



NEW VOICES

IN JAPANESE STUDIES

Vol.9

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New Voices in Japanese Studies Volume 9

An interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal showcasing the work of emerging scholars from Australia and New Zealand with research interests in Japan.

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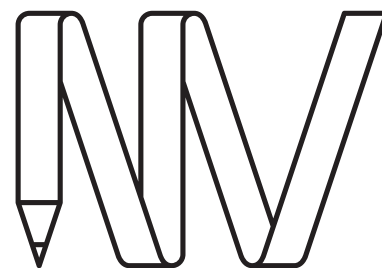
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New Voices in Japanese Studies,
Vol. 9, 2017

Volume 9 of *New Voices in Japanese Studies* (NVJS) brings to the fore five articles by a promising selection of new voices from both Australia and New Zealand, who have tackled a number of complex themes across a broad range of disciplines. I hope they have found contributing to the journal to be a rewarding experience, and one of the first of many opportunities to contribute to the growing body of outstanding research in Japanese studies, both in the region and beyond.

Every year, this journal would not come to fruition were it not for a cast of dedicated individuals. Firstly, it has been a great privilege to have Australian National University's Australian Centre on China in the World Post-doctoral Fellow Dr Olivier Krischer on board as Guest Editor for this volume. A previous *Monbukagakushō* scholarship recipient with research interests in modern and contemporary China-Japan relations through art, Dr Krischer graciously took on the role of Guest Editor for NVJS while simultaneously embarking on a Research Fellowship at Academia Sinica, Taiwan. On behalf of the NVJS team, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the tireless dedication and expert advice he has provided to not only shape this volume into the publication it has become, but also offer valuable guidance to both the NVJS team and contributing authors throughout the entire editorial process. I wholeheartedly believe that Dr Krischer's guidance has allowed this edition's *New Voices* contributors to further hone their skills as researchers, placing them firmly on the path to pursue promising careers in their respective fields of research.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the members of this year's Editorial Advisory Board, who amid their busy schedules have very generously offered their valuable time to provide feedback on the submissions for this volume. The journal would not be possible without their assistance, and I would like to sincerely thank them for their ongoing support of NVJS, and in turn their contribution to cultivating the next generation of researchers in the field of Japanese studies.

Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the considerable efforts of the NVJS team who have coordinated this edition of the journal: Series Editors Elicia O'Reilly and Leah Sourris; and Supervising Manager Ayusa Koshi.

Finally, I would like to express my deep appreciation to this edition's contributing authors. We understand how daunting the editorial process can be, and you have all gone above and beyond to rigorously address feedback and adhere to demanding deadlines. You are a credit to your supervisors, and we wish you all the very best as you continue your academic journeys.

Yoshihiro Wada
Director
The Japan Foundation, Sydney
June 2017

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Many of the strengths of this issue reflect recent developments in the journal's scope coming to fruition, which invites some reflection and congratulations on the way this project has evolved. In Volume 7, Series Editor Elicia O'Reilly and Guest Editor Dr Shelley Brunt outlined changes to the journal's title, format and scope of submissions, which broadly sought to make it more robust and more responsive to the field. Integral to this was the academic rigour with which papers would be peer reviewed, as well as the interdisciplinary breadth of research that would be pursued under an updated title. As reflected in this issue, contributions are now welcomed from PhD candidates and recent graduates (including those currently undertaking research in Japan), for whom opportunities to publish remain vital—not only for their resumes, but so as to share developments in the field, and to expose such new research to a critical community of colleagues.

There is an element of mystery when a call for papers goes out, particularly for a journal with as generous a brief as this. What kinds of research are emerging scholars pursuing? Are there clear trends or popular biases that might shape or even limit the field? As Guest Editor for Volume 9, it is a pleasure, then, to present another diverse set of papers, reflecting the strength and scope of emerging scholarship in Japanese studies, broad both in historical range and research interest.

Madeleine Sbeghen presents a detailed study of community engagement in conservation for a critically endangered bird described to science only in 1981, the Okinawa Rail. Sbeghen tracks the way local communities have developed a strong relationship with this species, making it a symbol of regional cultural identity, leveraged not only for tourism but also for community events and wider conservation goals. This has led to investment by government and community stakeholders in conservation education, dedicated facilities and public awareness campaigns. Intensely urbanised communities place significant pressures on local environments, and the shift from rural living also means the loss of previous forms of land management. This issue is particularly complex in northern Okinawa, where the symbolic value of this unique local asset has even seen the bird enlisted in the community's struggles against the activities of the local US military base. Yet, many of the immediate threats to the bird's survival stem from the local community itself. This study thus demonstrates the role of community cooperation in conservation and the value of interdisciplinary approaches to navigate a complex range of stakeholders.

Marie Kim writes about the portrayal of girls' rebellion in *kētai shōsetsu*—novels typically written and shared on mobile phones by young women. While the phenomenon seems to reflect the coming of age of a generation raised with mobile devices and internet access, Kim looks beyond the hardware to the history of women's fan literature and amateur publications since the Meiji period, as well as considering rebel characters and narratives from American cinema and their influences on postwar Japanese youth cultures. Some writers consider mobile phone novels as simply an example of the reemergence of *yankī* culture, with their rebellious tales of 'good bad boys' in motorcycle gangs rescuing damsels-in-distress from family and school pressures. Yet, by examining the Wild Beast series [2009–2010], Kim shows such stories play with traditional gender hierarchies, even casting young women as gang leaders. Indeed, these stories serve as a vehicle for sharing experiences of loss, love, peer pressure and family, alongside the excitement of vicarious rebellion. As such, mobile phone novels reflect the agency of their young women writers and readers—which, Kim notes, may be one reason they remain generally overlooked by a male-dominated literary establishment.

A. K. Byron reconsiders the critical development of Haruki Murakami, arguably Japan's best-known living author. While Murakami's work is described, even by the author himself, as a development 'from detachment to commitment', Byron revisits his three earliest novels, known informally as the Rat Trilogy (*Hear the Wind Sing* [1979], *Pinball, 1973* [1980] and *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982]), arguing that the detachment associated with these works is due to critical focus having to date centred on the narrator, Boku, rather than his friend, known as Rat. Considering the experience of this one-time student activist turned writer prompts Byron to read the novel against the history of Japan's late-1960s student movement, tracing how these novels address *shutaisei* (individual agency or subjectivity), an issue hotly debated within the movement at that time. Byron argues that, in this sense, Murakami already engages here with a political and historical awareness amounting to the kind of 'commitment' typically associated only with his later works. While this observation invites a new understanding of Murakami's critical development, it also suggests ways in which the social politics of the *Anpo* generation may be woven, in unrecognised ways, into the cultural life of later decades.

Daniel J. Wyatt analyses representations of the *shōjō* in Meiji literature and print media. Originally known as a mythical creature of folklore, in the Meiji era real-life *shōjō*—i.e., orangutans—started to appear in Japan, initially as curious spectacles in the popular *misemono* sideshows that harked back to pre-Meiji public entertainment. The opening of Japan's first modern zoo at Ueno, in 1882, signaled a shift in the way the natural world was framed for public consumption. When an orangutan was acquired for public display in 1898, people grappled to make sense both of the familiar myth and the modern specimen, revealing contesting systems of knowledge that seem particularly reflective of the Meiji period. By considering depictions of the *shōjō* in translated literature of the era—including a translation of Edgar Allan Poe's 1841 short story "The Murders in the Rue Morgue", which suggestively

features an orangutan loose in the streets of Paris—Wyatt demonstrates that the act of translation, as the movement and manipulation of language, was a key contributor to the creation of new knowledge and transition to modern systems of thought in Meiji Japan. Just as Poe’s translation drew on an existing vocabulary of *kaidan* ghost tales, Wyatt draws attention to the ways modern systems of thought may have been constructed and reflected through earlier, even supernatural, vocabularies of experience.

Laura Emily Clark also writes on the work of Haruki Murakami, though from the field of masculinity studies, undertaking a discourse analysis of the author’s first major novel, *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982]. Clark argues that while gender studies of masculinity in Japan, influenced by the work of R.W. Connell, have proposed the plurality of masculine performances across different contexts, there is scope to further complicate our understanding of individual masculine performances. To do this, Clark adapts Francis’ interpretation of Bakhtinian heteroglossic (i.e., ‘many voices’) gender performance, to illustrate that in a single gendered performance there can be a multitude of distinct masculinities engaged and changed according to contextual needs—even if these performances occur in a context dominated by an apparently simpler, ‘monoglossic’ (i.e., ‘single voice’) gender ideal, such as the salaryman masculine ideal in postwar Japan. Francis originally observed gender plurality in the guise of monoglossic performances by children in a classroom setting, where there remains a peer group expectation to present legible gender types. Having demonstrated the multiple masculinities engaged even in brief exchanges in Murakami’s novel, Clark suggests that far from being unstable or exceptional, such heteroglossic masculinity might be considered commonplace, even if unrecognised. While fictional, Clark treats the text as reflective of its cultural context, thus pointing to the potential of these ideas for real-world masculinity studies on Japan.

There is much to commend about the kind of support that brings a journal such as this together; it is never about the glory. Many well-established scholars, with demanding teaching and travel schedules, gave careful and constructive feedback to these papers, as well as some which will appear in future issues. Their generosity was much appreciated and heartening, underlining, in this age of competitive metrics, the strong collegial support that remains essential—particularly in this region—for the sustenance and development of this field.

I wish to applaud the scholars whose papers are published here, for their patience and commitment. It has perhaps never been more challenging to pursue advanced or specialist research in the kinds of subjects undertaken here, with high-level Japanese language acquisition being but par for the course. I encourage those who have received feedback on previous submissions, as well as those with new submissions, to contact the series editors, who, I can assure you, welcome enquiries as much as draft papers. Having your work edited is just as much about critical feedback and learning how to communicate research effectively, and it is unfortunately an experience that is often

outside the scope of graduate programs. This underlines the important role that a publication such as this plays.

For this reason, I look forward to future issues of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*. The actual work of producing such a volume—from the initial call and mustering a guest editor, to the final edits and layout—remains an often-thankless task. To the Japan Foundation, Sydney team, a special thank you to Series Editor Elicia O'Reilly, who was from the beginning a model of convivial professionalism and sheer organisation; her diligence made it impossible for this editor to fall behind. She managed to steer this issue well on its way before taking her happy leave to become (a no doubt equally well-prepared) parent. おめでとうございます！ My thanks to her able successor, Acting Series Editor Leah Sourris, for her dedicated patience and humour, and my appreciation also to Supervising Manager Ayusa Koshi, for the initial conversations which led to this invitation and much behind-the-scenes consultation on all aspects of the journal's production.

Dr Olivier Krischer
Australian National University

Community Engagement with Wildlife Conservation in Japan: A Case Study of an Endangered Bird, the Okinawa Rail (*Hypotaenidia okinawae*)

MADELEINE SBEGHEN

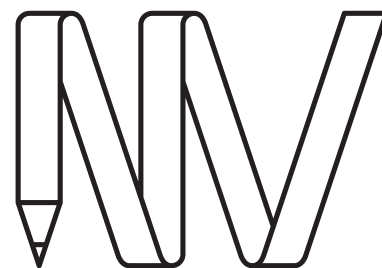
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ABSTRACT

As host of the 2010 Nagoya Biodiversity Summit, Japan reaffirmed its efforts to conserve biodiversity for future generations. Rebuilding relationships with nature and strengthening conservation education are key priorities of Japan's biodiversity conservation agenda to improve outcomes for threatened species and local communities. This paper examines community engagement with the critically endangered Okinawa Rail (*Hypotaenidia okinawae*), an endemic bird of the Yanbaru forests of northern Okinawa, with reference to the conservation context in Japan. Since discovery of the Okinawa Rail in 1981, communities in Yanbaru have developed a strong relationship with this species, recognising it as an important symbol of regional cultural identity and as a unique ecological asset that attracts visitors and underpins community events. This has translated into investment by government and community stakeholders in conservation education facilities and public awareness campaigns for the Okinawa Rail in Yanbaru. To improve the long-term value of facilities to support science-based conservation efforts in this Japanese context, it could be advantageous to increase opportunities for social learning that incorporate both educational and conservation goals, and which encourage stakeholder partnerships. The complex socio-economic and political context in Okinawa, and the significant impact human activities have on the Okinawa Rail population, also highlight the importance of community cooperation in conservation activities and reinforce the value of interdisciplinary approaches that negotiate cross-cultural differences in biodiversity conservation.

KEYWORDS

conservation outreach; endangered species; *Hypotaenidia okinawae*; Okinawa; Okinawa Rail; wildlife conservation; Yanbaru; *Yanbaru Kuina*



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The Okinawa Rail (*Hypotaenidia okinawae*) or *Yanbaru Kuina* (ヤンバルクイナ) as it is known in Japan (hereafter, ‘Yanbaru Kuina’), is a threatened bird species endemic to Okinawa, the largest of the subtropical Ryukyu Islands in far southern Japan. Restricted to the relatively small but highly biodiverse Yanbaru (ヤンバル) forests of northern Okinawa, the Yanbaru Kuina is one of several species in the region with populations threatened by human activity and encroaching development (BirdLife International 2016; Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). The Yanbaru Kuina is remarkable in that it was only formally described to science in 1981, after which it has been subject to conservation attention and considerable community interest (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). As a means to improve outcomes for threatened habitats and species, such as the Yanbaru Kuina, the Japanese government has identified, in line with a growing body of literature, the value of community engagement with biodiversity conservation activities (Government of Japan Ministry of the Environment [MOE] 2012; Government of Japan 2014). Engaging communities in wildlife management and conservation has been recognised as an opportunity to revitalise conditions in rural or remote communities in Japan, where there are significant trends of depopulation and ageing demographics (Sakurai and Jacobson 2011; Government of Japan 2014).

Okinawa provides an interesting context for a conservation case study, as a region with significant biodiversity and endemism, and a complex socio-economic and political history. This includes a long-term interaction with US military forces stationed in Okinawa, and a traditionally disadvantaged economic situation relative to wider Japan, largely based on military services and tourism. The Ryukyu Islands also have a distinct culture unique to the Ryukyuan people, who had independent sovereignty of the region prior to Japanese colonisation in 1879 (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs [IWGIA] 2016; Kakazu 2011). Conservation efforts for the region’s rich but vulnerable biodiversity occur within this complex socio-political environment.

In light of this context and the Yanbaru Kuina’s relatively recent discovery, this case study reports on how communities in Yanbaru are interacting or being encouraged to interact with this species, particularly in terms of engagement with conservation. This paper will first describe the context for the biodiversity conservation agenda in Japan and the conservation framework for the Yanbaru Kuina, and then present a snapshot of activities representing community engagement with this species in Okinawa. This is followed by a discussion of how such engagement has impacted communities in Yanbaru, in light of the agenda to revitalise relationships between nature and local communities. Finally, it provides an analysis of community engagement activities relevant to conservation of the Yanbaru Kuina, with reference to successful strategies established in the literature and other conservation contexts in Japan.

In 2010, Japan took centre stage as host of the Nagoya Biodiversity Summit, the tenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (United Nations Environment Programme 2010). The CBD, adopted in 1992, was a major response of the international community to alarming global trends of biodiversity loss (United Nations Environment Programme 2014b). Biodiversity, which encompasses the variation within and between all living organisms on Earth from the genetic level through to species and ecosystems, provides fundamental services which underpin the well-being of human societies (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005). Despite increased targeted action by governments and organisations at international to local levels to address biodiversity loss, biodiversity continues to decline (Rands et al. 2010). It has been suggested that the “primary barrier to meeting the 2010 Biodiversity Target [...] lay in restoring human connections with biodiversity and promoting environmentally friendly behavioural patterns in society” (Jiménez et al. 2014, 830).

The major outcome of the Nagoya Biodiversity Summit was the introduction of the Aichi Biodiversity Targets, which guided the development of National Biodiversity Strategies and Action Plans for 2012–2020 (United Nations Environment Programme 2014c). In accordance with this agenda, Japan published its fifth National Biodiversity Strategy for 2012–2020, which included “mainstreaming of biodiversity into society” and “reviewing and rebuilding the relationships between people and nature in local communities” as two of five basic strategies (Government of Japan MOE 2012; Government of Japan 2014, 35). These strategies incorporated goals to improve opportunities for biodiversity education and experiences, to support the development of communities that better coexist with wildlife, and to promote efforts to conserve wildlife endemic to local areas (Government of Japan MOE 2012, 13–14).

Wildlife management, especially the conservation of threatened species, forms an important part of biodiversity conservation planning. In terms of public engagement, species are a relatable component of the environment to which people develop attachment, and as such they can drive interest in the conservation of a larger at-risk ecosystem. The Japanese archipelago (378,000 km²), comprising four main islands and approximately 6,800 smaller islands, provides habitat for a diverse biota, including approximately 90,000 fauna species (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] 2010; Government of Japan 2014). National and prefectural governments across Japan publish Red Lists of Threatened Species, which aid in the formation of biodiversity conservation strategies (United Nations Environment Programme 2014a).¹ The most recent Red List of Japan categorises over 3,500 species as threatened with extinction, including 15% of bird species, 21% of mammals, 35% of reptiles and amphibians, 42% of brackish and freshwater fish, and 25% of vascular plant species (Government of Japan 2014).

¹ Red Lists are databases that collate taxonomic and distribution information about species from authorities in the field to provide working systematic assessments of conservation status. First developed by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), they are a widely accepted tool used to identify threatened species and prioritise conservation actions (IUCN 2016).

The statistics in Japan's Red List are indicative of the significant pressures on biodiversity caused by intense periods of development, particularly following World War II, and the demands of Japan's highly urbanised population of 127 million, densely concentrated on the coastal plains (The World Bank 2015; OECD 2010; Japan Bureau of Statistics 2016). Only 7% of the Japanese population now lives in rural areas, where older generations have become the demographic majority (Government of Japan 2014; The World Bank 2015). This has affected the maintenance of traditional land use and resource management activities, which have often served to support biodiversity (Kato et al. 2009; Katsue and Yukihiro 2011). Urban residents have relatively fewer opportunities for regular experiences with wildlife and nature (Government of Japan 2014). Globalisation and strong socio-economic drivers in Japan are also eroding the traditional informal protection offered by sacred sites and taboo areas, which has indirectly supported the conservation of some species in Japan (Sasaki et al. 2010).

