professional labor, just as the founders of Gainax developed their companies through their half play and half labor, half amateur and half professional otaku activities. He suggests that this field and

discourse do not exist exclusively within Japan and can also be seen in other countries such as fansubbers in the United States. I do not completely agree with his argument of the “Gainax discourse,” especially with what he included in the discourse beyond the claim of the end of the hierarchies. I neither think that Gainax products have the messages which claim to preserve the traditional male-dominated society (are Nadia and Grandis in *Nadia: Secret of Blue Water* passive women?) nor tell us to be non-critically oriented in government-driven nationalism. However, I do agree with his argument about the existence and transnational spread of such a non-hierarchical distributive visual field and with its significance.

We can, therefore, also add the latest and foreign trends of consumers’ practice onto this plane of simulacra: AMVs/MADs, fansubs, and scanlations. AMV (Anime Music Video) is, as I have briefly explained in Chapter 1, a fan-made (unofficial) music video that consists of clips from one or more anime, set to songs. AMV is the designation used in the United States and the same kind of video clips are called “MAD movies” in Japan. Just as *doujinshi*, the AMVs/MADs are also produced by active fans, mostly without any permission from the rights’ holders of both clips and songs, and you can see a myriad of AMVs/MADs circulating around the on-line communities. Mainly in the United States, many anime conventions promote AMV contests as one of their main events on the basis of the connivance of the rights’ holders. Although most AMVs/MADs creators are said to be amateurs, some of them, such as winners of the contests, are able to acquire the reputation on the level of professional creators (just as *doujinshi* artists are capable to) for creating cool and high quality clips. By combining several scenes of anime with unrelated music songs, most AMVs/MADs creators try to give their products certain kinds of artistic effects, by, for example, emphasizing the atmosphere of the anime, that we can see in the AMV of *Kingdom Hearts*, whose venerableness is accentuated by the Within Temptation’s *See*

Who I Am, and by putting famous anime scenes into a completely different, and ridiculous, context by, for example, making Nagisa Kaworu sing “I know a song that gets on everybody’s nerves” and Rick Astley’s *Never Gonna Give You Up* while he is grabbed by Eva 01. I would argue that such AMVs/MADs also belong to the same above transitional “simulacra” category; they are neither legitimate nor illegal, are, at the same time, the result of creation and consumption, and are created by professional-amateurs. Since most music songs are borrowed from outside the realm of the worldview of anime, AMVs/MADs can be considered to be configured by combining some aspects of the worldview, characters and settings with cultural elements (i.e. music songs) that are directly quoted from the global cultural database outside the worldview.

Fansubs and scanlations could also be added in this realm of simulacra; they are also the products of the active and enthusiastic fans, mainly overseas, and, although they are technically illegal, they are distributed and used as quasi-official versions before the official ones became available in the country. Although their producers are amateur fans, they seem to have semi-professional skills and knowledge in subtitling and translation. While AMVs/MADs and *doujinshi* are works that try to alter the official ones and see the worldview from different viewpoints, fansubs and scanlations tend to appreciate the creators’ intentions (“authenticities”) about the official works and try not to distort them by their subtitling and translating. For the fans outside Japan, they are virtually the initial mediators to introduce the worldview of the projects developed in Japan. From the viewpoints of foreign consumers, there are no fundamental differences between fansubs/scanlations and official versions of fansubbed/scanlated anime and manga since they are the “faithful” reproduction of the legitimate ones. Of course, fansubs/scanlations are illegal and official ones are legal,

but such differences have not been realized since fans have never been brought to justice for using illegal products.

Naturally, there are many other outputs that do not fit neatly into the categories of the above AMV/MAD, *doujinshi*, fansubs/scanlations. For example, there are numerous fan-made PC games called *doujin* games that use the worldviews of certain projects. There are also fan-made music CDs called *doujin* CDs that arrange, or that are created by being inspired by, the music used in certain projects. Fan-drawn CGs and illustrations that do not take the forms of *doujinshi* booklets are also massively circulated on the plane of simulacra. Although *doujinshi* works are often represented as outputs exclusively from a certain worldview as if they have nothing to do with the cultural elements outside the worldviews, I do not intend to eliminate the *doujinshi* works created by combining the cultural elements outside the worldviews they are based on; for example, the *doujinshi* that throws the characters of a certain project into completely different stories and settings than their world to which they originally belonged. AMVs/MADs, *doujinshi* works, fansubs and scanlations are the typical forms of the fan works and, nevertheless, the above types of variations are also categorized as the “simulacra” of the worldview.

The Limitation, Justification, and Strength of this Approach

It may seem unsubstantiated to approach anime heavily relying on the arguments of anime critics in Japan, such as Ōtsuka, Okada, and Azuma, that tend to be evaluated not as theory but as discourse (for example, LaMarre 2006). Indeed, as one of the anime studies scholars acknowledges (Tsugata 2004, 2007), it seems undeniable that anime studies, especially in Japan, emerged in response to the global popularity of anime. This “origin” of Japanese anime studies suggests that it might be another attempt in Japan and among the Japanese to narcissistically seek Japaneseness and

Japanese competitiveness through anime, and other pop culture products in the world (for example, Nakamura and Onouchi 2006), which can typically be seen in the craze among the Japanese of the phrase “cool Japan” (McGray 2002). Such attempts have countless times been repeated in the trajectory of *nihonjinron* (日本人論: discourse about Japan and Japanese). Furthermore, anime studies might be able to be understood in general as another phenomenon in Japanese society that tries to find the elements of Japaneseness, in the sectors as “marginal” as the anime industry, that band Japanese people together through media and media products, just as other media projects such as travel ads once did so by highlighting and creating “vanishing” authentic Japaneseness (Ivy 1995), or as another example of what Sakai (2006) calls “Japanese culturalism.”

In this light, although the arguments of anime critics often do not explicitly take the forms of *nihonjinron*, and some of them are even highly and explicitly critical of such tendencies in the arguments around anime (for example, Ōtsuka 2005), it seems evident that one of their main topics is to understand (discursively) Japanese society through anime and other pop culture industries and their products. As for Ōtsuka, one of his focuses is to see how the world of anime and other pop culture products substitute the “grand narrative,” in Lyotard’s (1984) sense, among the anime creators and consumers after its fall, which is embodied in Japan as the end of the “political era” in 1960s and 70s (for example, Ōtsuka 2004a:221). As for Azuma, similarly, one of his attempts is to see how the postmodern condition can be observed in the consumption behavior of anime and other related products’ otakus (Azuma 2001).

However, the range of this research is not Japan itself but anime sectors that transnationally exist, both in Japan and in the United States. It is out of the scope of (or at most indirectly related to) this research to discuss, in detail, how valid and

significant the Japanese anime scholars' and critics' arguments are in understanding Japanese society in general or in relation to the theories of Japanese society. Rather, my interest is in how validly their arguments explain the principles, practices, and behaviors of the transnational community (i.e. producers, localizers, and consumers) of anime in Japan and in the United States.

In this light, this research assumes that they are at least the noteworthy representatives of the anime communities (the producers, localizers, and consumers of anime and other related products) as the players in the realm themselves, and that their arguments are thus not that groundless insofar as we try to understand their practices and behaviors; it seems safe enough to assume that the worldview approach is worth adopting in considering the agencies of anime and that the concepts of worldview, characters and settings are the key clues, and glue, that binds together the agencies (producers and consumers) in the realm of anime and related pop culture, as we have seen. Indeed, Ōtsuka Eiji is not only a critic but also a creator and producer of many anime and manga projects himself. His worldview approach is the method he actually adopted when coping with his projects; he mentioned many other projects that loosely took the worldview approach, and several creators who were explicitly aware of the importance of the worldview when developing their projects (for example Ōtsuka 2004a:218). He teaches at the creator-training institutions, introducing the worldview approach as an effective method to succeed in the anime and manga markets (for example, Ōtsuka 2003, 2006). Although Okada Toshio is often referred to as a kind of ideologue who champions the authentic Japaneseness in anime, he is at the same time one of the founders of Gainax, one of the most successful anime production studios in Japan, and has produced many successful and popular anime projects through the very methods he argues (such as sampling from the existing works). Likewise, as for Azuma's arguments, he could be evaluated, in terms of not how correctly the otaku

consumption represents the postmodern condition in Japan but rather how validly his argument on otaku consumptions explain the way otakus consume anime and other related pop culture products. In addition to the numerous activities that we have seen in the previous sections and that could be explained by the worldview approach, for examples in the textbook for the contents marketing also, its authors consider the worldview as a key determinant of the economic success of contents products including anime. They argue that it is this worldview that anime is expected to provide to consumers, and its success depends on how original the worldview is and how carefully it is constructed (Arai et al. 2004:136).

Furthermore, it seems impossible to downplay the significance of the work of Condry (n.d.) that *ethnographically* and *anthropologically* supports the validity of the above discursive arguments by anime scholars and critics about the behavior of the anime-related agencies. He ethnographically shows throughout fieldwork in the multiple anime production studios in Tokyo that the creative teams of anime programs do use the concepts of worldview, characters and settings as the guiding principles in their episode creation, and they do seek the materials of such worldview, characters and settings rather open-mindedly from the outer world of anime sector (i.e. they cope with anime texts in relation to the conceptual worldview, characters and settings and global cultural database). What I found through my fieldwork and thus intend to show in the following chapters is that such attitudes could also be observed in the localizing and consuming process of the localizers and consumers in the United States.

As for the “global cultural database,” by supposing it as the source of the worldview, characters and settings, I do not intend to insist the “cosmopolitan” nature of anime – that is, to insist that the choice of the cultural elements from the global cultural database is completely unlimited and free. Naturally enough, the choice is in fact limited and sometimes even constrained by the market trends, organizational

issues, social taboos, etc. just as the personal identity formation through purchasing elements from the global cultural supermarket is in fact limited “conditioned by our age, class, gender, and level of affluence, and by the national culture to which we belong, among other factors” (Mathews 2000:5). Indeed, it is unrealistic to suppose that the project that consists solely of the cultural elements about which consumers are completely unfamiliar would be approved to be launched-- and would be successful in the market. Many argue that anime is highly “formulated” in its creation, that is, in order for an anime to be successful, there are many sets of “standard” cultural elements that the creators are recommended to include (for example, a maid uniform for a little girl character) to capture the interest of the otaku consumers. There are several cultural elements related to certain nations and groups of people that are whispered to be taboo in incorporating into the worldview of a project. Such limitations should fully be taken into account when arguing about the global cultural database.

However, even admitting the above limitations and constraints, I still believe that the global cultural database is worth assuming, conceptually, as a source of anime and other related products’ creation, for several reasons. First, the global cultural database conceptualizes the producers’ “sense of outer source” -- the loose assumption that exists among the producers that they can borrow ideas and materials relatively freely from the outer world. The second reason is that the global cultural database preserves the possibility of innovation in anime expressions by loosely supposing the open-endedness of the source for anime production by loosely supposing that “theoretically” everything on the globe can be a source of the anime. We can understand the history of anime, i.e. the history of extension of anime’s range of expression, as the process of discovering the new cultural elements in the global cultural database and applying them to the worldview. For example, although the maid

uniform is currently the established and popular cultural element when making the character attractive, such a cultural element has not been “discovered” as an appealing one for anime until recently. The significance of the concept of a global cultural database is, therefore, not in insisting that anime creation is free and limitless but in illuminating the anime creators’ “sense of outer source” and such source’s open-endedness.

As for the concepts of the worldview, characters, and settings, although I explained that it “transcends” the individual texts in media products, I do not intend to insist that they are “absolute,” i.e. that the worldview, characters and settings are the concepts with the “authenticity,” and that there is the “right way” to understand them. Rather, as I have suggested in why the concept should be called world “view,” these concepts take fully into account the “subjective” commitments to them by multiple agencies; just as the creators of the worldview include his subjective intentions in the concepts, consumers and localizers do cope with the worldview subjectively, free from the producers’ intentions, which we can typically see in the massively produced *doujinshi*. Indeed, there are many ways to cope with the worldview. Thus, these concepts do not intend to eliminate such an open-minded commitment by the involved agencies.

However, what I do intend to show by these concepts is that such subjective commitments of agencies are nevertheless somewhat “disciplined.” Although the agencies cope with the concepts open-mindedly, they still seem to follow the set of standards in order to be affiliated with the worldview, characters and settings. *Doujinshi*, again for example, are the free outputs from a certain worldview but it is still anchored by these concepts. Otherwise they would not be understood as the *doujinshi* of the worldview. Indeed, the agencies themselves seem to be aware of such a sense of discipline when coping with the worldview. Ōtsuka argues that *doujinshi*

artists are creative by following the guidelines of existing worldview, and suggests that such an exertion of creativity is easier than creating something from zero-base. He also says that, in the realm of anime, making *doujinshi* of some project is good training for a wannabe anime producer to practice how to develop the story texts from a certain worldview, characters and settings (for example, Ōtsuka 2001, 2003, 2004b).

The worldview approach is not the exclusive one solely applicable to the sector of anime, and other related pop culture industries in Japan, but, I will argue, it may have a certain versatility in other realms of popular culture in general. The fact that this approach loosely has its origin in the TRPG (and *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) suggests that this trend can be found in the field of fantasy literature and role playing games as well. Jenkins (1992) reports the *doujinshi*-like approach to committing to officially provided media texts (“textual poaching”), which is significant in the fan communities of the U.S. TV programs, such as *Star Trek*.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this approach is to provide an alternative to the dominant approach in the realm of anime studies. This approach will shed light on another aspect and practice of anime, which many anime scholars seem to have overlooked -- anime created not so much from the artistic inspirations of anime artists as from sampling the elements from existing works. This approach will turn our focus about anime to its relationships with other works outside its realm, rather than finding the “aura” inside of it. For example, for some anime scholars, Miyazaki Hayao is a “master of Japanese animation” (McCarthy 1999) and a certain scene may be the symbolic representation of the struggle between light and shadow. Alternatively, however, when we become aware of the global cultural database, the outer source Miyazaki used in creating the scene, the same scene may be found to be borrowed from a scene in *Superman* (for example, Okada 1996:69).

The Case of Haruhi

In this section, I would like to investigate how *Haruhi* could be analyzed from the worldview (characters and settings) approach i.e. how *Haruhi* was coped with the involved agencies in terms of worldview (characters and settings). Since *Haruhi* is also the “media-mix” project which multiple products, episodes, and characters appear in different media forms under the same worldview of *Haruhi*, I put up two tables (Table 2.1 and 2.2) below to show the structure of the relationships among the products and media forms in the *Haruhi* world. I will refer to these tables as necessary in my argument. Table 2.1 is the media-based assortment list of the official products created by the *Haruhi* rights holders. We can see that the *Haruhi* world is predominantly developed around five media forms: light novel, anime, manga, fanbook, and CD²⁹³⁰³¹. Table 2.2 is the narrative-based assortment list; since the official episodes of *Haruhi* came out in multiple media forms, this list first sorts the official *Haruhi* episodes into chronological order and then charts which episodes are

²⁹ Of course, there are many other *Haruhi*-related products not included in this table. I did not include in Table 2.1 the products which do not have strong connections with the *Haruhi* main stories, narratives, and the information to understand its worldview. For example, I did not include figures of *Haruhi* characters, and the CDs related to the radio programs hosted by the voice actresses of *Haruhi* anime although they were run under the name of *Haruhi* (for example, Hirano et al. 2006b, 2006c, 2006d)

³⁰ The products included in Table 2.1 are those which were released and available as of October 2008. The *Haruhi*-related products released after that date were not listed in the table.

³¹ The products in the “lights novels” section of Table 2.1 indicate, from the top, Tanigawa 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2007, 2008, 2006b. As for the “anime” section, the episode “The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00” is packed in Ishihara 2006a. The episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1” and “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2” are included in Ishihara 2006b. The episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3” and “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4” are included in Ishihara 2006c. The episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5” and “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part62” are included in Ishihara 2006d. The episode “The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya” and “Mysterique Sign” are included in Ishihara 2006e. The episode “Remote Island Syndrome Part 1” and “Remote Island Syndrome Part 2” are included in Ishihara 2006f. The episode “Live Alive” and “The Day of Sagittarius” are included in Ishihara 2006g. The episode “Someday in the Rain” is included in Ishihara 2006h. The products in “manga” section indicate, from the top, Mizuno 2004, Tsugano 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, Puyo 2008. The products in “fanbook” section indicate, from the top, Computiku 2006, Tamura 2008a, 2008b. The products in “CD” section indicate, from the top, Hirano et al. 2006a, Hirano and Gotō 2006, Tsuruoka 2007, Hirano 2006, Chihara 206, Gotō 2006, Matsuoka 2006, Kuwatani 2006, Aoki 2007a, Shiratori 2007a, Ono 2007a, Sugita 2007a. The products in “game” section indicate, from the top, Bandai 2007, Banpuresuto 2008.

Table2.1: The official products under the worldview of *Haruhi*

Genre	Title
light novel	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya (憂鬱)
	The Sigh of Haruhi Suzumiya (溜息)
	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya (退屈)
	The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya (消失)
	The Rashness of Haruhi Suzumiya (暴走)
	The Disturbance of Haruhi Suzumiya (動揺)
	The Scheme of Haruhi Suzumiya (陰謀)
	The Anger of Haruhi Suzumiya (憤慨)
	The Dissociation of Haruhi Suzumiya (分裂)
	Haruhi Theter (ハルヒ劇場)
Haruhi Theter act. 2 (ハルヒ劇場2)	
anime	The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6
	The Boredom if Haruhi Suzumiya
	Mysterique Sign
	Remote Island Syndrome Part 1
	Remote Island Syndrome Part 2
	Live Alive
The Day of Sagittarius	
Someday in the Rain	
manga	(Mizuno Makoto ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 1
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 1
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 2
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 3
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 4
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 5
	(Tsugano Gaku ver.) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya vol. 6
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan vol. 1	
fan-book	Official Fan Book: The Formula of Haruhi Suzumiya
	Official Fan Book: The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya
	Official Fan Book: The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya
CD	Hare Hare Yukai
	Haruhi no Tsumeawase
	Sound Around
	Character Song vol. 1: Haruhi Suzumiya
	Character Song vol. 2: Yuki Nagato
	Character Song vol. 3: Mikuru Asahina
	Character Song vol. 4: Tsuruya-san
	Character Song vol. 5: Ryoko Asakura
	Character Song vol. 6: Kyon's Sister
	Character Song vol. 7: Emiri Kimidori
Character Song vol. 8: Itsuki Koizumi	
Character Song vol. 9: Kyon	
game	The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya (PSP)
	The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya (PS2)

Table 2.2: The coverage of the official *Haruhi* narrative in different media forms

Grade	Month	Episode Title	light novel	anime	manga	CD	Game	Note
1st grade	Apr. - May	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya	○	○	○			
	Jun.	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya	○	○	○			
	Jul.	Knowing Me, Knowing You			○			
		Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody	○		○			
		Mysterique Sign	○	○	○			
		Remote Island Syndrome	○	○	○			
	Aug.	Mysterique Sign Refill			○			
		Endless Eight	○		○			
		The Life Philosophy of the Stray Cat Shamisen			○			
	Oct.	Get in the Ring			○			
	Nov.	The Sigh of Haruhi Suzumiya	○		○			
		The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya					○	
		The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00	○	○				
		Show Must Go On			○			
		Live Alive	○	○	○			
		Sound Around				○		Drama CD
		Tales from the Thousand Lakes			○			
		The Day of Sagittarius	○	○				
	Dec.	Someday in the Rain		○				
		The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya	○					
		<i>Hitomebore</i> Lover	○					
		Snow Mountain Syndrome	○					
	Jan.	Where did the Cat Go?	○					
The Melancholy of Mikuru Asahina		○						
Feb.	The Scheme of Haruhi Suzumiya	○						
Mar.	The Straightway to Chief Editor	○						
	Wondering Shadow	○						
2nd Grade	Apr.	The Dissociation of Haruhi Suzumiya	○					
Others	—	Haruhi Theater						magazine
		Haruhi Theater Act. 2						magazine
		The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya					○	
		The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan			○			

covered by which media forms³². We can roughly observe from this table how intensely and intricately the media mix strategy was developed in the *Haruhi* project and how the story texts play a subsidiary role toward the worldview of *Haruhi* (i.e. each episode in each media product represents only one part, aspect, and possibility of the *Haruhi* world and they, as a whole, represent the worldview, characters, and setting of *Haruhi*); there is no media form which covers all the *Haruhi* episodes; although the light novel seems to provide the basic episodes to understand its worldview, there is still much room left for the other media to fill in the stories of the *Haruhi* world which is not yet narrated by the light novel; for example, the episode “Get in the Ring” in the manga version of *Haruhi* tells us what happened to the SOS Brigade members while they participate in the PE festival held at their high school, which is not revealed by the light novel. Although there are several episodes which are covered by multiple media, such a case does not mean that each one narrates the same story in exactly the same way; the storylines in each media slightly differ each other. The whole *Haruhi* project was developed on the basis of the huge popularity of the *Haruhi* light novel; in this case, the light novel version of *Haruhi* is in the position of *gensaku* (original works); the light novel is the “core” media which generates the whole project.

Surveying the way the producers create and consumers read *Haruhi* products in relation to its worldview and in relation to the cultural elements incorporated from the global cultural database, *Haruhi* roughly seems to have three levels of worldview (characters and settings), each of which were configured through incorporating cultural elements from rather unrelated fields of global cultural database. On the

³² This chart is based on the chart in “Jikeiretsu” section of “Suzumiya Haruhi Shirīzu (Haruhi Suzumiya Series)” of *Wikipedia*. Electronic document, <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%B6%BC%E5%AE%AE%E3%83%8F%E3%83%AB%E3%83%92%E3%82%B7%E3%83%AA%E3%83%BC%E3%82%BA>, accessed October 11, 2008.

surface level, the worldview of Japanese high school love comedy exists ; the locale of *Haruhi* was set to be in a Japanese high school, and therefore all the main characters were high school students; the stories develop within the context of Japanese high school life such as school cultural festivals and school club summer retreats; the central focus of *Haruhi* stories seems to be on the development of the (romantic) relationship between Suzumiya Haruhi and Kyon. Below-the-surface level, there are two levels of science fiction and references/homage of Japanese popular culture. The level of science fiction includes numerous gadgets which are popular in the Sci-fi realm (such as time paradoxes and android's ego) and they control *Haruhi*'s apparent high school love comedy stories from behind the scenes. The level of references/homage of Japanese popular culture includes countless citations of the Japanese pop culture works (such as copying the lines and scenes of famous Japanese movies) embedded in *Haruhi* episodes. This level mainly does not have anything to do with the main *Haruhi* plot. The levels of Japanese high school love comedy and science fiction were originally configured by the original author of the *Haruhi* light novel (Tanigawa Nagaru) while the references/homage to Japanese pop culture seems to have been added by the producers of *Haruhi* anime.

“I am not interested in ordinary humans. If any of you are aliens, time travelers, otherworlders, or espers, please come see me. That's all” (Tanigawa 2003a:11). This self-introducing phrase which the main heroine Suzumiya Haruhi says in front of her classmates on the first day at the high school in the opening scene of the *Haruhi* light novels describes the *Haruhi* worldview most accurately and simply. We can understand through this statement that Tanigawa is going to quote mainly the cultural elements of science fiction such as space matter (which are symbolized in the word “aliens”), time paradoxes (which are symbolized in the word “time travelers”), parallel worlds (which are symbolized in the word “otherworlders”), and supernatural

powers (which are symbolized in the word “espers”). We also know that such elements will be narrated through the context of Japanese high school love comedy since the central locale of the novel seems to take place in a Japanese high school and the story is narrated from the viewpoint of the male protagonist Kyon who is her classmate seated right in front of her; he describes her a “super cute girl” (11) when he first sees her. In this light, we can call the *Haruhi* worldview a “Japanese high school love comedy with Sci-Fi backgrounds.”

Indeed, as we move through the *Haruhi* light novel series, we detect that Tanigawa is a hard-core SF fan. His detailed, accurate and faithful incorporation of sci-fi cultural elements into *Haruhi* contribute to add the depth, density, and reality to the novel’s worldview. Wakao (2007) points out how Tanigawa borrowed the settings and topics from the Sci-fi genre and used them to construct the world of *Haruhi*. For example, Tanigawa suggests (through Koizumi in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya”) that the godlike power of Haruhi to change the world as she likes is based on quantum mechanics; her power is like Copenhagen’s interpretation of Schrodinger’s cat; just as it depends on the observer to conclude whether the cat is dead or not, the destination of the world in which *Haruhi*’s characters live is exclusively at her own discretion. This explains why she succeeded to bring the actual alien (Nagato Yuki), time traveler (Asahina Mikuru), and esper (Koizumi Itsuki) into her SOS Brigade without knowing that they are such supernatural entities; although it seems almost impossible for that kind of stuff to happen, but because she wished it so, it did happen (Tanigawa 2003a:230-236). Wakao also indicates that the basic structure of *Haruhi*’s story, i.e. the central female character is interfered with by multiple interest groups, resembles that of Greg Egan’s *Distress*. He insists that this did not occur by chance, and that Tanigawa seems to have consciously used Egan’s plot, by pointing out that Egan’s another novel (*Permutation City*) is included in the book list

called “Nagato Yuki’s 100 books” which the anime magazine *Za Sunikā*³³ introduced as Nagato Yuki’s book recommendation³⁴ (Wakao 2007:85). The sci-fi settings which focus on time are also incorporated in the *Haruhi*’s stories. Especially in the episode of “Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody,” Kyon and Mikuru go back three years ago to meet Haruhi who was a freshman in junior high at that time. This is suggested to be the crucial event in the whole *Haruhi* story (because Haruhi is said to have “created” the world three years ago). They then returned to the present time by “cold sleep” which is the central motif in Robert Heinlein’s *The Door into Summer*, also included in “Nagato Yuki’s 100 books” (88). Time paradox naturally becomes the central motif in the episodes which focus on Asahina Mikuru (the girl who leaps through time) such as “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya,” and “The Melancholy of Mikuru Asahina.” The character settings of Nagato Yuki, i.e. the android alien created by the “Information Integration Thought Entity” who belongs to one of its factions and who is intercepted by the agent from the other ones (such as “radical faction” and “moderate faction”), is thought to be borrowed from the “techno core” in the *Hyperion* series by Dan Simmons. There is a scene in the novel in which Kyon suggests that Nagato Yuki is reading the actual book (and in the anime version it was made clear that she is reading that very book)³⁵; one of its series (*Endymion*) was selected as one of “Nagato Yuki’s 100 Books” (92-94). Nagato Yuki also embodies the theme of the “android’s ego” which is also one of the most popular topics in science fiction (96-97). This topic was given a prominent place in the episode “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya” in which Yuki wishes to become a human and tries to change the world

³³ *Za Sunikā* is published by the same publishers of *Haruhi* light novel, Kadokawa Shoten.

³⁴ “Nagato Yuki no Hyakusatsu (Yuki Nagato’s 100 Books).” *Za Sunikā* (December), 2004.

³⁵ There is a scene in the novel which Kyon describes that Nagato Yuki “is reading a hardcover book whose title is about the fall or something of the minor satellite of Saturn” (Tanigawa 2003a:70). In the anime version of *Haruhi*, there are several scenes which we can clearly notify that the front cover of the books which Nagato Yuki are reading are actually those of *Hyperion* series (Japanese translation version) themselves.

into the one in which she is a human (so that she can have a faint romance with Kyon), which was at last prevented. Here Tanigawa seems to show his own “view” of this topic by insisting that the android should be allowed to become a human. This touching yet thwarted hope of Yuki’s shown in the episode caused many fans to become Nagato *moe*. Tanigawa also shows the same view in many other scenes through Kyon’s monologue; for example, in the episode “The day of Sagittarius,” Tanigawa made Kyon tell Yuki to decide for herself when the president of Computer club asks her to become a member (and when she implicitly asked Kyon whether or not she should accept it). Kyon believes that it is good for Yuki to have a hobby that involves her with others and that “even if she is an alien-made organic humanoid interface, she should have a break sometimes” (Tanigawa 2004c:175).

Mathematics is another feature of the sci-fi level of the *Haruhi* worldview; in the “Snow Mountain Syndrome,” Euler’s polyhedron formula plays a key role for the SOS Brigade to break out from the closed circle in the snowcapped mountain (Tanigawa 2004c:295); the relationship between the “other world” which Nagato Yuki created in “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya” and the “normal world” is explained by the Bernoulli lemniscates (Tanigawa 2005b:49). Sakamoto (2007a) expects that if we apply these lemniscates more intensively to the *Haruhi*’s worldview, we may be able to understand the relationship among the members of the SOS Brigade more deeply and will even be able to predict each character’s destiny (and presumes that Tanigawa intentionally referred to the lemniscates in order to suggest such relationships and futures) (153-157).

The latest volume of the light novel “The Dissociation of Haruhi Suzumiya” seems to suggest strongly the possibility of a parallel world, which is another popular theme of science fiction; the book is mixed up with the “indented up” paragraphs which are captioned as “ α ” and the “indented down” ones captioned as “ β ,” and the

storyline seems to bifurcate into “ α ” line and “ β ” line; in this volume, Tanigawa also introduces the alternative SOS Brigade which consists of Sasaki -- Suzumiya Haruhi’s counterpart and thus a potential alternative “god” to create and re-create the world -- Suō Kuyō -- Nagato Yuki’s counterpart who is created by an entity other than Information Integration Thought Entity -- Fujiwara -- Asahina Mikuru’s counterpart who is believed to have come from the different future she belongs to -- and Tachibana Kyōko -- Koizumi Itsuki’s counterpart who belongs to a different esper organization different than Koizumi. Sakamoto (2007b) goes further to point out that the letter of the caption “ α ” and “ β ” must have come from the Dubhe (α Ursae Majoris) and Merak (β Ursae Majoris) of the Triones because in the story Suō Kuyō and her creator entity are believed to have come from Polaris (Tanigawa 2007:226) and the name Kuyō has a strong relationship with Triones from *Onmyōdō*’s point of view (and again the connection between Suō Kuyō and *Onmyōdō* is also suggested in the story).

One of the most outstanding qualities of this novel is that although it has considerably deep and dense Sci-Fi elements, the actual *Haruhi* stories develop within the context of the complete high school love comedy format which hides these elements below the surface. Since one of the main goals of the alien, time traveler, and esper in the SOS Brigade is not to bore Haruhi to cause her to change the world they live in, the SOS Brigade follows a highly authentic and active Japanese high school life; the SOS Brigade itself is run as a high school club: participates in the local amateur baseball tournament; goes on a summer vacation to a remote island; attends a pool and fireworks display during summer vacation; makes movie to screen at the high school’s cultural festival; holds computer game match with the Computer club; goes skiing at a mountain resort; throws a Christmas party; publishes their literature magazine. All the main characters are (or pretend to be) high school students wearing

typical Japanese high school uniforms; the events centrally occur in the high school (North High School) they attend. The destiny of the world seems to depend directly on the high-school-girl-like romantic feelings of Haruhi (and Nagato, Asahina, and Sasaki) toward Kyon. *Haruhi* is indeed a “subtly supernatural high school love story.”