Although conservation is driven by international agendas and scientific research, conservation activities necessarily occur at local and regional scales, where relationships between communities and natural features are complex and exist within different cultural contexts (Buizer et al. 2016; Elands et al. 2015; Maffi 2010b). In Japan, the most significant tracts of natural forest are found in remote and rural regions, a traditional point of intersection between human settlement and wildlife activity (Government of Japan 2014; Knight 2006). Ageing populations and reduced employment opportunities are growing symptoms of depopulation in these rural areas today (Government of Japan 2014). As the Japanese government has recognised, improving relationships between people and nature through education, wildlife management and conservation activities may provide an opportunity for the revitalisation of these rural communities. The significant impact that human activities have on threatened species means engagement of the community is also crucial to support wildlife conservation efforts (Sakurai and Jacobson 2011; Government of Japan 2014).

A public survey by Japan's National Institute for Environmental Studies found that attitudes towards conservation activities improved when people had greater awareness of the benefits of cultural ecosystem services (Government of Japan 2014, 91–92). The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment established cultural ecosystem services as one facet of a suite of benefits that human societies derive from biodiversity (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).² Although the ecosystem services model has been criticised for its emphasis on a unidirectional relationship between society and nature, it has aided relevant authorities to evaluate or quantify the intangible benefits of biodiversity (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005; Maffi 2010b). For example, biodiversity contributes to 'cultural' well-being by: reinforcing cultural identity and sense of place; supporting religious and spiritual enrichment; providing a foundation for knowledge systems, education and creative inspiration; and creating opportunities for aesthetic appreciation, tourism and recreation (Daniel et al. 2012; De Groot and Ramakrishnan 2005).

² Other ecosystem services include: provisioning (of water, food and fibre resources); regulation (of climate, water, disease and waste); and support (for primary production and essential natural cycles) (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment 2005).

Meaningful connections with conservation schemes can be fostered through successful negotiation of cultural values concerning nature at the community level (Verschuuren 2012; Hakkenberg 2008; Jepson 2010). That is, gaining community support for conservation may be easier if there are existing cultural associations with or value found in a particular wildlife species, or if there is momentum to cultivate new community relationships with local biodiversity. Barua and Jepson (2010) established that there was a biocultural context for conservation of the Great Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris*) in the United Kingdom, where this species' representation in the cultural narrative and mythology of an ancient English landscape and identity has strengthened public support and investment in conservation efforts.

In the same vein, the threatened population of Red-crowned Cranes (*Grus japonensis*) found in Hokkaido has also benefited from strong cultural associations. The crane's long lifespan, graceful pair-bond dancing and distinctive red, white and black colouration has inspired its place as a nationally important symbol of good fortune, marital devotion, longevity and patriotic pride, contributing to its significant representation in art, folklore, domestic objects, textiles and wedding regalia (Von Treuenfels 2006; Britton and Hayashida 1993; Kawauchi and McCarthy 1998; International Crane Foundation 2015). As perhaps the most well-known wildlife conservation story in Japan, this species has received conservation attention from governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and citizens in Hokkaido, from as early as 1924 (Britton and Hayashida 1993). Real progress began in 1952, when local farmers and school children began feeding the small population of cranes over the harsh winter. These efforts laid the foundations for the development of an artificial feeding program, protected areas and several conservation education centres, which have established the crane as a major tourist drawcard and economic driver for eastern Hokkaido (Collar et al. 2001a; Matthiessen 1995; Akan International Crane Center [GRUS] 2015). The Red-crowned Crane was the focus of the first conservation project for the Wild Bird Society of Japan (WBSJ), and continues to be an important species to garner support for this popular NGO (WBSJ 2007, 2014). In a conservation success story for Japan, these combined efforts have seen Hokkaido's Red-crowned Crane population downgraded from Endangered to Vulnerable on Japan's Red List (Government of Japan MOE 2017; BirdLife International 2015). It is clear that the history of cultural associations and community interaction with this species has buttressed conservation efforts.

If conservation is approached from a biocultural perspective, efforts to conserve species should acknowledge the local and wider human context by engaging with communities and, where possible, incorporating cultural values to achieve the most effective outcome for that species, as well as for people in the region (Pungetti et al. 2012; Maffi 2010a). To be most effective, techniques that engage people in conservation programs, such as public awareness campaigns and conservation education, should be tailored to appeal to the communities in which action is required (Lo et al. 2012). These considerations are particularly relevant for threatened species that may not have long-standing cultural value for the regional communities where they

are found, as is the case for the Yanbaru Kuina. As such, the implementation of conservation activities for the Yanbaru Kuina has coincided with the development of community relationships with this species.

This study therefore sheds light on how communities in a regional area of Japan are cultivating relationships with their local threatened species and participating in conservation initiatives, with consideration for the agenda outlined by the Japanese government to rebuild and revitalise relationships between nature and local communities.³ Although an analysis of the effectiveness of education and awareness initiatives in reinforcing conservation outcomes for the Yanbaru Kuina is beyond the scope of this study, some preliminary observations are made regarding effective approaches documented in the literature. While generalisations made in this documentary analysis are limited to the scope of the data collected, this paper provides a snapshot of community engagement with wildlife conservation activities in Japan—a topic not widely disseminated in English amongst scientific and other audiences outside of Japan (Higuchi and Primack 2009). This paper thus joins a growing body of interdisciplinary literature that documents the interaction between cultural values and community relationships with species and landscapes, to investigate the potential application of these interactions to support biodiversity conservation and cultural heritage revitalisation (Maffi 2010c; Buizer et al. 2016).

THE YANBARU KUINA

Ecology and History

The Yanbaru Kuina is the only nearly flightless bird found in Japan (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2015). Endemic to the island of Okinawa (1,206 km²), Yanbaru Kuina are medium-sized birds with a red bill and legs, olive-brown upperparts, barred-white black underparts and a white line underneath the eye extending down the side of the neck (BirdLife International 2017; see also Figure 1). Similar to other typically flightless species in the Rallidae family, this species has strong legs, short rounded wings and a tail reduced to brushy feathers (Kuroda 1993; Kirchman 2012). This species' small distribution is restricted to the montane Yanbaru forests across the northern region of Okinawa, an area characterised primarily by dense subtropical broadleaf evergreen forests, with a climax vegetation area of 300 km² (BirdLife International 2017; Collar et al. 2001b; Itō et al. 2000). The Yanbaru Kuina population is considered to be in decline, with a current total population estimate of 720 individuals, including approximately 480 mature individuals (BirdLife International 2017). Consequently, the Yanbaru Kuina is classified as Critically Endangered (Endangered Class IA) in the 2012 Red List of Threatened Species of Japan, and Endangered on the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species (Japanese Red Data Search System 2016b; BirdLife International 2016).

³ This paper stems from an Honours thesis, which presented a comparative investigation of cultural associations and community interactions with the conservation of three threatened bird species in Japan: the Red-crowned Crane; Blakiston's Fish Owl; and the Okinawa Rail (Sbeghen 2015).

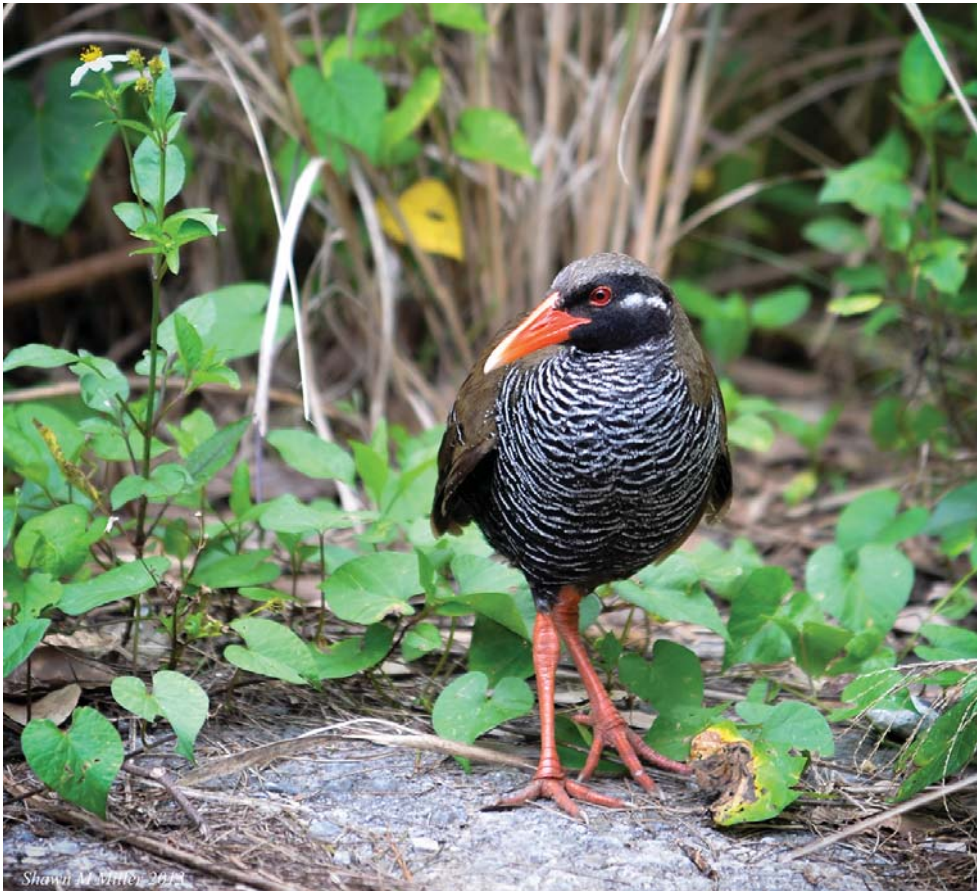


Figure 1: The Yanbaru Kuina (*Hypotaenidia okinawae*).
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For a small region, the Yanbaru forests possess significant biodiversity and endemism, being home to 8% of mammal species, 25% of reptile species and 25% of vascular plants found across Japan (Itō et al. 2000). Yanbaru also has a high incidence of threatened species, including four critically endangered mammal and bird species (Itō et al. 2000; Japanese Red Data Search System 2016a). Island species that have restricted distributions and experience evolutionary development in isolation are particularly prone to population decline as they have reduced capacity to respond to introduced predators and human activities (Arcilla et al. 2015). Okinawa is no exception, where there has been a documented spread of feral domestic animals and introduced predators throughout threatened species' habitats, and where at least 77 km² of natural forest was lost to agricultural and urban development between the 1970s and early 2000s (Government of Japan 2014).

The greatest long-term threats to the Yanbaru Kuina population are deforestation, habitat fragmentation and forest thinning from development, agricultural expansion, and the construction of roads, dams and golf courses (BirdLife International 2017; Itō et al. 2000). Predation by feral cats, dogs and introduced species, particularly the Javan mongoose (*Herpestes javanicus*), has also had significant impact on the population (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2015b; Ozaki et al. 2006). Predation is the primary cause of an observed northward contraction in the range of the Yanbaru Kuina, which contributed to an estimated 40% reduction in the species' total distribution from the late 1980s to 2004 (BirdLife International 2017;

Ozaki et al. 2006; Arcilla et al. 2015). Other significant causes of mortality include vehicle collisions, particularly during the active breeding season, when Yanbaru Kuina dash across roads between forest patches, accounting for 70% of recorded deaths in one study conducted between 1998 and 2003 (Kotaka and Sawashi 2004). The Ministry of the Environment (MOE) has twice declared a ‘state of emergency’, in 2007 and 2010, in response to high levels of Yanbaru Kuina mortality on roads (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). Recently, there has also been evidence of a genetic bottleneck in the Yanbaru Kuina population, whereby rapid population decline has changed the gene pool structure, effectively causing a decline in genetic diversity. This process has long-lasting impacts that cannot be readily reversed with an increase in population size (Ozaki et al. 2010).

Conservation Action

The Yanbaru Kuina is legally protected as a National Endangered Species and is recognised as a *tennen kinenbutsu* (天然記念物), or ‘Natural Monument’, by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Collar et al. 2001b; Government of Japan Agency for Cultural Affairs 2017).⁴ A management plan for the protection and expansion of the Yanbaru Kuina population was outlined in 2004 and a captive breeding program was established in 2010 (Government of Japan MOE 2004, 2007; Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). The MOE has undertaken trapping and installed fencing in an attempt to reduce the mongoose population in the region with some success (Arcilla et al. 2015; Ozaki et al. 2006). Road alterations, such as concreted road edges that increase bird visibility, and fencing coupled with under-road wildlife tunnel crossings, have been installed in certain highway hotspots to reduce traffic collisions (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2007; *The Ryukyu Shimpo* 2012). A Yanbaru Kuina critical care centre was also established with the involvement of local veterinary surgeries in 2005, to respond to injured individuals and incubate rescued eggs (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2015, 2007). Habitat protection has until recently been limited to small tracts of Yanbaru forest, such as 0.23 km² at Mount Yonaha (与那覇岳) (Collar et al. 2001b). Some NGOs have also secured habitat in the region, including the WBSJ, which manages the *Yanbaru Okuma yachō hogoku* (やんばる奥間野鳥保護区; lit., ‘Yanbaru Okuma Wild Bird Reserve’) on a small parcel of land near Kunigami (国頭村; 0.031km²) (WBSJ 2015). The recent designation of 136.22 km² of the Yanbaru region as a national park, in September 2016, signals a significant step forward in habitat conservation for this species (Government of Japan MOE 2016; Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2010b).

When considering Yanbaru Kuina conservation, it is also important to take into account the US military presence in Okinawa. Although the US returned sovereignty of Okinawa to the Japanese government in 1972, it still maintains a number of large military bases in the region, including the Camp Gonsalves Jungle Warfare Training Center, which occupies approximately 25% of the

⁴ The Natural Monument system identifies animals, plants, geological and other natural areas that are considered important historical and cultural features. Designation as a Natural Monument provides some legislative protection and reinforces Endangered Species legislation, but has been criticised for having an outdated approach to listings, lacking systematic criteria (Takahashi 2009).

Yanbaru region (Itō et al. 2000; IWGIA 2016). Access to forest areas in the Training Center is prohibited, and the area has been kept in a relatively natural state to create authentic conditions for jungle warfare training exercises (Itō et al. 2000). In December 2016, US forces formally announced the return of half of the Training Center land (approximately 40 km²) to the Japanese government (Mie 2016). However, this deal has been in exchange for a controversial development project to construct six US military helipads in forest areas near the Takae district (高江周辺) in Higashi, Yanbaru (Mie 2016). Clearing and construction for the 75-metre-wide helipads, which also require service roads, stalled after two helipads were completed in 2014, but then resumed in July 2016, much to the ire of local communities and NGOs who have maintained long-term sit-in protests near the site (No Helipad Takae Resident Society 2013; World Wildlife Fund Japan 2015; *The Mainichi* 2016). Citizen protests and resistance from politicians in the regional Okinawan administration against this and other projects—such as the new US air base planned for Henoko Bay, which will encroach on the habitat of the endangered dugong (*Dugong dugon*)—have been met with significant opposition from the Japanese government (IWGIA 2011; *The Japan Times* 2016). These development projects and land use by US military forces in Yanbaru highlight the complex socio-political context in which conservation efforts for the Yanbaru Kuina are occurring.

Community Engagement with the Yanbaru Kuina

Following its official discovery, the Yanbaru Kuina experienced considerable media attention and community interest (Collar et al. 2001b). However, as the Yanbaru Kuina was discovered only relatively recently, few historical community interactions have been documented, except for some sightings by local mountain workers of a bird they nicknamed *agachi* (アガチ; scatterbrain) or *yamadui* (ヤマドゥイ; mountain bird) (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). As a flightless bird that inhabits dense forest, few people chance upon this species; even visiting ornithologists still had difficulty securing wild sightings after 1981 (Brazil 2013).

While the southern parts of Okinawa are home to urban centres, including the prefecture's largest city, Naha, the northern Yanbaru region is more sparsely populated with smaller settlements (Takahashi 2004). The villages of Kunigami, Higashi (東村) and Ōgimi (大宜味村), which neighbour Yanbaru Kuina habitat, have particularly embraced the appearance of this charismatic and endemic species (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). These communities have a combined population of approximately 9,700 residents, and relative to the Okinawan average have a reduced share of young people under 15 years of age and more people over 65 (13% and 31% of the regional population, respectively) (Japan Bureau of Statistics 2015). It was in Kunigami that the MOE opened the Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center and Ufugi Nature Museum in 1999, its major contribution to conservation education and cultivation of community awareness for Yanbaru and its biodiversity (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2010a). The Center features educational displays, facilities for lectures and activities, and resources for visitors.

An active website is also maintained with information about the Yanbaru region, news of conservation activities and monitored threats, upcoming events, useful links and a nature blog (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2015a).

Kunigami has adopted the Yanbaru Kuina as the symbol of their village, with the bird featuring on the village logo and on the sign farewelling visitors from the town, which says, “You’re welcome again to Kunigami, the village of the Yanbaru Kuina” (またんめんそーれ ヤンバルクイナの里国頭村へ) (*Zenkoku ijū navi* 2015; Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). Since 2004, as declared by the Kunigami Assembly, 17 September has been celebrated as ‘Yanbaru Kuina Day’ (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a). Since 2007, the community ‘Kuina Festival’ has been held annually around this day in September, and includes guided walks, eco-activities, arts and crafts and an appearance by Kui-chan (クイちゃん), the Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center mascot (Kunigami Village 2015a). Kui-chan is used as a drawcard at events like the Kuina Festival and during public awareness campaigns that support conservation activities for this species, riding on the wave of popular character mascots in Japan (Kunigami Village 2015a).

At the 2011 Kuina Festival, special events were held to celebrate 30 years since the species’ official description, including lectures in Kunigami’s *Yanbaru kuina seitai tenji gakushū shisetsu* (ヤンバルクイナ生態展示学習施設; lit., ‘Yanbaru Kuina Ecology Exhibition and Learning Centre’) (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011b). This facility focuses specifically on the Yanbaru Kuina and features educational displays about their ecology and conservation activities, as well as providing the opportunity to see a live Yanbaru Kuina, which is housed at the Centre and has been officially named Kyon Kyon (キョンキョン) by the local school children (Kunigami Village 2015b; *The Ryukyu Shimpō* 2014). In Kunigami, visitors can also buy doughnuts (a local speciality) that feature the likeness of two Yanbaru Kuina sharing a doughnut on their packaging (Kunigami Village 2015c). At Cape Hedo to the north of Kunigami stands a larger-than-life, Yanbaru Kuina-shaped lookout constructed to attract visitors (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a).

The strong history of engagement Okinawans have with environmental conservation issues is also an important consideration in this case study, particularly where development projects and US military operations have come into conflict with the natural heritage of the region (IWGIA 2015; Itō et al. 2000). In recent years, residents of Takae, a small northern district of Higashi, have been at the forefront of protest action against the US military, following the recommencement of helipad construction discussed earlier, in close proximity to this residential area of Higashi. Community members have maintained an organised, long-term campaign against the helipads, focusing on two major issues: firstly, the disruption from noise pollution and threat of accidents from Osprey helicopter training exercises; and secondly, the overarching concern for the region’s surrounding forest and biodiversity (No Helipad Takae Resident Society 2013; *The Mainichi* 2016). Along with

other wildlife, the Yanbaru Kuina has been utilised in campaign material by Takae community groups as a positive focus for action, with a cartoon likeness of the bird used to rally community support (No Helipad Takae Resident Society 2013). Amid the long-term turmoil over US military base operations and development in Okinawa, the Yanbaru Kuina appears to stand as a positive focus for environmental activities, a symbol of the unique natural assets in the region and a point of pride for the communities in Yanbaru.

It is important to note the distinction of naming this species the ‘Yanbaru Kuina’ or ‘Yanbaru Rail’ in Japan, instead of the ‘Okinawa Rail’, as designated in English. Yanbaru was little known outside of Okinawa before the discovery of this species, and this name was chosen in an effort to draw attention to the region’s considerable biodiversity (Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2015). In choosing the name ‘Yanbaru Kuina’, the scientists at the Yamashina Institute for Ornithology (who acquired and described the first type specimen of this species) also wanted to cultivate local community awareness and support, which they considered crucial for conservation (Yamashina and Mano 1981; Yamashina Institute for Ornithology 2011a, 2015). This is particularly important given many of the factors contributing to Yanbaru Kuina mortality have a direct human element, and so the success of conservation actions in addressing such threats relies on the cooperation of local people and effective public awareness campaigns (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2015b).

A prime example of this is the issue of Yanbaru Kuina mortality from car collisions, which remains a significant threat to the species’ small population, despite the installation of targeted warning signs and other road alterations (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2016). This trend prompted the MOE to begin a public awareness campaign in 2014, producing posters and campaign material to highlight road-kill hotspots and encourage drivers to reduce speeds in Yanbaru (Naha Environment Office 2015). With increased interest in the region after the recent national park designation, campaigns will need to ensure driver awareness also extends to tourists. While the annual road-kill count fluctuates considerably and has yet to drop below the figure of 35 deaths recorded in 2010, when a state of emergency was last declared, figures do show that car fatalities have not increased in the two years since the introduction of the public awareness campaign (Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2016). These results not only highlight the value of this campaign for the Yanbaru Kuina but also the precarious nature of long-term conservation efforts, which can be derailed without continued community support.

Along with direct community cooperation, the case of the Yanbaru Kuina demonstrates the importance of negotiating cultural values and cross-cultural differences in policy and law, which have implications for the implementation of conservation activities. Feral cats, a significant threat to this species and wildlife worldwide, are commonly subject to programs of lethal eradication as part of efforts to protect threatened and native wildlife species globally. In a review of Australian feral cat management by Doherty et al.

(2017), there is little mention of negotiating community response to eradication by environmental authorities; rather, the focus is on improving the efficiency of management strategies to improve outcomes for native biodiversity.

Implementation of feral cat eradication programs in Okinawa, however, has proved to be complex for government authorities (Takahashi 2004). Despite the threat cats pose to the Yanbaru Kuina, there was considerable opposition from animal welfare groups and community members to euthanise feral cats caught in Okinawan forests (Takahashi 2004). The feral cat population has largely increased due to domestic cat abandonment, often in vulnerable habitats such as Yanbaru—a trend that may in turn be exacerbated by the region's ageing and shrinking population (Takahashi 2004; Japan Bureau of Statistics 2015). Cultural sensitivities and Buddhist traditions in Japan have in part fostered a reluctance to surrender pet cats to animal shelters for fear of euthanasia (Takahashi 2004; Kikuchi 2016). Cats also elicit a strong emotional response from the Japanese public, particularly as appreciation of *kawaii* (かわいい) or 'cute' things has become a cultural phenomenon (Nittono et al. 2012; *The Japan Times* 2015).

Feral cats also have a complicated legal status in Japan. They are not considered an 'alien species' under the Invasive Alien Species Act as they have been in Japan since before the Meiji Restoration—the arbitrary deadline designated for introduced species classification (Duffy and Capece 2012). Ambiguous definitions of 'domestic' versus 'feral' cats in the Wildlife Protection and Hunting Law, and the lack of provisions for feral cat management in the Animal Protection Law, create further difficulties for authorities, as legislation can be used by opposition groups to reinforce arguments against management strategies (Takahashi 2004). An alternative approach to neuter and release feral cats, which is growing in popularity elsewhere in Japan, was not possible in Yanbaru due to the considerable threat cats pose to native species (Takahashi 2004; Kikuchi 2016). Community resistance to euthanising feral cats was significant enough that a proportion of the captured animals were initially released, before a system to promote their adoption through animal shelters in Okinawa was introduced (Takahashi 2004). The legal framework and cultural sensitivities which have partly undermined the progress of feral cat management in Okinawa demonstrate the complexities of negotiating conservation action, even where a strategy is of significant conservation value to threatened species.

ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT WITH CONSERVATION

The inextricable link between the Yanbaru Kuina and the Yanbaru forests, and the evident charismatic appeal of this species for people in the region, have served to foster a strong community regard for the species, despite the relatively short timeframe it has been in the spotlight. The communities in Yanbaru celebrate the Yanbaru Kuina not only as a distinct member of Okinawa's regional biodiversity, but also as an important symbol of cultural identity, and as a drawcard for community events and tourism. The complex

socio-cultural and political history of Okinawa, which has had a bearing on the engagement of people in Okinawa with their local biodiversity, may set this case apart from conservation examples in other parts of Japan. Divisive issues such as US military base operations and development projects, which have often been intertwined with environmental conservation issues, appear to have intensified attachment to the Yanbaru Kuina and other local species.

Considering that communities in Yanbaru and wider Okinawa are experiencing the effects of an ageing and shrinking population, as well as economic disadvantage relative to other parts of Japan, it is important to enhance the ability of local people to promote this species as a drawcard for tourists in a sustainable manner, so as to improve economic conditions in the region (Kakazu 2011; Japan Bureau of Statistics 2015). Since the return of Okinawan control to Japan, tourism has been an important and fast-growing economic contributor in the region (Kakazu 2011). As natural features are an important element of Okinawa's appeal for visitors, this provides further motivation for communities to highlight the value of their local biodiversity, such as the Yanbaru Kuina. The snapshot of activities in this paper indicates that the local administration in Kunigami has endeavoured to cultivate a strong association with this species to create a community brand that draws attention to their town. The data in this paper is insufficient to indicate whether this has improved economic or job opportunities for people in this remote region of Okinawa, but the Yanbaru Kuina does appear to have contributed to social cohesion and community spirit in Kunigami, as a symbol that reinforces local identity.

The intangible cultural value and potential economic value recognised in the Yanbaru Kuina has manifested into investment by both government and community stakeholders to support facilities, events and campaigns associated with the Yanbaru Kuina and its conservation. While an analysis of the impact of these education and awareness initiatives on conservation outcomes for the Yanbaru Kuina is beyond the scope of this study, some preliminary observations can be made about the actions being undertaken. The value of education and community engagement as a means to encourage support for conservation programs has been widely established in the literature (Brewer 2002; Jacobson et al. 2006; Jiménez et al. 2014; Kobori 2009). Conservation education and community outreach initiatives can help people improve their knowledge and skills, promote environmentally conscious attitudes and behaviours, increase participation in active environmental issues, support conservation policies, and secure volunteers and funding (Jacobson et al. 2006; Jiménez et al. 2014). These initiatives need to “capture the imagination and interest of local people in a way that stimulates cooperation and conservation action” (Brewer 2002, 4). However, the effectiveness of programs will differ depending on the type of engagement approach, the stakeholders involved, the socio-cultural context, and how well strategies are tailored to target audiences (Jacobson et al. 2006; Jiménez et al. 2014).

Brewer (2002) has identified outreach and partnership programs as two general approaches to conservation education, which are both valuable for

engaging and educating the public. Outreach programs are characterised by primarily unidirectional communication of knowledge to an audience; for example, as lectures, workshops, educational exhibits and displays, and other public relations techniques (Brewer 2002; Jacobson et al. 2006).

Partnership programs place greater emphasis on incorporating contributions from different stakeholders where perspectives and information can be shared and synthesised between teachers and participants (Brewer 2002). Outreach programs, including wildlife education centres, lectures, wildlife viewing and public relations activities, have been common approaches in the case of the Yanbaru Kuina. In particular, the Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center and Kunigami's Yanbaru Kuina Ecology Exhibition and Learning Centre provide resources and spaces to learn about local biodiversity and coordinate public awareness appeals. These activities demonstrate a particular drive by Kunigami and the Japanese government to promote awareness of this species and Yanbaru.

Although the improvement of ecological and conservation literacy through information dissemination is a highly valuable exercise, some case studies suggest it may not be the most efficient means to change attitudes and behaviours (Jiménez et al. 2014; Lo et al. 2012). In a case study of social influences on conservation by Lo et al. (2012), it was found that “merely having a good understanding about a species’ status is not likely to strengthen the intention to protect them” (910). This finding is consistent with other analyses of behaviour change, which demonstrate informational campaigns can be inefficient in effecting behaviour change if they only target people’s intentions, which can be overwhelmed by habitual behaviours (Verplanken and Wood 2006). Human activities remain a considerable direct threat to the Yanbaru Kuina population. Therefore, protecting this species will rely on the efficacy of education and engagement programs to produce solutions that change individual behaviours to prevent accidental Yanbaru Kuina mortality.

Strategies may be most effective where elements of education, participation and communication can be combined, and can include partnerships with different stakeholders (Jiménez et al. 2014). In a summary and review of conservation education in Japan, Kobori (2009) commented that unique aspects of Japanese society placed Japan at an advantage in terms of the development and promotion of conservation outreach and education initiatives. These included the strong value ascribed to nature in Japanese cultural traditions, and a centralised government with significant technological capacity to collect and communicate information among government and non-government organisations and the public. A study by Healey et al. (2006) found that, in comparison to Canada, programs to promote participation in endangered species conservation in Japan “engage various levels of government and society in a more integrated way” (26). Indeed, hands-on and active approaches to conservation participation (for example, tree-planting and landscape regeneration projects) seem to be effective in Japan, especially where there is collaboration between

different stakeholders, such as universities, local governments, NGOs and local community members (Kobori 2009; Primack et al. 2000), or where traditional activities are reinvigorated (Sakurai and Jacobson 2011; Kobori and Primack 2003).

Brewer (2002) has suggested that well-designed conservation education programs can “help participants enjoy and engage in science learning because they can recognize the effects and context of their learning” (6). It is clear that conservation engagement initiatives for the Yanbaru Kuina effectively integrate contributions from both government and non-government bodies and communities. However, it may be valuable to develop more programs that have greater emphasis on coordinated science-based learning, including hands-on activities where data can be collected and conservation goals can be monitored. In this way, programs can provide educational benefits to students and also improve the dialogue between communities and stakeholders involved in conservation activities, while also addressing conservation objectives for this species (Brewer 2002).

BirdLife International has recommended development of a “conservation education programme for Okinawa using this species [...] as [a] flagship species” (BirdLife International 2017). The use of individual wildlife species as appealing figureheads to draw attention to conservation of a larger ecosystem has proved to be successful in Japan (Kobori 2009). Social marketing techniques, including media campaigns, can be used as effective tools in conservation education to communicate ideas and suggest ways to change behaviours (Jacobson et al. 2006). As a distinctive and charismatic bird, the Yanbaru Kuina is a prime candidate to be a figurehead that increases attention to conservation of its own species, as well as for biodiversity in the greater Yanbaru region. Already, educational and community activities for the Yanbaru Kuina have enjoyed success, where social marketing techniques have tapped into the strong appeal of mascot characters in Japanese popular culture to engage diverse Japanese audiences.

In contrast, the use of Yanbaru Kuina mascots and imagery by organisations with interests outside of conservation can be problematic. Making use of the platform of community interest in the Yanbaru Kuina, various corporations and organisations have utilised the likeness of this species to highlight company engagement with the community. Given the challenging and complex relationship between the US military forces, the regional government and Okinawan citizens, it is no surprise that the Okinawa branch of the Japan Self-Defense Forces (SDF) has recognised the value of using the likeness of the Yanbaru Kuina as a public relations tool. The SDF has a Yanbaru Kuina-inspired mascot character called Kukurū-kun (くくるくん), meaning ‘heart’ in the Okinawan language (Japan Self-Defense Forces Okinawa 2015). Kukurū-kun is said to have been rescued by the SDF after being hit by a car, and in gratitude Kukurū-kun now gives its time at community events as the SDF’s ‘public relations bird’ (Japan Self-Defense Forces Okinawa 2015). In essence, all mascot characters are created to facilitate engagement with the public and personify an organisation’s image, but in this case study the

context is important. In contrast to the mascot of the Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center, Kui-chan, who is used in an educational context, the SDF mascot does not have the same potential to facilitate engagement with conservation awareness. In the same vein, the Coca-Cola Company in Japan, who has bottling operations in Okinawa, has modified some vending machines with equipment to record and collect Yanbaru Kuina vocalisations in partnership with the Okinawa Conservation & Animal Welfare Trust (Ogata 2013; Okinawa Coca-Cola Bottling 2016). This commodification of the Yanbaru Kuina's perceived value and charismatic appeal to people in Okinawa has the potential to create a disconnect between the actual endangered species and the 'Kuina' characters these organisations have created, obscuring rather than contributing to conservation. In the long term, community engagement should emphasise the role of the Yanbaru Kuina as a member of the larger ecosystem of Yanbaru in order to also support the protection of species considered less valuable and appealing, and garner public support to encourage larger-scale action, including habitat conservation.

Many of the activities for the Yanbaru Kuina highlighted above target young people (Kunigami Village 2015a; Yanbaru Wildlife Conservation Center 2010a). Through the education centres, the Kuina Festival and the mascot characters, the Japanese government, NGOs and community members have used creative media to exploit the charismatic value of this species in order to communicate the importance of conservation to younger audiences. Wildlife visitor centres chiefly cater to a general audience, and especially young people, who are often considered "traditional environmental education stakeholders", and are thus an important group with whom to promote understanding and awareness of biodiversity and conservation (Jiménez et al. 2014, 837). However, as this species is at such risk, in the short term it may be more strategic to also target stakeholders who have a direct impact on the direction and implementation of conservation activities and environmental management, including university students and government bodies associated with key industries like farming, fisheries and forest management (Jiménez et al. 2014).

Socio-demographic characteristics may also influence how communities interact with species and whether they support management and conservation efforts (Kellert 1991; Sakurai et al. 2014). Japan has the highest proportion of people aged over 65 and a low proportion of people under 15 (26% and 13% of the total population, respectively), relative to global averages (The World Bank 2016a, b). This demographic pattern is also evident in Okinawa Prefecture and is more acute in less urban areas such as Yanbaru (Japan Bureau of Statistics 2015). Sakurai et al. (2014) found that perceptions and tolerance of wildlife in one Japanese province were influenced by the age of respondents and other socio-demographic variables, as well as by characteristics of the focus species. Older people were less tolerant of coexisting with problematic wildlife than younger generations, and species were seen more favourably when they were considered threatened, as opposed to native agricultural pests or introduced invasive species (Sakurai et al. 2014). Although this may have a minor influence on the

Yanbaru Kuina as a native species, it highlights the importance of understanding variations in the perspectives and behaviour of different target audiences when designing conservation outreach and partnership programs in Japan.

Engagement and support for conservation can also be influenced by the social context and community standpoint on an issue, as opposed to a sense of personal responsibility (Lo et al. 2012). In these cases, development of group- and field-based activities as part of conservation education initiatives are valuable ways to foster “positive social influences” and “nurture a sense of collective achievement” (Lo et al. 2012, 900). Such programs have proved to be successful in other regions of Japan, and the strong community attachment to the Yanbaru Kuina would be valuable in this regard. Indeed, the species is already being used as a platform for social events, as discussed above, including the annual Kuina Festival (Kobori 2009). Communities in Yanbaru also have a strong foundation for environmental engagement, given the history of community action in response to the social and environmental implications of the US military presence and construction projects. However, the community opposition in Okinawa to feral cat euthanasia highlights that social and cultural dynamics can be a stumbling block for the implementation of important conservation measures (Takahashi 2004). Community consultation therefore remains very important when designing and implementing conservation activities in Japan.