Moreover, there are a myriad of cultural elements quoted from Japanese pop culture in multiple forms such as texts, phrases, body expressions, screen compositions, sequences, and music mainly by the producers of *Haruhi* anime. As for the quotations in the text and phrase forms, see Table 2.3³⁶ which lists the most popular quotations and their sources. Although this table includes the cultural elements from science fiction, we can still see how countless, zany elements of Japanese pop culture are incorporated in *Haruhi*. As for the body movement, the choreography of *Hare Hare Yukai Dance* (*Haruhi* dance) is said to be the combination of several different dances from the same girl’s idol group called Berryz Factory in Japan. The fan-made “verifying video clip” that compares the *Haruhi* dance to dances of the Berryz Factory is widely circulated around the on-line fan communities. The creator of the *Haruhi* dance (Yamamoto Yutaka, the technical director of *Haruhi* anime) confessed that he borrowed the choreography from existing idol groups. In addition, the idea to end the animation with all of the characters dancing is not exclusively of *Haruhi*’s own and is believed to have come from another anime series called *Junguru wa Itsumo Hale Nochi Guu* (*Hale Guu*). Yamamoto says in the interview that he was once on staff at *Hale Guu* anime and was blown away by its closing animation *Fun Fun Shout* in which the characters dance brilliantly. He says

³⁶ The cultural elements in Table 2.3 were listed up by the survey of author. The main referred sources were Computiku (2006); Taburoido to Yukai na Nakamatachi (2007); “Suzumiya Haruhi no Matome Kiji Koneta Parodī hen Sono 1 (The Add-up Article of Haruhi Suzumia: Trivias and Parodies Vol.1).” *Manbun wa Ikken ni Taruyamo*. Electronic blog entry, <http://weblog890.blog15.fc2.com/blog-entry-654.html>, accessed June 15, 2008; “Suzumiya Haruhi no Matome Kiji Koneta Parodī hen Sono 2 (The Add-up Article of Haruhi Suzumia: Trivias and Parodies Vol.2).” *Manbun wa Ikken ni Taruyamo*. Electronic blog entry, <http://weblog890.blog15.fc2.com/blog-entry-655.html>, accessed June 15, 2008.

Table 2.3: Frequently pointed out cultural elements in text and phrase forms embedded in *Haruhi* anime

Original Text in Haruhi		Source of Reference
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1		
1	ゴーフル缶 (tin of Gaufre cookie)	a local sweets of Kobe city
2	コンプエース (<i>Comp</i>)	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)
3	コンプティーク (<i>Comptique</i>)	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)
4	ハイペリオンの没落 (<i>The Fall of Hyperion</i>)	Novel (by Dan Simmons)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2		
5	ハイペリオン (<i>Hyperion</i>)	Novel (by Dan Simmons)
6	情熱を、もてあます (Too much passion)	TV Game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)
7	暗号解読 (<i>The Code Book</i>)	Novel (by Simon Singh)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3		
8	学校を出よう！二巻 I・My・ME (<i>Let's Get Out of the School! Vol. 2, I, My, Me</i>)	Novel (by Nagaru Tanigawa)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4		
9	マジでくたばる 5 秒前 (Five seconds from death)	J-Pop Song (by Ryoko Hirose)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5		
	N/A	
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6		
10	時をかける少女 (time traveling girl)	Novel, movie, and anime (<i>A Girl who Lept Through Time</i>)
The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya		
11	野球盤 (Baseball board game)	Board game
12	取ったどおー！ (I got it!)	TV program (<i>Ikinari! Ougon Densetsu</i>)
13	マジックポイント (Magic points)	TV game (<i>Dragon Quest</i> series)
14	永世監督 (permanent manager)	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)
15	間に合え…！間に合ええ！！ (Make it in time! Make it in time!)	Anime (<i>Gundam 0083</i>)

Table 2.3 (Continued)

Mysterique Sign		
16	エマンガリヒョン 絵コンテ 一巻 (Emangerihyon Storyboard Vol. 1)	Anime (<i>Neon Genesis Evangelion</i>)
17	中南米の歩き方 (Latin America Trotter Travel Guidebook)	Travel guide (<i>Chikyuu no Arukikata</i>)
18	電卓男 (Calculator Man)	Novel and Movie (<i>Train Man</i>)
19	歯上言論 (<i>Hajou Genron</i>)	Mail magazine (<i>Hajou Genron</i>)
20	膚の下 (<i>Hadae no Shita</i>)	Novel (by Kanbayashi Chohei)
21	スターダイヤモンド (Star Diamond)	Board game
22	カナブンがきずのであてをしてくれた！ (A scarab has tended to its wounds!)	Card & Arcade Game (<i>Kouchu Ouja Mushi Kingu</i>)
23	ふもっふ！ (Fumoffu!)	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
24	セカンドレイド (Second Raid!)	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
25	斥力場 (Force field)	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
Remote Island Syndrome Part 1&2		
26	衣装戸棚の女 (<i>The Woman in the Wardrobe</i>)	Novel (by Peter Antony)
27	パノラマ島 (Panorama island)	Novel (by Edogawa Rampo)
28	インファント島 (Infant island)	Movie (<i>Mosura</i>)
29	そして誰もいなくなったり (and everybody disappear...)	Novel (<i>And Then There Were None</i>)
30	究極のメニュー (the ultimate menu)	Manga (<i>Oishinbo</i>)
31	スネーク！スネーク！ (Snake! Snake!)	TV game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)
32	振込って詐欺？ (Is transferring money a fraud?)	New type of fraud (<i>Furikome Sagi</i>)
33	黒死館 (House of Black Death)	Novel (by Oguri Mushitaro)
34	リラ荘 (Lira Manor)	Novel (by Ayukawa Tetsuya)
35	纒纒城 (Koketsu Castle)	Novel (by Kunieda Shirou)
36	なーに、初歩的なことだよ、ワトソン君。 (Elementary, my dear Watson.)	Novel (<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> series)

Table 2.3 (Continued)

Live Alive		
37	1-6 占いの家・ズバツと言うわよ！ (1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!)	TV Program (<i>Zubari Iuwayo!</i>)
38	1-9 クラス演(劇)ローゼンクランツ…ギルデ ンスターン (1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern)	Movie (<i>Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead</i>)
39	クイズビリオネア (Quiz Billionaire)	TV Program (<i>Quiz Millionaire</i>)
40	純喫茶 第三帝国 (The Pure Café Third Reich)	Anime (<i>Urusei Yatsura 2: Beautiful Dreamer</i>)
41	恋の必殺カレー (The knockout curry of love)	PC game (<i>To Heart 2</i>)
42	ギター！ (Here it comes!)	Ascii art
43	せいぜい文化祭を楽しめ。普通にな。 (Well, at least enjoy the arts festival. In a normal sense.)	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
44	ENOZ	Japanese band idol (ZONE)
The Day of Sagittarius		
45	アイ・アイ・マム (Aye aye, ma'am)	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
46	おちろ！カトンボ！ (Fall, daddy longlegs!)	Anime (<i>Z Gundam</i>)
47	ガンコム (Gun(beep)m)	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
48	行きまーす、って無理！ (I will go! No way!)	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
49	本日天気晴朗なれども波高し。皇国の興廃 この一戦にあり。 (Today, the skies are clear, but waves are high. The empire's fate rests on this battle.)	Japanese history (Akiyama Saneyuki)
50	コンピュータ研に栄光あれ！ (Glory to the computer club!)	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
Someday in the Rain		
51	ドラゴン・オールスターズ (Dragon Allstars)	Card game
52	グランド・フィナーレ (<i>The Grand Finale</i>)	Novel (by Abe Kazushige)
53	蹴りたい背中 (<i>The Back I Want to Kick</i>)	Novel (by Wataya Risa)

Table 2.3 (Continued)

54	あめんぼ あかいな あいうえお (Water sliders are red, a-i-u-e-o.)	Poem (by Kitahara Hakushu)
	うきもに こえびも およいでる (Little shrimps are also swimming among the floating moss.)	
	かきのき くりのき かきくけこ (Persimmon tree, chestnut tree, ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.)	
	キツツキ こつこつ かれケヤキ (A woodpecker is pecking at a dead zelkova tree.)	
	ささぎに すをかけ さしすせそ (I poured vinegar on cowpeas and then, sa-shi-su-se-so.)	
	そのうお あさせで さしました (I stabbed that fish in the shallow stream.)	
	たちましょ ラッパで たちつと (Let's stand at the sound of the trumpet, ta-chi-tsu-te-to.)	
	トテトテ タッタと とびたつた (It flew off with a thunk-thunk-thunk-thunk-dash-dash.)	
	なめくじ のろのろ なにぬねの (Slug is slow, na-ni-nu-ne-no)	
55	んー、あなたが犯人でっす (Hmmm... You are the culprit.)	TV drama (<i>Furuhata Ninzaburo</i>)
56	んー赤の方 14 番を選ばれたっ。んーまーいいでしょうっ。さあこの後でどういった展開になるのでしょうか？ 次の問題どうぞー (Oh, the red player has picked #14. Well I guess that's okay. How will things play out? Next question.)	TV program (<i>Panel Quiz Attack 25</i>)
57	なんて、恐ろしい子っ！！ (What a terrifying little girl.)	Manga (<i>Garasu no Kamen</i>)
58	タンメンセット！チャーハンセット！天ざるセット！ (Tanmen noodle set! Fried rice set! Tempura and cold soba set!)	Anime (<i>Air</i>)

Table 2.3 (Continued)

59	青年エース！ 中年エース！ 定年エース！ 留年エース！ 来年エース！ 残念エース！ やっぱ好きやねんエース！ (Young Man Ace! Middle-aged Ace! Retirement Ace! Repeat-a-year Ace! Next-year Ace! Unfortunate Ace! I love it after all, Ace!)	Magazine (<i>Shonen Ace</i>)
60	なぜベストを尽くさないのか？ どーんとこーい！ (Why don't you do your best? Bring it on!)	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)
61	お前らのやったことは、パリッとコリッと全とお見通しだ！ (What you guys have done is snappy, crackly, and totally obvious to us!)	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)
62	見た目は子供、中身は微妙、ご町内の強い味方。その名は名探偵。 (Childlike appearance but subtle inside! A powerful ally all over town! The name is ... Ace Detective!)	Anime (<i>Detective Konan</i>)
63	えーい、ひかえ、ひかえ、ひかえーい！ この紋所が目に入らぬか！ (Bow down, bow down! Can you not see this crest that I hold?)	TV drama (<i>Mito Koumon</i>)
64	ワタクシはフランスの女王なのですからー。 (Because I am the queen of France.)	Anime (<i>The Rose of Versailles</i>)
65	変なところに当たるな！ まだまだ甘いな。 (Do not hit the strange spot! You've still got a ways to go.)	Anime (<i>Jyu Senki Elgaim</i>)
66	北海アイスキャンディーズ (Arctic Ice Candies)	Japanese comedians (<i>Southern Sea Candies</i>)
Preview		
67	父ちゃん、俺はやるのか！ (Am I going to do it, dad?)	Anime (<i>Kyojin no Hoshi</i>)
68	な、なんだってー！ (W-What?)	Manga (<i>MMR</i>)
69	それでは皆さんお待ちかね、涼宮ハルヒレディー、ゴー！ (Sorry to keep you waiting, Haruhi Suzumiya, Ready ... go!)	Anime (<i>G Gundam</i>)

Table 2.3 (Continued)

70	お風呂入れよ歯を磨けよ！ (Take a bath! Brush your teeth!)	TV program (<i>8ji Dayo! Zenin Shugou</i>)
71	我が SOS 団は永久に不滅です！ (The SOS Brigade will be forever!)	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)
72	私たち普通の女の子に戻ります！ (We will become ordinary girls!)	Japanese idol group (Candies)
73	来週もまた見てくださいねー。ジャンケー ンポーン！ (Please see the program next week, too! Scissors, rock, paper!)	Anime (<i>Sazae san</i>)
74	キヨンの鳴く夜は恐ろしい…あーっ！ (The nights where Kyon makes eerie screams are terrifying... AAAHHH!)	Movie (<i>Akuryou Tou</i>)
75	ではいきますよ？曲っが一れ。 (Here goes... Bend.)	Uri Geller
76	予告なんて下らないわ！私の歌を聴けえ ー！ボ、ボンバー！ (Previews are meaningless! Listen to my song! B...Bomber!)	Anime (<i>Macross 7</i>)

that since then he has been thinking that he will create a similar dance-inspired ending when he takes charge the ending of a series, which happened to be *Haruhi* (Conputīku 2006:84). Further, some of the costumes in certain episodes are believed to be borrowed from other anime series; for example, the military-like clothes which the president of the Computer club wears in the episode “The Day of Sagittarius” is said to be a copy of the outfit of Lord Desler in *Spece Battleship Yamato (Star Blazers)*; Kyon’s military uniform (especially his beret) in the same episode is said to have come from that of Yang Wen-li in *Legend of Galactic Heroes*. Another such example of duplication is Haruhi’s pose when she stood up and pointed to the people in front of her in the final part of the episode “Remote Island Syndrome.” This is an appropriation from the video game “*Gyakuten Saiban*” (逆転裁判: inverted trial). As for the screen composition and sequences, the striking similarity in the band performance sequence in “Live Alive” and that of the Japanese live action movie *Linda Linda Linda* (リンダ リンダ リンダ) is frequently noted. As for the music, one of the pieces of background music used in “The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya” (when the SOS Brigade and its friends were playing baseball) clearly has the altered melody of *Touch* which is used in the opening animation of the baseball animation *Touch* (タッチ). The use of classical music as BGM is said to have the root in *Legend of Galactic Heroes* (especially in the episode “The Day of Sagittarius”) and *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (especially in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya”) (Shiosato 2007)³⁷.

³⁷ Of course, however, there are many cultural elements other than science fiction, Japanese high school love comedy, and Japanese pop culture incorporated into the worldview of *Haruhi*. Another significant source is mystery novels. For example, “Remote Island Syndrome” and “Where did the Cat Go?” can be evaluated as self-referring parodies of mystery genre. The SOS Brigade and other characters confronted the murder case (in “Remote Island Syndrome”) and cat-missing case (in “Where did the Cat Go?”) but in the former it came out to be a hyped at last and in the latter they knew it is a game from the beginning.

On the level of character creation, they seem to intentionally create the *Haruhi* characters throughout the sampling of *moe* elements from the global cultural database. As Azuma (2007a) points out, the lines in the first volume of the *Haruhi* novels that describe Nagato Yuki and Asahina Mikuru for the first time suggest that the author is using a certain kind of database as a resource to construct the characters (41-45). Itō Noizi, the original character designer of *Haruhi* project and who provides illustrations for the *Haruhi* novels and characters' prototypes in the *Haruhi* anime, says that she first made up the image of characters by reading Tanigawa's novel and picking up the "kigō" (記号: codes) included in the characters' description (Computiku 2006:94). Indeed the characters in *Haruhi* seem to be made attractive by accurately and strategically selecting the appropriate *moe* elements from the global cultural database; as for the main heroine Suzumiya Haruhi, her *tsundere* nature has long been one of the central elements that attracts anime fans; as for Nagato Yuki, we have seen that her "blue hair," "monotone voice," and "quiet nature" are standardized selection from the database to create sub-heroines utilized since *Neon Genesis Evangelion*; as for Asahina Mikuru, the contrast between her "baby face" and "big breasts" is another "golden combination" for *moe* character -- moreover, she wears many *moe* costumes such as the uniforms of "nurse," "cheer leader," "maid," "Shinto priestess," and "bunny girl"; the handsome face of Koizumi Itsuki and the graceful way he speaks when he communicates with Kyon is the key component that involves girls' audiences with *Haruhi*, especially those who are interested in *yaoi* (a boy's love). The above elements of the characters, which were implicitly encoded in the novel and its illustrations were literally animated in the anime version of *Haruhi*; a new episode was added in the anime version to illuminate the *tsundere* nature of Haruhi ("Someday in the Rain"); it was made clear in the anime that the color of Nagato Yuki's hair is light blue. There are several scenes in which Asahina Mikuru's large breasts swing in

the anime version (in the opening animation, “The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya,” and “Remote Island Syndrome”); there are several scenes which allow us to “misunderstand” that Kyon and Koizumi Itsuki are in a *yaoi* relationship, for example, in the “Remote Island Syndrome,” when the two stare each other sitting on the bed in the room of the resort villa they stay.

As for the official outputs of *Haruhi*'s worldview, we can say that the way the *Haruhi*-related products are presented to consumers supports the view that the producers create each text in each product using the concepts of worldview as guidelines. As for the concept of characters, Figure 2.2 shows one example about how the character in *Haruhi* (Mori Sonou) appears in multiple media forms such as light novels, manga, and anime; i.e. how the concept of the character Mori Sonou governs all products across all media. What is interesting here is that in the manga *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan* (Puyo 2008), a manga which portrays a kind of parody of the whole *Haruhi* episodes, Mori Sonou was constructed as a more active and comical character than in the novel, anime versions and the other manga series; in *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan*, Kyron says meta-textually (in the balloon ※) that he did not realize that “she was going to be that kind of character in this manga.” This seems to not only strongly support the validity of Itō's (2005) “autonomization of characters” phenomena, which we have already seen, but also suggest that the creators' side did produce the texts with the transcendent concept of character (Mori Sonou) in mind and that they expected consumers to read their texts in the same manner.

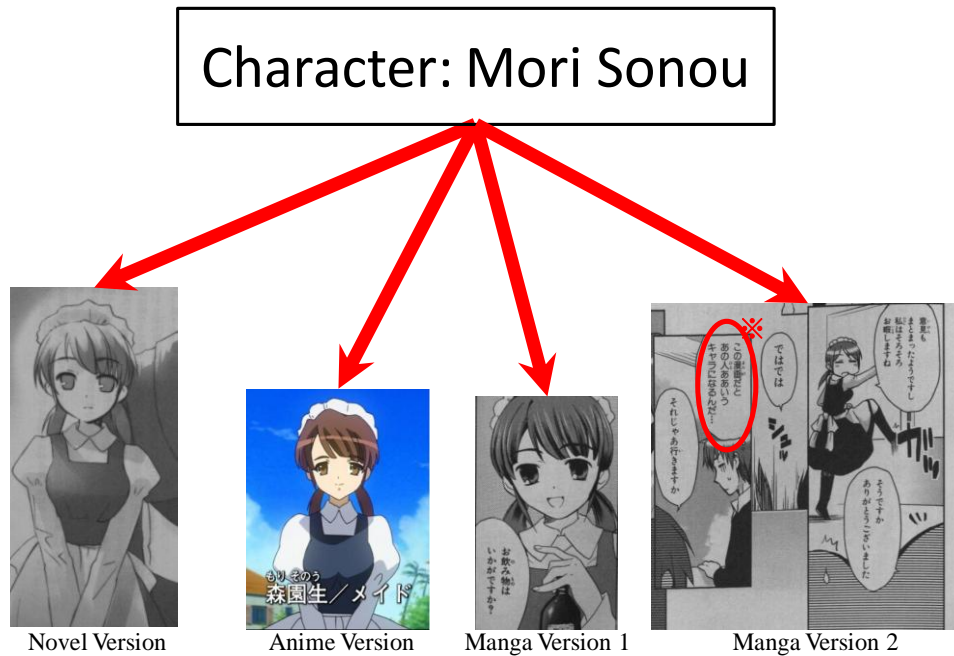


Figure 2.2: The character Mori Sonou appears in novel, anime, and manga³⁸

As for the concepts of worldview and settings, for example, the scene in which Nagato Yuki stands in the snow which first appeared in the illustration of the novel in the episode “The Straightway to the Chief Editor” (the scene which suggests how Yuki was created by the Information Integration Thought Entity)³⁹ was transplanted as one cut in the opening animation, although this episode was not included in the anime version of *Haruhi* (therefore it does not make any sense to the audiences who have not read the novel and understand this aspect of *Haruhi*’s worldview). The “setting” of Yuki seems to have been dispersed into both media platforms and linked the novel to the anime version. Conversely, we can see the

³⁸ The illustration of Mori Sonou captioned as “Novel Version” is quoted from Tanigawa (2005a:217). Her illustrations captioned as “Anime Version,” “Manga Version 1,” “Manga Version 2” were quoted from, Ishihara (2006f), Tsugano (2007a:146), and Puyo (2008:127), respectively. All illustrations are shown by permission of KPUSA.

³⁹ I will add here that her last name “Yuki” is a homonymy of the snow (雪: *yuki*) in Japanese; it seems evident that Nagato Yuki is closely associated with snow.

episode “Someday in the Rain,” which is the anime-original episode and not covered by the novel version (and any other media), as a prologue to the episode “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya” (which is not covered by the anime version) if we ignore the difference in media forms and see the worldview of Haruhi as a whole. The songs which Haruhi promoted in the anime version of “Live Alive” (“God knows...” and “Lost my music”) and a song which Asahina Mikuru sang in the anime version of “The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00” (恋のミクル伝説: *Koi no Mikuru Densetsu*) were brought together and sold as a music CD album captioned as an “*tsumeawase*” (詰合: assortment) of the songs-within-a-play (劇中歌: *gekichūka*) (Haruhi no Tsumeawase).

Through a consideration of the interviews of the *Haruhi* anime production staffs (mainly Kyoto Animation), we can observe that they indeed tried to construct and share the conceptual worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* and to use it as a guide while creating the actual anime episodes. First they learned about *Haruhi* through the original Tanigawa novel. Next, they conducted multiple meetings and *gasshuku* (合宿: the lodging-together meeting) with the original author (Tanigawa Nagaru) in order to adopt the shared understandings about *Haruhi*; they say that during the *gasshuku* all the members in charge of *Haruhi*, including the author, director, technical director, composer, and art director, “talked about *Haruhi* over alcohol” all night which enabled them to “band the concept” of *Haruhi* (Conputīku 2006:83-84). The assigned voice actors and actresses also seemed to have tried to assimilate the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* when they performed their roles. This assimilation process is called by them as *yakudukuri* (役作り: role constructing). In the interview, Hirano Aya (the voice actress for Haruhi Suzumiya) and Ono Daisuke (the voice actor for Koizumi Itsuki) clearly stated that they read the original works (the *Haruhi* light novel version) in advance of their recording session.

Ono says that “of course” he read the novel beforehand, which suggests that such an approach is a common practice among the Japanese voice actors and actresses. Gotō Yūko (the voice actress for Asahina Mikuru) says that she had to grasp *Haruhi* proactively and completely by herself in order to perform appropriately. The actors also suggested that they held multiple meetings with the Kyoto Animation staff in order to deepen their understanding of the characters (Conputīku 2006:50-57). We can evaluate their approach as the attempts to understand and share the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* with other involved members.

During the anime production, the staff seemed to have shared the metaphor-like key phrase in order to grasp the big picture of the worldview of *Haruhi* anime: “*Chō Kantoku Suzumiya Haruhi*” (超監督涼宮ハルヒ: Ultra Director Haruhi Suzumiya). They presupposed meta-textually that Suzumiya Haruhi herself is the ultimate director of *Haruhi* anime and all the members of the *Haruhi* production have to obey her direction, just as the members of the SOS Brigade have to follow her in their club activities. The grand direction of the anime production was therefore analogized and explained via her eccentric characteristics. This eccentric atmosphere allows the staff to incorporate the experimental and out-of-box ideas and creativities into *Haruhi* anime. For example, the technical director Yamamoto Yutaka explained that the reason “The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00” (a kind of the play-within-the-play episode which shows the “movie film” which the SOS Brigade shot in order to screen it in their high school’s cultural festival) was broadcast as the first episode of the series was because, in gauging the *Haruhi* intention, he concluded that she would surely want to broadcast the film which they shot by themselves even if it did not include any introductory information for the series (and therefore even if such a practice is totally beyond the common sense of the ordinary TV anime broadcasting method) (Conputīku 2006:83). In fact, the staffs involved in *Haruhi* anime production

confess that on many occasions, Haruhi made them to do things and that it was Haruhi who made the anime series possible. The credit “Ultra Director Haruhi Suzumiya” is clearly shown in the telop of its opening animation.

The eccentric flavor of the worldview of *Haruhi* anime seems further to have developed a sub-phrase to explain the worldview of *Haruhi* anime: “*omatsuri sawagi*” (お祭り騒ぎ: the rave-up of a festival). This phrase not only seems to have explained and justified the hyper-creative practices of the creators to try anything but also to have conducted the promotional strategies of *Haruhi* and to have explained the fans’ enthusiastic consumption of and commitment to the *Haruhi* world. For example, the official *Haruhi* website was intentionally constructed simply and cheaply since it was explained as the actual website of SOS Brigade which Kyon made within the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya”. This suggests that the web promotion of *Haruhi* anime is also controlled by *Haruhi* worldview (Haruhi is the ultra director of the *Haruhi* anime business). Furthermore, they embedded many hidden contents in the websites and challenged consumers to discover them. Such hidden content include Nagato Yuki’s message which is embedded in the source code of the websites and Asahina Mikuru’s sexy photo album (which Kyon actually created in and hid on the separate subordinate directory of the SOS Brigade website in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya”). They also deliberately garbled the website right after the airing of the episode “Mysterique Sign,” in which the SOS Brigade website actually becomes garbled. Such an eccentric approach to the *Haruhi* promotion drove fans to commit enthusiastically to the *Haruhi* world like a reveler, and *Haruhi*-related on-line fan forums exploded. The promoters’ strategy to invoke such groundswell among fans seems to have been a smashing success and *Haruhi*’s such a carnival-like popularity during its broadcast was often described as “festival.”

The line between the (superior) legitimate/producer/professional and the (inferior) illegal/consumer/amateur is also blurred in the case of *Haruhi*. We can see countless intermediate-status works that are not in the official offering in the Table 2.1 on the simulacra plane of *Haruhi*. For example, there is a four-frame comic strip series called *Nyoro~n Churuya-san* which focuses on *Haruhi*'s sub character Tsuruya-san. Although this series initially started as a fan made creation, and the comic strips were developed on the website and *doujinshi* platforms, it was later made official by the Kadokawa Group (the central rights holders of *Haruhi* series) and became serialized in the legitimate anime magazines of Kadokawa (it was also announced to become anime series). *Haruhi* seems to be one of the most popular series to have been appropriated as a material of *doujinshi*. On many *doujinshi* websites (i.e. the websites which scan and upload *doujinshi*) *Haruhi* is often one of the sections which have the biggest number of scanned and uploaded *doujinshi*; on one *doujinshi* website, for example, there are more than 200 *Haruhi doujinshi* works uploaded while many other series barely reach 100⁴⁰. We can also find a myriad of *Haruhi*-related MAD movies and AMVs on Youtube and Niko Niko Dōga. As for the AMVs, for example, the winner of the AMV contests in the Best Show and Best Comedy section at the Anime Expo and Otakon in 2008 was the same *Haruhi*-related one which combines *Haruhi* with Avril Lavigne's *Girlfriend* to reassemble the anime scenes into the context of a *yaoi* love story with Kyon and Koizumi (this time it is Koizumi who asks Kyon "to be your girlfriend" and who dispraise Haruhi as "so whatever" being not enough for Kyon)⁴¹. In the MAD movie communities around Niko Niko Dōga, there is even a fan-created genre called "*Haruhi seitenkan shirīzu*" (ハルヒ性転換シリーズ: *Haruhi sex-*

⁴⁰ For example, see *Doujin Kotton*. Internet website, <http://d-cotton.com/>, accessed November 11, 2008.

⁴¹ "The Harrasment of Kyon." Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yHy4n3RWqjk>, accessed November 11, 2008.

conversion series)⁴² in which they create clips under the worldview in which all the characters' gender is reversed; in the series, Haruhi, Yuki, and Mikuru are high school boys given the boy-like names such as Haruhiko, Yūki, and Michiru while Kyon and Itsuki are high school girls given girl-like name (Kyonko and Itsuki). *Hare Hare Yukai dance* has countless AMV and MAD movie versions including its association with *Pokémon* (Pikachu dances the *Hare Hare Yukai*)⁴³, *Rockman* (the characters of the *Rockman* series dance the *Hare Hare Yukai*)⁴⁴, and *Gundam* (the plastic model of mobile suits dance the *Hare Hare Yukai*)⁴⁵.

⁴² For example, see “SOS dan to Yukai na Nakamatachi wo Seitenkan sasetemita (I Reversed the Gender of the Members of SOS Brigade and its Friends).” Video clip posted on Niko Niko Dōga, <http://www.nicovideo.jp/watch/sm2184311>, accessed November 11, 2008; “Suzumiya Haruhiko no Yūtsu (The Melancholy of Haruhiko Suzumiya).” Video clip posted on Niko Niko Dōga, <http://www.nicovideo.jp/watch/sm3490792>, accessed November 11, 2008; “Haruhi Seitenkan Seitenkan ‘Iteza no Hi’ o Tsunagetemita Afureko Rirē (Haruhi Sex-conversion: I Connected the Sex-reversed version of ‘The Day of Sagittarius.’ Dubbing Relay).” Video clip posted on Niko Niko Dōga, <http://www.nicovideo.jp/watch/sm4238026>, accessed November 11, 2008.

⁴³ “Pika Pika Yukai Kōgashitsu (Pika Pika Yukai High Quality).” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qtrt0PzmlUM>, accessed November 11, 2008.

⁴⁴ “Harehare Yukai – ROCKMAN Version.” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DvHu7ENQFbM>, accessed November 11, 2008.

⁴⁵ “Suzumiya Haruhi no Yuutsu ED (GUNDAM Version).” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IZwZ84taLYY>, accessed November 11, 2008.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANS-CODING OF *HARUHI*

Overview

In this chapter, I will investigate how and by what process the worldview of *Haruhi* was transferred and utilized by the involved agencies when they introduced *Haruhi* anime to the United States. In doing so, I propose the significance and importance of the agents standing between the producers (rights holders) in Japan and the consumers in the United States: the agencies who get the license for an anime from Japan and localize it for the U.S. Previous media studies, which have typically paid attention to the production (encode) and consumption mode (decode) of the media products (for example, Hall 1980) seem not to have focused much on the localization process, held between the encoding and decoding conducted by the above agencies when the media products go beyond their national borders into other countries. Naming such agencies as “trans-coding agencies,” I argue that the transnational flow of anime from Japan to the United States has three phases: the producing phase by the encoding agencies (in Japan); the transmitting phase by the trans-coding agencies (in Japan and the United States); and the consuming phase by the decoding agencies (in the United States). In the case of *Haruhi* anime, such trans-coding agencies are Kadokawa Pictures USA (KPUSA: the master licensee of *Haruhi* anime in the United States), Bandai Entertainment (BE: the sub-licensee of the localization, promotion, and distribution of *Haruhi* anime in the United States), and Bang Zoom! Entertainment (BZE: the sub contractor of BE about the actual script translating and dubbing).

On the basis of the above theoretical frame, I will show in this chapter that the worldview of *Haruhi* anime was transferred in a “diffusive” and “reductive” manner from the encoder in Japan to the trans-coder in the United States, and consequently that the worldview of the United States’ version of *Haruhi* anime was

“diffused” and “reduced” as well. First of all, if we see the worldview of *Haruhi* as a whole, taking into account all the *Haruhi* related products in all media forms, only 40% of the products are currently available in the United States and many products remain in Japan and are not being licensed to the United States (i.e. the diffusion of the worldview of *Haruhi* in products). *Haruhi* light novels, in particular, the “core media” of *Haruhi* worldview, are still not officially available at all in the United States, giving consumers access to the *Haruhi* worldview virtually only through its anime media form. As for the transferring process of *Haruhi*’s worldview from encoders to trans-coders in making the United States version of *Haruhi* anime, voice actors and actresses did not learn and share the worldview of *Haruhi* with KPUSA, BE, and BZE when dubbing works as intensively as the Japanese talents did when creating the original *Haruhi* anime in Japan (i.e. the diffusion of the worldview of *Haruhi* among the localizers). Also, KPUSA, BE, and BZE learned, understood and focused on only limited aspects of the worldview of *Haruhi* during their localizing works (i.e. the reduction of the worldview of *Haruhi* among the trans-coding members). In the previous chapter, we have seen that *Haruhi* has three levels of worldview (characters and settings): Japanese high school love comedy (on the superficial level of appearance), science fiction (below the surface level), and the hidden references to the Japanese pop culture (embedded mainly by the anime creators below the surface level). Although the focus and level of understanding of *Haruhi*’s worldview differed from individual to individual within the trans-coding agencies, we can assess that the members of the trans-coding agencies, seen as a whole, cared mainly about its high school love comedy level of worldview during their works and paid much less attention to the cultural elements of deep sci-fi and Japanese pop culture embedded below the surface of *Haruhi*. Since they operated their trans-coding works on the basis of such a limited understanding of the worldview of *Haruhi*, as a result, quite a few

crucial cultural elements on below-the-surface levels that have to do with the fundamental theme (worldview) of *Haruhi* were left un-translated (un-trans-coded) in the United States' version (i.e. the reduction of the worldview of *Haruhi* in the outputs of trans-coding agencies).

The base-structural reason for this “diffusive” and “reductive” transfer and the “diffusion” and “reduction” of the worldview of *Haruhi* anime is, I would argue, that the industrial infrastructure of anime business is still weak and immature in the United States. The number of anime voice actors and actresses is still smaller in the United States than in Japan, and furthermore anime dubbing still seems to be subsidiary work for most of such talents in the United States, which has caused a weak commitment to the worldview of *Haruhi* anime. The licensors and master licensees (the *Haruhi* committee in Japan and KPUSA) did not take proactive initiatives in transferring the worldview of *Haruhi* to BE and BZE (mainly due to the lack of resource and capacity to do so), and thus BE and BZE had to learn its worldview by themselves, with little help from the Japanese encoders. Almost all trans-coding agencies in the United States (including KPUSA, BE, and BZE) are SME-size, and those often have to localize the licensed anime within limited human resources; in the case of *Haruhi*, it was virtually impossible for them to cover all the cultural elements encoded in the original version in less than ten main staffs for *Haruhi* localization. Their attempt was to do their best within limited resources and time, and this led them to concentrate their focus on the minimum necessary aspect of *Haruhi*'s worldview (the appearance level of Japanese high school love comedy with the slight sci-fi background) and to operate their trans-coding works on such an understanding, which resulted in missing crucial cultural elements and in the cultural-elements-reduced *Haruhi* anime DVDs in the United States.

Theoretical Backgrounds

The arguments around media products and their social significances and impacts seem to be in the binary distribution between the two theoretical poles: the culture industry theory by the Frankfurt School (Horkheimer and Adorno 1991) and the cultural studies tradition, which originated from Britain (for example, Hall 1980). Roughly speaking, both frameworks dialectically suppose two agencies in the society: the producers of media products and their consumers. The arguments leaning to the former framework emphasize the ruling power of the producers' side to habituate the passive consumers to the logics which the producers uphold in the products (such as movies, popular music, and cartoons) they provide to the consumers. Such logics include, in earlier days, the "capitalism" of the capitalist culture industry (Horkheimer and Adorno 1991) and, in recent days, the "Americanism" of the United States media conglomerates such as Hollywood and Disney (for example, Dorfman and Mattelart 1991). The arguments leaning to the latter framework emphasize the resistant power of the consumers' side. They often complain that the consumers are not as passive and vulnerable to the messages inscribed in the media products they consume as Frankfurt School-like arguments suppose. Consumers are often expected to be independent enough to appropriate and indigenize the media text into the social context in which they live. For those who take this viewpoint, the United States media industries' attempts to make the logic of Americanism globally dominant throughout their media products (Hollywood movies, Disney cartoons, and soap operas, etc.), for example, is therefore not as successful as is claimed (for example, Ang 1985). The vast arguments between these two poles seem mainly to investigate the (confrontational) communication between the two players: the communication through media products between their producers who try to govern their customers and their consumers who resist such impositions.

Throughout the fieldwork of tracking the *Haruhi* anime from Japan to the United States, I found the significance of another agency which stands between the producer and consumer of a media product and which gets its license from the producer in one country, localizes it for the market of the target country, and provides the localized version of the media product to the consumer in that market. My argument is that the previous media studies seem to have paid relatively less attention to such an agency than to the producer and consumer. Here I would name such an agency a “trans-coding agency,” borrowing the terminology of Hall (1980) who named the media producers’ activities “encoding” and those of consumers “decoding.” The activities of a “trans-coding agency” centrally indicate the localization works (script translation, editing, dubbing, etc.) for the local market. Such activities are almost unnecessary when the media process is completed within one country. They are also insignificant when the encoding agencies and decoding agencies have similar socio-cultural backgrounds or when the media products are made with English i.e., “global language.” However, the significance of the activities of trans-coding agencies will be illuminated when it comes to the transnational process of anime, especially the trans-pacific process of anime between Japan and the United States, whose producers and consumers have widely different socio-cultural backgrounds each other, coping with anime’s Japanese texts, the language which is (in)famous for being globally isolated. The trans-coding agency is what Shiraishi (2000) calls the “vehicle” which enables anime (and other media products) “to cross the political and cultural boundaries” (289); it is the trans-coding activities (and not the producing activities) that make the media products in one country accessible to the consumers in other countries. In this chapter, I will show what a crucial role the trans-coding agencies play in the transnational media process by investigating in detail the activities of trans-coding agencies in *Haruhi* anime business in the United States (and Japan).

The transnational flow of anime from Japan to the United States, therefore, has three phases: the producing phase by the encoding agencies (in Japan), the transmitting phase by the trans-coding agencies (in Japan and the United States), and the consuming phase by the decoding agencies (in the United States). The assumption here from the previous chapter is that we can say it is not only anime's story text per se but also its worldview (characters and settings) which is transferred from the encoder, via trans-coder, to decoder, when we focus in detail on their actual practices of encoding, trans-coding, and decoding of anime. We have already seen in the previous chapter that anime could be understood not from its story text but from its worldview (characters and settings) which exist beyond and govern the individual texts. We have also seen that in the producing phase of an anime they primarily create its worldview (characters and settings) and use them as an "operating system" and "guiding principle" to make its episodes from the ethnographic works in the anime production studios by Condry (n.d.) and from the interview articles to the creators of *Haruhi*. I have also shown that the worldview of an anime is the "operating system" and "guiding principle" of its consumers' consuming activities as well; what they ultimately try to get by consuming the episodes of an anime is its worldview, which transcends the story texts; they even often try to participate in the world of an anime by producing their amateur stories under the rules and principles of the world of an anime. I will argue here that the trans-coding of an anime is also "operated" and "guided" by its worldview. For example, although they directly work on the story text such as translating the scripts and dubbing the dialogues, they select the word, choose the voice actors and actresses, and modify their performances by using the worldview of an anime as a guide; they try to fit the localized version of an anime into the original essence and atmosphere of its worldview.

There are several previous works, in addition to the works of Shiraishi (2000) which we have briefly seen, which detected the importance of the transmitting phase and roughly based their argument on this three-step model (encoding, trans-coding, and decoding) when investigating the transnational process of anime (and other media products). For example, in the book which tracked the “global adventure” of Pikachu of Pokémon, Tobin (2004) clearly states “localizers are key workers in the contemporary culture industry” (264) and how they localized *Pokémon* was one of the book’s central topics (for example, Katsuno and Maret 2004).

Although I agree with them about the importance of the localizers and I basically follow their approach in this research, the case of *Haruhi* I will deal with in my research is the antipode of the case of *Pokémon*; while the localizers of *Pokémon* tried to erase the Japanese cultural elements incorporated in *Pokémon* when localizing it for foreign markets, the localizers of *Haruhi* tried to preserve such “Japanese” cultural elements of *Haruhi* when introducing it in the United States. Moreover, removing the Japanese cultural elements from anime is a rare (and unwelcome) practice of the localizers in current United States anime market (interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author, August 5, 2008). Many anime fans in the United States are eager for anime to keep its “authenticity” when coming to the United States and will accuse the localizers when they try to tamper with the original works. I witnessed several anime fans at one anime convention holding the morale-boosting rally to criticize the *Pokémon* localizer for “spoiling” another anime they handled. I believe that the case of *Haruhi* in my research will be closer to the general picture of the trans-coding activities in the United States anime market than that in the case of *Pokémon*.

This research could be evaluated as another ethnographic work of the anime-involved agencies and organizations that supplements the work of Condry (n.d.). As

we have already seen, he has done intensive fieldwork in several anime production studios located in Tokyo. His aim seems to be to reveal what is actually going on at the very origin of anime, which has acquired the global praise of “cool,” and I think he was quite successful in contrasting the futuristic qualities the global audiences find in anime, on one hand, and the domestic, pre-modern, and labor-intensive work settings he found in the actual production sites of anime on the other hand. He seems to be surprised that anime creation is centrally based on paper works (writing story boards, drawing frames, etc.), which means that the staff members always have to wrestle with a pile of papers every time they create an anime episode, and that most anime frames are hand-drawn, which means that anime episodes requires many animators’ long hours of hard works. In other words, he seems to imply that the environment of creating “cool” anime in Japan is in fact not “cool.” He also conducted the ethnographical research on the anime fans in the United States, which will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, my argument here is that the ethnography of the “making of anime” (and the “consuming of anime”) does not fully explain the global presence of anime; anime should go through the trans-coding phase after the phase of production (and before the phase of consumption) if it is to go out of Japan (and to be consumed outside Japan). In this light, Condry seems to be incomplete in arguing the ethnographical transnationality of anime by basing his argument only on the encoding phase (and the decoding) of anime. The ethnography of the transnational anime can be completed only after we add the ethnography of the “transmitting of anime,” which is the central argument in this chapter of the research.

Diffusion of Worldview: Haruhi Related Products

If we see the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* as a whole taking into account all the *Haruhi* related products in all media forms, its worldview could be evaluated as “diffused” in the United States; many products still stay in Japan, not being licensed to the United States; as for the licensed products, there are different distributors in each media form of *Haruhi* products who have little to do with each other. The “plane of simulacra” of *Haruhi* is less dense in the United States than in Japan.

Table 3.1 shows the (non)existence of the licenses and the actual availabilities of the official *Haruhi* related products, which I showed in the Table 2.1 of the previous chapter, in the United States in October 2008⁴⁶. We can see from this table that 70% of the products are licensed from Japan and 40% of the products are currently available in the United States. Although the licensing of some major products of *Haruhi* worldview has been announced, they are not yet released in the United States (the nine volumes of *Haruhi* light novels and the second, third, and fourth volume of the Tsugano Gaku version of *Haruhi* manga)^{47,48}. This table also shows that the licensees of light novel/manga (Yen Press) and that of anime/CD (Bandai Entertainment) are different; while in Japan most makers of the products are

⁴⁶ The hatched products in Table 3.1 are not officially available in the United States. The merged cells in “anime” section mean that the episodes from “The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00” to “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3,” from “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4” to “The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya,” from “Mysterique Sign” to “Remote Island Syndrom Part 2,” and from “Live Alive” to “Someday in the Rain,” are packed in Ishihara 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, respectively. U.S. version of *Haruhi* manga *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 1* indicates Tsugano 2008b. U.S. version of the CDs *Hare Hare Yukai* and *Haruhi no Tsumeawase* indicate, respectively, Hirano et al. 2007 and Hirano and Gotō 2007. U.S. version of the character song CDs indicate, from the top, Hirano 2007, Chihara 2007, Gotō 2007, Matsuoka 2007, Kuwatani 2007, Aoki 2007b, Shiratori 2007b, Ono 2007b, Sugita 2007b.

⁴⁷ “Little, Brown Gets *Haruhi* Light Novels in English.” *Anime News Network*, 17 April 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-04-17/little-brown-gets-haruhi-light-novels-in-english>, accessed October 11, 2008.

⁴⁸ “Yen Press Acquires *Haruhi Suzumiya* Manga in N. America.” *Anime News Network*, 17 April 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-04-17/yen-press-acquires-haruhi-suzumiya-manga-in-n-america>, accessed October 11, 2008.

Table 3.1: The (non)existence of the licenses and availabilities of the official Haruhi-related products in the United States

Genre	Title	license	availability	licensee in the United States
light novel	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya (憂鬱)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Sigh of Haruhi Suzumiya (溜息)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya (退屈)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya (消失)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Rashness of Haruhi Suzumiya (暴走)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Disturbance of Haruhi Suzumiya (動揺)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Scheme of Haruhi Suzumiya (陰謀)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Anger of Haruhi Suzumiya (憤慨)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Dissociation of Haruhi Suzumiya (分裂)	○	×	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	Haruhi Theter (ハルヒ劇場)	×	×	—
Haruhi Theter act. 2 (ハルヒ劇場2)	×	×	—	
anime	The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00			
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2			
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3			
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4			
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6			
	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya			
	Mysterique Sign			
	Remote Island Syndrome Part 1	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
Remote Island Syndrome Part 2				
Live Alive				
The Day of Sagittarius	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
Someday in the Rain				
manga	(Mizuno Makoto) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 1	×	×	—
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 1	○	○	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 2	○	×	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 3	○	×	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 4	○	×	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 5	×	×	—
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 6	×	×	—
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan 1	×	×	—	
fan-book	Official Fan Book: The Formula of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	—
	Official Fan Book: The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	—
	Official Fan Book: The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	—
CD	Hare Hare Yukai	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Haruhi no Tsumeawase	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Sound Around	×	×	—
	Character Song vol. 1: Haruhi Suzumiya	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 2: Yuki Nagato	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 3: Mikuru Asahina	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 4: Tsuruya-san	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 5: Ryoko Asakura	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 6: Kyon's Sister	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 7: Emiri Kimidori	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
Character Song vol. 8: Itsuki Koizumi	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
Character Song vol. 9: Kyon	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
game	The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya (PSP)	×	×	—
	The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya (PS2)	×	×	—
total	40 items	28	16	

loosely affiliated each other (most players are members of Kadokawa Group), in the United States there are no such connections between the licensees of light novel/manga and anime/CD.

It is striking to see that even after the “*Haruhi* boom” in the United States in 2007, there is still such a considerable gap in the availability of *Haruhi* products in Japan and in the United States; 60% of the products are still officially unavailable in the United States; especially, it seems fatal to me for the *Haruhi* worldview that its light novels, a “core” media in the *Haruhi* project in Japan, are still unavailable in the United States; only the first volume of *Haruhi* manga is currently available in the United States. The consumers in the United States, therefore, have the access to the substantive *Haruhi* worldview virtually only through its anime media form.

Such a “diffusive” installation of *Haruhi* into the United States (i.e., to introduce almost the only anime version of *Haruhi* into the United States by ignoring the carefully and complicatedly constructed relationships among anime and other media forms) generates many “dead links” within the anime version of *Haruhi* which were originally supposed to lead the consumers to the other episodes in other media forms. One of the most significant examples of such dead links is, for example, the shot of Nagato Yuki standing in the snow in the opening animation of *Haruhi* anime. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this scene is the reference to the non-animated episode “The Straightway to the Chief Editor” in the light novel version of *Haruhi*. This scene thus does make sense to the people who have the access to both the light novel version and the anime version of *Haruhi*, but in the United States, where the *Haruhi* light novel is officially unavailable, this scene officially does not make any sense to the audiences.

It is also surprising that, unlike in Japan, each media form of *Haruhi* products’ businesses have developed (are developing) independently and separately

from each other in the United States with little consistent strategy. I would argue that they have failed to construct what Shiraishi (2000) calls “image alliances” of *Haruhi* in the United States market. Shiraishi argues that the key for Japanese cultural industries to succeed in the overseas markets is to formulate the “image alliances” among the multiple media companies (such as manga publishers, television companies, and character merchandisers) in the local markets and to make a synergic impact by developing multiple media products under the same “image” (i.e. in my terminology, the “worldview”). Although *Haruhi* was a huge success in the United States, my evaluation of the *Haruhi* case in the country is that, since there are no such “alliances” between Bandai Entertainment and Yen Press, there is a much smaller synergic effect among the *Haruhi* related products in multiple media forms in the United States than in Japan.

There are several reasons for the above diffusive introduction of *Haruhi*-related products from Japan to the United States. Firstly, there seems to be no section that is (or people who are) in charge of managing the rights overseas as a whole in the Kadokawa Group. The Vice President of KPUSA told me that each right of each *Haruhi* related products in each media form belongs to different companies in Kadokawa Group and each of them license their rights to foreign countries in accordance with their own logic and with their own business strategies without substantial horizontal cooperation, which results in the discrete introduction and development of *Haruhi* products in the United States (interview by author, August 6, 2008).

Secondly, the infrastructural basis in the United States for them to develop their media-mix strategy is considerably different from that of Japan and they were unable to leverage it satisfactorily. The Vice President of KPUSA pointed out that the absence of the publishing platform of “light novel” in the United States made it

impossible for the *Haruhi* light novel to become a core media at the launch of the DVD in *Haruhi* project in the United States. According to him, in Japan, the light novel is established as a single genre having numerous labels such as *Kadokawa Sunīkā Bunko*, *Dengeki Bunko*, and *Fujimi Fantajia Bunko* and its publishing cycle is very fast. *Haruhi* light novel has developed and has been used as a core media in the *Haruhi* project in Japan on the basis of such established infrastructure and on the premise of this fast publishing cycle. However, in the United States, where there is no such tradition of the light novel and where a book often takes many months to be published, they could not use the same strategy in the *Haruhi* businesses in Japan. It was impossible for such “slow-pace” novel media to ally with anime (and the other) media in the United States (interview by author, August 6, 2008).

The Trans-Coding of Haruhi Anime: Organizational Backgrounds

In the following sections of this chapter, I will focus on the trans-coding process of the anime media form of *Haruhi* (i.e., the process of making the U.S. version of *Haruhi* anime DVDs). As we have seen in the previous section, the anime version of *Haruhi* is virtually the only substantive gateway to *Haruhi*'s worldview for the U.S. consumers. I will first outline the organizational background of *Haruhi* anime trans-coding in the United States, which is the result of my fieldwork research on and interview with the involved agencies and will show the nuanced and complicated (power) relationship (i.e., entanglements) among the trans-coding agencies in the terms of *Haruhi* and its license contracts.

As shown in Table 1.1 in Chapter 1, there are multitudes of SME-size trans-coding agencies in the United States anime market. Such an agency is “entangled” with the rights holders of a certain anime in Japan by striking with them a contract of United States distribution and localization. In many cases of anime licensing business

from Japan to the United States, according to the president of KPUSA, the rights holders of anime in Japan do not market their anime to the United States proactively by themselves. It is often the local distributors who decide which anime to import (by assessing the contents of, and the United States consumers' needs for, the anime) and offer the United States distribution to their rights holders (interview by author, June 26, 2008). The competition among the distributors to acquire the license of popular anime titles is very stiff; when an anime becomes popular in Japan, virtually all distributors in the United States offer distribution to the anime's rights holder. They make presentations about their distribution and marketing plans to the rights holder and the rights holder's side then decides who to license the anime to (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). It is said that it takes roughly several months to a year for a distributor to localize an anime and release its DVD in the United States market.

The *Haruhi* anime basically followed the above process. According to the President of BE, it was right after the airing of *Haruhi* anime in Japan (April 2006) that BE offered the United States distribution to the rights holders (interview by author, July 17, 2008). He says in the other interviews that he "felt something" when he saw the poster of *Haruhi* put up in the venue of the Tokyo International Anime Fair 2006 (which was held at the end of March 2006). He then read the original light novel and started asking for the license (Kazami 2008:54). BE was informed by KPUSA in the late November of that year that it won the competition for the license (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). BE then started its promotion in December 2006 and their localizing works with BZE; the first volume of the United States version of the *Haruhi* anime DVD was released in May 2007, and the second, third, and fourth version was released in July, September, and November of that year,

respectively. It took about a year for BE to complete its localization work for the *Haruhi* anime.

Although in many cases Japanese rights holders seem to take the “passive” stance in licensing their anime to the United States, the *Haruhi* rights holder made a bigger commitment to its anime business than the normal standard. The committee of *Haruhi* anime, in which Kadokawa-related companies play the central roles, licensed its rights to the United States branch of Kadokawa Pictures (KPUSA) and used it as a master licensee in the United States. KPUSA then sub-licensed its rights of *Haruhi* localization to BE who again sub-contracted the actual dubbing work to BZE. Normally the licensor of an anime in Japan just gives away its license and gets the minimum guarantee (MG) for it (and the additional dividend from the actual sales of the anime in the United States) without taking any risks in the actual anime business in the United States. The United States distributor (licensee) often localizes and sells the licensed anime at its own expense. In the case of *Haruhi*, however, KPUSA took more active role and took a risk by funding the *Haruhi* distribution project together with BE; it was called the “joint project” of KPUSA and BE (interview with the President of KPUSA by author, June 26, 2008; interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008; Kazami 2008:56).

The above relationship gave KPUSA the role to “supervise” the whole process of *Haruhi* localization, promotion, and distribution in the United States and the role to “mediate” the *Haruhi* anime committee in Japan and BE (and BZE) in the United States. The *Haruhi* anime committee and KPUSA seemed to have reserved the final decision-making power on the major important issues of the *Haruhi* business in the United States, including the approval of the casting, translated scripts, promotion strategies, and the qualities of the final products. Several authorities seemed to have delegated from the *Haruhi* anime committee to KPUSA. As a result, the

representatives of KPUSA “supervised” the whole business process of *Haruhi* in the United States under the general control of the committee in Japan authorizing the several issues by their proxy and mediated between BE (and BZE) and the committee when they confronted the issues on which they had to ask for the committee’s approval. The President of BE told me that “the control from Tokyo” was stronger in the *Haruhi* project than in the other ones (interview by author, July 17, 2008). He also says that KPUSA was exclusively in charge of the operation of acquiring the approval from Tokyo in the *Haruhi* business in the United States (Kazami 2008:56).

In the background of such a “proactive” attitude of KPUSA and the *Haruhi* committee in Japan toward *Haruhi* anime business in the United States lies the Kadokawa group’s overall strategy about their anime properties (including *Haruhi*) in the United States market. Firstly, they were trying to expand into the United States anime market. They were trying to step out of the previous business style in which they just stay in Japan and only get MGs by giving away their licenses to foreign distributors. They were looking for ways to make a bigger commitment to the United States anime market and *Haruhi* was one of the cases of this approach. Furthermore, they did not want to “spoil” *Haruhi*, which was already a blockbuster in Japan, in the United States. Anticipating (from its popularity on Youtube) that *Haruhi* would surely succeed in the United States as well, they did not want to lose earnings by localizing it badly. They intended to release *Haruhi* in the United States preserving the quality made it the Japanese top-ranked anime program (interview with the Vice President of KPUSA by author, August 6, 2008).

However, it is unclear how significant the decision-making power of KPUSA and *Haruhi* committee in Japan was in the actual *Haruhi* anime business in the United States. There were several (crucial) discrepancies among the representatives in each company about who made the real decisions upon certain issues in the *Haruhi*

localization work. For example, BE says that it was KPUSA (and the *Haruhi* committee in Japan) who made all terminal decisions in every phase of the localizing process such as casting, promotion policy, and script translation (including the decision upon minute word selections and upon which words to translate and which not to). BZE partly agree with this opinion, stating that the final decision of casting was made by KPUSA (and the committee); after the audition, according to BZE and BE, they sent the voice records of auditionees and the priorities of BE and BZE to the KPUSA and they were informed of the “passers” later by KPUSA; BE and BZE further speculated that KPUSA must have sent their materials and priorities to Tokyo and several persons in charge in the committee (including the director of original the *Haruhi* anime) decided who to assign to its casting roles. On the other hand, however, the representative of KPUSA confirmed that KPUSA (and the committee) mostly gave BE and BZE free hands in their localization works of *Haruhi*. According to her, there are “approval issues,” in which the licensees (in this case BE and BZE) have to ask for the permissions of licensor (in this case KPUSA and the *Haruhi* anime committee in Japan), and “non-approval issues” in the anime licensing business in the United States. Approval issues include very limited terms such as the licensee’s use of visual materials in public spaces (for example, BE and BZE’s use of *Haruhi* illustrations on the promotion website). Licensees are virtually free to do anything with their licensed properties unless they violate such approval issues. Since the “creative affairs,” including casting, script translation, and dubbing, were non-approval issues, she says, KPUSA did not enforce its control over such works by BE and BZE. As for the casting, therefore, she insists that the virtual decision was already made by BE and BZE, and KPUSA (and the committee) just confirmed the conclusions afterwards (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17 2008; interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author, August 5, 2008; interview with the

Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008; interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008).

I will here set my assumption about the decision-making structure among the three players as a kind of “bottom up” process and assume that although technically KPUSA (and the committee in Japan) was to make the terminal decision on all the important issues in the *Haruhi* anime business in the United States, who was to make the virtual decision depended on whether the issue was included in the approval issues or not. The general process of decision making was bottom up; KPUSA (and committee in Japan) generally supervises the whole process of *Haruhi* anime business in the United States but did not “top down” their intention to BE and BZE; it was always BE and BZE’s side who made the drafts/plans of *Haruhi* anime business in the United States. On that basis, KPUSA’s level of supervision (and review) of their drafts/plans differed according to the category of their work; when their drafts/plans belonged to the approval issues, it was KPUSA (and the committee in Japan) who made the terminal and virtual decisions upon such issues, and their instructions and amendments toward their drafts/plans may become very detailed; when their drafts/plans belonged to the non-approval issues, it may formally be KPUSA (and the committee in Japan) who made the last decision, but the virtual decisions were already made by BE and BZE and the confirmation by KPUSA might be no more than the retrospective approval; in that case, KPUSA might only say yes or no (or make minor amendments) to the work of BE and BZE. This framework seems to correspond with assertions of both BE/BZE (who says that KPUSA was the terminal decision maker in all the phases of the *Haruhi* business in the United States, and we can evaluate that this was true on the technical and contractual level) and KPUSA (who insists that in many phases BE and BZE made the virtual decisions, and we can evaluate that this

was also true on the level of non-approval issues). Following the focus of this chapter, the localization process (casting, script translation, and dubbing), which seem to correspond with what the representative of KPUSA called “creative affairs,” can be categorized as the “non-approval issues.”

This inter-organizational decision-making structure might be the second best choice for KPUSA (and the committee) when taking into account the resource they had for the United States anime business. Although they intended to commit proactively to the *Haruhi* anime business in the United States, there was only one officer in KPUSA and only one on the *Haruhi* anime committee in Japan who were directly in charge of the United States *Haruhi* anime business. It seems to have been physically impossible to check all the work of the United States *Haruhi* anime business in detail. It is natural to think that they concentrated their human resources on the high-priority approval issues and entrusted the non-approval issues (including the localization work of *Haruhi*) to BE and BZE.

As is always the case in the current anime localizing business in the United States, the overall principle of *Haruhi* localization is “to be faithful” to the original *Haruhi* in Japan. Reflecting on the historical facts that the United States localizers “edited” the original anime from Japan too much (and consequently provided too many crucially “spoiled” anime to the United States anime fans) in the beginning of the United States anime history around 1980s, the dominant localization principle among them nowadays is to minimize their retouch and introduce the anime in the United States as close to the originals as possible. Both the president and the script writer of BZE emphasize that they tried their best to duplicate the atmosphere, essence, and intentions of the original *Haruhi* when making the United States version (Kazami 2008:59, 61, 63). Consequently, their localizing work was mostly limited to the script translation, dubbing and subtitling. They did not delete, add, or modify the scenes or

changed the music as *Pokémon* localizers did to its anime (Katsuno and Maret 2004). In my interview with the president and vice president of BZE, they even explicitly exemplified the case of *Pokémon* as a rare localizing practice in the current United States anime market, suggesting that *Pokémon* localizers still belongs to the “old school” (interview by author, August 5, 2008). We can evaluate therefore that there was no conscious intention among *Haruhi*’s localizers to “de-odorize” cultural elements incorporated in its worldview, i.e. to make *Haruhi* “culturally odorless” (Iwabuchi 2002:27) anime, when they trans-coded *Haruhi* anime for the United States.

Diffusion of Worldview: Voice Actors and Actresses

Perhaps the most significant example of the diffusion of *Haruhi*’s worldview in the process of localization in the United States may be the low-key attitudes of the voice actors and actresses toward their dubbing work (i.e., toward the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi*) compared to those of Japanese voice actors and actresses. According to BZE, in contrast to the Japanese voice actors and actresses who digest the scripts (and sometimes even the original works) in advance and come to their recording session getting completely into the characters they perform, the United States voice actors and actresses generally do not do any such “*yakudukuri* (role construction)” throughout their dubbing work of anime. They often do not even see the anime they are going to dub beforehand and BZE also does not provide the scripts or explain about the anime to them in advance. It is only after the voice actor (or actress) comes into the studio on the recording day and after being briefed by the recording director that he (or she) realizes which scene of which episode he (or she) is going to perform that day. They perform on the spot and on site without any preparation (interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author,

August 5, 2008; interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008).

This was also the case with the *Haruhi* dubbing process; BZE told me that the *Haruhi* recording followed the above process as well (interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008); Michelle Ruff, who performed Nagato Yuki in the English version of the *Haruhi* anime, said that she did not watch the whole anime till its end in advance when she was dubbing that anime⁴⁹; Bridget Hoffman, who performed Asakura Ryoko in the English version of the *Haruhi* anime, says that she did not notice that Asakura Ryoko disappears at a very early stage of the *Haruhi* story and thought Ryoko would be one of the main characters in the anime (which would not have happened if she had read the whole story and learned about what *Haruhi* is) (Kazami 2008:50). Such attitudes contrast with those of the Japanese voice actors and actresses of *Haruhi* who, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, read and digested the whole original work and script before their recording sessions as their normal practice and tried to understand *Haruhi* proactively and completely by themselves in order to act appropriately, and who had multiple meetings with the Kyoto Animation staff in order to deepen their understandings. We can evaluate that the worldview of *Haruhi* was transferred from the encoders in Japan to the transcoders in the United States so diffusively that they almost did not reach the United States voice actors and actresses.

The actual dubbing system and process of the *Haruhi* anime (and other anime as well) was constructed on the assumption that the voice actors and actresses do not know (and do not have to know) the worldview of the anime they perform. Let us take one scene for example to see how they actually dubbed the *Haruhi* anime. The Figure

⁴⁹ The interview video clip screened at the *Lucky Star* Panel in the Anime Boston 2008, held at March 21, 2008.