On a larger scale, Japan faces the challenge of mainstreaming the value of biodiversity throughout society and government agencies, to enhance cooperation and ultimately improve its system of environmental management (Government of Japan 2014). Analyses of the Japanese biodiversity and wildlife conservation system agree there are still many aspects of legislation and management which need attention, including increasing resources, funding and bureaucratic power of environmental agencies, revitalising traditional rural management of wildlife and landscapes, improving management and monitoring of designated protected areas, enhancing policy and inter-institutional cooperation, and negotiating the strong forces of development (Knight 2010a, b; Takahashi 2009; OECD 2010). For example, the designation of part of the Yanbaru region as a national park in September 2016 represents significant progress towards protection of this region. However, the Japanese national park system has been criticised for emphasising the aesthetic and recreational value of parks, rather than their role in biodiversity conservation (Knight 2010a; Healey et al. 2006). It has become apparent in several cases that ostensibly protected areas remain vulnerable to development and human activities, and are not adequately resourced or staffed to respond efficiently to detrimental activities (Knight 2010a). Increased attention to Yanbaru as an ecotourism attraction, for example, will likely bring more visitors and traffic, and likely entail a disturbance of habitat (Tanaka et al. 2011). The continued monitoring of populations of threatened species like the Yanbaru Kuina in the national park needs to be paramount to ensure that the primary objective of the protected area is habitat and wildlife conservation.

This case study demonstrates that the cultural value of wildlife, as recognised by communities found close to threatened species habitat, can drive interest in associated conservation efforts, even in a relatively short period of time. For the Yanbaru Kuina, community cooperation and consultation has necessarily been a key part of conservation efforts to target human activities that threaten this endangered population. This species has also provided impetus for government and local administration to invest in education facilities and community events in Yanbaru, which may increase momentum for larger-scale conservation action. In simple terms, if communities in Yanbaru have found value in this species as an economic drawcard and symbol of regional identity that reinforces community spirit, they have something to lose if the Yanbaru Kuina disappears from their local biodiversity.

A key challenge in this case will be improving the capacity of existing conservation education facilities and campaigns to support science-based conservation efforts for the Yanbaru Kuina over the long term. With reference to successful characteristics of other conservation strategies in Japan and elsewhere, it could be advantageous to encourage partnerships and communication between different stakeholders, provide more opportunities for learning in social contexts, and further develop education programs that improve conservation literacy and incorporate scientific conservation objectives, such as monitoring or habitat restoration. The negative response to feral cat eradication has also shown the importance of community consultation.

Ultimately, the long-term success of Yanbaru Kuina conservation will rely on a variety of stakeholders to recognise the value of conserving biodiversity, and cooperate in challenging the strong socio-economic and political drivers that threaten this ecologically important region. This progress may be particularly complex in Okinawa with the apparent impasse in negotiations between the US military and Japanese government on one side, and local politicians and citizens on the other, to delay development projects in environmentally sensitive areas, highlighting that wildlife conservation rarely occurs in isolation from other contexts. This reinforces the value of investigating cross-cultural differences in approaches to environmental issues, in order to design biodiversity strategies that negotiate the biocultural context of conservation, and effectively encourage local people to engage and cooperate with conservation efforts for their local biodiversity.

GLOSSARY

CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
MOE	Ministry of the Environment (Government of Japan)
NGO	non-governmental organisation
SDF	(Japan) Self-Defense Forces
WBSJ	Wild Bird Society of Japan

- Akan International Crane Center (GRUS) [阿寒国際ソルセンター・グレス]. 2015. "Akan tanchō no sato Jinkō kyūji hasshō no ji" [阿寒丹頂の里 人工給餌発祥の地]. Accessed 3 August, 2015. <http://aiccgrus.wixsite.com/aiccgrus>.
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Girls Just Want To Have Fun: The Portrayal of Girls' Rebellion in Mobile Phone Novels

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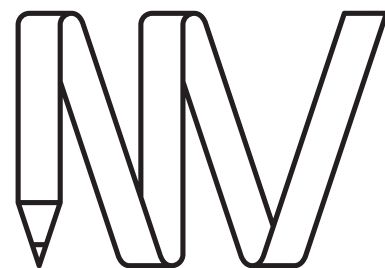
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ABSTRACT

The rise of *kētai shōsetsu*—digital novels written and shared on mobile phones, predominantly by girls—in the late 2000s caught the attention of Japanese critics and journalists, as a new literary phenomenon that was taking the world of Japanese girls' literature by storm. In 2008, journalist Kenrō Hayamizu published a book titled *Kētai shōsetsuteki: 'sai yankika' jidai no shōjotachi* ['Mobile Phone Novels: Girls in the Re-Yankification Era'], in which he draws a parallel between mobile phone novels and the *yanki* culture that has its roots in 1980s youth culture. In this pioneering work, Hayamizu interpreted the emergence of the mobile phone novel as a sign of a *yanki* cultural revival. Although there is undoubtedly a strong parallel between mobile phone novels and *yanki* culture, the argument that this is simply a 'revival' of the 1980s rebellious youth culture significantly undermines the role that girls play in the cultural production of such novels. Using the Wild Beast series [2009–2010] by Yū as a case study, this paper argues that the girls writing and reading mobile phone novels are reimagining *yanki* culture as their own.

KEYWORDS

girls' literature; girls' rebellion; Japanese popular fiction; *kētai shōsetsu*; mobile phone novels; youth culture



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In 2008, journalist Kenrō Hayamizu published a book titled *Kētai shōsetsuteki: 'sai yankika' jidai no shōjotachi* [‘Mobile Phone Novels: Girls in the Re-Yankification Era’], a pioneering work on *kētai shōsetsu* (ケータイ小説; mobile phone novels) that explores the trend among Japanese girls¹ of writing, publishing, and reading ‘novels’ online via their mobile phones. Hayamizu traces the origins of this literary genre to the 1980s by drawing a parallel between the themes of mobile phone novels and *yankī* (ヤンキー; delinquent) culture—a distinct type of Japanese rebellious youth culture that emerged in the 1980s. Hayamizu goes as far as to claim that the rise of mobile phone novels signals a revival of *yankī* culture. Although there is a strong parallel between the two, I disagree with the way he considers the use of *yankī* elements in mobile phone novels simply as a sign of ‘re-Yankification’ in contemporary Japanese girls’ culture. Focusing on the portrayal of girls’ rebellion in the *Wairudo bīsuto* [‘Wild Beast’; 2009–2010] (hereafter, ‘Wild Beast’) series² by the author known simply as Yū [b. unknown], I examine the way *yankī* culture is used in the text, arguing that mobile phone novels represent a strategic reimagining of *yankī* culture by the girls who are writing and reading the genre.

Mobile phone novels first attracted the attention of journalists in the late 2000s, when numerous mobile phone novels that had been republished in print form began to appear in Japan’s bestseller lists (Mizukawa 2016, 61).³ Hayamizu’s book, and another by Tōru Honda titled *Naze kētai shōsetsu wa ureru no ka* [‘Why Mobile Phone Novels Sell’; 2008], were published in the same year, and these ground-breaking works were soon followed by commentary from academics such as Larissa Hjorth, who had already been observing mobile phone usage among Japanese adolescent girls (Hjorth 2003). More recent scholarly publications, such as Senko K. Maynard’s (2014) book *Kētai shōsetsugo kō: watashigatari no kaiwatai bunshō o saguru* [‘Thoughts on the Language Used in Mobile Phone Novels: Exploring Spoken Language in First-person Narratives’] and Jun Mizukawa’s (2016) article “Reading ‘On the Go’: An Inquiry into the Tempos and Temporalities of the Cellphone Novel”, indicate that scholarship on the mobile phone novel is slowly but steadily growing, attracting scholars from various fields, ranging from linguistics to cultural studies. However, most research has been from the perspectives of sociology or cultural studies rather than literature, as many literature scholars still seem reluctant to recognise these novels as bona fide literature (Hayamizu 2008, 3; Honda 2008, 3). Mizukawa also notes that the existing discourse of mobile phone novels in literary studies focuses predominantly on

1 While the majority of those writing and reading mobile phone novels are teenage girls, some studies indicate women in their twenties are also taking part (Hjorth 2009, 23). As such, the term ‘girls’ is used in this paper to refer to consumers of mobile phone novels as a whole.

2 The Wild Beast series was initially published as an online mobile phone novel in 2008–2009, but following its success it was published in print form by Starts Publishing Corporation, in 2009–2010. This paper uses the print publication as the online version is no longer available; all translations are the author’s own.

3 Tohan Corporation (Tohan Co., Ltd) and Nippon Shuppan Hanbai Inc. (Japan Publication Sales Co., Ltd), two of Japan’s prominent publication distribution companies, release weekly, monthly and annual top ten bestselling book lists. Tohan Corporation’s annual top ten bestselling book list for the period of December 2005 to November 2006 included four mobile phone novels and series: *Koizora* [Sky of Love; 2005] by Mika; *Tenshi ga kureta mono* [‘Gift from an Angel’; 2005] and *Line* [2006] by Chaco; and *Tsubasa no oreta tenshitachi* [‘Angels with Broken Wings’; 2006] by Yoshi (Mizukawa 2016, 61). These works were all initially published online, but following their success were later published in print form.

the discussion of “literary merit”, with many scholars continuing to dwell on such novels’ apparent lack of literary sophistication (Mizukawa 2016, 61–62). This reluctance to accept mobile phone novels notably seems to stem more from the fact that they are written by adolescent girls, who “know nothing” about literature (Hayamizu 2008, 3), rather than the fact that a mobile phone is used to create them.

The term *shōjo* (少女), meaning ‘young girl’, can be traced back to the eighteenth century, but it first emerged as a “social entity” at the end of the nineteenth century (Aoyama and Hartley 2010, 2). In their studies of *shōjo* literature, scholars Tomoko Aoyama and Barbara Hartley (2010) argue that Japanese female writers and their cultural productions have for generations been discredited as “lightweight, narcissistic, consumer-oriented and lacking in substance” (2). Countering such dismissive appraisal by men in the publishing industry, as well as literary critics, Japanese girls began to create a “parallel imagined fantasy world”, in which their aspirations are acknowledged and desires fulfilled through various kinds of cultural production (Aoyama and Hartley 2010, 2). Although Aoyama and Hartley’s study focuses on *shōjo* novels, it also includes manga, as well as *dōjinshi* (同人誌; amateur publications or fan fiction), as examples of girls taking an active role in cultural production (Aoyama and Hartley 2010, 3).⁴ The mobile phone novel is the most recent development in this evolution of *shōjo* literature, as the writers incorporate a new platform for sharing stories, made available by the development of the internet and access to mobile phone technology.

In the late 2000s, amid a sudden burst of academic interest in *yankī* culture, scholars like Tarō Igarashi and Kōji Nanba published research on this type of rebellious youth culture. Since then, however, despite the prevalence of *yankī* culture in Japanese popular media, academic research into the subject has somewhat declined. More importantly, previous studies, including those by Igarashi and Nanba, have been male-oriented, focusing on rebellious boys. This paper therefore attempts to extend *yankī* discourse to include girls, through a mobile phone novel case study. The paper firstly explores the origins of the mobile phone novel and its links to the rebellious youth culture of the 1980s, particularly the motorcycle gangs. It then examines the fictional representation of rebellious girls in the Wild Beast series and the way this borrows from earlier male-oriented *yankī* culture to create a shared ‘parallel imagined fantasy world’ of *shōjo* literature within the sphere of mobile phone novels.⁵

⁴ The practice of amateur writers publishing their own work is not a new phenomenon in Japan. The history of *dōjin* (同人) culture, or amateur culture, shows how amateur writers and manga artists in Japan have produced and often circulated both original work and fan fiction since at least the late nineteenth century. For further discussion, see Nicolle Lamerichs (2013).

⁵ This paper—originally presented at Tokyo University of the Arts, at the Cultural Typhoon conference, 2 July 2016—was developed from one of the chapters of my PhD thesis “*Ochikobore Seishun Shōsetsu: The Portrayal of Teenage Rebellion in Japanese Adolescent Literature*” (University of Auckland 2016).

The Origins of the Mobile Phone Novel

Technically, the term ‘*kētai shōsetsu*’ can refer to any digital fiction written and shared on a mobile phone. Yet, scholars and critics in this area have tended to focus on works produced and read by adolescent girls. Jane Sullivan (2008), for example, describes mobile phone novels as “pulp fiction” written and read by teenage girls and women in their twenties (28). One of the reasons for defining mobile phone novels as part of girls’ culture is that they are said to have originated from a User Created Content (UCC) website called *Magic i-land* (魔法のiらんど), which was first launched in 1999. This website specifically catered to adolescent girls, providing them with a platform where they could upload and share diary entries, images, poetry and stories (Hjorth 2009, 26; Hayamizu 2008, 7–8; Honda 2008, 20–21). The first mobile phone novels were actually written by professional writers experimenting with a new writing platform, but they only became a literary phenomenon when ‘ordinary’ girls began to write and share their own stories online via mobile phone (Hjorth 2009, 26).

The mobile phone novel market continues to thrive: *Magic i-land* claims to have 1.5 billion views per month (Kadokawa Corporation 2017), while its rival site *Wild Strawberry* (野イチゴ), established in 2007, claimed 600 million per month in 2015 (Starts Publishing Corporation 2016). Even so, girls remain the primary target audience and there is little genre diversification. At a glance, *Magic i-land* and *Wild Strawberry* seem to offer a wide range of stories, including horror, mystery, verse novels, and even what they claim to be *junbungaku* (純文学; lit., ‘pure literature’ or high literature). Despite this seemingly wide range of genres, however, the majority of texts are in fact teen romances (or love poems) that have incorporated elements of other genres, such as horror or mystery, making them subcategories of teen romance rather than separate genres. The dominance of teen romance is best illustrated by the reception of works by the popular mobile phone novel writer Yoshi.⁶ His teen romance series *Deep Love* [2000] became a bestseller, selling more than 25 million copies when published in paperback form. However, his second novel, *Motto ikitai* [‘I Want to Live Longer’; 2004], which included horror and science fiction elements, was considered a failure as disappointed publishers were left with 200,000 copies of dead stock due to poor sales (Hayamizu 2008, 83). This illustrates how romance had already become the conventional formula for mobile phone novels. In other words, romance is what readers had already come to expect when reading a mobile phone novel.

The mobile phone novel has rapidly developed its own set of conventions, mostly by borrowing from existing genre conventions in popular media, such as manga and film, and adjusting them to satisfy readers (especially in terms of romance). One of the recurrent narratives is the girl-meets-rebel type of

⁶ Yoshi claims to be the “father of the mobile phone novel” (ケータイ小説の生みの親) on his website (Yoshi Official Web 2017). Although he was indeed one of the first, the early work of writers such as Mika and Chaco also played a crucial role in the development of the genre. Yoshi’s claim also ignores the contribution his readers made by sending him their own stories and experiences, which were incorporated into his first bestseller, the *Deep Love* series (Honda 2008, 36).

teen romance, which combines elements of romance with tales of teenage rebellion—a genre I refer to as *ochikobore seishun shōsetsu* (おちこぼれ青春小説; juvenile delinquent novels).⁷ Elements of yankī culture, such as *bōsōzoku* (暴走族; teenage motorcycle gangs; also used to refer to gang members) and *sōchō* (総長; gang leaders), which were instrumental in the emergence of ‘ochikobore seishun’ narratives in Japanese adolescent literature, are used abundantly in mobile phone novels. Although a female heroine falling in love with a rebel or an outsider can be considered a universal plot in popular media, and especially in girls’ literature, the girl-meets-rebel narrative in mobile phone novels specifically references yankī culture rather than more contemporary forms of teenage rebellion in Japan. Both *Magic i-land* and *Wild Strawberry* have special pages recommending novels that include yankī elements. Furthermore, terms like ‘bōsōzoku’ and ‘sōchō’, as well as *furyō* (不良; delinquent),⁸ have become keywords for searching and categorising girl-meets-rebel romances on these mobile sites.

Yankī: The Rebellious Youth Culture of the 1980s

The origin of the term ‘yankī’ is debated to this day. The most prominent theory is that the English derogatory term ‘Yankee’ was used by Japanese adults to refer to delinquent youth in postwar Japan because they were copying the fashion and hairstyles of Americans living in Japan (Nagae 2009, 34).⁹ From the late 1970s, as the Japanese economy began to recover from the devastation of war, Japanese youth developed their own distinct fashions, language and subcultures with their newly acquired disposable income.¹⁰ At the time, there was also a revival of 1950s American youth culture on a global scale, with films like *The Wild One* [1953] and *Rebel Without a Cause* [1955] being redistributed as nostalgic commodities, specifically targeting those who had been teenagers in the 1950s (Ōyama 2007, 216). When these films were redistributed in Japan, they attracted a new generation of teenagers who quickly adopted elements of 1950s American youth culture to create their own rebellious teen identity (Narumi 2009, 80–81). For these Japanese teens of the 1980s, the characters of Johnny Strabler (*The Wild One*) and Jim Stark (*Rebel Without a Cause*) became icons of teenage rebellion. Fast cars, motorcycle gangs, black leather jackets, blue jeans, pompadour hairstyles and rock ‘n’ roll music became tools for performing a teenage rebel identity. Additionally, *tsuppari* (ツッパリ; delinquent youth)¹¹ culture, which derives from the 1970s anti-school rebellious youth culture, continued to thrive in Japan into the 1980s and gradually merged with these American elements to

⁷ ‘Ochikobore seishun shōsetsu’ is a term I have proposed to refer to juvenile delinquent novels in Japanese adolescent literature. For a detailed discussion on the decision to use the term *ochikobore* (おちこぼれ; dropout) instead of ‘furyō’ or ‘yankī’ (both meaning delinquent), see Kim (2016, 3–10).

⁸ While the term ‘furyō’ is a generic term for a wayward teenager, ‘yankī’ is associated with a specific time and subculture. The subtle difference between the two is usually lost in English as they are both translated as ‘rebel’ or ‘delinquent’.

⁹ An alternative theory is that the term ‘yankī’ comes from Japanese dialect, arguing that the suffix *-yanke* (ヤンケ), which was frequently used by Japanese delinquents in the 1980s, morphed into ‘yankī’ (Nanba 2009, 6).

¹⁰ In an earlier comparative study of youth culture research, I conclude that an increase in adolescent population and economic prosperity seem to be the key factors that contribute to the creation of youth culture (Kim 2016, 13–29).

¹¹ In a personal conversation on 16 November 2012 with Japanese author Natsuki Endō, who had been a *bōsōzoku* leader in the 1980s, Endō explained that the term ‘tsuppari’ comes from the verb *tsupparu* (突っ張る; to be defiant), which was used to categorise rebellious students in the late 1970s. They rebelled specifically against school authorities and performed their rebellion by customising their school uniforms and breaking other school rules.

form yankī identity. Thus, yankī culture is an amalgam of various elements that the general public considered menacing. For example, although Japanese motorcycle gangs initially mimicked 1950s American style, they gradually added symbols of Japan's right-wing nationalist past, such as the imperial era flag and kamikaze fighter uniforms (Narumi 2009, 80–81).

In the early 1980s, these rebellious teens, especially those involved in motorcycle gangs, were initially feared by peers and considered problem youth by society. While news media frequently reported yankī-related riots and violent antics during the 1980s, popular media such as films and *shōnen manga* (少年漫画; boys' comic books or graphic novels) began to counter such negative portrayals by depicting yankī as charismatic rebel heroes. Kazuhiro Kiuchi's *Bībappu haisukūru* [Be-Bop High School; 1983–2003] and Satoshi Yoshida's *Shōnan bakusōzoku* ['Shōnan Speed Tribe'; 1982–1988] are considered quintessential yankī narratives. The plots of these manga revolve around a group of delinquent students who spend their high school years rebelling against school and society. Contrary to the way the yankī were being portrayed in news media at the time, these yankī protagonists were depicted as mischievous and rebellious but charismatic, honourable and ultimately moral; they often engaged in delinquent behaviour and disobeyed school rules, but they never committed serious crimes.¹² The success of these manga led to a plethora of similar narratives that glamourised teenage rebellion, such that the depiction of the yankī protagonist as an honourable hero or a 'good bad boy'¹³ became stereotypical in post-1980s Japanese popular media.

Although the term 'yankī' can refer to both delinquent boys and girls, there are gender-specific labels such as *sukeban* (スケ番) for female delinquents, and *redīsu* (レディース) for female members of girls-only motorcycle gangs and the girlfriends of *bōsōzoku*. In the 1980s, elements of yankī culture were also evident in *shōjo manga* (少女漫画; girls' comic books or graphic novels). For example, works like *Hotto rōdo* ['Hot Road'; 1986–1987]—a pioneering girl-meets-rebel tale by Taku Tsumugi—incorporate the good bad boy characterisation of *bōsōzoku* into teen romance, while Satosumi Takaguchi's *Rontai beibī* ['Long Tight Baby'; 1988–1996] depicts the rebellion of two *sukeban*.¹⁴ Although *Hotto rōdo* focuses on the heroine's romance with a good bad boy, and *Rontai beibī* focuses on the friendship between two *sukeban* heroines, both works glorify the rebellious girls of yankī culture. Takaguchi's work in particular has been described as a female version of *Bībappu haisukūru* (Kobayashi 2014, 55).

Despite the presence of girls within yankī culture, research into the culture has focused predominantly on boys. Ramona Caponegro (2009) has noted

12 The glorification of yankī through positive portrayal in 1980s films was similar to the way yakuza were portrayed in *ninkyō eiga* (任侠映画; chivalrous yakuza films) of the 1960s. Unlike the later yakuza films, such as *Jingi naki tatakai* [Battles Without Honor and Humanity; 1973], yakuza in *ninkyō eiga* were depicted as moral men who lived and died according to an honourable code of conduct. For more on yakuza films see Mark Schilling's *The Yakuza Movie Book: A Guide to Japanese Gangster Films* [2003].

13 The term 'good bad boy' was first coined by Leslie Fiedler (1960) regarding American literature. Fiedler differentiates rebellious characters who, despite being labelled as delinquents or dropouts by society, know right from wrong, as opposed to more villainous teenage thugs.

14 'Rontai' (ロンタイ) is derived from the English 'long and tight', and during the 1980s it became a slang term for the long and tight skirts Japanese girls were wearing at the time.

how rebellious girls in 1950s America have similarly failed to attract critical attention (312–13), suggesting this underlying discursive bias or sexism in the discourse of teenage rebellion is not unique to Japan. Scholars such as Ikuya Satō, as well as Tarō Igarashi and Kōji Nanba mentioned previously, have conducted extensive analyses of male yankī culture, but little effort has been made to study girls, who are only mentioned as a supplementary detail in such analyses of boys’ rebellion. Furthermore, while the portrayal of male yankī continued to thrive in popular media throughout the 1990s and 2000s,¹⁵ representations of female versions of yankī, such as sukeban and redisu, have sharply declined since the 1980s. Works such as the commercially successful *Shimotsuma monogatari* [*Kamikaze Girls*; 2002] by Novala Takemoto [b. 1968] that tells the tale of an unlikely friendship between two girls—one a yankī (or redisu to be more specific) and the other a *rorita* (ロリータ; Lolita)¹⁶—are rare.

Sharing Stories

When exploring the link between mobile phone novels and yankī culture, Hayamizu focuses on the process of sharing stories, rather than exploring the actual use of yankī-related terms like *bōsōzoku* in the novels themselves. He argues that mobile phone novels originate in teenage girls sharing their own stories, especially their miseries, through readers’ pages in teen magazines such as *Teen’s Road* [1988–1998] (Hayamizu 2008, 86–89). *Teen’s Road* specifically targeted redisu and its pages were filled with images of girls wearing *tokkōfuku* (特攻服; *bōsōzoku* ‘uniforms’ inspired by kamikaze fighter pilot apparel), with bleached hair and thick makeup, looking rebellious. Yet, he points out that the content was largely similar to that of any other teen magazine, with articles discussing a range of adolescent issues like bullying, friendship and boys, rather than the issues such rebellious girls were known for and one might expect in a magazine catering to them: namely, gang wars and brawling (Hayamizu 2008, 87). Similarities in content between *Teen’s Road* and other mainstream girls’ magazines suggest that although the girls in yankī culture performed their rebellion through distinct fashion and style, they also shared common concerns with mainstream girls in terms of everyday adolescent issues, such as boys and peer pressure.

That being said, it is the darker, more serious issues such as teenage pregnancy, abortion, violent boyfriends and death intermittently discussed in *Teen’s Road* that Hayamizu refers to in order to draw a parallel between the girls contributing their stories to *Teen’s Road* in the 1980s and girls depicted in mobile phone novels. He uses the following reader’s contribution from the March 1995 issue of *Teen’s Road* to illustrate this point:

I am a 13-year-old yankī. One night in the spring, I lost my boyfriend to one of my friends. I was so sad, I walked through the bar district crying. I heard

15 The success of films like *Kurōzu zero* [*Crows Zero*; 2007] (based on the 1990s manga *Kurōzu* [Crows; 1990–1998]), and manga like *Samurai sorujā* [‘Samurai Soldier’; 2008–2014] and *OUT* [2012], illustrates how yankī narratives have continued to thrive in popular media even when yankī culture has become outmoded in the streets and replaced by more recent types of teenage rebel culture, such as the *karā gyangu* (カラーギャング; lit., ‘colour gangs’) of the late 1990s or *chīmā* (チーマー; lit., ‘teamers’) of the 2000s. Nanba categorises these more recent types of rebellious youth culture as “neo-yankī” (ネオヤンキー) (Nanba 2009, 191–95).

16 ‘Lolita’ is a fashion subculture that emerged in the late 1990s, in which girls dress up in clothing inspired by the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The name is derived from the promiscuous young female character in the novel *Lolita* [1958] by Vladimir Nabokov.

someone honking their car horn and I turned around. The driver looked about 20 years old. He got out of the car and asked whether I was okay. His kindness just made me cry harder. His name was Tetsuya; he was 18. [...] “Why were you crying?” he asked. So I told him everything. My eyes overflowed with tears. He held me tightly. [...] One day, he said, “Go steady with me.” I was so unbearably happy. From then on I lived with him, and before I knew it, five months had flown by. [...] On 30 July, I was waiting at home for Tetsuya to finish work when the phone rang. It was one of the old boys from the gang. He said, “Tetsuya was involved in a motorbike accident. He might not make it. Come to XX Hospital.” [...] “Rie, I’m so glad I met you. I’m sorry I couldn’t make you happy.” And with that, he quietly passed away while holding my hand. I will never forget that night. Tetsuya, I’m so glad I met you too.¹⁷
(Hayamizu 2008, 89–91)

Hayamizu points out that such reader confessions read like a plot summary for a typical mobile phone novel (Hayamizu 2008, 91). These so-called confessions are so overly dramatic that it is almost as though the contributors are playing the part of a heroine from a tragic teen romance. Stories like Rie’s are so common in *Teen’s Road* that Hayamizu describes them as symptomatic of the “inflation of misery and misfortune” (不幸のインフレ) among teenage girls sharing such stories (Hayamizu 2008, 94). Tōru Honda, another scholar to focus on the sharing of misery in mobile phone novels, has proposed a list of seven recurrent tropes, including prostitution, rape, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, terminal illness, suicide and true love (Honda 2008, 12–18). Both Honda and Hayamizu argue that personal tragedies, or “sins” according to Honda, have become a crucial part of mobile phone novels (Hayamizu 2008, 92–94; Honda 2008, 12–18).

Looking more broadly at girls’ culture in the 1980s and 1990s (prior to the internet) indicates that sharing personal stories in the form of letters, *kōkan nikki* (交換日記; exchange diaries) and reader contribution pages in magazines like *Teen’s Road* were especially popular modes of communication among teenage girls at the time (Katsuno and Yano 2002, 222). The exchange of personal stories between girls in print can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, when magazines specifically catering to young girls were first published. Aoyama and Hartley (2010) note that until very recently, the publishing sphere was dominated by men, and even girls’ magazines were edited by male editors who attempted to control the material girls were reading; thus, girls began to resist male control by contributing their own stories in the form of essays and letters to these magazines (3). When this historical context of girls exchanging stories is taken into account, the sharing of stories including mobile phone novels can be seen as an act of rebellion whereby girls attempt to take control of the production of the culture they live and consume.

17 「13才のヤンキーな女です。春のある夜、つき合っていた彼氏を友達に取られて哀しくて泣きながらスナック街を歩いていました。すると後ろからクルマのクラクションが聞こえ、振り向くと20才くらいの男の人が一人、乗っていました。その人はクルマから降りて、『大丈夫？』と聞いてくれて、その優しい言葉にまた涙がこぼれました。その人の名は『てつや』18才でした。……『なんで泣いてたんだい？』と聞かれたので、私は今までのことを全部話しました。涙がこぼれ落ちました。てつやは私を強く抱きしめてくれました。……ある日、彼が『お前俺と付き合え』と言ってきて、私は嬉しくてたまりませんでした。そして、てつやの家と一緒に住むことになり、あっという間に5か月ぐらいたちました。……7月30日、私は徹夜の家で、彼のバイトが終わるのを待っていました。TELが鳴って、『徹夜が単車で事故った、危ないかもしれない。早く〇〇病院にこい』と族のOBの人から。……『リエ、お前に会えて良かった。幸せにしてやれなくて、ごめんな…』そしててつやは私の手を握ったまま、静かに息を引き取りました。私は、あの7月30日の夜を忘れません…。てつや、あなたと出会えて本当に良かった。」

The Bad Girl and the Tomboy

Leerom Medovoi (2005), who has examined 1950s American teenage rebellion and its portrayal in popular media, categorises the portrayal of rebellious girls at the time into two types: “bad girls” who date rebels (often in order to substitute for incompetent or absent fathers), and “tomboys” who perform rebellion by assuming a masculine identity (267). He argues that a heroine’s romantic relationship with a rebel is also a form of rebellion, as she is refusing to be a good girl (i.e., by dating a good boy) (266). Although Medovoi’s theorisation of fictional rebellious girls derives from American popular culture, similar observations can be made of the way rebellious girls are portrayed in yankī narratives, especially in girls’ manga. For example, the protagonist of *Hotto rōdo* falls into the category of the bad girl, while the two protagonists of *Rontai beibī* are tomboys. These two stereotypical portrayals of rebellious girls are also evident in mobile phone novels, including Yū’s Wild Beast series.

Ayaka: Rebellion through Dating a Rebel

Often in tales of teenage rebellion, the female character’s primary role is to be the damsel-in-distress to emphasise the positive traits of the rebellious delinquent hero, so that he is read as a good bad boy. In the Wild Beast series, Ayaka faithfully plays this role in depicting her boyfriend, Ryūki, and his gang—called Yajū (野獣; lit., ‘wild beast’)—as good bad boys. Their wayward behaviour, such as smoking and drinking, is downplayed, while their positive traits, including loyalty, chivalry and a strong sense of moral right and wrong, are highlighted because they are the ones who repeatedly rescue or protect the heroine from danger.

Also, in a typical girl-meets-rebel narrative, the protagonist is observing her romantic partner’s rebellion rather than actively engaging in teenage rebellion herself. For example, when Ayaka begins a relationship with Ryūki, she becomes part of the gang by association. Throughout the series, she spends time with Ryūki and his gang members at their headquarters, and even joins them when they ride out. As the girlfriend of the leader, Ayaka is allowed to sit next to him in the back seat of his black Mercedes Benz, and is driven around by one of the members while the rest of the gang follow on their motorcycles. Her passive participation (i.e., riding alongside her boyfriend) indicates that she is accepted by the gang as their leader’s girlfriend, but not as a fellow member. Her position (or lack thereof) is emphasised throughout the series as Ryūki repeatedly orders Ayaka not to interfere in gang matters, reminding her that she is his girlfriend and not an official gang member (Yū 2009b, 238–44). The fact that Ayaka is an observer and not an active participant in bōsōzoku activities underscores her position as a damsel-in-distress, whose primary function is to be rescued and protected by the rebel hero so that he may be portrayed as a good bad boy, under the existing genre-defining conventions of yankī narratives.

The narrator-protagonist's position as a damsel-in-distress is established from the very beginning, as the two main characters meet when Ayaka jumps in front of an oncoming car in a suicide attempt, only to be rescued by Ryūki and his friend Mikage. This opening also draws attention to the heroine's misery rather than her rebellion, as illustrated by the following monologue in the first chapter:

It's good that I'm stupid. Because, you know, I don't want to think too much at times like this. I used to hate being stupid, but right now, I'm glad that I am. I mean, I've been able to sleep at times like this because I'm an idiot. I may be an idiot, but I'm an idiot who is trying hard... I don't think it's good to try too hard. I hate thinking and I've been thinking hard ever since I got here...and I'm drained.¹⁸
 (Yū 2009a, 7)

The narrator-protagonist's desire to end her life seems sudden and without pretext, but it is gradually revealed that her reasons for attempting suicide stem from multiple miseries: guilt towards her hard-working mother; anger towards a father who has abandoned her; and frustration and fear due to peer pressure. At the same time, these miseries are what make the heroine a damsel-in-distress and the rebellious hero a good bad boy, because he eventually rescues her.

While Ayaka's relationship with her mother (who is working hard to provide for her daughter after divorcing Ayaka's father) is not antagonistic, Ayaka is convinced that she is a burden to her mother and is overcome by guilt at the thought of spending hard-earned money on things such as makeup and fashion merely to keep up with her school friends (Yū 2009a, 106). In addition, Ayaka blatantly blames her father for leaving them. The failure of her parents' marriage has made her so pessimistic about love that she wonders if there is such thing as true love (Yū 2009a, 190). But through her experience with Ryūki, Ayaka changes her mind and the series ends with a statement of love from Ryūki, and the heroine revelling in happiness at the prospect of a future with him (Yū 2010, 258). By the end of the series, Ayaka is able to reconnect with her parents, but it is Ryūki and his marriage proposal that saves her from the miseries of a broken home: he has found full-time employment after graduating from high school and this means that Ayaka will be able to start a family of her own with him (Yū 2010, 258).

Another misery from which the rebellious hero saves the heroine is peer pressure and bullying from so-called school friends. Throughout the series, Ayaka expresses frustration at having to follow other girls, as shown in the following passage:

18 「あたし、バカでよかった。こういう時、色々考えちゃうのは嫌だから。自分がバカなところ嫌いだったけど、今はすごくよかったって思ってる。でもまあ、バカだからこのタイミングで眠っちゃおうって思ったんだろうけど、バカはバカなりに頑張ってるで...頑張りすぎるってあんまよくない。あんまモノ考えんの好きじゃないのに、ここ最近ず〜っと頭使ってたから...疲れたんだ、あたし。」

Every morning, I repeat the tedious task; styling my hair and carefully putting on makeup. I'm only in high school, yet I look like an office lady. I really hate looking like this—thick makeup, curly waves in my hair. But I have to because everyone else is wearing their hair in curls. Get ready and put some makeup on. I can't be bothered with it all, but I have to, because it's today, again.¹⁹
(Yū 2009a, 60)

Ayaka is weary of conformity but she is unable to stand up to the girls on her own. She is fearful of retribution to such an extent that she sees ending her life as the only solution. Ayaka's initial effort to fit in with and be accepted by the girls at school is something to which many teenage readers can relate. The protagonist's struggles with her school friends in the Wild Beast series shows how hairstyle, makeup and fashion are not just part of performing a group identity to differentiate members from non-members, but are also part of enforcing conformity and reinforcing commitment within the peer group. Refusal to conform results in punishment, and Ayaka is subjected to bullying after her eventual refusal to follow the group. For example, when Ayaka changes her mind about sleeping with an unknown man in a hotel room, an act of *enjo kōsai* (援助交際; lit., 'compensated dating') arranged by her classmates, not only do they bully her, they attempt to have her raped by members of a rival gang to Ryūki's (Yū 2009a, 195). This, however, is unsuccessful because Ayaka is rescued by Ryūki and his gang, further cementing their respective roles as the damsel and rebel hero.