3.1 below is one of the sheets of the script which was actually used in the dubbing sessions of the *Haruhi* anime. This sheet is the dubbing script for the scene in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1” in which Suzumiya Haruhi introduces Asahina Mikuru to the members of SOS Brigade (mainly to Kyon) and explains why she chose her to be another new member. While in Japan the scene was recorded in accordance with the timeline of the anime sequences by bringing together at the same time in the same place all the voice actors and actresses of the characters who were involved in the scene, in the United States they conducted the recording of the same scene by letting each talent dub his or her voice individually and separately by almost completely ignoring the timeline and context of the sequences. In Japan, the lines in Table 3.1 were recorded in numeric order (427→428→429→430→431→432) on the same day; the voice actor of Kyon and the voice actresses of Suzumiya Haruhi and Asahina Mikuru all stood in front of one screen together at the same time and performed their lines alternately. In contrast, in the United States, the three dubbing talents did not gather in BZE in the same timeslot to record the scene. Instead, each of them came to BZE individually in different timeslots and dubbed their own lines separately; the lines for Kyon (427→431), Suzumiya Haruhi (428→430→432), and Asahina Mikuru (429) were recorded independently. As a result, they had to ignore the sequential timeline and anteroposterior contexts in each of their dubbing sessions. The voice actor of Kyon, for example, who had to dub the line 431 right after the line 427, had to act the convinced Kyon right after suspicious Kyon (who questions Haruhi about the reason for choosing Asahina Mikuru for another new member for the SOS Brigade) without hearing the answer from Haruhi. The voice actress of Asahina Mikuru even had to perform, before coming to the line 429, five interjectional acts consecutively, such as “Light surprised squeak (line 411),” “Surprised react (line 413),” “Frightened reacts for a half second (line 415),” and “Frightened squeak (422)”

The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya
eps. #01

427	01:21:21:15	Kyon	Why pick Miss Asahina here? Why her, of all people, then?
428	01:21:23:11	Haruhi	What're ya blind? Just look at her! Well, just take a look.
429	01:21:25:06	Mikuru	(O/M to C/M Frightened squeak) Hm?
430	01:21:27:09	Haruhi	She's unbelievably cute! <i>a total little cutie!</i> She's tremendously cute, right?
431	01:21:29:10	Kyon	[VO] Great! Now she sounds like a pervert. Now she's starting to sound like a dangerous kidnapper.
432	01:21:31:22	Haruhi	<i>has</i> In a situation like ours , MOE is an important concept to keep in mind. ALT: In a situation like ours, fan-service is an important concept to keep in mind. I think that fan-service is a pretty important concept to keep in mind. Note (MOE is a term in Japanese that is used to describe a fetish or love for something or somebody. i.e. someone wearing glasses, maid costumes, Lolita or it could be for it could be used for a hobby or non-sexual thing like trains or shoes.)

Figure 3.1: The example of the script that was used in the actual dubbing session of *Haruhi* anime

all of which have different nuances in different contexts. After finishing the dub of each talent, BZE built up their voices into a single consistent sequence.

This method assumes that it is enough for the English dubbing sessions to be successful as far as (at least) the recording director solely and exclusively has the entire picture about *Haruhi* and about its scenes which the voice actors and actresses are going to perform (i.e., knows about the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi*). Under the dubbing system in which voice actors (or actresses) came to their recording sessions not knowing much about *Haruhi* and not knowing which part of it they were going to perform, and in which they had to perform fragmentary and unrelated lines ignoring the sequential timelines, it was almost impossible for the voice actors (or actresses) to follow the contexts of the sequences and perform appropriately in accordance with them only by themselves (i.e., to have the entire worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi* and perform on the basis of their understandings). It was the recording director (and sometimes the participants from the localizing companies of the anime) who commented on their performances in detail on the site of their dubbing sessions and made their acts fit the atmospheres and the contexts of *Haruhi* (i.e., fit the performances of voice actors and actresses into the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi*). This system contrasts remarkably with that of original *Haruhi* recording held in Japan, which expects the voice actors and actresses to fit their performances appropriately into the sequential contexts autonomously by themselves on the basis of their intensive learning and profound understanding of the worldview of *Haruhi*.

I would further argue that this system also suggests that the performances of the United States voice actors and actresses in the anime localization are the “building blocks” to be “assembled” into the English version of *Haruhi* DVDs and not the “creative layers” to be “fused” into them. Since voice actors and actresses dubbed

their parts individually and separately in the United States, there was almost no leeway for the synergic creativities to occur in their performances. The extent the performances of the voice actors and actresses were appreciated as the creative contributions to *Haruhi* anime seems to be much lower in the United States than in Japan. When recording the original *Haruhi* in Japan, where all relevant voice actors and actresses dub the scene together side-by-side, quite a few scenes were created through their synergic improvisatory dialogues. Their improvisations were understood by the creative staff as important creative contributions to be added to the *Haruhi* anime. When localizing such a scene for the United States anime market, however, they “broke down” the communication dialogue into its component lines of each character and let each assigned voice actor and actress dub their own parts without any communication with other talents. Moreover, their prime object in dubbing the scene is to follow and duplicate the original atmosphere of the original dialogue (under the exclusive control of the recording directors) and not to perform their own creativity. Many interviewees told me that the reason for them to take this method is because it is “efficient.” However, as the President of BZE confesses, such an approach will not be able to generate the spontaneous dynamics of creativity in the localizing process of *Haruhi* (Kazami 2008:59).

Such personalized system of anime dubbing in the United States is partly the result of the infant anime-specific voice actor and actress industry in the United States. The business of anime voice dubbing is not on a nationwide basis and still remains a small “regional business”; the anime dubbing business in the United States is diffused in roughly three regions: west coast (especially Los Angeles and San Francisco, where major anime localizers such as Bandai Entertainment and VIZ Media are located), Texas (especially Fort Worth and Houston, where major anime localizers such as FUNimation and ADV Films are located), and New York City (where major anime

localizers such as 4 Kids Entertainment and Central Park Media are located). As anime voice actress Michelle Ruff says, you cannot become a voice actor (or actress) “if you live in Detroit, Michigan, or Chicago.”⁵⁰ The number of the anime voice actors and actresses is still much smaller in the United States than in Japan⁵¹. Unlike in Japan, there are no “*seiyū purodakushon* (anime voice actors’ production company),” to which most Japanese anime voice actors and actresses have to belong to get anime voice acting jobs, in the United States and most talents freelance for anime dubbing⁵². Furthermore, there are virtually no talents in the United States who do anime dubbing work exclusively; according to BZE, for roughly 90% of the anime dubbing talents, the work of anime dubbing is no more than a second job and they have other main jobs such as live action stage acting and CM narrating (interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008); Bridget Hoffman, the dubbing voice actress of Asakura Ryoko in the United States version of *Haruhi* anime, says that she does many voice jobs other than anime dubbing (Kazami 2008:49). Under such diffused and personalized working conditions of anime dubbing and its subsidiary position for talents in the United States, it seems indeed “efficient” for anime studios to contract and do the recording with each voice actor (and actress) individually and for the voice actors and actresses not to be involved in the worldview of the anime too deeply.

⁵⁰ The interview video clip screened at the *Lucky Star* Panel in the Anime Boston 2008, held at March 21, 2008.

⁵¹ “Kaigai ‘Anime’ ‘Manga’ Hyaku no Shitsumon Dai Jyukkai Shitsumon Jyū Beikoku Seiyū no Shozokutte dō Natteruno? Sono Ni (The 100 Questions about Foreign ‘Anime’ and ‘Manga,’ Number Ten, Question Ten: Where do U.S. Voice Actors and Actresses Belong to? Vol. Two).” *anime! anime!* Electronic article, <http://www.animeanime.jp/100/100-19.html>, accessed May 27, 2008.

⁵² “ANIME no Fukikae Seiyūgyōtte Moukarundesuka (Is Anime Dubbing a Lucrative Job)?” *AskJohn Fankurabu*, 31 July 2008. Electronic blog entry, http://ask-john.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/2008/07/anime_eb1f.html, accessed November 11, 2008.

Reduction of Worldview: Among KPUSA, BE, and BZE

The representatives in KPUSA, BE, and BZE did learn, share, and use the worldview of *Haruhi* in their trans-coding work. BE would not have offered the United States distribution of *Haruhi* to KPUSA from the beginning if they had not seen it in advance and understood the conceptual idea of *Haruhi* (recall the interview with the president of BE in which he says that he read the original light novels of *Haruhi* before offering the United States distribution to the rights holders in Japan). It is natural to think that they all watched all the episodes of *Haruhi* anime before their localizing work. I further confirmed that quite a few members read the original light novels and manga of *Haruhi* as well (Kazami 2008:54, 69). I also heard that BE did hold a meeting with BZE to explain the worldview of *Haruhi* to them before starting their localizing work (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). The representatives of KPUSA and BE observed the first several dubbing sessions in order to “establish” each characters’ characteristics (i.e. in order to make the voice actors’ and actresses’ performances fit the worldview, characters, and settings of *Haruhi* anime). They told me that KPUSA and BE observed at least each first dubbing sessions of the voice actors and actresses who were assigned to the five main characters of *Haruhi* (Suzumiya Haruhi, Kyon, Nagato Yuki, Asahina Mikuru, and Koizumi Itsuki); during their observations, they commented on the talent’s performances (such as “please act more young” or “please perform more cheerfully”) and modified them in order to match them to the tone and the essence of the original character and to the performance of the original Japanese talent. For example, the producer of BE told me that they “adjusted” the voice tone of the voice actors of Suzumiya Haruhi in her first recording session. According to him, although she had the capacity to perform the “high pitch voice” of a little girl and the “low” voice of an adult woman, the quality of the voice required for Suzumiya Haruhi was in the middle (because she is a high

school girl, who is not a little girl any more but not yet a grown woman either). He said that they went through slightly tough modifying process in the beginning of her dubbing sessions (interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author, August 5, 2008; interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008; interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008). In the promotion video clip⁵³ about the *Haruhi* anime in the United States, the President of KPUSA explained his work in the *Haruhi* anime business in the United States as “Haruhi’s slave,” which suggests that the metaphor-like key phrase of *Haruhi* anime’s worldview “Ultra Director Suzumiya Haruhi” (and the implicit logics of the *Haruhi* business symbolized in that phrase) was by some measure transferred from Japan to the United States.

My evaluation is, however, that their organizational process of learning, sharing, and using the worldview (characters and settings) in the trans-coding of *Haruhi* anime was carried out rather more loosely than in the encoding of *Haruhi* anime in Japan. Since the basic anime business process of *Haruhi* in the United States was bottom up (and moreover the localizing tasks were “non-approval issues”), KPUSA did not take any positive initiative in transferring the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* from the encoders to the trans-coders. A representative of KPUSA stated that they did not hold any meetings with BE and BZE devoted solely to the worldview (characters and settings) explaining and sharing. He also said that KPUSA did not explain to BE about what *Haruhi* was during their business because they “knew from BE’s presentation that they know about *Haruhi* very well” (interview with the Vice President of KPUSA by author, August 6, 2008). Most members seemed to have learned the worldview of *Haruhi* independently and they did not seem to have

⁵³ The title of the video clip is “The Adventures of the ASOS Brigade Ep. 0013” and is included in Ishihara 2007b.

felt the need to share and approximate their understandings of *Haruhi* in their localizing work. Indeed, it is almost impossible for us to imagine, in the light of the business standard in the United States, that all *Haruhi* representatives in KPUSA, BE, and BZE held *gasshuku* at the resort spot in the United States and talked about *Haruhi* with alcohol all night until morning in order to band the concept of *Haruhi*, as the Kyoto Animation staff did in their creation work of *Haruhi*. The script translating work was almost exclusively carried out by BZE (and its outside contractor), and KPUSA (and BE) seem not to have checked their translation in detail (recall the fact that script translation was a “non-approval issue”); both the producer of BE and the representative of KPUSA told me that they basically trusted the work of BZE and therefore did not check their English scripts on a word-by-word basis; they skimmed their draft loosely and only made their comments and amendments when there were obvious mistranslations or misunderstandings of Japanese and Japanese contexts (interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008). Although several first dubbing sessions were observed and supervised by KPUSA and BE, they did not observe all the dubbing sessions and most were directed solely by the director, who was trusted by them.

Here we can see (ethnographically) the difference of the understandings of *Haruhi* in the terms of its worldview among the individuals in *Haruhi*'s trans-coding agencies. On the basis of the above organizational structure, I would argue that the KPUSA, BE, and BZE, seen as a whole, understood the worldview of *Haruhi* in the “reduced” sense; they only focused on the limited aspects of its worldview and operated their localizing works on the basis of such reductive understandings. As we have seen, the cultural elements quoted from the global cultural database in the creation of the *Haruhi* project were roughly incorporated into the three levels of its

worldview. On the surface, there is the level of Japanese high school love comedy. Below the surface, there is the level of science fiction. Although this level is less explicit than the level of Japanese high school love comedy, it controls and (sometimes) intervenes in the narrative of *Haruhi*. The other level below the surface is the level of embedded cultural elements of Japanese (pop) culture. This level was intensified by the staff of Kyoto Animation when making the original light novel version of *Haruhi* into the anime version. It often has little to do with the core plots and threads of the *Haruhi* stories. I would argue that they centrally understood the worldview of *Haruhi* in the sense of above-the-surface level of Japanese high school love comedy (with slight sci-fi background) and devoted their concentration of trans-coding on such a limited level.

We can see the localizers' above "reductive" understandings of *Haruhi* worldview concretely in their intention to trans-code *Haruhi* anime for the "light users" and not for the maniac "heavy users" in the United States. The President of BE clearly stated that they understood the core value of *Haruhi* anime as the "general amusingness of the general storylines which appeal to the general audiences" when introducing it to the United States, and that they did not give the priority to completely trans-code the embedded cultural elements, understanding them as trifling details (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). The producer of BE told me that the criteria for which cultural elements to translate and which not was whether such an element contributed to understand the general story of *Haruhi*; if a cultural element helped the viewer to understand the *Haruhi* story, they translated it; if a cultural element was just a "bonus" which had little to do with its general story, they did not translate and left it to appear in Japanese (interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008). The representative of BZE also emphasized that their localized version of *Haruhi* anime targeted the "mass market" and therefore they made

the translated scripts “understandable to the non-otaku audiences” (interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008). In this light, their localizing work seemed to have cared centrally for *Haruhi*’s appearance level of the worldview of Japanese high school love comedy in order to make it understandable to the “light users” and placed much less significance on trans-coding the below-the-surface level of the worldview of *Haruhi* which only the “heavy users” would pay attention to. Indeed, they did not seem to think that they should fully learn and find the embedded cultural elements on below-the-surface levels in localizing *Haruhi* for the United States anime market. The trans-coding of the cultural elements on below-the-surface levels seemed to have been the “optional work” for them; it would be enough for them to try their best within their capacity to find the hidden quotations and to incorporate them into the United States version of *Haruhi*, and it did not essentially matter if they missed them.

Nevertheless, I think there were several physical and inevitable limitations as the “infrastructural base” which forced the localizers to adopt such reductive direction in trans-coding *Haruhi* anime for the United States; there were the limitations of time, human resources, and organizational structure which constricted the members of the localizing team from fully learning, sharing, and using *Haruhi*’s worldview. As for the human resources, there was limited number of members who were directly in charge of localizing *Haruhi* anime: one in KPUSA, one in BE, and several in BZE. In addition, as for the time restriction, they had to complete the localization of *Haruhi* and release its DVDs as soon as possible in order not to miss the business chance to sell *Haruhi* in the United States. One officer in BE told me that they were in a bit of a hurry in localizing *Haruhi*; they intended to release the *Haruhi* anime at the earliest possible time in 2007 after acquiring its license in November 2006 because they thought that the momentum of the *Haruhi* boom would pass quickly in the capricious

United States anime market; the United States anime fans would not wait for a long time for *Haruhi* anime to come out and would move on to another one if they muddled in localizing *Haruhi* anime (interview with the representative of BE by author, August 1, 2008). Under such conditions, it is natural to think that some of the members did not have enough time to learn the worldview of *Haruhi* comprehensively. One member of the *Haruhi* localizing team confessed that he (or she) were “not enough otaku of *Haruhi*” when localizing it. The loose relationship among KPUSA, BE, and BZE in learning and sharing *Haruhi*'s worldview also did not function for the members to master the worldview of *Haruhi* collectively and consistently; there was no guidance from KPUSA (and the *Haruhi* committee in Japan) to BE and BZE about the hidden cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime; although they did try to find them by themselves, such attempts were mainly individual and occasional (and low-priority) and therefore they could only scappily reflect them in the United States version.

My evaluation is that under such constraints of time, human resources, and organizational structure, they had to concentrate their focus on the necessary minimum aspects of *Haruhi*'s worldview (the appearance level of Japanese high school love comedy with the slight sci-fi background) and could not care enough for the below-the-surface levels of its worldview (hard core sci-fi and Japanese pop culture); it was physically impossible for them to cover all the cultural elements of *Haruhi* on all three levels. The fact seemed to be, as the president of BZE told me, that they did their best in covering as many of the cultural elements as possible within the limitation of time and people and acknowledged the risk of overlooking many cultural elements incorporated in *Haruhi* (interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author, August 5, 2008).

The “Variance” of the Comments on the Script

As we have already seen in the previous section, the localizers seemed to understand *Haruhi* anime centrally in the sense of above-the-surface level of its worldview (Japanese high school love comedy with slight sci-fi background) and localized *Haruhi* anime on the basis of such understandings. In this section, I will further substantiate their above direction by investigating the scripts they actually used in their recording sessions. This may show in detail how the trans-coding agencies coped with the *Haruhi* anime texts in the guidance of what aspects of *Haruhi*'s worldview. The script translation was one of the central localizing tasks for KPUSA, BE, and BZE. It was BZE (and its subcontractor) who was directly in charge of the actual translating and the making process of the English script was “bottom up.” Firstly, the original Japanese script was sent from Tokyo to BZE (via KPUSA and BE). BZE, who was the subcontractor of BE to do the actual localization work of *Haruhi*, again outsourced the translation work to the individual translator to make the draft translation of the script. After receiving the draft translation from the translator, BZE checked its quality and passed it to the staff (inside BZE) in charge of making and formatting it into the script for English dubbing and subtitles (script writers). BZE then submitted its English script to BE and KPUSA, and KPUSA (and the *Haruhi* committee in Japan) green light their translations to be used in their dubbing sessions (interview with the President and Vice President of BZE by author, August 5, 2008; interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008; interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008). During this English script authorization process, the cross-organizational discussions about the draft translation seem to have been conducted less by face-to-face meetings than by sending back and forth the draft scripts via e-mail and by adding their comments on such electronic files of scripts. The comments and

notes from the original translator and English script writers were appended on the lines which they found worth explaining or clarifying (on the basis of their own unshared understandings of *Haruhi*) when the scripts were first submitted to BE (and KPUSA). The representatives of BE and KPUSA surveyed their drafts and added their own comments on the lines on which they themselves found worth commenting. The recording session was conducted on the basis of the printed out version of the authorized scripts which all comments of BZE (and its subcontracted translator), BE, and KPUSA were on. In the recording session, they sometimes additionally modified and changed the lines in order to fit into the lip sync or anteroposterior contexts. Recalling the fact that the script translating was a non-approval issue and the work of checking the draft translation by KPUSA and BE was on a skimming basis, we could evaluate the comments made by them as the points they really cared about in their localizing work. Therefore, we will be able to detect on which aspects of *Haruhi* they concentrated their attention when localizing *Haruhi* by investigating what kind of comments they noted on which line of the translated script of *Haruhi* anime.

In this light, I investigated the comments and memos appended on the scripts which the recording director actually used on the sites of dubbing sessions. By surveying such comments on the scripts of the episodes of *Haruhi* which include rich cultural elements (“The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00,” “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1, 2, and 3” “Mysterique Sign,” “Remote Island Syndrome Part 1,” “Live Alive,” and “Someday in the Rain”), I found that the localizers centrally cared about accurately trans-coding the Japanese high school system, customs, and events which appear in the characters’ school lives (i.e., the format of the Japanese high school lives on above-the-surface level). The densest comments were made on how to translate “*gasshku*” (合宿) which appeared in the episode “Remote Island Syndrome.” The word literally means “to lodge together” and

it indicates the situation in which the members of a certain organization hold a camp in a remote place to concentrate on several limited topics or tasks. In the context of Japanese high school life, this word indicates the seasonal events for high school (mainly sports) clubs in which their members lodge together in a remote location for intensive training in summer and winter recess. “Remote Island Syndrome” is the episode about the SOS Brigade holding *gasshuku* on a remote island. Although the SOS Brigade is not a sport club and has nothing to train for, Suzumiya Haruhi seemed to think that they should have *gasshuku* as far as they are a school club (this initiative also suggests her sport-team-captain like leadership of the SOS Brigade). She also wanted something extraordinary to happen (especially a murder case in which she could act like a detective) during the *gasshuku*. The localizers seemed to try hard to find the most suitable English word for *gasshuku* that fits into the above context and nuance (especially in the context of high school club activities). The script lists the original translation by the translator which translates *gasshuku* as “a camp” and the alternatives by the script writer who proposes to translate the term “a little trip,” “outing,” “trip,” “holiday,” or “vacation” instead with his comment that the term “camp” evokes images of tents and beers (and therefore that it may be inappropriate to use it in this context). Someone seemed to paste in the margin of the line of the script a slip of a paper afterwards (which rarely happened in their script translation work as a whole) which proposes to translate the term as “retreat”; the paper explains that it is common in Japan “for school clubs or sports teams during vacation to go on club activity trips for training retreats” and guesses that “this trip to the island falls into that category.” On the basis of all above choices, they seemed to decide to translate *gasshuku* as “retreat” on site of the recording session; there is a handwritten memo by the recording director under the pasted paper slip which suggests that they double-checked the Japanese staff that *gasshuku* in this context means training retreat; in the

rest of the lines which *gasshuku* appears they all revised the term in handwriting as “retreat.” In fact, in the final product of the United States version of *Haruhi* anime, the characters in the episode all actually says “retreat” in such lines.

The only substantive comments from KPUSA and BE I could find on the scripts which relate to *Haruhi*'s worldview were how to describe the high school grade system which is different from the United States school system. In Japan, students attend high school for three years and this term corresponds with the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades in the United States. In the episode “Live Alive” there is a scene in which the character calls class 3 of the third grade of his high school “3-3.” The original translator literally translated as “3-3” and the script writer proposed the alternative to put it as “senior class 3” in order to make the phrase more understandable to the United States audiences. KPUSA and BE agreed with the script writers and the phrase was actually dubbed as “senior class 3.” They seemed to decide to translate first, second, and third graders of Japanese high school as freshmen, juniors and seniors (no sophomores) respectively and this correspondence relationship was kept throughout the whole series. Most of the other comments by KPUSA and BE were made upon rather minor issues which have little to do with the worldview of *Haruhi*, including the instruction to delete the redundant words and phrases and the correction of the obvious mistranslations.

Roughly 45% of the substantive comments appended on the script by the original translator and script writer are related to Japanese high school life format; these comments include explanation of *gasshuku* and high school grade system (as seen above), of why the Japanese school uniforms for girls are called “sailor suits,” what is Golden Week (a holiday-studded week in Japan from late April to the beginning of May), what is *gimu kyōiku* (義務教育: a mandatory school year in Japan), what is *nicchoku* (日直: various chores of a class which one or two everyday-selected

students have to do in Japanese schools), what does “regular” mean in the context of Japanese school sports club activities (the members of the starting lineup), what is *tanabata* (七夕: a “Vega Festival” held in Japan in July 7), what is *gogatsubyō* (五月病: a “May depression” which Japanese people tend to experience due to the stress of the new environment since the first trimester begins and new employees start working in April in Japan), what is *warabimochi* (わらび餅: bracken-starch dumpling), what is *kankeri* (缶蹴り: kick-the-can chase), the fact that when Japanese say “juice” it often means “soft drinks” and includes something which is not actually juice in the strict English sense such as Coke, what do “īchi (リーチ),” “ロン (ron),” and “役満 (yakuman)” mean in mah-jongg, the fact that Japanese use a Japanese-English term “no rate” to indicate the situation in which they play a gambling game (such as mah-jongg) without betting any money, and the fact that Japanese use a Japanese-English term “high tension” to describe a hyper person.

They did care about the science fiction background that controls the *Haruhi* stories underneath the surface. However, the number of their comments about this issue is much smaller than that about above Japanese high school life issues. Roughly 10% of the comments appended on the scripts by them touch the science fiction issues. Moreover, they seemed to understand less deeply about the sci-fi background of *Haruhi* than its above-the-surface level of Japanese high school love comedy format. For example, there is a comment by the scriptwriter which asks whether Kimidori Emiri, a minor female character, is an “alien” like Nagato Yuki. This information is rather basic “character settings” for *Haruhi* consumers and therefore such comments would not have come out if they had fully and consistently learned and shared the sci-fi level of *Haruhi*’s worldview. The other comments on the sci-fi background are mainly about how to translate the technical sci-fi Japanese terms into understandable English and do not step inside the hidden hard-core science fiction mechanics of

Haruhi. Such how-to-translate comments include how to translate “*chōnōryokusha*” (超能力者: a person with psychic powers), which they decided to describe in English as an “esper,” “*jōhōtōgōshinentai*” (情報統合思念体: the entity which created Nagato Yuki), which they decided to describe in English as “Data Integration Thought Entity,” and “*jiritsushinka*” (自律進化) which they decided to translate as “auto evolution” by referring to the web source of science and technology.

Approximately 15% of their comments refer to the below-the-surface level of Japanese pop culture. Their comments, however, cover only a fraction of the number of such cultural elements originally encoded in *Haruhi*. I will discuss this in detail in the following section. The rest of the comments are about minor issues that have little to do with the worldview of *Haruhi*.

By the above “variance” of the comments by KPUSA, BE, and BZE (and its outside contractor), we can say at least that the aspects of *Haruhi*’s worldview as a Japanese high school love comedy were mainly and explicitly discussed, taken care of, and trans-coded appropriately in the United States version of *Haruhi* anime. The other two levels of its worldview as science fiction and Japanese pop culture were taken much less care of in the United States version.

Reduced Worldview of Haruhi in the Level of Science Fiction and Japanese Pop Culture

As a result of the above reductive understanding of the worldview of *Haruhi* among KPUSA, BE, and BZE, and their trans-coding works based on such reductive understanding, quite a few cultural elements of *Haruhi* on the levels of science fiction and Japanese pop culture were filtered out in the United States version. Although, as they say, some of them are “bonus” elements having little to do with profound understanding of *Haruhi*, some elements are connected to the hidden and crucial

structure of *Haruhi* worldview; by not trans-coding them they deprived the United States audiences of the clues to access the deeper level of *Haruhi*'s worldview.

The most critical reduction of *Haruhi*'s worldview is their translation of the first dialogue of Suzumiya Haruhi in the episode "The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1" in which she asks in front of her classmates for "*uchūjin*" (宇宙人: aliens), "*miraijin*" (未来人: a person from future), "*isekaijin*" (異世界人: otherworlders), and "*chōnōryokusha*" (超能力者: espers) to come and see her. The localizers deleted the element of *isekaijin* (otherworlders) from their translation and dubbed such a line as "If any of you are aliens, time travelers, or espers, please come see me."⁵⁴ In the previous chapter, I have shown that this dialogue is the key phrase to explain the worldview of *Haruhi*; this could be read as the declaration of the author to use sci-fi cultural elements in *Haruhi* such as cosmic entities (which correspond with the phrase "aliens"), time paradoxes (which correspond with the phrase "time travelers"), parallel worlds (which correspond with the phrase "otherworlders"), and psychic powers (which correspond with the phrase "espers"); the words "alien," "time traveler," and "esper" also correspond with the main characters Nagato Yuki, Asahina Mikuru, and Koizumi Itsuki, each of whom are found to be an actual alien, time traveler, and esper respectively. Since the original light novel series have not yet finished and the character of an "otherworlder" has not yet appeared, it is anticipated in Japan that the new character which is associated with "another world" will appear in the future *Haruhi* story, or at least the story will develop in relation to "another world." By not translating "otherworlders," the localizers could be evaluated as cutting down the supposedly crucial part of the worldview of *Haruhi*. Indeed, the fact that the United States version of *Haruhi* anime ignored the otherworlders drew the interest of

⁵⁴ However, in the English subtitles they did not delete otherworlders and translated the line as "If you are aliens, future men, otherworlders, or espers, please come see me."

Haruhi fans back in Japan and they wondered whether they did this intentionally or not⁵⁵.

The localizers explained that they decided not to dub the phrase “otherworlders” on site of the recording session in order to fit the dialogue into the short-lasting sequences that was allowed for such a line. They said that the limitation of the timeline and lip sync were so strict that they could not include the term “otherworlders” (or synonymous English terms) into Suzumiya Haruhi’s dialogue. On the basis of such limitation, they also explained, they included two meanings to the word “aliens” in their translation; since the dictionary meaning of the word “alien” is “a creature from a different world,” they decided that they could make the word indicate both “an entity from outer space” and “an entity from another world” at the same time (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008; interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008; interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008).

I am not professional enough to judge whether the actual time and lip sync devoted for the phrase were truly short and strict enough to make them exclude otherworlders. However, by directly interviewing the actual members of *Haruhi* localization and by investigating the script lines which were actually used in recording the scene, I think that there is also a high possibility that they did not emphasize this phrase in their localizing work and did not feel the necessity to pay special attention to it; some localizing staff members did not know that this phrase strictly corresponds with the fundamental worldview of *Haruhi* and that the other staff members also did not care trans-coding this phrase appropriately. My assumption is that if the members

⁵⁵ “Hokubei ban *Haruhi* Isekaijin o Surū (The U.S. Version of *Haruhi* Ignored the Otherworlders).” *DJ Moe Moe BLOG*, 20 March 2007. Electronic blog entry, http://blog.livedoor.jp/o_ooo/archives/50647250.html, accessed May 27, 2008.

had understood the importance of this phrase, they would not have easily prioritized the time and lip sync restriction over inserting just one word. The script used in the dubbing session translated the line quite loosely: “But if any of you are aliens, time travelers, ghosts, monsters, espers, evil syndicates or the heroes that fight them, please come see me.” It seems clear that the translator who wrote this line did not know that “aliens,” “time travelers,” “otherworlders,” and “espers” are the necessary and sufficient elements he (or she) should include in this line; the translator seems to think that this line loosely describes the hope of Suzumiya Haruhi to meet the supernatural entities in general and therefore included in his (or her) translation many unnecessary words such as “ghosts,” “monsters,” “evil syndicates,” and “heroes.” And it seems true that if we try to include all such words, the time and lip sync allowed for the line is too short and too strict. Indeed, there is a handwritten line by the recording director which deletes “ghosts, monsters,” and “evil syndicates or the heroes that fight them” from the original translation and which downsizes the line as “But if any of you are aliens, time travelers, espers, please come and see me” (this is almost the same sentence which is actually used in the United States version of the *Haruhi* anime. In the actual dialogue of Haruhi, the word “or” is added before “espers” and “and” is omitted), which supports the localizers’ explanation that the modification was made on site at the recording session and suggests that the dialogue was dubbed on the basis of this modified line. However, I cannot stop myself from thinking that although the time and lip sync may be too short and strict for all “ghosts,” “monsters,” “evil syndicates,” and “heroes” to come in, there is still room for them to insert just one “otherworlders” after deleting all such words. It was impossible for me to figure out what kind of discussions occurred in the studio when dubbing the line (since this line belongs to the second episode which BZE dubbed, the representatives from KPUSA and BE must have also observed this session) because the participants whom I

interviewed did not remember what happened. The fact that nobody remembered about the line suggests that there was no intensive discussions made on this line, which supports the idea that they did not pay substantive attention to this aspect of the worldview. Moreover, in the same section of the script, there are two alternatives proposed by other staff members, and one of them translates the line quite accurately including only the elements of “alien,” “time traveler,” “otherworlder,” and “esper” (“If any of you are aliens, people from the future, people from another world, psychics... please come see me.”)⁵⁶. However, there is no trace that the localizing staff took this choice (or the others) into account during the recording session; there are no memos or handwriting on them. There is also a comment appended on this line but it is about how to translate the word *chōnōryokusha* (esper), which has nothing to do with the profound structure of *Haruhi*’s worldview suggested in this dialogue. The fact might be that the participants of the dubbing session simply chose the first choice on the script (which is written by the translator who did not know the significance of this line) without any presupposition that they should treat this line carefully, and mechanically and formally modified the line in order to fit into the time and lip sync.