As Caponegro (2009) points out in the American context, the more deviant forms of female identity are often neglected by academics (312–13). Yet, when it comes to the sexual behaviour of adolescent girls, both society and academics show great concern. For example, in contrast to the lack of scholarship on aspects of rebellious girls' culture, such as *sukeban* or *redisu*, there are abundant studies on *enjo kōsai*. In the late 1990s, the issue of *enjo kōsai* triggered mainstream moral panic when it was reported that girls as young as those in junior high school were participating in prostitution. Indeed, promiscuousness among girls continues to be seen as a sign of delinquency and *enjo kōsai* remains one of Japanese society's major concerns (Ueno 2003, 320). As this concern increased during the 1990s, when media frequently reported girls engaging in *enjo kōsai*, scholars began to argue that *enjo kōsai* is one of the ways in which a girl might rebel against her parents, since a girl's body is allegedly the property of her father (Ueno 2003, 318–19). For example, psychologist Chikako Ogura (2001) defines female adolescence as a period when a girl realises that she is not the owner of her body, and moreover that it “serves someone else's desire” (3). Chizuko Ueno (2003) observes how some scholars have even argued that when a girl sells her body she is exercising her right of ownership and challenging her father, making it an act of rebellion (323).

But the argument that *enjo kōsai* is a form of empowerment disavows or condones the exploitation of adolescent girls by adult males, and ignores the way that hegemonic masculinity operates within society. While it is adult

19 「毎朝毎朝めんどーな事の繰り返し。髪の設定と念入りの化粧。まだ高校生なのに、OL並みの身だしなみ。あたしはあんまりこういうの好きじゃないのに。濃い化粧とか、クルクル巻き髪とか。でもしなきゃなんない。みんなしてる、クルクル巻き髪。身なり整えて、化粧して。めんどーでも、したくなくても、今日って日が来ちゃったからしなきゃなんない。」

males who seek out these girls, society views enjo kōsai as a girl's problem and blame is laid mostly on those girls who "shamelessly" offer their bodies for cash, while the male desire for underage girls is "naturalized" (Ueno 2003, 321). Furthermore, such a view suggests that the only way for a girl to take control of her own body is through prostitution. Female protagonists like Ayaka challenge such arguments by demonstrating that enjo kōsai is far from being an act of reclaiming the body, as Ayaka, for example, is never in control during the process. She is only able to take control of her body by refusing, rather than engaging in, prostitution. For some girls, enjo kōsai may indeed be a form of rebellion against their parents, a means to gain financial power and satisfy their hedonistic desire for consumption. However, characters like Ayaka show that refusing can also be a powerful act of rebellion against peer and social pressures. Ayaka is unable to rebel against her classmates and stand up to them on her own, but her reluctance and eventual refusal to blindly conform can be interpreted as a hint of rebelliousness that is amplified when she comes into contact with the good bad boy. Her choice to date the leader of a bōsōzoku, instead of other more 'socially acceptable' boys from her school, can also be interpreted as an act of rebellion, but it is somewhat overshadowed by her role as a damsel-in-distress, given the romance with the rebel hero who rescues her is the central plot of the series.

Ryō: Rebellion of a Tomboy

The Wild Beast series portrays another form of adolescent female rebellion through its secondary character Ryō, who is a former *onna sōchō* (女総長; female motorcycle gang leader) of the Yajū gang. In contrast to the damsel-in-distress who needs to be rescued and protected, Ryō is a strong independent woman who actively and independently performs rebellion against society through her bōsōzoku identity. Unlike Ayaka, Ryō's relationship with the boys is one between equals. Despite having retired from the position of gang leader, she continues to associate with the gang and even rides out with them. The boys comment in awe that Ryō is one of the best riders; she can even outrun the police (Yū 2009a, 204).

When gender positioning within the bōsōzoku culture of the 1980s is taken into account, it becomes clear that Ryō's equal status in the gang—or even superior status, since she had been leader—is a product of fantasy. The bōsōzoku of the 1980s was a heavily gendered space in which only males were referred to as bōsōzoku (Nanba 2009, 156); a female leader of a male-only bōsōzoku gang would have been extremely unlikely. According to author Natsuki Endō, the gender hierarchy in bōsōzoku culture even meant female riders were required to ride behind male riders.²⁰ By contrast, in Wild Beast, Ryō takes the lead during one of the gang's ride outs, indicating that, at least within the world of Wild Beast, a girl can be an equal, or even superior, as long as she shows the skills and character of a bōsōzoku.

The use of the terms 'bōsōzoku' and 'onna sōchō' for Ryō, instead of 'redisu', symbolises her superior status and influence within the gang, and challenges the gender hierarchy that Wild Beast readers would likely face on a daily

basis. The phenomenon of female readers vicariously enjoying an escape from gender hierarchy through female characters is well documented by Janice Radway (1991), who argued that reading romance novels is a “way of temporarily refusing the demands associated with [females’] social role as wives and mothers” (11). Mobile phone novels offer similar forms of escape and vicarious pleasure. In *Wild Beast*, these are offered through both Ryō and Ayaka: Ryō as one of the boys (or even better, as their leader); and Ayaka, through her romance with a rebel.

Unlike Ayaka, who is uninterested in motorcycle culture, Ryō displays an enthusiasm that rivals that of the male gang members. The contrasting portrayal of these two female characters is best illustrated in the following passage, in which dispassionate Ayaka observes Ryō’s excitement over the gang’s ride out:

While we were walking back to the shed from the restaurant ‘Misuzu’, Ryō was obviously excited. Her eyes were bloodshot and she was speaking passionately about something. It was probably something about motorcycle riding techniques and engine structures, but I didn’t really understand what she was saying, so I just smiled and nodded while she talked away.²¹ (Yū 2009a, 202).

Ryō’s position as one-of-the-boys is further emphasised by her financial and social independence, which further polarises the two characters. Unlike Ayaka, who chooses to be financially and socially dependent on Ryūki, Ryō is not married and has a full time job that gives her financial independence. Her independence can be interpreted as a form of rebellion against normative Japanese society, which encourages women to find a spouse and become a housewife and mother. Furthermore, Ryō’s association with the Yajū gang after her retirement also indicates that she continues to rebel against society in her post-adolescence (as she is in her twenties). Although Ryō and Ayaka are polar opposites, there is no direct conflict or tension between the two within the text: Ayaka repeatedly express her admiration for Ryō, while Ryō takes on the role of a caring and experienced older sister for Ayaka. At one point, Ryō even lends Ayaka her old tokkōfuku, which she has kept as a memento, and this gesture symbolises the sisterly bond they form within the male-oriented motorcycle culture (Yū 2009a, 88). Although Ayaka is part of the pre-existing convention created within the male-oriented yankī narrative, and is thus depicted as a subjugated heroine, her admiration for Ryō hints at her desire for independence and equality. Yet, as a damsel-in-distress, Ayaka ultimately perpetuates the idea that girls need to be rescued and protected by their male partners.

In a way, Ryō also perpetuates hegemonic masculinity, because she is only empowered when she assumes a masculine role. However, her gender performance throughout the text indicates that being a bōsōzoku is only part of her identity, as she retains feminine signifiers. For example, since stepping down as leader of the gang, Ryō rides in her mini skirt rather than

21 「『みずす』から歩いて倉庫に戻る間、リョウさんはやっぱり興奮してるみたいで、血走った目で何かを熱く語ってた。多分言ってるのはバイクの運転技術やエンジン構造の話なんだろうけど、あたしにはよくわかんなくてとりあえず愛想笑いしながら相槌だけ打っておいた。」

tokkōfuku, and she is described by the narrator-protagonist as having beautiful long hair, perfect makeup and an attractive figure (Yū 2009a, 87). In addition, Ryō is depicted as a charismatic and capable leader, not only to Ayaka but also to the other male members of the Yajū gang, as she continues to give advice and support to the gang even though she has retired. However, although Ryō's rebellious identity is modelled on male bōsōzoku instead of redīsu (who are subordinate to bōsōzoku), her rebellion is not dependent on or defined by her relationship with the boys, as is Ayaka's.

Those studying female rebellion in fiction, such as Medovoi and Caponegro, focus on sexuality and even suggest that sexuality can also be power, using Hal Ellson's novel *Tomboy* [1950] as an example, where the tomboy heroine "withholds sex to maintain her power" within the gang (Caponegro 2009, 320). However, at the same time, sexuality can also be a vulnerability, as once the heroine dates one of the boys, she risks losing her position within the gang and "being passed on to another and another boy", just like other girls (Ellson 1950, 34). Thus, the protagonist guards her body by withholding it from the boys. In *Tomboy*, the rebellious heroine laments being a girl as she is aware of the fact that no matter how much of a masculine identity she may adopt, her feminine body is what separates her from the rest of the gang and she will never really be one of the boys. She complains that "[a] boy can do everything. Girls can hardly do anything" (Ellson 1950, 24).

Contrary to rebellious heroines in post-1950s American literature, Ryō's status or power within the gang does not derive from her sexuality, but rather from her riding skills and knowledge of motorcycles, her charisma and ability as a leader. From the perspective of the protagonist, Ryō is depicted as being able to do 'everything' the boys are doing. In other words, her femininity does not hinder her from performing a bōsōzoku identity. Although Ryō is only a peripheral character in the Wild Beast series, the number of female characters like her in mobile phone novels has slowly risen. Many works now feature onna sōchō and female bōsōzoku as protagonists, such that these terms have become keywords writers and readers use on sites like *Magic i-land* and *Wild Strawberry* to categorise female yankī narratives.²² The presence of Ryō in the Wild Beast series and the growing portrayal of female bōsōzoku within mobile phone novels indicate how yankī culture is being reimagined by girls in mobile phone novels.

Exploring intertextuality in shōjo literature, Aoyama and Hartley (2010) argue that for Japanese female writers, both professional and amateur, borrowing texts is less about passive referencing than it is about creating a "framework for girls' creative desires" (6). Indeed, for female mobile phone novel writers like Yū, borrowing yankī elements within the text is not a mere reference to rebellious youth culture as these borrowed elements are redefined in the work, most notably through characters like Ryō. Interpreting the use of yankī elements in the Wild Beast series simply as a revival of decades-old yankī culture hence trivialises the role girls play in the cultural production of such mobile phone novels.

22 A search on the combined terms 'onna sōchō' and 'bōsōzoku' returned 7,252 stories on the *Magic i-land* search engine, and 965 stories on *Wild Strawberry* (results as of 12 January 2016).

Central to Hayamizu's argument is the parallel between the rebellious girls of the 1980s sharing their 'real' tragic stories in teen magazines and the tragic love stories girls are now writing and reading on their mobile phones. His argument seems to assume that girls began sharing stories for the first time in the 1980s, when in fact Japanese girls have long been sharing stories in the form of letters and essays in girls' magazines (Katsuno and Yano 2002, 222).

Instead, what links yankī culture and mobile phone novels is the actual borrowing of yankī elements within the text. The writers and readers of mobile phone novels are estimated to be in their teens or twenties, so their recognition of yankī identities is based on an imagined nostalgia created via their consumption of popular media. 'Authenticity' for them stems from the fictional portrayal of rebellious boys as charismatic bad boys with hearts of gold, rather than as problem youth of the 1980s. The glorification of rebellious boys and their portrayal as positive rebels, as well as references to bōsōzoku, indicate that girls have borrowed heavily from tales of teenage rebellion in Japanese popular media rooted in 1980s yankī culture. By replicating existing conventions of the yankī narrative such as the damsel-in-distress and the glorification of male rebel heroes, mobile phone novel writers might be said to simply be perpetuating tropes of male hegemony. However, at the same time, closer examination of this borrowing illustrates that the girls have rejected gender-specific terms like *redisu* and *sukeban*, reimagining bōsōzoku as their own. This selective borrowing and adaptation indicates a desire to challenge the embedded gender hierarchy within yankī culture.

Yet, both Hayamizu and Honda overlook these textual references to yankī culture and as a result trivialise the role girls play in mobile phone novels. Aoyama and Hartley (2010) argue that girls' cultural production in Japan exposes "the voice of the girl subjugated within the masculine text" (6), and indeed mobile phone novel writers like Yū remind us how the yankī narrative in the mainstream media is male-oriented. Using UCC sites like *Magic i-land* and *Wild Strawberry* as a platform, writers borrow from existing conventions but use them only as a framework on which to project their desires, creating their own yankī narrative. Calling this process a simple 'revival' significantly undermines the dynamic role girls play in the cultural production of mobile phone novels.

For generations, girls have borrowed from other texts and created "the exclusive shōjo world within" that is shared by the writer, the protagonist and the reader (Aoyama 2005, 57). Through the format of UCC, which allows writers and readers to interact with each other directly, mobile phone novel readers, along with the writers, are reimagining yankī culture and creating their own shōjo fantasy world, whereby they can vicariously enjoy the thrills of teenage rebellion and temporarily escape from the marginalisation imposed by a persistently patriarchal society as they scroll through web pages on their mobile phones.

Title [Romanisation]	Title [Japanese]	Title [English]	Year of Publication /Release	Category	Author /Director [Romanisation]	Author /Director [Japanese script]
<i>Bibappu haisukūru</i>	ビー・バップ・ハイスクール	Be-bop High School	1983–2003	Boys' manga series	Kazutiro Kiuchi	きうち かずひろ
<i>Deep Love</i>	Deep Love	Deep Love	2000	Mobile phone novel series	Yoshi	Yoshi
<i>Hotto rōdo</i>	ホットロード	'Hot Road'	1986–1987	Girls' manga series	Taku Tsumugi	紡木 たく
<i>Jingi naki tatakai</i>	仁義なき戦い	<i>Battles Without Honor and Humanity</i>	1973	Film	Kinji Fukasaku	深作 欣二
<i>Kētai shōsetsugo kō: watashigattari no kaiwatai bunshō o saguru</i>	ケータイ小説語考：私語りの会話体文章を探る	'Thoughts on the Language Used in Mobile Phone Novels: Exploring Spoken Language in First-person Narratives'	2014	Book	Senko K. Maynard	泉子 K. メイナード
<i>Kētai shōsetsuteki: 'sai yankīka' jidai no shōjotachi</i>	ケータイ小説的：「再ヤンキー化」時代の少女たち	'Mobile Phone Novels: Girls in the Re-Yankification Era'	2008	Book	Kenrō Hayamizu	速水 健朗
<i>Koizora</i>	恋空	Sky of Love	2005	Mobile phone novel series	Mika	美嘉
<i>Kurōzu</i>	クローズ	Crows	1990–1998	Manga series	Hiroshi Takahashi	高橋 ヒロシ
<i>Kurōzu zero</i>	クローズZERO	<i>Crows Zero</i>	2007	Film	Takashi Miike	三池 崇史
<i>Line</i>	Line	<i>Line</i>	2006	Mobile phone novel	Chaco	Chaco
<i>Motto ititai</i>	もっと生きたい...	'I Want to Live Longer'	2004	Mobile phone novel	Yoshi	Yoshi
<i>Naze kētai shōsetsu wa urenu no ka</i>	なぜケータイ小説は売れるのか	'Why Mobile Phone Novels Sell'	2008	Book	Tōru Honda	本田 透
<i>OUT</i>	OUT	OUT	2012	Boys' manga series	Tatsuya Iguchi, Makoto Mizuta	井口 達也、みづた まこと
<i>Rontai beibī</i>	ロンタイBABY	'Long Tight Baby'	1988–1996	Girls' manga series	Satosumi Takaguchi	高口 里純
<i>Samurai sorujā</i>	サムライソルジャー	'Samurai Soldier'	2008–2014	Boys' manga series	Ryūichirō Yamamoto	山本 隆一郎
<i>Shimotsuna monogatari</i>	下妻物語	<i>Kamikaze Girls</i>	2002	Novel	Novala Takemoto	嶽本 野ばら
<i>Shōnan bakusōzoku</i>	湘南爆走族	'Shōnan Speed Tribe'	1982–1988	Boys' manga series	Satoshi Yoshida	吉田 聡
<i>Teen's Road</i>	ティーンズロード	<i>Teen's Road</i>	1988–1998	Monthly girls' magazine	-	-
<i>Tenshi ga kureta mono</i>	天使がくれたもの	'Gift from an Angel'	2005	Mobile phone novel	Chaco	Chaco
<i>Tsubasa no oreta tenshitachi</i>	翼の折れた天使たち	'The Angel with Broken Wings'	2006	Mobile phone novel series	Yoshi	Yoshi
<i>Wairudo būsuto</i>	ワイルドビースト	'Wild Beast'	2009–2010	Mobile phone novel series	Yū	ユウ

bōsōzoku (暴走族)

teenage motorcycle gang; also, gang members

chīmā (チーマー)

lit., ‘teamers’; example of teenage rebel culture in the 2000s comprising youth from privileged backgrounds, known for throwing lavish parties and roaming the streets of Shibuya

dōjin (同人)

refers to a group of people who share an interest, activity or hobby

dōjinshi (同人誌)

amateur publications or fan fiction novels and manga

enjo kōsai (援助交際)

lit., ‘compensated dating’; a term that has come to describe the practice of teenage girls providing companionship, sometimes including sex, to older men in exchange for money or expensive gifts

furyō (不良)

delinquent; rebellious

junbungaku (純文学)

lit., ‘pure literature’ or high literature

karā gyangu (カラーギャング)

lit., ‘colour gangs’; Japanese street gangs inspired by American hip hop culture, an example of late-1990s teenage rebel culture

kētai shōsetsu (ケータイ小説)

mobile phone novel

kōkan nikki (交換日記)

exchange diaries

neoyankī (ネオヤンキー)

neo-yankī-style delinquent

ninkyō eiga (任侠映画)

chivalrous yakuza films

ochikobore (おちこぼれ)

dropout

ochikobore seishun shōsetsu (おちこぼれ青春小説)

juvenile delinquent novels

onna sōchō (女総長)

female leader of a motorcycle gang

redīsu (レディース)
female motorcycle gang member

rorīta (ロリータ)
Lolita; a fashion subculture that emerged in the late 1990s in which girls dress up in clothing inspired by the Victorian and Edwardian eras

shōjo (少女)
young girl

shōjo manga (少女漫画)
girls' comic books or graphic novels

shōnen manga (少年漫画)
boys' comic books or graphic novels

sōchō (総長)
leader of a motorcycle gang

sukeban (スケ番)
female delinquent

tokkōfuku (特攻服)
bōsōzoku 'uniforms' inspired by kamikaze fighter pilot apparel

tsuppari (ツッパリ)
delinquent youth

tsupparu (突っ張る)
to be defiant

yajū (野獣)
lit., 'wild beast'; also, the name of the teenage motorcycle gang in the Wild Beast series

yankī (ヤンキー)
delinquent

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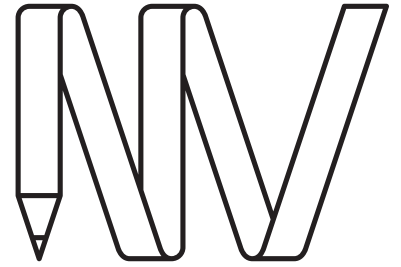
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NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES

Rethinking the Rat Trilogy: Detachment, Commitment and Haruki Murakami's Politics of Subjectivity

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ABSTRACT

The career of novelist Haruki Murakami has conventionally been divided into two periods: detachment and commitment. Murakami's transition to commitment, in the sense of a social engagement with a defined political sensibility, is generally seen to begin with the novel *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* [1995]. However, the so-called Rat Trilogy (*Hear the Wind Sing* [1979], *Pinball, 1973* [1980] and *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982]) sees Murakami address the concept of *shutaisei*—the question of individual agency and subjectivity at the centre of Japan's student activist movement in the late 1960s. Examining the trilogy's central characters through the lens of *shutaisei*, I argue that a commitment to political and historical awareness can already be found in Murakami's early works.

KEYWORDS

1960s; everydayness; individuality; Murakami Haruki; New Left; politics; popular literature; postwar; student movement; subjectivity

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More than 30 years after his arrival on the Japanese literary scene, novelist Haruki Murakami [村上 春樹; b. 1949] now ranks as one of the true juggernauts of world fiction. A veritable publishing phenomenon in his homeland, Murakami's works of fiction and non-fiction have been translated into over 50 languages, often to substantial critical acclaim. However, for all their popularity among a general readership, many in Japanese literary circles have found Murakami's tales of calm, cool and collected magical realism to lack substance. Theorist Masao Miyoshi (1994) has described Murakami's novels as "smooth, popular [items] of consumption", about which "very few would be silly enough to get interested in deep reading" (244).¹ Novelist Kenzaburō Ōe seemed to have had Murakami in mind during his 1994 Nobel Lecture, drawing a clear distinction between his own work and that of certain "other writers" whose novels were "mere reflections of the vast consumer cultures of Tokyo and the subcultures of the world at large".²

Much of the debate regarding Murakami's value (or lack thereof) as a writer stems from his trademark air of "detachment" (デタッチメント)—a stylistic and narrative trait seen to typify much of his work (Watatsuki 2016, 6). His protagonists sit at a clinical, intellectual distance from the often fantastic and disturbing situations in which they find themselves, expressing minimal emotion. This is reflected on a structural level by Murakami's minimalistic, matter-of-fact prose, which draws heavily on English diction (Rubin 2002, 36). Crucially, this perceived detachment is often taken to reflect a general apathy in Murakami's writing toward social realities and moments of historical significance in Japanese society, such as the Kobe earthquake of 1995 and the Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami of 2011 (Kuroko 2015, 219–20).

Murakami has suggested this sense of detachment emerged after the Japanese student movement of the late 1960s, remarking in a conversation with psychoanalyst Hayao Kawai:

When I think about it, during the university struggles of 1968–1969, I was very concerned about what I should personally make a commitment to. [...] That time was the age of commitment for our generation. But then that got beaten down, and beaten out of us, and all in an instant it turned into detachment.³
 (Kawai and Murakami 1996, 12–13)

For critics such as Kōjin Karatani (1990), this detachment is symptomatic of a lack of political awareness and a sense of historicity (102). The idea that serious literature in Japanese must, by definition, reflect on Japanese social reality is one with a long precedent in domestic critical discourse. As the critic Ken Hirano observes, the privileged category of *junbungaku* (純文学; lit., 'pure literature' or high literature) requires by definition a sense of "actuality" (アクチュアリティ), in terms of engaging with and commenting

¹ Miyoshi made these comments in an English-language essay.

² Kenzaburō Ōe's Nobel Lecture was delivered in English.

³ 「考えてみると、68–69年の学生紛争、あの頃から僕にとっては個人的に何にコミットするかということは大きな問題だったんです。…… 結局あのころは、僕らの世代にとってはコミットメントの時代だったんですよね。ところが、それがたたきつぶされるべくしてたたきつぶされて、それから一瞬のうちにデタッチメントに行ってしまうのですね。」 Note: All translations of Japanese source texts are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

on social realities (Kimura 2014, 7). In such an understanding, fictions of detachment are not considered to fall under the category of *junbungaku*, and are therefore rarely given serious critical attention. This generic hierarchy is reflected in the usual categorisation of Murakami's novels as *taishū bungaku* (大衆文学; popular literature).

This is not to suggest that Murakami has been entirely ostracised by Japan's literary establishment: after all, he was awarded the Tanizaki Jun'ichiro Prize for his 1985 novel, *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*. Moreover, more recently, some critics in Japan have observed a "transition" (転換) at play in Murakami's attitudes towards social and political engagement (Kuroko 2007, 10–11).⁴ For his part, Murakami refers to this transition as moving from a position of "detachment to commitment" (デタッチメントからコミットメントへ) (Kawai and Murakami 1996, 12–13). The notion of a transition towards social 'commitment' has since come to inform a substantial amount of scholarship on Murakami's work (Kuronuma 1999, 64). For critics such as Kuroko and Ōe, this 'commitment' seems to form the most important criterion that distinguishes Murakami's works of mass-market fiction from those approaching a *junbungaku* designation.

Murakami's transition from detachment to commitment is generally thought to begin in earnest with a detailed thematic exploration of Japanese wartime atrocities in China, in the novel *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* [1995] (Tanaka Atkins 2012, 7). Murakami himself observed this change, remarking to Kawai:

More recently, I've been thinking a lot about the concept of commitment. For example, even when I'm writing a novel it's become a very important thing for me. Though up until now detachment has been important for me.⁵
(Kawai and Murakami 1996, 12–13)

Murakami returned to this point later in their discussion:

There were three steps in *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* for me. First came the aphorism and the sense of detachment, and then the process of telling the story itself, but ultimately I came to feel that something was missing. I suppose this is how commitment came into it, though I'm still sorting that out for myself.⁶
(Kawai and Murakami 1996, 70)

This shift towards incorporating commitment, however unsteady, somewhat softened the attitudes of some of Murakami's most vocal detractors. Though he would later renege on the assessment, critic Haruo Yoshida (1997) hinged an entire book on the central argument that Murakami was undergoing a critical transition towards a sense of historical engagement in the mid-1990s. Yoshida considered the non-fiction essay collection *Underground* [1997]—an

⁴ Kazuo Kuroko has returned to the 'anti-Murakami' camp in light of more recent writings, particularly Murakami's responses to the 11 March 2011 triple disaster (Kuroko 2015).

⁵ 「それと、コミットメント (かかわり) ということについて最近よく考えるんです。たとえば、小説を書くときでも、コミットメントということがぼくにとってはものすごく大事になってきた。以前はデタッチメント (かかわりのなさ) というのがぼくにとっては大事なことであったんですが」

⁶ 『ねじまき鳥クロニクル』は、ぼくにとっては第三ステップなのです。まず、アフォリズム、デタッチメントがあって、次に物語を語るという段階があって、やがて、それでも何か足りないというのが自分でわかってきたんです。その部分で、コミットメントということがかかわってくるんでしょうね。ぼくもまだよく整理していないのですが」

investigation of the March 1995 Tokyo subway sarin attacks by the doomsday cult Aum Shinrikyō⁷—to be a watershed moment for the writer. However, judging from the works upon which critics have focused their harsher remarks, Murakami’s tendency toward detachment is best exemplified by his earliest novels, in particular the so-called Rat Trilogy.

The Rat Trilogy consists of three stand-alone novels that are interconnected by their central characters: *Hear the Wind Sing* [1979]; *Pinball, 1973* [1980]; and *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982].⁸ For his part, Murakami has considered at least the first two books to be among his weaker works, even going so far as to have vetoed their official release in the English-speaking world for over 20 years (Murakami and Wray 2004).⁹ But despite their relative immaturity, these early works are significant because they represent fundamental characteristics of his writing style. Many classic Murakami tropes make their first appearance in the Rat Trilogy: the meditations on American pop music; continental philosophy and whiskey; the intrusion of the uncanny into the mundane; and the appearance of a mysterious woman with beautiful ears, with whom the unnamed narrator eventually has sex. Significantly, these books establish a model of exploring the individual as a form of “self-therapy”, which recurs in Murakami’s later works (Dil 2010).

However, the Rat Trilogy also poses a problem for the conventional understanding of Murakami’s supposed trajectory from detachment to commitment. Although usually read as meditations on individual psychology and loss, the long shadow of Japan’s tumultuous era of student protests in the late 1960s informs Murakami’s construction of the individual in all three of these works. By design or otherwise, Murakami’s focus on interiority dovetails elegantly with the discourse of *shutaisei* (主体性; roughly understood as ‘individual subjectivity’) that sat at the heart of the student protest movement (Kersten 2009, 229).

Despite its importance in postwar discourse, there is no single authoritative definition of what *shutaisei* is or how one goes about attaining or achieving it. However, common to the multivalent usages of the term, *shutaisei* in postwar Japanese thought was a concern with the capacity of the individual to perceive, react to and enact change upon one’s environment, according to an independent definition of moral values (Koschmann 1996, 3–4). To defend *shutaisei* was to defend the value of thinking for oneself in the face of authoritarianism, and of the individual subject’s free will (Sasaki 2012, 63).

While *shutaisei* was a fixture in discussions among progressive intellectuals of all stripes in the postwar era, the New Left discourse in Japan hinged on theorising the tension between individual *shutaisei* and the need to participate in actions to transform the wider society (Eckersall 2013, 89).

⁷ On 20 March 1995, members of the Aum Shinrikyō cult simultaneously released sarin nerve gas on five Tokyo subway trains in a coordinated attack during the morning rush hour. The attack eventually killed 13 people, severely injuring dozens, and potentially affected up to 6,000 commuters.

⁸ *Dance Dance Dance* [1988] follows the events of *A Wild Sheep Chase* but is generally excluded from the Rat Trilogy as the titular character is dead by this point.

⁹ English translations of *Hear the Wind Sing* and *Pinball, 1973* were produced by Alfred Birnbaum in 1987 and 1985, respectively. These were released in a ‘reader’ format designed for English-language students in Japan, but were never sold overseas. Although eventually retranslated by Ted Goosen in 2015, the Birnbaum translations have become valuable collectors’ items for Murakami fans.

In the Rat Trilogy, Murakami explores this same politically charged dimension of subjectivity through the central characters' development. Though Murakami does not conceive of it in these terms, the arc towards commitment can be seen to form a crucial subtext of these early works.

DETACHMENT AND THE CRITICAL RESPONSES TO MURAKAMI'S RAT TRILOGY

The Rat Trilogy derives its title from the character Nezumi (鼠; Rat). Rat's counterpart is the series' co-protagonist, an unnamed narrator who refers to himself by the informal, first-person masculine pronoun *boku* (僕). Boku begins the series in *Hear the Wind Sing* as an amiable if withdrawn student in his final year of university, returning home to the rural coast for summer vacation with his slightly older friend, Rat. Boku is somewhat alienated from the mainstream, and from time to time offers withering critiques of social conformity in the broadest sense. However, for the most part, he appears to enjoy a simple lifestyle of consumer comforts; brand name liquors, FM radio, jazz, sex and food all make frequent appearances in his narration. Although Boku had a tangential engagement with the student movement—attending a few demonstrations, sleeping with a runaway girl on the fringes of the movement and generally sympathising with its goals—Rat was more involved and faced serious repercussions, including police violence. Rat is brash and emotional, and despite being in his early twenties has made no attempt to embark on any particular career path. By the novel's ambiguous conclusion, the different trajectories of the two friends' lives appear to have diverged beyond recourse.

Murakami introduces surreal elements in the novel's sequel, *Pinball, 1973*. Having moved to Tokyo to work as a translator, Boku finds himself driven to seek out a particular pinball machine he had briefly enjoyed playing in his hometown in the late 1960s. The anthropomorphic presence of the three-flipper Spaceship pinball machine, combined with the sudden appearance of identical twin girls in Boku's apartment, heralds the arrival of the matter-of-fact magical realism that has become Murakami's trademark. Rat, meanwhile, remains in the seaside town, only to break up with his girlfriend and eventually move to the mountains. Despite mutual expressions of nostalgia and loneliness, neither character attempts to interact with the other at any point during the year the novel describes.

A Wild Sheep Chase opens some years later, in 1978, with the protagonist Boku living in Tokyo. One day he is summoned by a third character, referred to as the "Strange Man", who is the deputy of a "far-right kingmaker" (右翼の大物) in search of a mysterious 'sheep' on pain of personal and professional ruin (Murakami 1990b, 80). The sheep, appearing in a photo sent to the protagonist by Rat, brings the two characters' lives into alignment for the last time. As the mystery of the sheep brings Boku to Hokkaido, Rat ultimately commits suicide to seal the sheep in his body and save Japan from the sheep's further malevolent influence.

According to Seiji Takeda, critics viewed the Rat Trilogy as a failure due to its lack of “sociality” (社会性), referring to the works’ inability to describe social realities, and its lack of “historicity” (歴史性), in terms of the narrative’s position in the broader scope of Japanese history (Seats 2006, 116). The dominant critical discourse at the time of the series’ publication commonly referred to Murakami’s prose as typifying a kind of “autism” or “self-closure” (自閉), and a desire for an “escape from the Other” (他者からの逃避) (Takeda 1995, 32). Takeda defends Murakami on this charge, suggesting that the novels’ sense of social detachment is a deliberate aesthetic strategy that allows Murakami to explore the universal and timeless concerns of emotion, imagination and the human condition—a strategy that has contributed to his international success (Takeda 1995, 34–35).

However, I contend that the notion of the Rat Trilogy as typifying the detached period of Murakami’s writing stems largely from the characterisation of Boku, who, as the narrator, has been the primary focus of critical attention to date. On the other hand, despite the use of his name in the informal title of the series, the character of Rat—described rather uncharitably by critic Steve Erickson (2015) as “a loudmouth barfly and determined human disaster”—has attracted relatively little critical attention. While much of these books’ charm and innovation comes from their unnamed narrator’s prose, by focusing instead on the dichotomy of Boku and Rat, the series can be seen as a political allegory for the collapse of the 1960s student protest movement and its cultural aftermath. These characters’ interactions across the three novels demonstrate that a clear arc towards commitment is present even in Murakami’s earliest writings, which engage directly with the student movement’s political discourse of individual selfhood and social resistance.

DEBATING SUBJECTIVITY IN THE 1960S STUDENT MOVEMENT AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Rat Trilogy unfolds in the context of the aftermath of the late 1960s student protest movement, the discourse around which appears to have deeply informed Murakami’s sense of political engagement. While a historiographical assessment of the student protest movement in postwar Japan is beyond the scope of this article, a brief overview is important to contextualise Murakami’s construction of the individual in these early novels.

The student movement that rocked university campuses across Japan in the late 1960s had its origins in earlier civil demonstrations—namely, those against the 1960 extension of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (日本国とアメリカ合衆国との間の相互協力及び安全保障条約), known by the abbreviation *Anpo* (安保). This vigorous protest movement stemmed from popular opposition to the conservative Kishi government’s plans to renew the Anpo treaty¹⁰—a move broadly

10 Prime Minister of Japan from 1957 to 1960, Nobusuke Kishi [岸 信介; 1896–1987] was a career bureaucrat under General Hideki Tōjō’s wartime cabinet. After the war, Kishi spent three years imprisoned as a Class A war criminal. After the US occupation, he rose again through the ranks of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), becoming prime minister just nine years after his release from Sugamo Prison. A staunch anti-communist and advocate for remilitarisation, Kishi was the key player in the ratification of the Anpo treaty despite massive citizen outcry. He resigned shortly afterwards.

opposed as both a step towards remilitarisation and a gesture of continued subservience to the United States. Accompanied by a series of yearly general strikes, the anti-Anpo movement was widely feared by conservatives to have brought Japan to the “brink of revolution” (Takayama 2007, 97).

The anti-Anpo movement of 1960 encompassed a broad swathe of Japan’s civil society, ranging from established socialist factions like the Bund (League of Revolutionary Communists) and the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), to labour unions, citizen groups, families with young children, women and neighbourhood organisations. Student organisations, particularly the left-leaning *Zengakuren* (全学連; All-Japan Student Union), played an important role in the struggle. But when the Anpo treaty was renewed despite the massive civil outcry, many younger activists became dejected, breaking off from the Bund and the JCP. Japan’s New Left and its more ideologically ecumenical cohorts emerged within this younger generation of 1960s activists, with their activities centred on the campuses of major universities, and eventually spreading to high schools (Kelman 2001, 246).

The majority of young people who came of age in the late 1960s did not directly take part in the movement. With matriculation levels on the rise throughout the decade, many students remained perfectly motivated to continue studying and working (Oguma 2015). Even the most charitable estimates suggest that a maximum of just 20% of students across the country were even passively involved in the demonstrations at their peak (Oguma 2015). Nevertheless, as Guy Yasko (1997) observes, the ubiquity of its highly visible tactic of mass demonstration, in the mass media, meant the student movement quickly became part of Japan’s collective experience of the late 1960s (5).