Another significant reduction of the worldview of *Haruhi* is that they left the “high-speed reverse-running spell” of Asakura Ryoko untranslated in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4.” This spell was used when Asakura Ryoko and Nagato Yuki battled each other for Kyon. Both are aliens who belong to the different factions of the same “Data Integration Thought Entity,” and Asakura Ryoko tried to kill Kyon while Nagato Yuki tried to protect him. Asakura Ryoko cast the spell right before she attacked Nagato Yuki. The spell is so rapid that we cannot get any sense if we listen to it normally. However, when we rewind the sequence in

⁵⁶ The other alternative translation was “But if any of you are aliens, time travelers, ghosts, monsters, people with psychic powers, evil syndicates or the heroes that fight them, I wanna hang out with you.”

several times slower than normal, we can hear her saying to Nagato Yuki “Kyon kun no koto suki nandesho. Wakatterutte” [You love Kyon, don’t you? I know].⁵⁷ This dialogue directly leads us to one of the major (but below-the-surface) sci-fi themes: the ego of an android (in the case of *Haruhi*, the ego of Nagato Yuki, i.e., whether the android alien Nagato Yuki should be allowed to love Kyon). As I have shown in the previous chapter, this theme is centrally handled in the episode “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya.” Although this episode is only available in the light novel, the anime original episode “Someday in the Rain,” which comes right before the “Vanishment” episode, can be evaluated, when we put all Haruhi’s episodes chronologically (see Table 2.2), as a “prologue” of the “Vanishment” episode⁵⁸. Asakura Ryoko’s “spell” is functioning as a clue to such a “grand theme” of *Haruhi* and as a link to other episodes which deal with this theme (in a different media form). By not trans-coding the spell of Asakura Ryoko, the localizers closed one door to the below-the-surface level of hardcore sci-fi worldview of *Haruhi* and one link to the other episodes on the same “plane of simulacra” under the worldview of *Haruhi*.

There are three other such “high-speed reverse-running spells” in the original *Haruhi* anime series. One is used by Nagato Yuki in the above battle sequences in “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4.” The other two are also used by Nagato Yuki in the episode “Mysterique Sign.” All three spells also make no sense if we listen to them normally, but in fact they are all some type of fast rewind programming language; they say “Select serial code from database where code data order by ‘*kōsējōhōkikan*’ (攻性情報機関: aggressive information organization) having terminate

⁵⁷ “Suzumiya Haruhi Nagato etc Chōzetsu Hayakuchi Kotoba Kaisetsu (The Explanation of the Ultra-rapid Dialogues in *Suzumiya Haruhi* by Nagato, etc.)” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://jp.youtube.com/watch?v=MKaliyGq4Mw>, accessed November 11, 2008.

⁵⁸ “Suzumiya Haruhi no Yūtsu Saishūwa Kōsatsu ‘Nagato Yuki no Yūtsu’ (The Speculation of the Last Episode of *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya*: ‘The Melancholy of Yuki Nagato’).” *Manbun wa Ikken ni Taruyamo*. Electronic blog entry, <http://weblog890.blog15.fc2.com/blog-entry-832.html>, accessed June 15, 2008.

mode” (spell in “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4”), “Statistics and current TCP/IP connections using NBT,” and “Pausing interval seconds between display” (spells in “Mysterique Sign”)⁵⁹. Unlike the spell of Asakura Ryoko, they do not seem to have hidden connection with the deep worldview of *Haruhi*. Strangely enough, however, in the United States version of *Haruhi* anime, only the spell “Pausing interval seconds between display” was dubbed in un-rewound normal speed (the other two were left undubbed).

There is a big discrepancy among the localizers on how they treated these lines under what direction. Judging from the scripts and appended comments, this time the translators (and script writers) seemed to understand that these lines are “fast rewind dialogues” and the localizers explicitly decided on site at the recording sessions not to trans-code them except for the last “spell” of Nagato Yuki saying, “Pausing interval seconds between display”; on both “spell” lines of Nagato Yuki and Asakura Ryoko in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4,” the same comments saying “this is not just a sped up dialogue” and “It could also be backwards” are appended; on both “spell” lines of Nagato Yuki in the episode “Myeterique Sign,” similarly, the same comments asking the recording staff to “take the loop, and make a fast rewind” are appended; the spell line of Asakura Ryoko is deleted by handwritten lines and there are no handwritten memos or comments on the other spell lines of Nagato Yuki. However, one localizer told me that the reason for not trans-coding all the spells was because they realized that the fast spells have meanings after recording “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4” and before recording “Mysterique Sign,” which resulted in trans-coding only the last spell of Nagato Yuki (interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008), and

⁵⁹ “Suzumiya Haruhi Nagato etc Chōzetsu Hayakuchi Kotoba Kaisetsu (The Explanation of the Ultra-rapid Dialogues in *Suzumiya Haruhi* by Nagato, etc.)” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://jp.youtube.com/watch?v=MKaliyGq4Mw>, accessed November 11, 2008.

which contradicts the appended comments on the scripts, which shows that they did realize the meaning of the spell before both recording sessions. The explanation of the President of BE was that they “did not have time to do the rehearsal” (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). Although it seems no longer possible to figure out what actually went on in trans-coding the spells, it seems at least certain that, as Kazami suggests⁶⁰, the trans-coders of *Haruhi* in the United States did not realize the significance of the spells, especially the spell of Asakura Ryoko; they would have prepared the unified direction for trans-coding the spell lines before the recording sessions if they had emphasized them; the discrepancy among the localizers itself shows the low priority of the lines for the trans-coders of *Haruhi* in the United States.

Table 3.2 shows how the text and phrase forms of cultural elements embedded in *Haruhi* anime, which I showed as the Table 2.3, were translated into English in the United States version both in the tracks of subtitle and dubbing⁶¹. We will first find that quite a few cultural elements were not translated. In the cultural elements of the main stories (there is no dubbing track in the “Preview”), 18 out of 66 (roughly 27%) cultural elements were left un-translated (cultural elements number 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 39, 40, 41, 51, 52, and 53) on either track.

The explanation of the localizers about why they did not translate them is that they all have little to do with the general story of *Haruhi*; they are all “bonus” information for *Haruhi* and therefore they did not translate them. Indeed, although most of the untranslated cultural elements are the titles of real books that appear in *Haruhi* anime and that have little to do with its main storylines (cultural elements numbers 4, 5, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 52, and 53), they did translate and give the

⁶⁰ “Hokubei ban SOS-dan Kōshiki Saito ‘ASOS Brigade’ Kōshin Jōhō Matome (The Add-up of the Update Information of the U.S. Version of the Official SOS Brigade Website ‘ASOS Brigade’).” *Shiroi Sora – Kazami Akira’s Web Page*. Electronic blog entry record of October 1, 2007, at http://www.geocities.jp/kazami_akira/anime/asos_log.html, accessed May 27, 2008.

⁶¹ The hatched cells in Table 3.2 are the cultural elements that are not trans-coded by the localizers.

Table 3.2: The list of the English translations of the cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime

Original Text in Haruhi	Translation (Subtitle)	Translation (Dub)	Source of Reference
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1			
1	ゴーフル缶	cookie tin	a local sweets of Kobe city
2	コンブエース	Comp	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)
3	コンプティーク	Comptique	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)
4	ハイペリオンの没落	—	Novel (by Dan Simmons)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2			
5	ハイペリオン	—	Novel (by Dan Simmons)
6	情熱を、もてあます	My passion is going through the roof here...	TV Game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)
7	暗号解読	—	Novel (by Simon Singh)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3			
8	学校を出よう！二巻 I・My・ME	—	Novel (by Nagaru Tanigawa)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4			
9	マジでくたばる 5 秒前	I was five seconds away from dying	J-Pop Song (by Ryoko Hirose)
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5			
	N/A		
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6			
10	時をかける少女	time-traveling girl	Novel, movie, and anime (A <i>Girl who Lept Through Time</i>)

Table 3.2 (Continued)

The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya				
11	野球盤	—	—	Board game
12	取ったどおー！	—	I got it!	TV program (<i>Ikinari! Ougon Densetsu</i>)
13	マジックポイント	magic points	magic points	TV game(<i>Dragon Quest</i> series)
14	永世監督	senile directors	the most senile director	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)
15	間に合え…！間に合ええ！！	Make it in time! Make it in time!	Got to catch it! Got to catch it!	Anime (<i>Gundam 0083</i>)
Mysterique Sign				
16	エマンガレリヒョン 絵コンテ 一巻	—	—	Anime (<i>Neon Genesis Evangelion</i>)
17	中南米の歩き方	—	—	Travel guide (<i>Chikyuu no Arukikata</i>)
18	電卓男	—	—	Novel and Movie (<i>Train Man</i>)
19	歯上言論	—	—	Mail magazine (<i>Hajou Genron</i>)
20	膚の下	—	—	Novel (by Kanbayashi Chohei)
21	スターダイヤモンド	—	—	Board game
22	カナブンがきずのであてをしてくれた！	A scarab has tended to its wounds!	A scarab has tended to its wounds!	Card & Arcade Game (<i>Kouchu Ouja Mushi Kingu</i>)
23	ふもっふ！	Fumoffu!	Fumoffu!	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
24	セカンドレイド	Second Raid!	Second Raid!	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
25	斥力場	Force field	A force field	Anime

Table 3.2 (Continued)

				(Full Metal Panic! series)
Remote Island Syndrome Part 1&2				
26	衣装戸棚の女	—	—	Novel (by Peter Antony)
27	パノラマ島	Panorama island	Panorama island	Novel (by Edogawa Rampo)
28	インファント島	Infant island	Infant island	Movie (<i>Mosura</i>)
29	そして誰もいなくなったり	and none were left...	or maybe everyone has disappeared...	Novel (<i>And Then There Were None</i>)
30	究極のメニュー	splendid meals	(eat) this good	Manga (<i>Oishinbo</i>)
31	スネーク！スネーク！	—	Snake!	TV game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)
32	振込んで詐欺？	What's "furikomi?"	What does it mean when you "pitch in" a piece?	New type of fraud (<i>Furikome Sagi</i>)
33	黒死館	House of Black Death	House of Black Death	Novel (by Oguri Mushitaro)
34	リラ荘	Lira Manor	Lira Manor	Novel (by Ayukawa Tetsuya)
35	緋緋城	Koketsu Castle	Koketsu Castle	Novel (by Kunieda Shirou)
36	なーに、初歩的なことだよ、ワトン君。	Elementary, my dear Watson.	Its elementary my dear Watson, elementary!	Novel (<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> series)
Live Alive				
37	1-6 占いの家・ズバツと言おうわよ！	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	TV Program (<i>Zubari Iwayo!</i>)
38	1-9 クラス演(劇)ローゼンクラントツ…ギルデンスターン	1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern	1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern	Movie (<i>Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead</i>)
39	クイズピリオネア	—	—	TV Program (<i>Quiz Millionaire</i>)
40	純喫茶 第三帝国	—	—	Anime (<i>Urusei Yatsura 2: Beautiful Dreamer</i>)
41	恋の必殺カレー	—	—	PC game (<i>To Heart 2</i>)
42	キター！	All right!	Whaaaa!	Ascii art

Table 3.2 (Continued)

		Well, at least enjoy the arts festival. In a normal sense.	Just try to enjoy the rest of the arts festival. And do it normally.	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
43	せいぜい文化祭を楽しめ。普通にな。	ENOZ	ENOZ	Japanese band idol (ZONE)
The Day of Sagittarius				
44	アイ・アイ・マム	Aye aye, ma'am	Aye aye, ma'am	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
45	おちろ！カトンボ！	Fall, daddy longlegs!	Say good night!	Anime (<i>Z Gundam</i>)
46	ガンダム	Gunda(beep)!	(beep)dums!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
47	行きまーす、って無理！	Go! Not!	Here I go! Wait!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
48	本日天気晴朗なれども波高し。皇国の興廢この一戦にあり。	Today, skies are clear, but waves are high. The empire's fate rests on this battle.	Today, the skies are clear and the waves are high. The battle will decide the destiny of the empire.	Japanese history (Akiyama Saneyuki)
49				
50	コンピュータ研に栄光あれ！	Glory to the computer club!	Glory to the computer club!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
Someday in the Rain				
51	ドラゴン・オールスターズ	—	—	Card game
52	グランド・ファイナーレ	—	—	Novel (by Abe Kazushige)
53	蹴りたい背中	—	—	Novel (by Wataya Risa)
54	あめんぼ あかいな あいうえお	Amoebas are red, a-i-u-e-o.	Amoebas are red, a-i-u-e-o.	Poem (by Kitahara Hakushu)
	うきもに こえびも およいでる	Little shrimp and floating moss swim as well.	Little shrimp and floating moss swimming to and fro.	
	かきのき くりのき かきくけこ	Persimmon tree, chestnut tree, ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.	Persimmon tree, chestnut tree, ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.	
	キツツキ こつこつ かれけや	Woodpecker chips away at the	A woodpecker pecking at a	

Table 3.2 (Continued)

キ	dead zerkova tree.	dead zerkova tree just so.	
ささぎに すをかけ さしすせそ	Pouring vinegar on cowpeas, sa-shi-su-se-so.	Pour some vinegar on cowpeas sa-shi-su-se-so.	
そのうお あさせで さいました	That fish I stabbed in the shallow waters.	I stabbed a fish in the stream that was very shallow.	
たちましょ ラッパで たちつてと	Let's stand at the sound of the trumpet, ta-chi-tsu-te-to.	We all stand up when the trumpet blows, ta-chi-tsu-te-to.	
トテトテ タッタと とびたつた	It flew off with a thunk-thunk-thunk-thunk-dash-dash.	When we stood it flew off with a thunk – thunk – thunk – thunk -boom.	
なめくじ のろのろ なにぬねの	Slug is awfully slow, na-ni-nu-ne-no	The slug crawls very slow all day, na-ni-nu-ne-no	
55 んー、あなたが犯人でっす	You are the culprit.	A-ha! So you are the culprit.	TV drama (<i>Furuhata Ninzaburo</i>)
56 んー赤の方 14 番を選ばれた っ。んーまーいいいでしようっ。さ あこの後でどういった展開に なるのでしょうか？ 次の問題 どうぞー	The red player has chosen #14. Well I guess that's okay. How will things play out? Next question.	Oh, the red player has picked #14. Very well, I wonder how that's going to affect the game today. Next question.	TV program (<i>Panel Quiz Attack 25</i>)
57 なんて、恐ろしい子っ！	What a terrifying little girl.	What a terrifying little girl.	Manga (<i>Garasu no Kamen</i>)
58 タンメンセット！ チャーハンセ ット！ 天ざるセット！	Tanmen noodle set! Fried rice set! Tempura and cold soba set!	Tanmen noodle set! Fried rice set! Tempura and cold soba set!	Anime (<i>Air</i>)
59 青年エース！ 中年エース！ 定 年エース！ 留年エース！ 来年 エース！ 残念エース！ やっぱ 好きやねんエース！	Young Man Ace! Middle-aged Ace! Retirement Ace! Nonpromoted Ace! Next-year Ace! Unfortunate Ace! I-love-it-after-all Ace!	Young Man Ace! Middle-aged Ace! Retirement Ace! Nonpromoted Ace! Next-year Ace! Unfortunate Ace! I love it after all, Ace!	Magazine (<i>Shonen Ace</i>)

Table 3.2 (Continued)

60	なぜベストを尽くさないのか？ どーんとこーい！	Why don't you do your best? Bring it on!	Why don't you do your best to beat me? Bring it on!	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)
61	お前らのやったことは、ノバリッ とコリッと全とお見通しだ！	What you've done is snappy, crackly, and all obvious to us!	What you guys have done is snappy, crackly, and totally obvious to us!	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)
62	見た目は子供、中身は微妙、 ご町内の強い味方。その名は 名探偵。	Childlike but subtle inside! A powerful ally all over town! The name ... Ace Detective!	He looks like a child. But he's pretty subtle of the inside. A powerful ally all over town.	Anime (<i>Detective Conan</i>)
63	えーい、ひかえ、ひかえ、ひか えーい！この紋所が目に入ら ぬか！	Bow down, bow down! Can't you see this crest that I hold?	Bow down, bow down! Can you not see this crest that I hold?	TV drama (<i>Mito Koumon</i>)
64	ワタクシはフランスの女王な のですからー。	Because I am the queen of France.	Because I am the queen of the France.	Anime (<i>The Rose of Versailles</i>)
65	変なところに当たるとな！まだま だ甘いな。	It hit a strange spot! You're still green	Now that hit a weird spot. You've still got a ways to go.	Anime (<i>Jyu Senki Elgain</i>)
66	北海アイスキャンディース	Arctic Sea Ice Candies	Arctic Sea Ice Candies	Japanese comedians (Southern Sea Candies)
Preview				
67	父ちゃん、俺はやるのか！	Can I do it, Dad?	—	Anime (<i>Kyojin no Hoshi</i>)
68	な、なんだってー！	W-What was that?	—	Manga (<i>MMR</i>)
69	それでは皆さんお待ちかね、 涼宮ハルヒレディー、ゴー！	Sorry to keep you waiting. Haruhi Suzumiya, Ready ... go!	—	Anime (<i>G Gundam</i>)
70	お風呂入れよ歯を磨けよ！	Take a bath! Brush your teeth!	—	TV program (<i>8ji Dayo! Zenin Shugou</i>)

Table 3.2 (Continued)

71	我が SOS 団は永久に不滅です！	The SOS Brigade will be forever!	—	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)
72	私たち普通の子に戻ります！	You can never be a plain girl again.	—	Japanese idol group (Candies)
73	来週もまた見てくださいねー。ジャンケンポンポン！	Scissors, rock, paper!	—	Anime (<i>Sazae san</i>)
74	キヨンの鳴く夜は恐ろしい…あーっ！	The nights where Kyon makes eerie screams are terrifying.	—	Movie (<i>Akuryou Tou</i>)
75	ではいきますよ？ 曲っがーれ。	Here goes... Bend.	—	Uri Geller
76	予告なんて下らないわ！ 私の歌を聴けえー！ ポ、ボンバー！	Previews are meaningless! Listen to my song! Bomber!	—	Anime (<i>Macross 7</i>)

subtitles to the titles of the magazines, which seemed to help the clarity of its general storyline. For example, “Comp” and “Comptique” (cultural elements numbers 2 and 3) are the titles of the Japanese magazines of manga, anime, and video games, published by Kadokawa Publishers. The two magazines are flashed by Suzumiya Haruhi when she explains to Kyon why she tried to drag Asahina Mikuru into the SOS Brigade: she thought the SOS Brigade had to have at least one *moe* character like Asahina Mikuru. According to the producer of BE, they did not make Comp and Comptique “background items” because they understood that displaying the items is “the conscious effort of the original creators to make the point of “*moe*”; they thought that the magazines would help U.S. audiences make sense of the *moe* concept which is crucial in this scene as the reason for Asahina Mikuru to join the SOS Brigade (interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008).

However, some filtered-out cultural elements of book titles are something more than “background items” or “trivia.” For example, the titles of the *Hyperion* series (cultural elements numbers 4 and 5) implicitly show, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, that the basic settings and worldview of *Haruhi* were partly appropriated from the series. The novel *Keritai Senaka (The Back I want to Kick)* (cultural element number 53), which Nagato Yuki is reading in the episode “Someday in the Rain,” strongly suggests her complicated romantic feeling toward Kyon, which relates to *Haruhi*’s sci-fi theme of android’s ego (and which is the foreshadowing of the episode “The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya”). Although the localizing staffs seemed to have understood the episode straightforwardly as a story of romance between Suzumiya Haruhi and Kyon (Kazami 2008:64), there is a “hidden agenda” in this episode that implies romance between Kyon and another (sub)heroine, Nagato Yuki. We can see this when Yuki, alone, reading a book in the room of SOS Brigade, tells Tsuruya-san where the rest of the members (Suzumiya Haruhi and Koizumi

Itsuki) went when she came into the room, but does not tell Kyon, who arrived after she went out, pretending that she didn't know where they went; this suggests that Yuki would like to be alone in the room with Kyon (and this scene chapter is captioned as "Nagato's lie..." in the original Japanese version of *Haruhi* anime); we can also detect her feeling when Kyon woke up after falling asleep in the SOS Brigade room and found Yuki had put her cardigan over his shoulder before leaving the room so Kyon wouldn't catch cold while sleeping (the illustration of the original Japanese anime DVD jacket that contains this episode shows Kyon sleeping on the table in the room of the SOS Brigade with a cardigan on his back, and Suzumiya Haruhi, *who wears cardigan*, and Nagato Yuki, *who does not wear her cardigan*). The novel *Keritai Senaka (The Back I want to Kick)*⁶² is one of such crucial clues for us to detect her feelings. This novel is written by the female novelist in Japan called Wataya Risa and is about the high school girl who feels discomfort toward the "world" to which she belongs. She could not fit in with her classmates, who try to form groups and get acquainted each other. As the story proceeds, she meets a high school boy who is also excluded from such groups. This novel portrays her complicated feelings (not a sense of solidarity, friendship, or love, but perhaps all of these feelings) toward him, which leads her to feel like kicking his wide-open back⁶². There is a striking correspondence between the plot of the novel and the situation of Nagato Yuki. It is said in Japan that, by displaying this book (and making Yuki read this book), the creator of this episode symbolizes and analogizes her romantic feeling toward Kyon and suggests her discomfort toward the world in which such feeling is prohibited (because she is an android alien), which is the pre-announcement of "The Vanishment of Haruhi

⁶² The prereview of *Keritai Senaka* in AMAZON, <http://www.amazon.co.jp/%E8%B9%B4%E3%82%8A%E3%81%9F%E3%81%84%E8%83%8C%E4%B8%AD-%E7%B6%BF%E7%9F%A2-%E3%82%8A%E3%81%95/dp/4309015700>, accessed June15, 2008.

Suzumiya” in which Yuki actually changes the world to become a human and experiences the romance with Kyon⁶³⁶⁴ (and she actually “kicked the back” of Kyon to send him to the world she remade!). By concentrating their limited resources of transcoding work on the general story level of *Haruhi*, the localizers seem to have missed the cultural elements that enable U.S. audiences to access the critical part of the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi*. It is also worth noting that the United States’ version of *Haruhi* anime does not have any chapter titles, and the motif of the jacket illustration of the volume four (which contains “Someday in the Rain”) is “The Day of Sagittarius” and not “Someday in the Rain.”

As for the “too Japanese” cultural elements, it is highly possible that, even if the localizers translated them accurately, the United States’ audiences do not grasp them. For example, the cultural elements number 54 would not make any sense if viewers do not know that this is a Japanese poem that is often used as the material for actors’ and actresses’ voice training (especially to train their Japanese pronunciation). A representative of BE noted that the cultural elements in the episode “Someday in the Rain” were so heavily Japanese that they “could do nothing but to translate them literally” (interview with the Producer of BE by author, August 20, 2008). Indeed, it is very difficult for U.S. audiences to understand the cultural elements based on contemporary Japanese pop culture such as video games (cultural element number 6), pop songs (cultural elements numbers 9 and 44), drama (cultural element numbers 10, 55, 60, 61, and 63), TV programs (cultural element numbers 12, 37, 56, and 70), and

⁶³ “Suzumiya Haruhi no Matome Kiji Koneta Parodī-hen Sono Ichi (The Add-up Article of *Haruhi Suzumiya* about its Trivias and Parodies No.1).” *Manbun wa Ikken ni Taruyamo*. Electronic blog entry, <http://weblog890.blog15.fc2.com/blog-entry-655.html>, accessed June 15, 2008.

⁶⁴ “Suzumiya Haruhi no Yūtsu Saishūwa Kōsatsu ‘Nagato Yuki no Yūtsu’ (The Thoughts on the Last Episode of *The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya* ‘The Melancholy of Nagato Yuki’).” *Manbun wa Ikken ni Taruyamo*. Electronic blog entry, <http://weblog890.blog15.fc2.com/blog-entry-832.html>, accessed June 15, 2008.

novels (cultural element numbers 27, 33, 34, and 35) if they are literally translated into English and left unexplained.

One approach for trans-coding such cultural elements is to get away from the original Japanese words and find the English words that have nothing to do with the original words, but have a similar context to the originals. Indeed, they did try to trans-code some of such cultural elements into the United States contexts in order to make them comprehensible in the United States. For example, in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4,” there is a scene in which Kyon is surprised by the fact that the breasts of grown-up Asahina Mikuru, who came from the future, are much bigger than those of the current high school girl, Mikuru. In the original Japanese version, Kyon says “*tokumori!*” (特盛り): extra large) to describe her huge breasts. *Tokumori* is a term often used in a casual eatery in Japan to describe the extra large size of a rice bowl; the term often reminds the Japanese of Japanese rice bowl dishes such as beef bowl and chicken-and-egg bowl. The localizers trans-coded this Japanese terminology into the United States context by translating this dialogue as “Supersize me!” the term which are borrowed from the U.S. movie title that criticizes the size of the McDonald hamburger combo meals for being too big. Furthermore, in translating the cultural element number 72, they forgot about the old Japanese female idol group Candies (the phrase “We will become ordinary girls!” is famous mainly in the older generation as the word of Candies at their last concert) and made the line into just another normal eccentric phrase that does not have any cultural background. The localizers told me that they explicitly discussed this line and decided to modify it in order to fit the United States audiences’ taste, agreeing that the original Japanese dialogue was totally incomprehensible to U.S. anime fans (interview with the Associate Producer of BZE by author, August 19, 2008; interview with the Producer

of BE by author, August 20, 2008; interview to the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008).

However, the localizers did not treat most of such cultural elements in this way; the most distinctly Japanese cultural elements (which are as incomprehensible to U.S. audiences as the above two examples) were just literally translated without any close consideration. We can conclude that their trans-coding direction on this level of *Haruhi's* worldview (characters and settings) is occasional and inconsistent, which suggests that the priority of trans-coding this worldview level was low from the beginning, and that they were also unable to search and investigate each cultural element – even if they intended to do so – with a limited number of people and time.

CHAPTER 4

INTERNET AS THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF TRANSNATIONAL *HARUHI*

Overview

In the previous chapter, we have seen that on the official track of *Haruhi* business in the United States, the worldview of *Haruhi* is introduced “diffusively” and “reductively” to the country. Only 40% of *Haruhi* related products (16 out of 40 items) are officially available in the United States, without any synergistic alliances. In trans-coding *Haruhi* anime, the members of the trans-coding agencies understood only limited aspects of *Haruhi*'s worldview (as Japanese high schoolers love comedies with sci-fi backgrounds) which resulted in reducing quite a few crucial cultural elements (of hard-core science fiction and Japanese pop culture) when making the United States version of *Haruhi* anime. We have also seen that such a “diffusive” and “reductive” introduction of the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* to the United States could be attributed to the weakness and immaturity of the industrial infrastructure of its anime business: lack of a light novel platform (which was crucial for *Haruhi* projects which uses this media form as a “core”): the (still) low priority of anime dubbing for most of the talents (which resulted in their modest commitment to the worldview of *Haruhi*): a loose relationship among the trans-coders with little proactive initiatives of the master licensee and the *Haruhi* committee to transfer *Haruhi*'s worldview to the encoders to the trans-coders: the limited time and human resources devoted to localize *Haruhi* anime, which prevented them from learning and covering all of the cultural elements embedded in *Haruhi* anime in their trans-coding works.

However, the above picture is only about the *official* track of *Haruhi* business in the United States. We should expand our view to consider the *unofficial* tracks in order to grasp the whole picture of *Haruhi* in the country. In this chapter, as a result of the “netnography” (Kozinets 2002) of *Haruhi*, I would argue that the Internet

functions as a crucial and unofficial infrastructure that supplements the diffused and reduced *Haruhi* worldview (characters and settings) which are provided via the official U.S. track. For example, the unofficial, and often illegal, on-line fan-based activities make at least 75% of *Haruhi* related products (30 out of 40 items) available in the United States through such as Internet translations of unavailable *Haruhi* light novels and scanlating unavailable *Haruhi* manga. Moreover, the *Haruhi*-fan websites explains many crucial cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime which we saw in the previous chapters and at least about 60% (45 out of 76) cultural elements as a whole and at least 50% (9 out of 18) of non-translated cultural elements in the Table 3.2. The U.S. *Haruhi* fans whom I interviewed told me that they often used the Internet when they found something they “did not get” in *Haruhi* anime (interview by author, May 9, 2008).

The official side also relies on such on-line supplemental fan-based activities when promoting *Haruhi* business in the United States; the Internet functions as the infrastructure for official anime business. For example, in the B to C phase, as we have briefly seen, the fansubs of *Haruhi* anime uploaded on Youtube before their official U.S. release laid the groundwork for their success by “educating” the fans in advance about the worldview of *Haruhi*. The *Haruhi* anime promotion conducted by BE implicitly expected that the U.S. fans already knew in some measure about *Haruhi*'s worldview through the Internet despite the fact that none of its products had yet been officially released in the United States. In the B to B phase, many United States distributors offered *Haruhi* distribution to KPUSA (and the *Haruhi* committee) saying “they saw it on Youtube and thought it would sell well in the United States.” In the actual promotion process by BE, they informally sought the promotion materials and methods on the Internet going beyond the “officially allowed” materials provided by KPUSA (and *Haruhi* committee in Japan).

Theoretically speaking, many of the above activities as well as the relationships among agencies involved with *Haruhi*, which were observed through ethnography and netnography, form examples of how these agencies representing *Haruhi* were entangled not so in terms of the individual *Haruhi* narrative texts and products as in terms of its worldview (characters and settings) which exists beyond them. Moreover, in many of the above activities (such as fans' supplementation of officially unavailable *Haruhi* contents by spontaneously translating them into English, explanation of officially non-explained and non-translated *Haruhi*'s cultural elements, and generation of the fansubs of *Haruhi*) we can detect the media products consumers' autonomous and "constructive" commitment to the officially provided media texts guided and disciplined by the worldview which are different from their completely free "indigenizing" or "appropriating" media texts on which many media anthropologists build their arguments.

Such a picture of *Haruhi* anime in the United States also provides us with the nuanced implications to re-think the previous arguments about the relationship among the copyright, Internet, and culture industries. Previous discussions tend to assume a "confrontational" relationship between the culture industry seen as "big media" and consumers who "fight against" its power. The Internet is a "site of struggle" between two such players; on one hand, cultural industries try to "gerrymander" in order to maximize their benefit by "enforcing" their copyrights while, on the other hand, consumers use it as their "stronghold" in order to keep the culture from being "locked down." I would argue that such a perspective about copyright, Internet and culture industry is one-sided. The case of *Haruhi* anime in the United States provides a quite opposite picture to above one, although *Haruhi* distributors do make the anti-fansub statements and warn that they may take legal action toward fansubbers as other media superpowers in the United States have done. The *Haruhi* case demonstrates the

“cooperative” relationship between *Haruhi* distributors, as a “small media,” and consumers who “communicate” with the industry side. The Internet is a “site of cooperation/communication.” The distributors of *Haruhi* anime (had to) “rely on” the Internet in order to benefit from their business by “sacrificing” their copyrights. The cooperative communication between rights holders and consumers through *Haruhi* boosted the “prosperity” of *Haruhi* culture instead of “freezing” it. In other words, the attitudes of the culture industry and consumers toward copyright issues are *ambivalent*: the industry side partially wants to protect its copyrights but are also ready to give them up; consumers are partially ready to respect their copyrights but also ready to infringe them. Thus, the Internet is the *ambivalent* site of confrontation and cooperation. Copyright is not yet sufficiently “entangled” as the market rule in the transnational anime business. I would also argue that the above condition of *Haruhi* in the United States complicates a celebratory response to U.S. consumers’ unofficial, and sometimes illegal, activities, especially celebrating fansubbing as the “resistance toward the tyranny for free culture.” Since all anime companies in the United States are SME-size, fansubbing may be evaluated not as “resistance” but rather as “bullying,” and fansubbers themselves may be called not “fighters for freedom” but “hectors.”

Internet as the Infrastructure: Supplemented Haruhi-related Products

The Table 4.1 below supplement to Table 3.1 information about whether a *Haruhi* fan in the United States can get the English versions of each product (the contents of each product) of *Haruhi* project which are officially unavailable in the United States (i.e. unofficial availability of *Haruhi*-related products) via the Internet as of October 2008⁶⁵. We can see that at least 75% of the products become available in English (30 out of 40

⁶⁵ The hatched products in Table 4.1 are the products that are not available in the United States.

products) when we use the Internet. There is a considerable gap between such unofficial availability (75%) and official availability (40%) in the United States. The Internet (unofficially) supplements 35% of the *Haruhi*-related products (i.e. the worldview, characters and settings of *Haruhi*) in the country.

I described the unofficial availability rate as “at least” because this is the result of the limited web search by me. The net is vast; although I tried as hard as possible to find English versions of *Haruhi*-related products, it is of course possible that I missed several products which are already (unofficially) available in English online. The unofficial availability of *Haruhi*-related products may be higher than 75%.

Such a high availability rate is the result of amateur fan-based activities. Dedicated *Haruhi* fans translated the products before the official anime companies and made them available to U.S. fans for free. As for the light novel, for example, there is a website called “Baka-Tsuki Translation Community Wiki” (Baka-Tsuki) which uploads the English-translated texts of whole volumes of *Haruhi* light novels (other language versions such as Spanish, French, Vietnamese, Italian, Brazilian Portuguese, Indonesian, Polish, Tagalog, Romanian, Russian, German, Norwegian, and Korean are also available)⁶⁶. The Baka-Tsuki website is run by light novel fans and primarily devoted to the translation of Japanese light novels into other languages. The organizational process of translation seems to be “open-ended.” Anyone can participate in any translation project and can leave anytime. The translations are carried out collectively by anonymous fans. Since this website translates many other light novel titles in addition to *Haruhi*, we can say that it supplements the lack of the publishing platform for light novels in the United States. As for the *Haruhi* manga, there are several web pages that upload *Haruhi*’s scanlations. It seems that the manga

⁶⁶ “Suzumiya Haruhi – Baka Tsuki.” *Baka Tsuki Translation Community Wiki*. Electronic document, http://www.baka-tsuki.net/project/index.php?title=Suzumiya_Haruhi, accessed October 11, 2008.

Table 4.1: The unofficial availabilities of *Haruhi*-related products in the United States

Genre	Title	license	official availability	unofficial availability	licensee in the United States
light novel	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya (憂鬱)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Sigh of Haruhi Suzumiya (溜息)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya (退屈)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Vanishment of Haruhi Suzumiya (消失)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Rashness of Haruhi Suzumiya (暴走)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Diturbance of Haruhi Suzumiya (動搖)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Scheme of Haruhi Suzumiya (陰謀)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Anger of Haruhi Suzumiya (憤慨)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	The Dissociation of Haruhi Suzumiya (分裂)	○	×	○	Little Brown (Yen Press)
	Haruhi Theter (ハルヒ劇場)	×	×	○	—
Haruhi Theter act. 2 (ハルヒ劇場2)	×	×	○	—	
anime	The Adventures of Mikuru Asahina Episode 00				
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2				
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3				
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4				
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6				
	The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya				
	Mysterique Sign				
	Remote Island Syndrome Part 1	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
Remote Island Syndrome Part 2					
Live Alive					
The Day of Sagittarius	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
Someday in the Rain					
manga	(Mizuno Makoto) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 1	×	×	×	—
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 1	○	○	○	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 2	○	×	○	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 3	○	×	○	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 4	○	×	×	Yen Press
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 5	×	×	×	—
	(Tsugano Gaku) The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya 6	×	×	×	—
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya-chan 1	×	×	×	—	
fan-book	Official Fan Book: The Formula of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	×	—
	Official Fan Book: The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	×	—
	Official Fan Book: The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya	×	×	×	—
CD	Hare Hare Yukai	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Haruhi no Tsumeawase	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Sound Around	×	×	○	—
	Character Song vol. 1: Haruhi Suzumiya	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 2: Yuki Nagato	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 3: Mikuru Asahina	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 4: Tsuruya-san	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 5: Ryoko Asakura	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 6: Kyon's Sister	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
	Character Song vol. 7: Emiri Kimidori	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment
Character Song vol. 8: Itsuki Koizumi	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
Character Song vol. 9: Kyon	○	○	○	Bandai Entertainment	
game	The Promise of Haruhi Suzumiya (PSP)	×	×	×	—
	The Perplexity of Haruhi Suzumiya (PS2)	×	×	×	—
total	40 items	28	16	30	

has only been translated up to Volume 3 (Tsugano Gaku version)⁶⁷. As for drama CDs (“Sound Around”), we can find several video clips on Youtube that show the English subtitles simultaneously with the Japanese dialogue⁶⁸.

Since the contents of the officially unavailable *Haruhi*-related products can be acquired almost solely through the Internet, for most U.S. fans the *Haruhi* environment in the country is not as “media mixed” as it is in Japan. The content of each media are “flattened” into the information on the websites, and the media which U.S. *Haruhi* fans can access to the worldview of *Haruhi* is almost “homogenized” into a PC display. In this light, the *Haruhi* consumption in the United States can be evaluated as relying more heavily on the Internet than in Japan.

Internet as the Infrastructure: Supplemented Haruhi Worldview

The on-line *Haruhi* fan activities in *Haruhi* fan sites supplement the crucial parts of its worldview (characters and settings). They explain many crucial cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime that we saw in the previous chapters, and at least about 60% of cultural elements as a whole and at least 50% of non-translated cultural elements in the Table 3.2. Therefore, by using the Internet, the U.S. fans of *Haruhi* can supplement considerable cultural elements that are incorporated into its worldview. Indeed, throughout the interviews with many U.S. *Haruhi* fans, I found that they actually use such websites as a kind of dictionary guide when trying to understand the worldview of *Haruhi*.

⁶⁷ For example, “One Manga The Melancholy Of Haruhi Suzumiya Manga Chapters.” *One Manga*. Electronic document, http://www.onemanga.com/The_Melancholy_of_Haruhi_Suzumiya/, accessed October 11, 2008; “Manga Fox The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya.” *Manga Fox*. Electronic document, http://www.mangafox.com/page/manga/series/96/the_melancholy_of_haruhi_suzumiya/, accessed October 11, 2008.

⁶⁸ For example, “Haruhi Suzumiya Drama CD Sound Around Part 01.” Video clip posted on Youtube, <http://jp.youtube.com/watch?v=nf6iScKvFPs&feature=related>, accessed October 11, 2008.

Again the following “netnography” (Kozinets 2002) of *Haruhi*-fan activities may describe only partial picture. There may be other websites which discuss the worldview of *Haruhi* more intensviely and on which other of its cultural elements are explained. The result of my web search below is therefore on the “at least” basis. Nevertheless, I believe I could cover the “major” part of such on-line activities by *Haruhi* fans.

According to a hard-core *Haruhi* fan in the United States, the biggest English-based *Haruhi*-fan website is “Haruhi-Ism (SOS-Dan.com)⁶⁹” (interview with a U.S. *Haruhi* fan by author, May 9, 2008). This website appears to be created and administered by fans, and has nearly 1,000 registered members. Its home page contains the information about *Haruhi*-related news, forums, OP/ED lyrics, how to dance the *Hare Hare Yukai*, radio drama, wiki, etc. In the forum 1,842 threads were created and 73,899 messages were posted (accessed at 2009/01/13). The wiki page seems to have the richest information about *Haruhi* in English including its trivia. The page also has English translations of several *Haruhi* light novel episodes. There are many other similar *Haruhi* fan sites with similar structures such as “The Fan Site of Haruhi Suzumiya⁷⁰,” “Haruhi-ism – a suzumiya haruhi no yuutsu fansite⁷¹,” “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Blog and Fansite⁷²,” and “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Fan Club⁷³.” As for *Haruhi* trivia, it is also available on the anime news site “Anime News Network⁷⁴.”

First of all, such websites are indifferent to which *Haruhi* official products are available in which countries. They seem to assume informally that many important

⁶⁹ <http://www.sos-dan.com/> (accessed May 9, 2008)

⁷⁰ <http://www.haruhisuzumiya.net/> (accessed October 11, 2008)

⁷¹ <http://www.blooming-desire.net/> (accessed October 11, 2008)

⁷² <http://adoru.com/haruhi-suzumiya/> (accessed October 11, 2008)

⁷³ <http://www.bebo.com/melancholy-haruhi> (accessed October 11, 2008)

⁷⁴ <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/encyclopedia/anime.php?id=6430&page=22> (accessed October 11, 2008)

Haruhi-related products are available somewhere on the Internet, which is indeed true as we saw in the previous section. For example, although *Haruhi* light novels are not officially available in most countries, some postings on the “trivia” page of the SOS-Dan wiki explain the differences between the same episode of the original light novel version and the animated version. One posting explains that unlike the anime version of the episode “Remote Island Syndrome,” in the novel version “Kyon’s sister didn’t join the trip. Also Haruhi, Kyon, Mikuru, and Nagato drink wine during the first and second evening meals.”⁷⁵ Several threads on the “trivia talk” page of the SOS-Dan wiki also deal with the relationship between the light novel version and the anime version of *Haruhi*; in one thread they straightforwardly talked about which episodes of the original light novel were actually picked up and animated⁷⁶; in one thread, a person asked whether there was any “conversation between Nagato Yuki and Suzumiya Haruhi” in the non-animated episodes, which was answered by another fan that there was one in the episode “Snow Mountain Syndrome” and another in “Where did the Cat Go?”⁷⁷


In this situation, several “dead links” in the United States version of *Haruhi* anime, which we have seen in the previous chapter, are “revitalized” by using the Internet. We saw in the previous chapter that on the official track of *Haruhi*-related products, the “clues” embedded in the *Haruhi* anime which lead the audience to its non-animated light novel episodes are actually the “dead links” for U.S. fans because the light novels of *Haruhi* are currently not officially available. When U.S. fans use the Internet, however, they can read the entire collection of unofficially English-


⁷⁵ “Remote Island Syndrome (Part I)” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.


⁷⁶ “REGRETS” section in “Template talk:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template_talk:Trivia, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁷⁷ “Nagato X Suzumiya” section in “Template talk:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template_talk:Trivia, accessed January 10, 2009.

translated *Haruhi* light novel episodes. On the basis of such environment, *Haruhi* fan sites explain the correlation of the anime and the light novel episodes; U.S. fans can track such gateways by checking the United States version of *Haruhi* anime DVDs and fan-translated *Haruhi* light novels on the Internet. For example, the “trivia” page of the SOS-Dan wiki explains the links embedded in the anime version of *Haruhi* which lead us to the episode “Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody” which is only available in its light novel and manga versions; a posting in the section of the anime episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1” says that the scene in which “Haruhi asks Kyon if she has seen him before” is “a reference about the non-animated chapter ‘Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody’”⁷⁸; in the section of anime episode “Mysterique Sign,” one posting explains that the Kyon’s initial narration which says “After spending Tanabata in a state of melancholy ...” and “She’s (Haruhi) not going to start talking about what happened on Tanabata three years ago, right?” are “reference to the chapter ‘Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody’ in the novel *The Boredom of Suzumiya Haruhi*, which is the previous chapter to ‘Mysterique Sign.’ The bamboo leaf itself is also seen in the corner of the room”⁷⁹; in the section of “Opening Sequence” of *Haruhi* anime, one posting says “Before the title, the hair length and clothes of Haruhi, who is seeing shooting the star, change. This is a reference to the events from the Tanabata 3 years before the anime starts. These events are explained in the unaired chapter ‘Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody’ in the novel *The Boredom of Suzumiya Haruhi*”⁸⁰; in the section of “Ending Sequence” of *Haruhi* anime, one posting explains “There is a blackboard that says ‘SOS Brigade Meeting, Agenda: About Tanabata!’ in Japanese. This is a reference to the unanimated

⁷⁸ “The Melancholy of Suzumiya Haruhi I” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS*  Wiki. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁷⁹ “Mysterique Sign” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS*  Wiki. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸⁰ “Opening Sequence” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS*  Wiki. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

Bamboo Leaf Rhapsody episode that tells the story about what happened three years ago.”⁸¹ The scene in *Haruhi* anime’s opening animation where Nagato Yuki stands in the snow, which suggests her character setting, and which does not make any sense unless one read its light novel, was also explained in SOS-Dan wiki and the *Haruhi* trivia page of Anime News Network; one posting in the section of “Opening Sequence” in the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki says “there is a scene where what appears to be snow is falling around who is presumably Yuki. This closely resembles one of the poetry-like writings of Yuki (as well as the accompanying illustration) in the unanimated episode *Editor in Chief★Straight Ahead!*”⁸²; the *Haruhi* trivia page of Anime New Network also explains “In the shows opening theme, an image of yuki standing in what appears to be snow, is a reference to an almost identical illustration shown, in ‘The Indignation of Haruhi Suzumiya’, Chapter ‘Editor in Chief, Straight Ahead!’, highlighting Yuki Nagato’s story about how she got her name”⁸³.

The U.S. *Haruhi* fans can supplement quite a few important cultural elements which *Haruhi* trans-coders omitted (left not translated) in their United States version by using the Internet. For instance, the English translation of the “high-speed reverse-running spell” by Asakura Ryoko is posted on the “The Melancholy of Suzumiya Haruhi IV” section of the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki saying “During the battle, Ryōko asks Yuki, ‘You love Kyon-kun, don’t you? I know you have realized it,’ in sped up and reversed ‘incantation’ Japanese.”⁸⁴⁸⁵ Nagato Yuki’s non-translated “spell”

⁸¹ “Ending Sequence” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸² “Opening Sequence” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸³ “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya (TV).” *Anime News Network*. Electronic document, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/encyclopedia/anime.php?id=6430&page=22>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸⁴ “The Melancholy of Suzumiya Haruhi IV” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸⁵ The second half of the translation of Ryoko’s “spell” in this posting is slightly wrong; the closest literal translation of the Japanese “*wakatterutte*” is “I know” and this phrase does not imply whether or

is also explained as “Yuki Nagato’s ‘incantations’ mostly consist of series of SQL statements, sped up and reversed.”⁸⁶

Below Table 4.2 shows how many of the cultural elements of *Haruhi* which I listed in the Table 3.2 are explained in English on the Internet. By this table, we can see that at least about 60% (45 out of 76) of the cultural elements as a whole and at least 50% (9 out of 18) of the non-translated cultural elements in the Table 3.2 are explained in the *Haruhi* fan sites. Furthermore, the fan sites do not seem to understand the cultural elements as “trivial bonus,” as was assumed by the trans-coders, but see them rather as clues to access profound worldview of *Haruhi*. For example, one posting in the “Other” section of the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki insists that the cultural element number 4 (*The Fall of Hyperion*), 7 (*The Code Book*), and 26 (*The Woman in the Wardrobe*), all of which are the titles of the real books, “all have a connection with the storyline of each episode.”⁸⁷ One posting in the “Mysterique Sign” section of the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki detects that the theme of the book (*Hadae no Shita*: cultural element number 20 in the Table 3.2 and 4.2) Nagato Yuki is reading is “humanoid acquiring personality”⁸⁸ which is directly related to the character settings of Nagato Yuki herself.

While the trans-coders of *Haruhi* anime in the United States centrally seemed to understand its worldview in above-the-surface level of a Japanese high school love comedy (with a slight sci-fi background), *Haruhi* fan sites pay more attention to below-the-surface level of hard-core science fiction. The United States *Haruhi* fans

not the person to whom the speaker of the phrase is talking also realizes what the speaker knows. The “you have realized it” part should therefore be deleted.

⁸⁶ “Other” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸⁷ “Other” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁸⁸ “Mysterique Sign” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

Table 4.2: The (non)existence of the English explanation of the cultural elements in *Haruhi* anime on the Internet

Original Text in Haruhi	Translation (Subtitle)	Translation (Dub)	Source of Reference	Explanation
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 1				
1 ゴーフル缶	Gaufre can	cookie tin	a local sweets of Kobe city	
2 コンブエース	Comp	Comp	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)	○
3 コンブティーク	Comptique	Comptique	Magazine (by Kadokawa Publishers)	○
4 ハイペリオンの没落	—	—	Novel (by Dan Simmons)	○
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 2				
5 ハイペリオン	—	—	Novel (by Dan Simmons)	○
6 情熱を、もてあます	Too much passion.	My passion is going through the roof here....	TV Game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)	
7 暗号解読	—	—	Novel (by Simon Singh)	○
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 3				
8 学校を出よう！二巻 I・My・ME	—	—	Novel (by Nagaru Tanigawa)	○
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4				
9 マジでくたばる5秒前	Five seconds from death	I was five seconds away from dying	J-Pop Song (by Ryoko Hirose)	
The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 5				
	N/A			

Table 4.2 (Continued)

The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6					
	time-traveling girl	time-traveling girl	time-traveling girl	Novel, movie, and anime (<i>A Girl who Lept Through Time</i>)	○
The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya					
11	野球盤	—	—	Board game	
12	取ったどおー！	—	I got it!	TV program (<i>Ikinari! Ougon Densetsu</i>)	
13	マジックポイント	magic points	magic points	TV game (<i>Dragon Quest</i> series)	○
14	永世監督	senile directors	the most senile director	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)	
15	間に合え…！間に合ええ！！	Make it in time! Make it in time!	Got to catch it! Got to catch it!	Anime (<i>Gundam 0083</i>)	
Mysterious Sign					
16	エマンガリヒョン 絵コンテ 一卷	—	—	Anime (<i>Neon Genesis Evangelion</i>)	
17	中南米の歩き方	—	—	Travel guide (<i>Chikyuu no Arukikata</i>)	
18	電卓男	—	—	Novel and Movie (<i>Train Man</i>)	○
19	歯上言論	—	—	Mail magazine (<i>Hajou Genron</i>)	
20	膚の下	—	—	Novel (by Kanbayashi Chohei)	○

Table 4.2 (Continued)

21	スターダイヤモンド	—	—	Board game	
22	カナブンがきずのであてを してくれた！	A scarab has tended to its wounds!	A scarab has tended to its wounds!	Card & Arcade Game (<i>Kouchu Ouja Mushi Kingu</i>)	○
23	ふもっふ！	Fumoffu!	Fumoffu!	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)	○
24	セカンドレイド	Second Raid!	Second Raid!	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)	○
25	斥力場	Force field	A force field	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)	○
Remote Island Syndrome Part 1&2					
26	衣装戸棚の女	—	—	Novel (by Peter Antony)	○
27	パノラマ島	Panorama island	Panorama island	Novel (by Edogawa Rampo)	○
28	インフアント島	Infant island	Infant island	Movie (<i>Mosura</i>)	○
29	そして誰もいなくなったり	and none were left...	or maybe everyone has disappeared...	Novel (<i>And Then There Were None</i>)	
30	究極のメニュー	splendid meals	(eat) this good	Manga (<i>Oishinbo</i>)	
31	スネーク！スネーク！	—	Snake!	TV game (<i>Metal Gear Solid</i>)	
32	振込って詐欺？	What's "furikomi"?	What does it mean when you "pitch in" a piece?	New type of fraud (<i>Furikome Sagi</i>)	
33	黒死館	House of Black Death	House of Black Death	Novel (by Oguni Mushitaro)	○
34	リラ荘	Lira Manor	Lira Manor	Novel (by Ayukawa Tetsuya)	○
35	纒頼城	Koketsu Castle	Koketsu Castle	Novel (by Kumieda Shirou)	○
36	なーに、初歩的なことだよ、 ワトソン君。	Elementary, my dear Watson.	Its elementary my dear Watson, elementary!	Novel (<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> series)	○

Table 4.2 (Continued)

Live Alive					
	1-6 占いの家・ズバツと言うわよ！	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	TV Program (<i>Zubari Iwayyo!</i>)
37	1-6 占いの家・ズバツと言うわよ！	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	1-6 Fortunetelling House We'll Tell It Straight!	
38	1-9 クラス演(劇)ローゼンクランツ…ギルデンスターン	1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern	1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern	1-9 Class Play Rosencrantz & Guildenstern	Movie (<i>Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are dead</i>)
39	クイズピリオオネア	—	—	—	TV Program (<i>Quiz Millionaire</i>)
40	純喫茶 第三帝国	—	—	—	Anime (<i>Urusei Yatsura 2: Beautiful Dreamer</i>)
41	恋の必殺カレ—	—	—	—	PC game (<i>To Heart 2</i>)
42	キター！	All right!	Whaaaa!	Whaaaa!	Ascii art
43	せいぜい文化祭を楽しめ。普通にな。	Well, at least enjoy the arts festival. In a normal sense.	Well, at least enjoy the arts festival. In a normal sense.	Just try to enjoy the rest of the arts festival. And do it normally.	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
44	ENOZ	ENOZ	ENOZ	ENOZ	Japanese band idol (ZONE)
The Day of Sagittarius					
45	アイ・アイ・マム	Aye aye, ma'am	Aye aye, ma'am	Aye aye, ma'am	Anime (<i>Full Metal Panic!</i> series)
46	おちろ！ガトンボ！	Fall, daddy longlegs!	Fall, daddy longlegs!	Say good night!	Anime (<i>Z Gundam</i>)
47	ガンダム	Gunda(beep)!	Gunda(beep)!	(beep)dums!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
48	行きま—す、って無理！	Go! Not!	Go! Not!	Here I go! Wait!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)
49	本日天気晴朗なれども波高し。皇国の興廢この一戦にあり。	Today, skies are clear, but waves are high. The empire's fate rests on this battle.	Today, skies are clear, but waves are high. The empire's fate rests on this battle.	Today, the skies are clear and the waves are high. The battle will decide the destiny of the empire.	Japanese history (Akiyama Saneyuki)
50	コンピュータ研に栄光あれ！	Glory to the computer club!	Glory to the computer club!	Glory to the computer club!	Anime (<i>Gundam</i>)

Table 4.2. (Continued)

Someday in the Rain				Card game	O
51	ドラゴン・オールスターズ	—	—	—	—
52	グランド・フィナーレ	—	—	—	—
53	蹴りたい背中	—	—	—	—
54	あめんぼ あかいな あいうえお	Amoebas are red, a-i-u-e-o.	Amoebas are red, a-i-u-e-o.	Poem (by Kitahara Hakushu)	
	うきもに こえびも およいでる	Little shrimp and floating moss swim as well.	Little shrimp and floating moss swimming to and fro.		
	かきのき くりのき かきくけこ	Persimmon tree, chestnut tree, ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.	Persimmon tree, chestnut tree, ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.		
	キツツキ こつこつ かれケヤキ	Woodpecker chips away at the dead zelkova tree.	A woodpecker pecking at a dead zelkova tree just so.		
	ささぎに すをかけ さしすせそ	Pouring vinegar on cowpeas, sa-shi-su-se-so.	Pour some vinegar on cowpeas sa-shi-su-se-so.		
	そのうお あさせで さしました	That fish I stabbed in the shallow waters.	I stabbed a fish in the stream that was very very shallow.		
	たちましよ ラツパで たちつてと	Let's stand at the sound of the trumpet, ta-chi-tsu-te-to.	We all stand up when the trumpet blows, ta - chi - tsu - te - to.		
	トテトテ タツタと とびたつた	It flew off with a thunk - thunk - thunk - dash.	When we stood it flew off with a thunk - thunk - thunk - thunk - boom.		
	なめくじ のろろ なにぬねの	Slug is awfully slow, na-ni-nu-ne-no	The slug crawls very slow all day, na-ni-nu-ne-no		

Table 4.2 (Continued)

55	んー、あなたが犯人でっす	You are the culprit.	A-ha! So you are the culprit.	TV drama (<i>Furuhata Ninzaburo</i>)	
56	んー赤の方 14 番を選ばれたっ。んーまーいいでしょう。さあこの後でどういった展開になるのでしょうか？ 次の問題どうぞー	The red player has chosen #14. Well I guess that's okay. How will things play out? Next question.	Oh, the red player has picked #14. Very well, I wonder how that's going to affect the game today. Next question.	TV program (<i>Panel Quiz Attack 25</i>)	
57	なんて、恐ろしい子っ！！	What a terrifying little girl.	What a terrifying little girl.	Manga (<i>Garasu no Kamen</i>)	
58	タンメンセット！チャーハンセット！天ざるセット！	Tanmen noodle set! Fried rice set! Tempura and cold soba set!	Tanmen noodle set! Fried rice set! Tempura and cold soba set!	Anime (<i>Air</i>)	○
59	青年エース！中年エース！ 定年エース！留年エース！ 来年エース！残念エース！ やっぱ好きやねんエース！	Young Man Ace! Middle-aged Ace! Retirement Ace! Nonpromoted Ace! Next-year Ace! Unfortunate Ace! I-love-it-after-all Ace!	Young Man Ace! Middle-aged Ace! Retirement Ace! Nonpromoted Ace! Next-year Ace! Unfortunate Ace! I love it after all, Ace!	Magazine (<i>Shonen Ace</i>)	○
60	なぜベストを尽くさないのか？どーんとこーい！	Why don't you do your best? Bring it on!	Why don't you do your best to beat me? Bring it on!	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)	○
61	お前らのやったことは、パリッとコリッと全とお見通しだ！	What you've done is snappy, crackly, and all obvious to us!	What you guys have done is snappy, crackly, and totally obvious to us!	TV drama (<i>Trick</i>)	○
62	見た目は子供、中身は微妙、ご町内の強い味方。その名は名探偵。	Childlike but subtle inside! A powerful ally all over town! The name ... Ace Detective!	He looks like a child. But he's pretty subtle of the inside. A powerful ally all over town.	Anime (<i>Detective Conan</i>)	○

Table 4.2 (Continued)

63	えーい、ひかえ、ひかえ、ひかえ、ひかえーい！この紋所が目に入らぬか！	Bow down, bow down! Can't you see this crest that I hold?	Bow down, bow down! Can you not see this crest that I hold?	TV drama (<i>Mito Koumon</i>)	
64	ワタクシはフランスの女王なのですからー。	Because I am the queen of France.	Because I am the queen of the France.	Anime (<i>The Rose of Versailles</i>)	
65	変なところに当たるな！まだまだ甘いな。	It hit a strange spot! You're still green	Now that hit a weird spot. You've still got a ways to go.	Anime (<i>Jyu Senki Elgaim</i>)	
66	北海アイスキャンデーーズ	Arctic Sea Ice Candies	Arctic Sea Ice Candies	Japanese comedians (Southern Sea Candies)	
Preview					
67	父ちゃん、俺はやるのか！	Can I do it, Dad?	—	Anime (<i>Kyojin no Hoshi</i>)	○
68	な、なんだってー！	W-What was that?	—	Manga (<i>MMR</i>)	○
69	それでは皆さんお待ちかね、涼宮ハルヒレディーズ、ゴ—！	Sorry to keep you waiting. Haruhi Suzumiya, Ready ... go!	—	Anime (<i>G Gundam</i>)	○
70	お風呂入れよ歯を磨けよ！	Take a bath! Brush your teeth!	—	TV program (<i>8ji Dayo! Zenin Shugou</i>)	○
71	我が SOS 団は永久に不滅です！	The SOS Brigade will be forever!	—	Ex-manager of baseball team Tokyo Giants (Nagashima Shigeo)	○
72	私たち普通の女の子に戻ります！	You can never be a plain girl again.	—	Japanese idol group (Candies)	○
73	来週もまた見てくださいねー。ジャーンケンポー—ン！	Scissors, rock, paper!	—	Anime (<i>Sazae san</i>)	○

Table 4.2 (Continued)

74	キヨンの鳴く夜は恐ろしい… あーっ！	The nights where Kyon makes eerie screams are terrifying.	—	Movie (<i>Akuryou Tou</i>)	
75	ではいきますよ？ 曲っがー れ。	Here goes... Bend.	—	Uri Geller	
76	予告なんて下らないわ！ 私の歌を聴けえー！ ポ、ボンバー！	Previews are meaningless! Listen to my song! Bomber!	—	Anime (<i>Macross 7</i>)	○
76 Cultural Elements					45

can understand the deep level of sci-fi settings that controls its stories below the surface by using the Internet. For example, they can understand Suzumiya Haruhi's odd ability to realize her wish and to change the world as she likes is based on the science of quantum mechanics; in the "Other" section of the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki, one posting explains "The series invokes the Copenhagen interpretation of quantum mechanics, which, in layman's terms, suggests that a person's consciousness directly influences the behavior of subatomic particles. While normal people would have no control over this process, Haruhi somehow does. Macroscopically, this translates into her ability to influence the outcome of any non-deterministic event – the random selection of batting order, for example."⁸⁹ While some members in the transcoding agencies do not seem to realize that Kimidori Emiri is also a "humanoid interface" like Nagato Yuki, the SOS-Dan trivia wiki page covers this character by saying that we can identify that "Kimidori is another humanoid interface" by reading the episode "The Straightway to the Chief Editor" in which "Koizumi mentioned that 'Kimidori Emiri-san is one of Nagato-san's colleagues'" in its "Mysterique Sign" section⁹⁰. Although the episode "Someday in the Rain" was understood by some transcoders as a story of romance between Suzumiya Haruhi and Kyon, as we have seen in the previous chapter (Kazami 2008:64), the episode's "hidden agenda" (i.e., the romance between Kyon and the subheroine Nagato Yuki), which relates to the grand theme of *Haruhi* (i.e., an alien android's ego), is revealed on the "Someday in the Rain" section of the trivia page of the SOS-Dan wiki. Several postings on that section explain that a "sub theme" of this episode is "Nagato's emotional cues" which could be detected by "the slight variance in her responses to different people" which we can

⁸⁹ "Other" section in "Template:Trivia." *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹⁰ "Mystérique Sign" section in "Template:Trivia." *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

observe when “Nagato indicated to Tsuruya where Mikuru was” but she “did not tell Kyon where Haruhi was” and which makes inferences as “Kyon awakens with two cardigans placed on his back. One of them is definitely Haruhi’s. The other either belongs to Nagato or Asahina. Given that all of other high school women that appear in the episode have given him a piece of clothing to wear, it is probably Nagato who first put her cardigan on Kyon after he fell asleep.”⁹¹

I should clarify here that the *Haruhi* fan websites provide comments and discussions about many other cultural elements which I did not focus on in this research, including the cultural elements which are not in the text and phrase forms. As for the cultural elements of the body expressions, for example, U.S. anime fans can realize from such websites that the choreography of the *Hare Hare Yukai Dance* was taken from the Berryz Factory⁹², that the appearance of the Computer club’s president and Kyon in the episode “The Day of Sagittarius” came from the Lord Desler in *Space Battleship Yamato* and Yang Wen-li in *Legend of Galactic Heroes* respectively⁹³, and that the pose of Suzumiya Haruhi in the final part of the episode “Remote Island Syndrome” is quoted from the Japanese video game *Gyakuten Saiban*⁹⁴. As for the cultural elements of the screen composition, they can know that the sequences of the ENOZ concert in the episode “Live Alive” is a reference to the Japanese live action movie *Linda Linda Linda*⁹⁵. As for the music, they are able to realize that one selection of background music in the episode “The Boredom of Haruhi Suzumiya” is a

⁹¹ “Someday in the Rain” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹² “Ending Sequence” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹³ “The Day of Sagittarius” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹⁴ “Remote Island Syndrome (Part II)” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹⁵ “Live Alive” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

rearrangement of the melody of the opening theme of classic Japanese baseball anime *Touch*⁹⁶. There are also many excessive, and sometimes presumably wrong, guesses about the hidden cultural elements posted in such *Haruhi* fan sites. For example, one user of the trivia talk page has found the “Matrix/Keanu Reeves reference” in the cultural element number 75, which were opposed by several follow-up postings which said “Spoon-bending is an old form of proving telekinetic powers. It has been used widely in science fiction novels, movies and often by people who claim to have ESP,” and thus that spoon bending is not original to the Matrix and refers only to Koizumi Itsuki’s power⁹⁷. Likewise, several users of the page seem to have found a similarity between the process which Nagato Yuki “learns how to use the mouse/keyboard” in the episode “The Day of Sagittarius” and that of Scotty in *Star Trek* in “the forth Star Trek movie,”⁹⁸ which I could not find the similar guesses in the Japanese-based *Haruhi* fan websites.

Of course, using the Internet when checking out something one does not know may currently be the common standard all over the world. However, we could at least say that the United States *Haruhi* fans are relying more on the Internet than Japanese *Haruhi* fans; while in Japan there are many additional sources to consult regarding *Haruhi* such as *Haruhi* guidebooks and Haruhi-related articles in numerous anime magazines, such goods are hardly exported to the United States or translated into English. Indeed, throughout the observation of the *Haruhi* screenings held by the Cornell Japanese Animation Society (CJAS) in the spring of 2008 open to public every Saturday, and throughout the interview with several CJAS members who

⁹⁶ “The Boredom of Suzumiya Haruhi” section in “Template:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, <http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template:Trivia>, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹⁷ “Possible Trivia in the Preview for Ep 13” section in “Template talk:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template_talk:Trivia, accessed January 10, 2009.

⁹⁸ “The Day of Sagittarius Trivia” section in “Template talk:Trivia.” *SOS Wiki*. Electronic document, http://wiki.sos-dan.com/wiki/Template_talk:Trivia, accessed January 10, 2009.

participated in the screenings, I found that they were actually using the Internet as a kind of dictionary when they found something they “did not get” in *Haruhi* anime. At these *Haruhi* anime screenings, the tone and atmosphere of the audiences’ response toward its high-context scenes in which cultural elements are embedded could be described as “I can realize that this scene is referring to something but I don’t know what the source is.” Especially, the sequence of the episode “Someday in the Rain,” where we can only see Nagato Yuki reading a book while hearing only cultural elements number 54 to 66 consecutively as the background voices without any explanation, drew confused laughter from many audiences saying “What the hell is this?” One CJAS participant told me after the screening of the episode that she “did not get what the background voices were about” but “was still able to enjoy as humorous.” She also told me that although there were several scenes which she could vaguely recognize as references to the existing space anime and TV games, she could not identify the exact sources on sites (interview with an anime fan in the United States by author, April 20, 2008). Another CJAS participant also confessed that he could not understand the scene of “Someday in the Rain.” When asked what he would do upon finding such things he does not understand in *Haruhi* anime, he answered that he would go to the Internet. He also told me that he always got the information about *Haruhi* through the Internet and would check out the *Haruhi* fan sites to find out what the “Someday in the Rain” sequences are about (interview with a *Haruhi* fan in the United States by author, May 9, 2008).

Internet as the Infrastructure: The Infrastructure for Haruhi Anime Business in the United States

The Internet functioned as the infrastructure for the official *Haruhi* anime business in the United States as well. The distributors of *Haruhi* anime (KPUSA, BE, and BZE)

relied on the Internet when doing *Haruhi* business in the United States; in both the “B to C” and “B to B” phases, they informally and implicitly assumed that the insufficiency of the worldview of *Haruhi* on their official track would be supplemented unofficially via the Internet. In other words, they conducted *Haruhi* anime business in the United States on the basis of this supposition that the consumers/business partners in the country already know about *Haruhi* unofficially through the Internet before they release its official version.

One of the most significant examples of such infrastructural functions of the Internet in the “B to C” phase of the *Haruhi* anime business in the United States is *Haruhi* fansubs uploaded on Youtube before their official release dates. The chairman of Kadokawa Group Holdings seems to understand that the reason for *Haruhi*’s success in the United States was the advertising/educating effect of its fansubs on Youtube⁹⁹¹⁰⁰. Such unofficial as well as illegal on-line activities by fans worked to familiarize U.S. audiences with the *Haruhi* worldview before its official release. The Vice President of KPUSA told me that they came to expect that *Haruhi* would become successful in the United States by observing the numerous postings of *Haruhi* fansubs on Youtube¹⁰¹ (interview with the Vice President of KPUSA by author, August 6, 2008). In this light, they have used the Internet as a kind of “marketing tool” for *Haruhi* anime business in the United States.

Further, they also used the Internet heavily and proactively as the “promotion tool” of *Haruhi* anime in the United States. According to the president of BE, the

⁹⁹ “Soko ga Shiritai Jisha Kontentsu no Netto Haishin naze Sekkyokuka (The Point We Want to Know: Why did They Proactively Net-stream Their Contents)?” *Nikkei Shinbun*, 5 August 2007, Morning edition.

¹⁰⁰ “Haruhi DVD Beikoku de Rokuman Setto Hanbai YouTube mo Kōken (Sixty Thousand Sets of Haruhi DVD were sold in the United States. Youtube also contributed)?” *anime! anime!*, 5 August 2007. Electronic article, http://animeanime.jp/review/archives/2007/08/dvd6_youtube.html, accessed September 11, 2007.

¹⁰¹ He also mentioned that in a way, they wonder about the success of a certain anime program in the United States if there were few fansubs of that anime on the Internet before the licensing occurs.

Internet was the only channel which they used for the promotion of *Haruhi* anime in the United States except for the direct promotions in the anime conventions (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). This marks a sharp contrast with the *Haruhi* promotion in Japan that was conducted in multiple channels such as Television CMs, magazine and newspaper advertisements, promotion events, in addition to the Internet. In the United States, the promotion channel of *Haruhi* anime was almost “homogenized” into the Internet and the distributors relied more heavily on this channel than in Japan.

BE is in charge of *Haruhi* anime promotion in the United States. They constructed its promotion website in late December of 2006 (about five months before the official release date of the United States version of *Haruhi* anime) and it was actively and frequently updated until late April in 2008 (Kazami 2008:6-7)¹⁰². The website roughly consisted of “main page” on which various information such as news, messages, and questionnaires from BE were posted and “Kyon’s MySpace page” (i.e. a page in MySpace whose administrator was considered to be Kyon) in which Kyon occasionally post his entries and communicates with fans. The main page was administered by one representative in BE and the Kyon’s MySpace page was actually administered by “someone extremely knowledgeable with the entire *Haruhi* timeline” (Kazami 2008:67; interview with the representative of BE by author, August 1, 2008) to whom BE outsourced its management.

¹⁰² Since many of the events occurred on BE’s *Haruhi* promotion website can no longer be observed on the website, the information about *Haruhi* promotion in the following part of this section was mostly quoted from the website which reported the whole detail of the United States *Haruhi* web promotion by BE in real time called “Hokubei ban SOS-dan Kōshiki Saito ‘ASOS Brigade’ Kōshin Jōhō Matome (The Add-up of the Update Information of the U.S. Version of the Official SOS Brigade Website ‘ASOS Brigade’).” *Shiroi Sora – Kazami Akira’s Web Page*. Electronic blog entries, http://www.geocities.jp/kazami_akira/anime/asos_log.html, accessed May 27, 2008. The dates associated with the events indicate the entry dates of this blog. The still accessible Internet source regarding *Haruhi* promotions are quoted directly.

Although the *Haruhi* web promotion started about a half a year before the official release of *Haruhi* anime in the United States and therefore the United States fans were officially expected not to know about *Haruhi* at all since none of the English versions of *Haruhi*-related products were officially available in the country at that time, its substance and method almost explicitly targeted the fans who have already (unofficially and illegally) seen *Haruhi* through the Internet and know about it very well; the promoters presupposed that the viewers of the *Haruhi* promotion web page knew the worldview of *Haruhi* without their explanation even before its official DVD release date. Indeed, throughout the promotional cycle, the *Haruhi* promotion website never gave a formal explanation about the nature of *Haruhi*. The representative of BE charged with administrating the *Haruhi* promotional website says that they knew that “there were numerous websites out there already that had detailed information” about *Haruhi* in English which were created by fans and therefore, they tried to do “something completely different” in their own *Haruhi* promotion (Kazami 2008:65). It seems clear that they did not feel the necessity for explaining the worldview of *Haruhi* to the United States fans from scratch, but rather assumed that they could develop their promotion on the basis of the fans’ existing understanding about *Haruhi*. The President of BE also acknowledged that the core target of their web promotion was “the hard-core fans who already know about *Haruhi*” unofficially through the Internet (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008).

First, before starting their on-line promotion campaign, BE assumed that the United States fans already recognized the atmosphere of eccentric festival in *Haruhi*’s popularity in Japan and the unusual things which happened on the Japanese *Haruhi* promotion website. The President of BE told me that before starting their *Haruhi* web promotion, he went to Japan and conceptualized the overall direction of U.S. *Haruhi* promotion as a “*matsuri*” (festival) with the original *Haruhi* committee members. This

concept is the same one as the sub-concept of the worldview of *Haruhi* in Japan, as we have seen in Chapter 2. They decided to transplant and replicate the eccentric and hyper “*Haruhi* phenomenon” to let the U.S. anime fans “relive the feeling of the ‘festival’ that occurred in Japan.” through their promotion activities (interview to the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). The implicit assumption here is that the United States fans already knew what happened in Japanese *Haruhi* website and therefore even if BE did similar eccentric activities with their English website without any explanation, the fans would be able to catch up. Indeed, the way BE constructed and updated their *Haruhi* promotion website was so as abnormal, drastic, and eccentric as that in Japan that it requires the viewers the pre-assumption that the website was re-staging the festival-like atmosphere which occurred in Japan, and also requires the knowledge about what happened in Japanese *Haruhi* website, in order for them to understand it completely. One of the most significant examples of such avant-garde things BE did with its website is the “hidden message” they embedded in its source code. BE hid the messages for fans in the source code of the main page of *Haruhi* promotion website and updated them almost every day throughout the promotional period. The contents of such messages mainly took the form of the conversations among/dialogues of the *Haruhi* characters and sometimes as suggestive announcements about the *Haruhi* business in the United States¹⁰³. Clearly BE borrowed this method from the Japanese promoters; when the Japanese official *Haruhi* website was intentionally garbled right after the airing of the episode “Mysterique Sign” in Japan and the logo mark of “SOS Brigade” was changed into “ZOZ Brigade” after its recovery, they embedded the message into its source code which suggests that

¹⁰³ Such as the announcements of the starting date of the United States version of the official *Haruhi* website, of the online voting, of the release dates of the United States version of *Haruhi* anime DVDs, of the uploading of the promotion video clips, and of the detail of the *Haruhi*-related events held in the anime conventions, etc.

it was Nagato Yuki who did the data modification (Conputīku 2006:104). BE seems to have borrowed this idea and used intensively in their *Haruhi* promotion in the United States; the BE web-promotion representative says that the “Yuki’s input into the website” was the technique which he particularly loved about Japanese *Haruhi* website (Kazami 2008:66). It was almost impossible for the United States fans to find such hidden messages in the source code of the United States *Haruhi* website unless they knew beforehand that the same method had been adopted on the Japanese *Haruhi* web page; it was quite an unusual thing to search the source code when viewing a certain anime’s promotion page and they would not have even tried to do so from the beginning if they had not known in advance via the Internet that the Japanese promoters, eccentrically enough, did embed the message into the source code of Japanese the *Haruhi* page. The *Haruhi* promotional website and BE anticipated U.S. viewers’ knowledge about this and that they would surely access the source code even if not instructed not to do so. The website was saying to the United States fans “I know that you know about the source code.” Furthermore, such hidden messages were renewed very frequently and drastically, which also corresponds with the hyper “festival” concept of the *Haruhi* project. By doing so BE also expected that the United States fans knew from the beginning that any abnormal thing could happen at any time in the *Haruhi* promotion and therefore they should pay close attention and make an eccentric commitment to the United States *Haruhi* website just like participants of a festival.

Secondly, the on-line *Haruhi* promotion expected that the U.S. fans already knew well the contents of *Haruhi* unofficially through the Internet even before the release of the official *Haruhi* anime DVDs in the country. Even if we focus on the period between the start date of *Haruhi* anime’s web promotion (December 19, 2006) and the release date of the first volume of the United States version of *Haruhi* anime

DVD (May 29, 2007), *Haruhi* characters and settings appeared elsewhere in BE's *Haruhi* promotional websites without any explanation. As for *Haruhi* settings, the technical terms which are related to *Haruhi* settings frequently appeared in the main page of the website without being explained. For example, the provisional *Haruhi* promotion web page which was set up a few days before the opening of the official *Haruhi* website contained the hidden messages in its source code which says in Japanese “禁則事項は12月22日に公表します” [The classified information will be announced on December 22nd] on December 19th, 2006 (JST) and which says “あなたが思っている現実には本当の現実ではありませんでした。－ 電脳統合思念体” [The reality which you thought existed was actually not the real one. – Integrated Cyber Thought Entity] on December 21st, 2006 (JST). A few hours before launching the official *Haruhi* promotion site, the provisional site showed a message which said “YUKI.N> Translation device activated. Can you see this?” on December 22nd, 2006 (JST). All the above messages could be understood as a suggestive announcement of the opening of the formal *Haruhi* promotional website which was actually set up on December 22nd, 2006. The terms “禁則事項” (*kinsoku jikō*: classified information) and “電脳統合思念体” (*dennō tōgō shinentai*: Integrated Cyber Thought Entity) were clearly the references to the dialogue of Asahina Mikuru (who often says “That’s classified information.” when she is asked questions which she is prohibited from answering) and to the “情報統合思念体” (*jōhō tōgō shinentai*: Data Integration Thought Entity) which created Nagato Yuki, respectively. Likewise, the line starts with “YUKI.N>” which says “Can you see this?” also refers to the scene of the *Haruhi* anime episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 6” (which was of course not officially available in the United States at that time); when Kyon and Suzumiya Haruhi alone together became enclosed in the “closed space,” Kyon communicated with Nagato Yuki through PC in a kind of web chat in which Yuki’s

lines were shown on the display beginning with “YUKI.N>” and in which her first words were “Can you see this?” All such words and representation were presented by BE to the *Haruhi* webpage viewers abruptly without any explanations, and indeed they would not have made any sense if the United States fans had not seen *Haruhi* before. This seems to have shown clearly BE’s assumption that U.S. *Haruhi* fans already knew in great detail about the background settings of *Haruhi* and of its characters (unofficially through the Internet) and that they would surely understand such high-context technical terms.

As for the *Haruhi* characters, as I have shown above, the United States *Haruhi* websites were administered in meta-fictional fashion, as though the members of the SOS Brigade were managing the website. This also requires the United States fans the advance knowledge about *Haruhi* characters in order for them to enjoy such BE’s mise en scene. Indeed, the MySpace page by Kyon would not have made any sense to U.S. fans if they had not known who Kyon is. Furthermore, many “character settings” appeared on the web page, including the hidden messages, with the assumption that U.S. fans would understand them without any explanation. For example, the hidden messages on the main page at December 29th, 2006 (JST) were the conversations among the SOS Brigade members about having a new member in the brigade; the first dialogue of a new member was shown as “I’ve been asked to join this club ^^.” Although all the dialogues were shown in text form, the sign “^^” almost explicitly refer to the character setting of Koizumi Itsuki whose eyes are narrow and who is always smiling throughout the *Haruhi* story. Only the fans who knew about Koizumi Itsuki beforehand could realize that this scene is about Koizumi joining the SOS Brigade; BE seemed to assume that just putting “^^” at the end of the sentence would be enough for the majority of U.S. fans who were already well-informed about *Haruhi* to realize this line as direct dialogue from Koizumi Itsuki. On February 18th,

2007 (PST), the main message on the main page was updated to say “Hallo everyone! Tomorrows a holiday in America, so my friend asked me to take care of the site whiles she’s gone, nyoro~! Here’s a picture of some box she said had to go up today. I grabs it off her desk and added some logos I found! ^o^ Goodnight!” Although it was never revealed which *Haruhi* character wrote this message, BE assumed that the well-informed *Haruhi* fans in the United States would immediately realize that this message was posted by Tsuruya-san, whose trademark phrase is also “nyoro.” Such “messages from Tsuruya-san” were frequently posted on the website throughout the promotional period.

In addition, although the websites were for the promotion of the anime DVDs of *Haruhi* and not for the other related products, BE referred to aspects of the *Haruhi* worldview which are not covered by its anime version in the websites; BE presupposed that U.S. *Haruhi* fans had already seen not only *Haruhi* anime but also its other versions such as light novel and manga. For example, the main page of the *Haruhi* promotional website once took the form of the website of “North High School,” the high school which Suzumiya Haruhi (and the other SOS Brigade members) attended in the *Haruhi* story (approximately during the whole May 2007); the “North High School website” also provided the meta-fictional news related to the “hearing” of the ASOS Brigade (the United States version of the SOS Brigade) conducted by the “North High School Student Council” to decide whether to let continue or to disband the activities of the ASOS Brigade. This representation was clearly an appropriation of the motif of the episode “The Straightway to Chief Editor” in which the SOS Brigade was actually pressured by the North High Student Council to dismiss; this only appears in *Haruhi* light novel and not in the anime version. The BE web promotion representative responded, when asked how he knew about the episode (when none of the *Haruhi* light novels were published in English), that he had

read the manga and novels in the original Japanese and posed: “Hasn’t everyone already read the novels?” (Kazami 2008:69) It therefore seems natural to presume that BE assumed that “everyone” who was interested in *Haruhi* in the United States had already read its unofficially (and illegally) English-translated novels and manga in advance of the official release of *Haruhi* anime in the country.

BE also almost acknowledged, through the *Haruhi* promotional, websites the English-based fan activities around *Haruhi* which were taking place (mostly unofficially and illegally) on the Internet before their official *Haruhi* anime release in the United States. For example, on January 3, 2007 (JST), Kyon posted one entry on his MySpace page which included the texts shown below:

I really enjoy reading all of the interesting comments that everyone makes. Well, most of the comments, in any case. There is one thing that comes up often enough for me to become a bit self conscious.

I would like to make one thing clear. My romantic interest in men is zero. Nada. Zip. Not even bisexual, nothing of the sort. I have no problem with that, don’t get me wrong. It is just something that I’m not interested in. I can honestly say nothing gets me more excited than seeing a sweet angel like Asa...oops, well, I don’t want to be punished, so I won’t finish that thought. In any case, I just want to make that very clear¹⁰⁴.

It seems clear that the fan comments asking Kyon whether he had a romantic interest in men were made on the basis of the accumulation of the (mainly *yaoi*-oriented) fan works around *Haruhi* that try to alter its original storyline into a love story between Kyon and another male character, Koizumi Itsuki. Such motif is quite popular among *Haruhi* fans centrally who are interested in homosexual love (recall that the *yaoi* AMV of *Haruhi* which focused on the romantic relationship between Kyon and Koizumi

¹⁰⁴ “Why do people say these things? Current mood: uncomfortable.” *Kyon MySpace Blog*, 3 January, 2007. Electronic blog entry, <http://blogs.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=blog.view&friendID=139254574&blogID=212890047&MyToken=e98a65f4-0173-4208-a01f-27c8f0ef6e25>, accessed May 27, 2008.

Itsuki won the best show and best comedy prizes in Anime Expo and Otakon in 2008). Here BE and its affiliate acknowledged and responded to such fan-base activities without pointing out their unofficial and illegal nature.

Another significant acknowledgement of fan-works by BE in their *Haruhi* promotional websites was the implicit reference made on February 25th, 2007 (JST) to the famous Japanese *doujinshi* works *Nyoro~n Churuya-san* (*Churuya-san*) which we saw in Chapter 2¹⁰⁵. At that time, BE suddenly held on-line voting which asked the viewers to identify the kind of “smoked cheese” they like¹⁰⁶. It seems clear that this was the reference to *Churuya-san* where smoked cheese is the favorite food of its main character Churyua-san (a kind of super-deformed version of Tsuruya-san). The true object of this on-line voting was clearly not to take statistics about smoked cheese literally but to ask the United States fans whether they are familiar with *Churuya-san*.

BE supplied U.S. fans with countless such clues which “tested” their knowledge about the worldview of *Haruhi* throughout its web promotion, a promotional strategy that had smashing success; U.S. *Haruhi* fans gave an enthusiastic “Yes!” to BE’s provocative question: “You (unofficially and illegally) already know about *Haruhi* via the Internet, don’t you?” The official *Haruhi* website was accessed by more than 210,000 people a few days after its set up (December 24th, 2006 JST); the *Haruhi*-related threads in the English based anime fan forums such as “Mania.com” (ex. “Anime on DVD”)¹⁰⁷ had ongoing, raging discussions throughout the promotion that tried to catch up with the websites’ update and to figure out any embedded hidden messages and their meanings. Although BE only set up the MySpace page of Kyon, anonymous fans spontaneously built the pages of *Haruhi*-

¹⁰⁵ Although the work was later “officialized” by Kadokawa in the middle of 2008, it was still in the fan-work status at the time BE referred to *Churuya-san*.

¹⁰⁶ The choice was “Cheddar,” “Gouda,” “Gruyère,” “Rauchkase,” and “Scamorza.”

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.mania.com/>, accessed May 27, 2008.

related characters such as Tsuruya-san (the URL of the page included the word “smoked cheese,” which was clearly the reference by fans to *Churuya-san*¹⁰⁸), Nagato Yuki, Koizumi Itsuki, Taniguchi, and Asakura Ryoko and started to post messages to Kyon’s (and each other’s) pages as the legitimate *Haruhi* characters; on February 13th, 2007 (PST), for example, the fictional “Asakura Ryoko” posted a message to Kyon’s page that said: “Kyon, is it better to regret doing something than to regret not doing it? I’d like to see your opinion on the matter”¹⁰⁹; this is the reference to the dialogue of Asakura Ryoko in the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4” (Asakura Ryoko actually asks Kyon this question in the episode before she starts to try to kill him). In response, the fan-created “Tsuruya-san” posted a message on February 14th, 2007 (PST) saying “Is it really megas you? How’s Canada, nyoro?!”¹¹⁰ which contains two references to the character settings of Tsuruya-san¹¹¹ and one reference to the episode “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya Part 4”¹¹². The President of BE reaffirmed that the only *Haruhi*-related MySpace page they created was Kyon’s and wondered who had created other character’s pages (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008).

In the “B to B” phases, the localizers also used the Internet as the supplemental infrastructure for their *Haruhi* anime business in the United States. One significant example of this is the fact that many U.S. distributors offered *Haruhi* distribution to KPUSA (and *Haruhi* committee) saying “they saw its fansubs on Youtube and thought it would sell well in the United States.” As we have already seen

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.myspace.com/smokedcheese>, accessed May 27, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Message posted by “Asakura” at 4:45am February 14, 2007 on Kyon’s MySpace page, <http://www.myspace.com/asosbrigade>, accessed May 27, 2008.

¹¹⁰ Message posted by “Tsuruya” at 11:25pm February 14, 2007 on Kyon’s MySpace page, <http://www.myspace.com/asosbrigade>, accessed May 27, 2008.

¹¹¹ In addition to “nyoro,” the word “*megassa*,” translated in English as “megas,” is another trademark phrase of hers which means “very.”

¹¹² After being defeated and “deleted” by Nagato Yuki, Asakura Ryoko was officially considered to transfer to Canada.

in the previous chapter, it was the localizer's side that offered the U.S. distribution of a certain anime to its rights holders in Japan. But how does the distributor know about such anime and decide that the anime will become a success in the United States, and therefore worth offering a contract to Japan, while staying in the United States where none of its official products are available? Officially, there is a "master sample" of the anime in which the rights holders have and send to prospective distributors in the United States upon their request. The official licensing steps therefore are that the distributor first requests the master sample of an anime to the rights holder, sees the sample, and then offers the U.S. distribution to the licensor if they think that the anime will succeed in the country. However, as the President of KPUSA acknowledged, recently the U.S. localizers often offer the anime distribution to the rights holders straight away without asking for their samples. Clearly, he detects, the localizers are seeing the anime programs illegally via the Internet -- especially their fansubs on Youtube -- which makes it unnecessary for them to ask for the samples. Although he does confess that such a situation is "undesirable," it seems difficult for KPUSA to change by themselves such de facto established use of the Internet by the U.S. distributors (interview with the President of KPUSA by author, June 26, 2008). The Vice President of KPUSA told me that there are even inner jokes among KPUSA members about this ironic situations; when sending the official samples of their anime to the U.S. distributors, KPUSA members often say to each other: "Well, the sample may not be sufficient enough for them to understand the anime as a whole, but they will see the anime on Youtube anyway if they are not satisfied by their official sample." According to KPUSA, the *Haruhi* licensing process in the United States went through the above described general process as well; the Vice President told me that during the phase in which the United States distributors were competing against each other to get the *Haruhi* license, some distributors (he clearly stated that BE was

not included) implicitly and explicitly disclosed in their presentations to KPUSA that they had already seen the *Haruhi* fansubs through the Internet beforehand (interview with the Vice President of KPUSA by author, August 6, 2008).

Furthermore, the *Haruhi* licensee (BE) sought its promotional materials indiscriminately from the Internet, going beyond the officially allowed visual materials provided by KPUSA, which is the another example of the supplemental use of the Internet in the B to B phase of the United States *Haruhi* business. BE once used the illustration of Suzumiya Haruhi in a Santa Claus costume on the top page of their *Haruhi* promotional website around Christmas 2006. According to KPUSA and BE, this illustration was initially not supposed to be used in the *Haruhi* promotion in the United States; the web promotion representative in BE found it on the Internet and negotiated with KPUSA to use it in their own promotion. Officially speaking, BE was only allowed to use limited *Haruhi*-related visual materials provided by KPUSA when promoting *Haruhi* in the United States. The licensee's use of *Haruhi*-related visual materials in public spaces such as Internet was seen as an "approval issues" in the contract between KPUSA and BE and therefore KPUSA control on this issue was relatively strong. KPUSA gave several discs to BE which contained the data of *Haruhi*-related illustrations and BE could only choose materials from these discs when constructing and updating their *Haruhi* promotional websites in the United States. The Haruhi Santa Claus illustration was not included in the discs provided by KPUSA to BE. However, the website representative found it while surfing the Internet and thought that BE should use it on their website (the illustration was said to be originally used in stationery sold in Japan). Since such material use was the "approval issue," BE asked KPUSA for permission. KPUSA seemed a bit surprised by BE's proposition; it did not presume that BE would dig out from the vast, unregulated Internet space an illustration used on *Haruhi* products completely unrelated to its anime. Although it

took several days for KPUSA to get the permission from Tokyo, the Santa Claus Haruhi illustration was at last granted for use on the U.S. *Haruhi* promotion website (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008; interview with the representative of BE by author, August 1, 2008; interview with the Vice President of KPUSA by author, August 6, 2008; interview with the representative of KPUSA by author, August 27, 2008).

Theoretical Implications

Many of the above activities of, and the relationships among, the agencies involved in *Haruhi*, especially the *Haruhi* promoters' expectation of the fans' profound knowledge about *Haruhi* before promoting it, and their seeking of the promotion materials beyond the officially provided materials, which I observed through the ethnography and the netnography of the agencies, present examples of how the *Haruhi*-involved agencies were centrally entangled not so in terms of the individual *Haruhi* narrative texts and products as in terms of its worldview which exists beyond them, and the examples of how the agencies themselves understood the difference of the understandings of *Haruhi* among them in terms of its worldview. Moreover, in many of these activities, such as fans' supplementing the officially unavailable *Haruhi* contents by spontaneously translating them into English, explaining the officially non-explained and non-translated *Haruhi*'s cultural elements, and generating the fansubs of *Haruhi*, we can detect the media products consumers' autonomous, "constructive," and yet worldview-guided commitment to the officially provided media texts, which are different from their completely free "indigenizing" or "appropriating" media texts on which many media anthropologists build their arguments.

I do not intend to say that they are not at all free to consume the *Haruhi* texts under the complete control of the worldview. Undoubtedly, if we see the *Haruhi* fans'

consuming activities as a whole, there are surely the aspects of their free indigenization and appropriation of *Haruhi* texts within their own social contexts. However, what I found and thus intend to show here is that there is yet another aspect of more disciplined commitment to *Haruhi* texts under the general guide of its worldview which many scholars seem to have overlooked. The *Haruhi*-involved agencies try to read *Haruhi* texts in relation to its worldview, rather than open-mindedly, following the “culture” of anime fans that assumes the “authenticity” in the original *Haruhi* worldview which have and are developing in Japan.

Such a picture of *Haruhi* anime in the United States provides us the incentive to re-think previous arguments about the relationship between copyright, Internet, the culture industry, and consumers. The mainstream arguments around this area tend to assume that the “big media” are in a “confrontational” relationship with their consumers; the Internet is a “site of struggle” between the two players: the big media producers try to “gerrymander” it in order to maximize their benefit by “enforcing” their copyrights, and consumers use it as their “stronghold” to prevent for the anime culture from being “locked down.” However, what we have seen above in the *Haruhi* anime case in the United States provides us with quite a different picture; the case shows that the “small media” are in “cooperative” relationship with their consumers; the Internet is instead a “site of communication” between the two players which, on one hand, the *Haruhi* anime distributors “relied on” in order to benefit by “sacrificing” their copyrights and which, on the other hand, the U.S. *Haruhi* fans “relied on” as well in order to participate proactively in the *Haruhi* world which resulted in the “prosperity” of its culture in the United States. The case of *Haruhi* anime in the United States shows that the previous arguments about copyright, the Internet, the culture industry, and consumers are one-sided. We could at least suppose that the culture industry-consumers relationship and attitudes of culture industry and consumers

toward copyright and the Internet are *ambivalent*; through the media products, both sides sometimes communicate and cooperate but can often contradict; the industry side sometimes wants to protect its copyrights but sometimes is ready to give them up; the Internet is the *ambivalent* site of confrontation and communication. The Internet and copyright could therefore be evaluated as being not yet sufficiently “entangled” as the established sites and market rules in the business of media products. I would also argue that the above condition of *Haruhi* in the United States also gives us pause to easily celebrate the U.S. consumers’ fansubbing as the “resistance toward the tyranny for free culture.” Since all anime companies in the United States are SME-size, who are not always willing to enforce their copyrights, fansubbing may be seen not as “resistance” but as “bullying,” and fansubbers themselves may be called “hectors” rather than “fighters for freedom.”

Whether it is culture industry theory or cultural studies, those who argue about the relationship between popular culture, copyright/intellectual property, and the Internet as well as about their social significance and impact seem to tend to be based on the following assumptions. First, they seem to assume a “confrontational” relationship between the producers’ side and the consumers’ side; they assume that the culture industry intends to take over the consumers’ minds and actions through its products and further, that consumers should try to resist their oppression. The two sides are locked into a “do or die” relationship. Second, they seem to assume that the producers’ side always has imperial power; they have huge human and financial resources that are no match for the individual consumer. Third, they assume that the media industry always intends to use its intellectual property rights as “weapons” to compel consumers to pay for using their products as much as possible. Culturally speaking, the IP rights are also always used by the big media to pin down what is and is not the “appropriate” use of their products under the name of authorship,

suppressing the consumers' free interpretation and appropriation of such products. Fourth, therefore, the Internet remains the "site of struggle" between the producers and consumers. For the big media, the Internet is no more than another potential tool to drive forward their conquest; their goal is to "gerrymander" the Internet (mainly by carrying through the logic of the IP rights in the Internet space as well) in order to maximize their profit. For the consumers, the Internet is virtually the "last bastion" for the "freedom of culture"; the Internet space should be kept egalitarian and democratic and its core nature must not be eroded by the media industry; consumers should therefore fight against big media's territorial ambition regarding the Internet space by making the most of the Internet's egalitarian and democratic nature. For example, glancing at the nation/world-wide large companies such as Starbucks, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Mattel, McDonald's, and Disney, Coombe (1998) emphasizes the function of the IP laws to entrench their texts and images and the importance of their consumers' spontaneous interpretations not being deterred by such IP laws.

I will focus on practices in which the law of intellectual property disrupts activities of meaning-making as well as instances in which such activities disrupt the positivity of legal meanings. The mass-reproduced, media-circulated cultural form accrues social meaning in a multiplicity of sites, I will suggest, but legally, the meaning of a text is produced exclusively at a mythic point of origin. ...

The law freezes the play of signification by legitimating authorship, deeming meaning to be value properly redounding to those who "own" the signature or proper name, without regard to the contributions or interests of those others in whose lives it figures. This enables and legitimates practices of cultural authority that attempt to freeze the play of difference (and *différance*) in the public sphere. [8]

As is clearly shown in the subtitle, the attacking target of Lessig (2004) was also "big media" (such as Hollywood, Disney, Network TV, CATV, and RIAA) and their rigged and repressive use of IP laws and the Internet. Making money talk, RIAA even

sued a college student who improved the search engine and ripped out his entire fortune in order to prevent consumers from sharing their music for free via the Internet (48-52). His central story was literally about the contention with various big media industries that tried to extend (and virtually perpetuate) their copyright terms, resulting in the Copyright Term Extension Act (CTEA); although he filed for an injunction claiming its unconstitutionality, his invocation was dismissed. Claiming to reaffirm the fundamental “American tradition” of the copyright i.e. the United States Constitution which gives the copyright only limited duration in order “to promote the progress” of “useful arts” by encouraging such copyright-protection-expired cultural works to move into the public domain for our free use¹¹³, Lessig call for creators to participate in his “creative commons” where they could explicitly and spontaneously reserve “some rights” and give up the others about their creative works in order to share and use these works more easily and smoothly than the existing copyright system. For Lessig, the Internet should generate free use and shared culture, and should not be rigged by the big media.

It is true that the *Haruhi*-related companies in the United States also partly followed the attitudes of above big media companies. They have often publicly criticized fansubs and fansubbers as enemies who destroy their own business as well as the United States anime market as a whole¹¹⁴. BE never weakened its hostile attitudes toward fansubs and fansubbers; in my interview with the President of BE, he explicitly reiterated that there is “absolutely no way” for them “to coexist with the

¹¹³ Lessig also argues that this is the point which the IP rights crucially differ from the property rights toward tangible entities, and which most big media companies seem not to understand, detecting from their major comments that their copyrights should be protected as thoroughly/permanently as the other property rights.

¹¹⁴ For example, see “Funimation, Bandai Entertainment Respond in Crunchyroll (Updated).” *Anime News Network*, 12 March 2008. Electronic article, [http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-03-12/funimation-responds-to-crunchyroll-us\\$4m-funding](http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-03-12/funimation-responds-to-crunchyroll-us$4m-funding), accessed May 27, 2008. The article reports that BE states that fansubs may “undermine the future of the anime business in Japan and the United States” and they “will continue to work with other U.S. companies and Japanese licensors to fight against downloading” fansubs “and its negative impact on the US anime industry.”

United States fansubbers” (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). BE is also fairly conservative in protecting its copyrights. For example, in an industry conference held during the Anime Expo 2008 on July 3rd, 2008 titled “Fansubs – The Death of Anime?,” in which BE participated as one of the panelists, BE (and the other United States anime distributors) agreed with the assertion that downloading the fansub of a certain anime is the equivalent of “walking into the anime store and stealing the anime’s DVDs.”

What we have seen in the previous chapters and sections about *Haruhi* business in the United States is, however, a picture which nearly contradicts all of the above assumptions and therefore which suggests that the previous arguments regarding copyright, the Internet, the culture industry, and consumers are one-sided. We have seen that KPUSA, BE, and BZE are all “small media,” and not “big media”; recall the weakness and immaturity of the *Haruhi* anime business in the United States, shown in the Chapter 3. The relationship between BE and the U.S. *Haruhi* fans could be evaluated “communicative” and “cooperative,” and not “confrontational,” at least in *Haruhi* anime’s promotion process in the United States; recall the provocative and suggestive messages and clues which BE embedded and posted in the U.S. *Haruhi* promotional websites (Kyon’s MySpace page for example) and *Haruhi* fans’ enthusiastic response (such as building other *Haruhi* characters’ MySpace pages in response to Kyon’s). In this light, the Internet was used by BE and the consumers as a “site of communication,” and not a “site of struggle.” BE’s use of the Internet was far from manipulative but it “relied on” the on-line *Haruhi* fan activities to market and promote its anime in the United States. We have also seen how heavily the U.S. consumers “relied” on the Internet when participating in the *Haruhi* worldview since the Internet is virtually the only channel through which to obtain unavailable *Haurhi* content. BE did not intentionally appear strict about its copyright in the promotional

phase (that is, nervous about whether the fans have already seen *Haruhi*'s fansubs, scanlations, and unofficial English-translated light novels beforehand); it did not "enforce" its copyrights but decided instead to partially "give up" them. As a result, rather than being "frozen" or "locked down," *Haruhi* culture "prospered" in the United States. The *Haruhi* anime business in the United States shows us that there exists a strong opposition to mainstream arguments about copyright, the Internet, the culture industry, and consumers.

At least, we could say, by adding the example of *Haruhi* anime in the United States to the previous discussion, that the culture industry-consumers relationship, and attitudes of the culture industry and consumers toward copyright and the Internet, are *ambivalent*; it seems premature to think that culture industry is always trying to conquer the consumers and the Internet world by making the most of its IP rights, causing consumers to fight back. Indeed, BE communicated and cooperated with its consumers through *Haruhi* during its promotional phase while conflicts arose with them in *Haruhi* anime's fansub issue. The United States *Haruhi* fans communicated and cooperated with BE by accessing BE's *Haruhi* anime promotional websites, on one hand, and, on the other hand, fought against with them by uploading and consuming their *Haruhi* fansubs on Youtube. The Internet was the ambivalent site of confrontation and communication between BE and its consumers. The Internet (the unofficial on-line *Haruhi* fan activities, for example) had at the same time the infrastructural and yet undermining functions for *Haruhi* business in the United States. Although BE explicitly states its wishes for their copyrights to be protected appropriately in order to make a profit through sales of *Haruhi* DVDs in the U.S. anime market, it also partly seemed willing to give up its rights regarding *Haruhi* anime in several phases of its business in the United States. In this light, it seems

reasonable to think that copyright and the Internet are not yet sufficiently “entangled” as the established sites and market rules in the business of media products.

The above *Haruhi* case in the United States also shows, I would argue, that current arguments about fansubs, which tend to be celebrated as a kind of “resistance toward the tyranny for free culture” are one-sided as well; they often misunderstand that the United States anime industry is “big media” (or overlook the fact that the U.S. anime industry is “small media”) by using the analogy of other existing “big” culture industries such as the U.S. music industry and Hollywood. Although there are still a few scholarly works that deal specifically with fansub issues, we can see the tendencies of above misunderstanding in the fansub argument of Condry (n.d.). He observes the “transnational community of fans” of anime that generates fansubs. Motivated by the “dark energy,” a kind of motivation for approval and appreciation from other anime fans by providing a high-quality fansubs which is hidden behind the discussion of fansubs’ illegality, according to him, such fansub communities reject following the “neoliberal principles” which solidly dismisses fansubs as being both anti-market and illegal. Rather, they build up their own autonomous fansub rules and ethics which they insist to be harmless to the United States anime market, such as fansubs’ non-commercial rules and fansubbing only the anime which is not licensed to the United States. Emphasizing several “positive” effects of fansubs such as providing access to anime programs to more potential fans than the official anime industry and providing more “accurate, timely, and detailed translations” than the anime industry, Condry seems to authorize the logics and activities of fansubs and fansubbers by utilizing prior existing arguments which deal with the “big media,” including the discussions of Coombe (1998) and Lessig (2004) as we have seen above; for Condry (n.d.), fansub issues are another example of the “democratic” and “revolutionary” movement in which “new digital technologies can reconstitute the power of media,

which in the broadcast era was, and to a large extent still is, dominated by wealthy elites and powerful corporations” (175).

Here Condry is overlooking the big gap in size, power, and capacity between the “big media” and the U.S. anime industry (which is “small media”) by uncritically applying the existing arguments about big media to fansub-related issues. We should again reaffirm that anime is the industry which is “small” (in contrast to “big” Hollywood and music industry) in the United States. Unlike Disney, Hollywood, and RIAA, there is no “power” to be “reconstituted” from the beginning in the realm of anime in the United States. As we have seen in the previous chapters and sections, the U.S. anime industry has less money and fewer lawyers; recall the very small number of the *Haruhi* anime business team in the United States. The President of KPUSA also told me that it has no budget for a separate unit in charge of legal issues; the anti-fansub works such as Internet patrolling and sending warning letters to fansubbers are carried out as extra jobs of company members. He even emphasized the gap in capacities to fight against illegal activities between KPUSA and Disney which “must have a large dedicated unit to investigate infringement activities as powerful as chasing up the unauthorized Mickey Mouse illustration drawn by the elementary school children on the bottom surface of their school’s pool in the local city of Japan and forcing them to erase it” (interview with the President of KPUSA by author, June 26, 2008). Such scarcity of resources in combating against fansubs seems to be common in almost all U.S. anime distributors; FUNimation, the biggest anime distribution company in the United States, once confessed that its legal team had only three members¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁵ The remark of the representative of FUNimation in the industry conference held during the Anime Expo 2008 at July 3rd, 2008 named “Fansubs – The Death of Anime?”

Conversely, we could say that it is rather the consumers' side that has considerable "power" especially in the realm of the anime in the United States when we look at the transnational anime process as a whole. At least we could say it is understood by most Japanese anime fans who oppose fansubs that U.S. fansubbers are safely infringing Japanese rights without punishment under the shelter of the power of the United States; for them, the survival of fansubs and fansubbers in the United States is the result of the unequal political relationship between (inferior) Japan and the (superior) United States; the United States is disinclined to protect and enforce the "foreign" and "inferior" Japanese rights regarding anime within the country while Japan is unable to compel the "superior" United States to appreciate their rights. Indeed, although the Japanese government officially and explicitly stated to the United States government that the "illegal distribution of copyrighted works" such as anime "on the Internet via U.S. video-sharing sites, peer-to-peer networks, and other systems" is one of the significant issues to be resolved in the United States-Japan relationship (MOFA 2007:49)¹¹⁶¹¹⁷, the United States has taken no actions to arrest fansubbers in the country¹¹⁸, which is in sharp contrast with the Japanese effort to combat against on-line illegal activities resulting in many arrests of those who uploaded anime programs¹¹⁹. It seems currently unrealistic to think that the U.S. fansubbers will be arrested or punished in the near future.

¹¹⁶ "Nihon Seifu Beikoku ni Netto jō no Anime Ihō Haishin Taisaku o Yōbō (Japanese Government Asked U.S. Government to Take Action against the Illegal Anime Distribution on the Internet)." *anime! anime!*, 23 October 2007. Electronic article, http://animeanime.jp/biz/archives/2007/10/post_228.html, accessed December 23, 2007.

¹¹⁷ "Japan Asks America to Stop Illegal Net Release of Anime." *Anime News Network*, 23 October 2007. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2007-10-23/japan-asks-america-to-stop-illegal-net-releases-of-anime>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹¹⁸ The remark of the representative of Bandai Entertainment in the in the industry conference held during the Anime Expo 2008 at July 3rd, 2008 named "Fansubs – The Death of Anime?"

¹¹⁹ For example, see "3 Arrested in Japan for Spreading Anime via Share Program." *Anime News Network*, 9 May 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-05-09/3-arrested-in-japan-for-spreading-anime-via-share-program>, accessed January 31, 2009.

From the perspective of Japanese anime fans, the “reciprocity principle” upon copyrights is not carried through between Japan and the United States. Japanese anime-related copyrights do not enjoy “national treatment” in the United States; they are not “treated” in the same way as those from Disney and Hollywood. On the other hand, however, the United States is very enthusiastic about protecting its own copyrights outside the country and about forcing the other country to protect and appreciate the U.S. IPs (recall the fact that the United States filed the suit against China to WTO, and demanded Japan to support the United States, to enforce their IP rights in China¹²⁰). Two postings on the Japanese anime fansite that show how anime is accepted and enjoyed in foreign countries demonstrate typical Japanese responses toward the fansub issues. One says “I wonder why Americans are on one hand so desperate about policing the bootlegged Hollywood DVDs all around the world while remaining so indulgent toward their own pirating on the other hand,”¹²¹ and the other says “I am interested in how the Americans would respond if Japanese order the U.S. movie and TV drama industry exactly the same demands as the U.S. anime fans are claiming to Japanese anime industry.”¹²²

If we suppose, as Condry does, that the core of the fansub issues lies within the fansubbers’ inner emotions, it then seems unavoidable to focus on their significant sentiment that they are not afraid of infringing Japanese copyrights. Condry argues

¹²⁰ “Chūgoku wa ‘Chizai Hogo ga Fujūbun’ WTO Shōi Bei no Uttae Mitomeru (China ‘Does not Protect IP Sufficiently’ WTO Panel Ruled in Favor of the United States).” *Nikkei Netto*, 27 January 2009. Electronic article, <http://www.nikkei.co.jp/news/main/20090127AT2M2701127012009.html>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹²¹ A comment posted at 10:18 November 30, 2007 on “Nihon no ANIME Gyōkai wa Fansabu Bokumetsu no tame nimo Aratana Haishinhōhō o Kakuritsu subeki dewa arimasenka (Sono 1) (Will the Japanese Animation Industry Innovate to Address Future Challenges (No.1))?” AskJohn Fankurabu, 27 November, 2007. Electronic blog entry, http://ask-john.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/2007/11/anime1_4716.html#more, accessed December 21, 2007.

¹²² A comment posted at 18:21 November 29, 2007 on “Nihon no ANIME Gyōkai wa Fansabu Bokumetsu no tame nimo Aratana Haishinhōhō o Kakuritsu subeki dewa arimasenka (Sono 1) (Will the Japanese Animation Industry Innovate to Address Future Challenges (No.1))?” AskJohn Fankurabu, 27 November, 2007. Electronic blog entry, http://ask-john.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/2007/11/anime1_4716.html#more, accessed December 21, 2007.

that the fansubbers' motivations that drive them to create fansubs form the core reason for the spread of fansubs. Whatever motivations U.S. fansubbers may have, it is undeniable, if we follow Condry's assumption and examine what fansubbers are thinking, to assume that they continue fansubbing mainly because they know that they will surely not be punished by infringing Japanese rights under the power of the United States. Kusanagi (2003) introduces one U.S. fansubber who says that it sounds unlikely that policemen will come into their houses to arrest them for fansubbing (115). It seems undeniable that such disrespect toward Japanese creative property lies in the core of fansub problems. And such an attitude is understood by Japanese anime fans as "American arrogance," "double standard" and even as "racism." It seems impossible for us to ignore the subtle influence of United States-Japan politics lying below the surface of fansub issues when arguing about the topic.

Careful examination is therefore required as to whether fansubs and fansubbing are truly worth celebrating as "democratic" or "revolutionary." It may be possible for these fan violations to be praised as "resistance" and for such active fans to be admired as "fighters for freedom" if they are fighting against the big media conglomerate. But what if their targets are SME-size who are neither willing nor able to enforce their copyrights? What if the imperial powers back the fans' side? In such a case, I am afraid that their violations are generally called "bullying" or "abuse" and such fans are seen as "hectors." In this light, one Japanese anime fan evaluated the U.S. fansubbers' logic as "the theory of a fox in the skin of tiger."¹²³; for the poster, Japanese anime and its properties are looked down on by the fansubbers who wear the skin of Stars and Stripes.

¹²³ A comment posted at 1:06 December 1, 2007 on "Nihon no ANIME Gyōkai wa Fansabu Bokumetsu no tame nimo Aratana Haishinhōhō o Kakuritsu subeki dewa arimasenka (Sono 2) (Will the Japanese Animation Industry Innovate to Address Future Challenges (No.2))?" AskJohn Fankurabu, 27 November, 2007. Electronic blog entry, http://ask-john.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/2007/11/anime2_0246.html, accessed December 21, 2007.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Let us go back to the original question; what is the actual transnationality of anime? By tracking the anime “The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya” (*Haruhi*) from Japan to the United States on the basis of the worldview (characters and settings) approach, I have found the answers for the question as follows. On the official track, the worldview (characters and settings) of *Haruhi* was transferred in a “diffusive” and “reductive” way from the encoder in Japan to the trans-coder in the United States and, as a result, the worldview (characters and settings) of its U.S. version was “diffused” and “reduced” as well. The weakness and the immaturity of the anime industry in the United States lie as the base-structural reasons for such diffusive/reductive introduction and diffusion/reduction. On the unofficial track, however, such reduced and diffused *Haruhi* worldview in the United States was considerably supplemented by the unofficial/illegal fan-based activities on the Internet. The Internet functioned as the crucial infrastructure in the *Haruhi* business and its environment in the United States.

How could this *Haruhi* case study in the United States be related further to broader frameworks and arguments of anime studies, both in the United States and in Japan, and to anthropological Japanese studies? As for anime studies, I believe the findings through this research will bridge the fields in both countries which have not necessarily had much contact with each other, both having little idea about the nuanced picture of the transnationality of anime. In Chapter 2, I tried to construct an approach to analyze the transnationality of anime by inter-connecting the frameworks that have been used in Japan and the United States. Furthermore, the facts found in Chapters 3 and 4 about how anime is treated outside Japan and by the involved agencies cope with it will, as I mentioned in the introductory chapter, supplement the

lack of a factual basis of this field in Japan. As for anime studies in the United States, the facts presented in Chapters 3 and 4 provide a nuanced picture about how anime is brought to the U.S. anime scholars themselves and audiences who tend to easily think of anime as a seamless global phenomena. The reason for their inclination to argue about anime in relation to the universal sets of issues is, I would suggest, that the fact that anime is already in their hands (i.e. in the hands of the scholars and audiences outside Japan) itself tends to make them loosely assume the transnationality of anime from the beginning and overlook its nuanced picture. In other words, they “build up” their arguments on the basis of the assumption that anime is transnational, but they tend not to “dig down” into the detail of such transnationality. For example, we saw this tendency in Napier’s (2007) argument to see anime as “fantasyscape” in the introductory chapter, and in the following chapters of the transnational *Haruhi* anime case we saw how important it is for us to focus in detail on the trans-coding process, which often “reduces” and “diffuses” the texts when an anime moves transnationally. In addition, in Chapter 4, we saw that Condry (n.d.) assumed the his notion of the “transnational anime fan community” is too casual and noticed that, by observing the severe dis-communication and confrontation between Japanese anime fans and U.S. anime fans about fansubs and fansub ethics, that such a community is not as monolithic as he assumes. I hope the findings and arguments I presented in this research will provide the common factual ground for anime scholars in both countries to develop their arguments about the transnationality of anime.

I sense that the contributions and implications this research may have for Japanese studies may be ambivalently received, especially if we attempt to relate these findings to the trajectory of existing critical arguments about media usages in Japan, which insists that Japanese try to find the “Japaneseness” in media products and thus try to band Japanese together through these products. Such a viewpoint was typically

held by Ivy (1995) who detected in various Japanese media products the discourse which asserts that authentic Japanese culture is “vanishing,” and thus that these products function, paradoxically, as a means of uniting Japan¹²⁴. It seems undeniable that the current anime studies and discourses concerning anime in Japan emerged (especially anime studies that emerged in response to the current boost of popularity of anime in the world) as another area of discourse seeking authentic Japan and attempting to see anime as a national brand that can represent Japan holistically (for example, Iwabuchi 2007). Their tendency to talk about Japan narcissistically, in relation to anime’s current transnational popularity, has been often criticized. We can even find the Ivy-like “vanishing discourse” in this field in the frequent argued “anime industry is in fact now perishing” discourse, which warns of industrial weakness and non-sustainability of the anime industry in Japan in spite of its apparent flourishing in the world -- thus calling for the involved players to unite to stabilize the fundamentals of the industry.

One of the tricky parts of this research is that one of its crucial findings -- the still-weak industrial basis for the anime business in the United States, and the incapacity of U.S. *Haruhi* localizers to cover all of its worldview in their trans-coding work – seems to give the basis of the statement that “anime centrally belongs to Japan(ese).” We can detect this statement as the implicit assumption in the nationalistic on-line postings by Japanese anime fans which blame fansubs, and as the target which the above Japanese studies try to attack. Statistically speaking, indeed, it seems undeniable that the priority of foreign markets is very low for the Japanese anime industry; clearly, this industry is capable of surviving without foreign markets. According to the Digital Content White Paper 2007 and 2008, since 2002, sales from

¹²⁴ One example which Ivy showed as such media products with “vanishing discourse” was the travel ad campaign that invites viewers to travel to the areas in Japan where the authentic Japan, which is vanishing in our everyday life, has not yet vanished.

foreign markets have never exceeded 10% of total sales of the Japanese anime industry. For example, total sales of the Japanese anime industry in 2007 was about 240 billion yen, while, within that total sales, the sales outside of Japan only about amounted to 18 billion yen (DCAJ 2007:250; 2008:228). This shows how domestic the Japanese anime industry remains, and this forms a sharp contrast with the portfolio of Hollywood -- often said to earn almost half of its sales from foreign (outside the United States) markets. Being the priority of the markets outside Japan as such, there are few incentives for the Japanese anime industry to spare its resources in foreign markets. The weakness and immaturity of the anime industry in the United States, which I have shown in this research, is due to the Japanese anime industry's low priority in foreign markets. On this point, I once heard an anime worker in Japan criticizing his company for only caring about competing in the Japanese domestic market, not sending top personnel to foreign branches to exploit the overseas' market (which stands in stark contrast with the behavior of other leading industries in Japan, such as the automobile industry). He also told me that many United States' branches of Japanese anime companies do not have sufficient human resources from their Tokyo headquarters. What we actually saw in the *Haruhi* case in the United States was that there indeed was a very small number of people involved in its business country. As for foreign markets other than the United States, the Japanese anime industry also does not seem to be interested in proactively penetrating them; the President of KPUSA told me that the Kadokawa group does not have any foreign branches to function as the master licensees, other than in the United States (which has less than ten members), Hong Kong, and Taiwan (interview with the President of KPUSA by author, June 26, 2008). Such conditions may be as a result of the business judgment of Tokyo, not to spare many resources for the markets that have less than one-ninth importance to the Japanese market. We have also seen in the previous chapter that the

trans-coders of *Haruhi* (and other anime distributors in the United States), as “small media,” were not able to cope sufficiently with the fansub problems. The President of BE told me that his company has very little support from the anime committee in Tokyo when combating fansubs and fansubbers “because they do not like to have a struggle in foreign markets. They have the culture to try to avoid lawsuits with someone” (interview with the President of BE by author, July 17, 2008). We can understand such attitudes in Tokyo, economically as well as culturally: current anime committees in Japan believe it is not cost-effective to fight with fansubs through lawsuits with fansubbers in foreign markets; if the markets outside Japan are especially vital for their survival, they will surely not hesitate to “have a struggle in foreign markets.” Furthermore, the level of such “indifference” of the Japanese anime industry toward the overseas markets is considerably increasing these days. The size of the United States’ anime market has been drastically shrinking; according to *ICv2*, a pop culture business journal in the United States, anime sales in the United States has continuously decreased from 2003 to 2008¹²⁵¹²⁶¹²⁷; some even suggest that the overall volume of sales for anime DVDs is down to around 50% of 2005 in 2007¹²⁸. Many anime distributors in the United States have gone out of business and many major U.S. branches of Japanese anime companies have started to retreat from the anime business in the country¹²⁹¹³⁰. The Japanese anime industry seems to be starting to cloister

¹²⁵ “ICv2 Conference on Anime and Manga – ICv2 White Paper.” *Anime News Network*. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/convention/2007/nyaf-icv2/icv2/whitepaper>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹²⁶ “‘Naruto’ Salvo Hits the Mark.” *ICv2*, 17 October 2007. Electronic article, <http://www.icv2.com/articles/news/11485.html>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹²⁷ “Anime DVDs Down 20%.” *ICv2*, 13 February 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.icv2.com/articles/news/12068.html>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹²⁸ “An Open Letter to the American Anime Community.” *ICv2*, 19 December 2007. Electronic article, <http://www.icv2.com/articles/news/11795.html>, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹²⁹ “Geneon USA Hokubei DVD wa Hatsubai ni Tokka Hanbai kara Tetta (Geneon USA Specializes in Releasing North America DVD. Retreats from DVD Distribution)?” *anime! anime!*, 25 August 2007. Electronic article, http://animeanime.jp/biz/archives/2007/08/usa_dvd.html, accessed January 31, 2009.

¹³⁰ “Broccoli International USA to Shut Down by Year’s End.” *Anime News Network*, 19 November 2008. Electronic article, <http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/news/2008-11-19/broccoli-international->

themselves into a domestic Japanese market. Such a status quo of the transnationality of anime seems to hold up to the assertion, “If the foreigners do not like the way Japan sells anime to the world, then do not see them. Anime is primarily made for Japanese and Japanese anime industry can survive without foreign audiences,” which can be frequently seen in the on-line postings by Japanese anime fans regarding how to understand anime in foreign countries.

In addition, another findings shows that the *Haruhi* business in the United States has failed to construct a multi-media “image alliance” (Shiraishi 2000) of *Haruhi* in the United States, as they did in the Japanese market, to synergically boost their sales (only 40% of the *Haruhi*-related products were officially available in the United States even after the *Haruhi* boom in 2007). This is mainly due to the huge difference in the media infrastructure between Japan and the United States (centrally, the absence of a mature publishing platform of light novels in the United States, which formed the core of the media in the *Haruhi* project in Japan), which may encourage the Japanese to think about themselves through anime in a way that Aoki (1999) calls “*kōteiteki tokuyshusei no ninshiki*” (to self define as affirmatively specific), i.e. one of the tendencies of *nihonjinron* (the discourses by Japanese about Japanese) to define Japan as outstandingly specific in an affirmative way in the world, in the contemporary sense. Aoki originally argued that such a tendency in *nihonjinron* was significant from the mid-1960s to mid-1980s. But the ethos seem to be reproduced in current contexts in Japan, which can be seen in the discourse that draws a parallel to the Japanese economic situation, which is said to have followed an atypical “route of evolution,” with the isolated ecosystem of the Galapagos islands. The Nomura Research Institute (NRI), one of the major think tanks in Japan, argues, for example, that the Japanese market, with its high-level and atypical needs (highly uncommon

[usa-to-shut-down-by-year-end](#), accessed January 31, 2009.

outside Japan) rooted in Japanese culture and its technologies and services in certain sectors which have been completely meeting such atypical needs, are comparable to the ecological system of the Galapagos Islands, which is isolated from the American continent and therefore has followed a unique line of evolution. In other words, just as the ecosystem of the Galapagos Islands is unable to be transplanted outside, certain technologies and services of Japanese industry that are excessively adapted to the Japanese market are found unable to become global standards -- although (or because) their qualities are too high and too specific. As the example of such a “Galapagos-ed” sector, NRI pointed to the Japanese cell phone service (the world’s most advanced content and e-mail service but is unable to be carried by non-Japanese cell-phone units) and building technology (which has the world’s top-class antiseismic techniques but which is useless to foreign countries that do not have earthquakes as frequently as Japan)¹³¹. My findings in this research may encourage the Japanese people to add an anime industry sector as another example of this “Galapagos Japan,” whose media mix strategy was so excessively suited to the Japanese domestic market that it could not be successfully transplanted in foreign markets.

Although I do intend to suggest that the Japan-is-special kind of discourse (especially in relation to anime) is not so groundless or fantastical as many critics may think, I need to clarify here that I do not intend to state such sentiment by this research. In contrast with the strong sense of ownership of anime among Japanese anime fans, I have tried to show in Chapter 4 the another sense of ownership by U.S. anime fans, who do share an approach to consume anime with Japanese anime fans (i.e. to commit to *Haruhi* texts under the general guide of its worldview) but also have a different logic and conduct codes than Japanese fans (such as fansub ethics). Moreover, such

¹³¹ “Garapagosu ka suru Nippon (Galapagos-ed Japan).” *Nomura Research Institute*, 13 February 2008. Electronic article, http://www.nri.co.jp/navi/2008/080213_1.html, accessed February 10, 2009.

foreign anime fans, at least in the United States, are increasing, in spite of the current shrinking of the U.S. anime market. One Japanese anime-in-foreign-countries' news website reports that the numbers of participants at 24 major anime conventions in the United States, including the two biggest conventions, Anime Expo and Otakon, increased in 2008, evident by comparing the numbers officially announced by the conventions on 2007 and 2008¹³². I even heard several U.S. anime workers make the same comment about their sales going down while the number of their products' fans was increasing.

In relation to anthropological Japanese studies on the most fundamental level, this research is one attempt to offer empirical picture about how the national border of Japan is understood and handled by agencies involved in Japanese media products -- by focusing not on the agencies inside Japan but on those outside the country. The conclusion is that anime is not in such tight control of the Japan as is often insisted or criticized yet not so seamlessly global as assumed. Furthermore, although it may be true that some sectors of Japanese cultural industries *within Japan* may have become bureaucratic and nationalistic, as Kinsella (2000) argues about manga industries in Japan, this assumption cannot be applied to all sectors, including anime, especially when exporting them overseas. We have seen that the Japanese government does not play any authoritarian role in the transnational anime business in general; we have seen that, within the U.S. *Haruhi* business, indeed the Japanese government did not play any role in any stages of its trans-coding business. Finally, we saw that the Internet enabled overseas' *Haruhi* fans to access at least 75% of *Haruhi*-related products, which also means that, at most, 25% of these products are still unavailable outside of Japan, even through the Internet.

¹³² “2008 nen Amerika no Anime Manga Fan wa Fuetanoka Hettanoka (Did the U.S. Anime and Manga Fans Increase or Decrease in 2008)?” *Ultimo Spalpeen*, 5 January 2009. Electronic article, <http://willowick.seesaa.net/article/112171282.html>, accessed January 31, 2009.

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