DEBATING SUBJECTIVITY AND EVERYDAYNESS

The summer of 1970, which forms the backdrop of *Hear the Wind Sing*, was a period of significant historical change. Though protest activities did continue after this point, 1970 has served as a benchmark in that it heralded the unofficial ‘defeat’ of the 1960s protest movement on several (if not all) fronts, and most obviously with the second renewal of the Anpo treaty in June of that year. From 1969 onwards, police expanded their use of mass arrest at student demonstrations, a tactic held as justified under the 1952 Antisubversive Activities Law (破壊活動防止法). The increasing threat of mass arrest effectively stifled large-scale protest tactics such as university barricades—a tactic to which Murakami alludes in the trilogy (Ando 2013, 81). These years also saw the widespread use of legislation allowing prospective employers to effectively blacklist students found to have taken part in demonstrations (Steinhoff 1984). In short, the beginning of the 1970s marked a turning point when many student activists became disenchanted and left the movement, and the incarnation of the student protest movement in which the characters of *Hear the Wind Sing* participated faced a rapid decline.

Hear the Wind Sing resonated as a coming-of-age novel for a decidedly different generation when it was first published in the popular literary magazine *Gunzō* [群像] in 1979. Right-wing critic Keigo Okonogi (1978) borrowed from Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in describing the youth of this period as *moratoriumu ningen* (モラトリアム人間; lit., 'moratorium people')—the generation which agreed to a moratorium on demands and protests for political and social autonomy, in exchange for consumer luxuries and greater security (17). Under Okonogi's quasi-psychoanalytic discourse, the political and social engagement of late 1960s youth who had been involved with the protest movement became synonymous with unwarranted emotional reactivity, while the generation that had come of age during the 1970s was seen as dispassionate and detached (Kinsella 1998, 292). With Murakami's works often cited as exemplifying this new brand of cool, apolitical detachment in the wake of the student movement's dissolution, his phenomenal rise in popularity over the course of the 1980s has been attributed at least in part to this pattern of generational and political shift (Beale 1991).

In the Rat Trilogy, Murakami depicts two characters, Boku and Rat, who are left to make sense of their lives after the student movement as they knew it was crushed. Where Boku abandons all but his nostalgia for 1960s pop culture and moves into a comfortable (if unsatisfying) life as a middle-class Tokyoite, Rat stays true to his protest-era values of non-conformity and resistance to authority, even when it becomes evident that the movement has lost support—by which point Boku comes to see him as an embittered neighbourhood barfly, stuck in the past while the world has moved on. Through these two starkly different men, Murakami explores what Rikki Kersten (2009) identifies as the movement's overarching concern: disagreements over the nature of social and political subjectivity, or *shutaisei* (6).

The question of individual moral agency in the form of *shutaisei* became the nexus of postwar liberal thought in Japan. For the postwar progressive school of thought, the project of postwar democratisation could only be accomplished through the full realisation of individual *shutaisei* in public life. These views were most commonly associated with Tokyo University law scholar and public intellectual Masao Maruyama [1914–1996]. Despite the ultimate passage of the controversial security treaty, Maruyama lauded the dynamism of the 1960 Anpo protests as “the indigenisation of democracy” (Kersten 2009, 232) insofar as they spurred the Japanese citizenry towards a sense of *shutaisei* mediated by democratic institutions in the public sphere (i.e., the free press, universities and citizen groups). But by the end of the 1960s, with much of the liberal establishment seen as failing to address their concerns, such an understanding of *shutaisei* was unconscionable to many in the student movement.

The student movement soon found one of their champions in the theorist and New Left leader Takaaki Yoshimoto [1924–2012]. In Yoshimoto's assessment, the supposed institutions of postwar democracy had failed to foster genuine *shutaisei* and left no capacity for moral self-expression; the students protesting

in the late 1960s had not done so out of a civic duty to check the power of the State, as Maruyama had suggested, but out of total frustration with the depressing realities of the postwar establishment (Kersten 2009, 233). For the New Left school of thought and the student protest groups aligned with it, *shutaisei* was not meted out to citizens by the organs of the public sphere, but was rather the outcome of an individual process of what activists such as Makoto Seimiya termed “self-transformation” (自己変革) (Ando 2013, 69). My argument focuses on a similar understanding of *shutaisei* as the capacity of the individual moral subject to perceive social and political realities, and become empowered to enact change upon them.

Although driven by political goals, the student movement engaged with the discussion of *shutaisei* in explicitly individualistic terms, emphasising the importance of one’s moral interiority. Eiji Oguma (2009) quotes one activist as observing that “the nuance [of the term *shutaisei*] was about harsh self-excoriation, speaking for yourself in your own words, and thinking for yourself” (自分自身の自己切開、自分の言葉で語れ、自分で考えろというニュアンス) (579). To them, the term also carried a nuance of “enthusiasm” or “motivation” (やる気) and of “not sitting on the fence” (日和らない) (577). According to Takemasa Ando (2013), the student activists did not seek immediate legislative or political reform, but believed that social change would follow from their collective experience of self-reflection and transformation (73).

However, the significance of the abstract concept of ‘individual subjectivity’ in the context of the student movement should not be overstated. For all its splintering and discontent, it was a serious political movement that sought to achieve a number of tangible reforms. But by the same token, affirmation of the need for individual subjectivity and moral self-examination of one’s position in society formed a key part of the movement’s rhetoric and praxis. Ando (2013) contends the focus of the student movement was to “transform [the people’s] depoliticized consciousness” (1). Critically for our discussion of Murakami, Ando refers to this as a conscious rejection of “everydayness”, or *nichijōsei* (日常性) (1). For the students, *nichijōsei* referred to the entire complex of both social pressures towards conformity and the tangible agents of force that gave these pressures weight (such as the police and the higher education system). As one Nihon University student described it in a roundtable at that time, this everydayness referred to

“the dominant way of thinking—everything ranging from people’s art of living better to the cognitive system academically discussed by intellectuals”: the politics of “representative democracy”, the economics of “rapid growth”, and people’s expectations that “someday their hopes will be realised”. Being suspicious of these things and unveiling them is “getting out of everyday-ness”. (Ando 2013, 73)

Reflecting on everydayness in this sense entailed the profession-bound university students questioning their own affluence amid the burgeoning economic boom, and choosing to live differently. *Shutaisei* was an essential

precondition to challenging everydayness through the movements' tactics including demonstrations and sit-ins. In addition to whatever concrete political goals a particular direct action may have been aiming for, an equally important goal of the Japanese student movement as a whole was to make visible the invisible networks of social control and conformity that had been internalised as 'just the way things are', and which impeded the development of authentic *shutaisei*. For many activists in the New Left, challenging such everydayness also included a tendency to reflect on wartime atrocities at home and abroad, and acknowledge the role of postwar Japanese citizens as victimisers, or at the very least complicit beneficiaries of the victimisation of others throughout Asia (Ando 2013, 175). Moral subjectivity at the level of the individual became intrinsic to the students' logic of enacting social justice on a broader scale.

ALLEGORIES OF SUBJECTIVITY IN *HEAR THE WIND SING*

If *shutaisei* is to be understood as the capacity for the democratic subject to both perceive and enact change upon society in accordance with one's own values, then Boku fulfils this capacity. We see the world through his recollections and observations, and through his reflections of the characters that open up to him. At the same time, he is also extremely passive, both socially and politically. In the absence of an overriding moral code connecting him to other human beings, he appears to fixate on tangible elements of cultural detritus, a tendency suggested by his encyclopaedic knowledge of 1960s pop music and the fictional sci-fi author Derek Hartfield. Boku perceives the world around him quite astutely, but feels nothing in particular about it, and is therefore not motivated to change any part of it. Boku's passive consumerist philosophy is precisely what gives rise to the sense of detachment seen to typify Murakami's early work more generally.

Rat, meanwhile, retains the strong sense of *shutaisei* he picked up as a student activist. He has developed certain independent moral values and reacts accordingly. He has his moments of self-awareness. For instance, although he decides to run away to the mountains and write novels, he does so under no illusions of aptitude: "I don't think I have talent or anything" (俺はね、自分に才能があるなんて思っちゃいないよ) (Murakami 1990a, 121).¹¹ But Boku looks down on Rat's novels as absurd stories detached from the human experience, remarking with a backhanded compliment:

Rat's stories always follow two rules: first, there are no sex scenes, and second, not one person dies. Even if you don't acknowledge it, people die and guys sleep with girls. That's just how it is.¹²
 (Murakami 1987, 18)

Rat's lack of ability rules out artistic endeavours as an outlet for his sense of disillusionment once he can no longer participate in protest actions. In the absence of an organised student protest movement to give him some sense

¹¹ Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1987, 18).

¹² Translation by Alfred Birnbaum. 「鼠の小説には優れた点が二つある。まずセックス・シーンの無いことと、それから一人も人が死なないことだ。放って置いても人は死ぬし、女と寝る。そういうものだ。」 (Murakami 1990a, 22).

of purpose, he cannot live in the world as he wants to. However, he also lacks the perceptiveness to identify and enact any meaningful resistance against the systems of power and social relations that have removed student protest as a viable outlet for his dissatisfaction in the first place. Since he is not fully utilising his shutaisei through political engagement, he becomes a tragicomic figure waxing analytical about inequities in the class system while coasting by on his family's wealth.

We first meet Rat in the recurring setting of J's Bar, where he opens the novel by shouting out "Eat shit, you rich bastards!" (金持ちなんて・みんな・糞くらえさ) to no-one in particular (Murakami 1990a, 12). On one level, Rat seems to form a caricature of the typical 'angry young man' associated with the late 1960s student protests. The scion of a wealthy family that made its riches in the war, Rat has bitterly renounced his own privilege, become absorbed in student activism, and ultimately dropped out of university under questionable circumstances about which he refuses to go into detail.¹³ When Boku points out that he is one of the elite about which he complains, Rat posits that the dividing line between himself and the rich is not a matter of economics but one of character, as he needs to "use his brain in order to live" (生きるためには考え続けなくちゃならない), as opposed to the rich, who "don't have to think about important things" (奴らは大事なことは何も考えない) (Murakami 1990a, 14–15). Rat seems to be a satirical representation of the intellectual Left who were, on the whole, from rather privileged backgrounds that allowed them access to higher education in the first place. But there is nevertheless something endearing about him, and for all his flaws Boku views him as a loyal friend.

The contrast between these characters extends into the syntactical structures Murakami uses to render them. Where Boku's dialogue is relatively polished and spare, Rat's speech is more impassioned and conversational, such as his use of *ore* (俺), a much more informal masculine first-person pronoun. Rat strikes a more colloquial tone; he enjoins Boku's participation with the liberal use of interjectory particles and phrases, such as 'I'll come right out and say it' (はっきり言って), 'Hey' (ってね), 'Right?' (ってさ), 'Don't you think...' (そうだろ) and 'You see?' (〜くない). The narration also lingers on Rat's impolite manners, describing moments of fidgeting with his hands, blowing his nose and drunkenly vomiting with a regularity that imbues him with a sense of restless energy and compulsion toward self-expression.

When Boku leaves town at the end of *Hear the Wind Sing*, the move appears to push Rat into depression, with the ever-perceptive bartender J observing that Rat's persistent unhappiness appears to come down to being "worried about being left behind" (多分取り残されるような気がするんだよ) (Murakami, 1990a, 85). Yet this fear is not enough to motivate Rat to follow Boku into the conventional labour market. Later, in a subsequent conversation with Boku, Rat takes on an ironic messianic tone, quoting the Bible verse Matthew 5:13:

13 Given the context and Rat's later references to "getting beaten up by a cop after developing a social conscience" (他人のことも考えたしおかげで殴られた) (Murakami 1990a, 92), one can reasonably deduce that his departure from university was probably not an amicable one, nor one necessarily initiated by Rat himself.

“Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?” (汝らは地の塩なり。……塩もし効力失わば、何をもてか之に塩すべき) (Murakami 1990a, 92).¹⁴

Murakami would be well aware of this verse’s conclusion of tasteless salt: “[I]t is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men” (Matthew 5:13 King James Version [KJV]). Refusing to let go of the sense of shutaisei he picked up as an activist, Rat is at risk of being left behind as the world changes around him, and that is exactly what happens. While the generally introverted Boku strives for a measure of upward mobility by settling down to start a business in Tokyo, *Hear the Wind Sing* ends with Rat remaining in the nameless seaside town and considering writing, as he muses: “The cicadas and frogs and spiders, the summer grass and the wind, if I could write for them, it would be a wonderful thing” (蝉や蛙や蜘蛛や、そして夏草や風のために何かが書けたらどんなに素敵だろうってね) (Murakami 1990a, 92).¹⁵ However conflicted he may feel about it, in abandoning his friendship with Rat, Boku has not only stepped away from his own shutaisei, but made a choice to detach himself from the one meaningful social connection he retains from the activist circles. Therefore, rather than detachment being figured as a sensible lifestyle choice for a post-protest youth, Boku’s rejection of Rat comes with a profound sense of loss and isolation.

DETACHMENT AND CONSUMERISM IN *PINBALL*, 1973

Pinball, 1973 returns to the two characters some three years later, by which stage they live roughly 650 kilometres apart: Boku working as a translator in Tokyo, and Rat still in the seaside town. It is in this novel that Murakami’s signature uncanny tension between reality and unreality first begins to take shape. In the time elapsed since the events of *Hear the Wind Sing*, the two former friends have fallen out of touch, with their time occupied by what could be described as misdirected passions. Murakami sketches these as vignettes in a series of alternating chapters, moving between Boku and Rat’s otherwise unconnected lives. The alternating chapters of the book sit at thematic opposites, helping to illustrate the gulf between the characters; Boku tells a detached, matter-of-fact account of a series of highly poignant and at times fantastic scenes, while Rat’s side of the story is a tense and emotionally charged account of the several dull weeks before his decision to finally leave town.

Even as Boku appears to be reasonably content with his modestly successful professional life in Tokyo—reading Kant, listening to the Beatles and sleeping with identical twin girls—his thoughts keep bringing him back to the 1960s and his time with Rat. He begins to think back on a twisted version of the late 1960s, recalling his time at the university barricades as a peaceful wonderland where he bonded over classical music with “a man from Saturn, and another one from Venus, one each” (僕が話した相手の中には土星生まれと金星生まれが一人ずついた) (Murakami 1990a, 136).¹⁶ Gripped by a sense of nostalgia, Boku

14 Taken from the Holy Bible, King James Version (KJV), cited in Alfred Birnbaum’s English translation (see Murakami 1987, 89).

15 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1987, 122).

16 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1985, 4).

begins to use his newfound affluence and leisure time to cultivate an *otaku*-like interest in cultural ephemera of the late 1960s, reading widely and listening to pop records religiously. Out of nowhere, he develops a sudden obsession with a particular pinball machine he and Rat had played, the three-flipper Spaceship, and follows a complex series of clues to its final resting place. In a surreal scene that bookends Boku's earlier recollections of meeting friendly humanoid aliens at the university blockades, Boku and the talking pinball machine reminisce on the old days for one last time. In the absence of Rat's idealism or J's sage words of advice, Boku seems to have begun attributing subjectivity to inanimate objects, while his fetishistic consumerism appears to have reduced his ability to form human relationships.

Boku is lucid enough to recall that Rat was a fanatical devotee of the three-flipper Spaceship in 1970, thinking back on a heartwarming snapshot of Rat's high score, which "forged a bond between Rat and the machine, perhaps even a feeling of kinship" (鼠とピンボール台を結びつけ、そこはかたない親密な雰囲気をかもしだしていた) (Murakami 1990a, 203).¹⁷ Boku's thoughts turn briefly to Rat, who once dreamily promised he would never get sick of pinball. In this sense, Rat's unwavering determination to the quixotic goal of reaching the high score stands in for the sense of protest era *shutaisei* that Boku implicitly seeks. However, Boku's lack of emotional self-scrutiny leads him to project his nostalgia for that era onto the physical object itself rather than the social milieu in which he encountered it. The accomplishment of Boku's quest is therefore rendered absurd and disjointed: the novel's mysterious climax sees him organise a reunion with the now-sentient three-flipper Spaceship, but this final rendezvous takes place in a cold, filthy chicken coop, rank with death and manure (Murakami 1990a, 232–42).

By 1973, Boku has become so ensconced in the logic of consumerism that the idea of satisfying his nostalgia by reaching out to Rat—who seemed to embody the anti-establishment vigour of the student movement—does not occur to him. Boku's pop culture nostalgia, to become a hallmark of Murakami's style, is an ironically misplaced longing for his youth that can never be fulfilled as long as he refuses to engage with the sticky questions of class and privilege that go along with establishing one's *shutaisei*. As a stand-in for the apolitical 'moratoriumu ningen' set who have withdrawn from the self-transformation logic of protest, Boku has outsourced his sense of *shutaisei* to commodities. The grotesque absurdity of the lengths to which he goes to satisfy his banal desire for pinball suggests that we should not necessarily consider him a role model.

Meanwhile, now 25 years old, Rat has settled into an apartment paid for by his wealthy family and has taken an attractive older woman as his lover. For all intents and purposes his life appears relatively comfortable, yet the year of 1973 holds "something spiteful" (何かしら底意地の悪いもの) for Rat (Murakami 1990a, 149).¹⁸ Rat's anxieties seem to centre on his relationship with his nameless girlfriend; although she inspires in Rat a long-forgotten tenderness, she also represents a practiced inauthenticity that would have

¹⁷ Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1985, 101).

¹⁸ Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1985, 36).

been anathema to the Rat of 1970. Rat notices in her mannerisms, from her choice of sundress to a smile that belies a certain studied *sprezzatura* and self-awareness, that she is striving to cultivate a “certain perfection, within her own little world, and with remarkable effort” (Murakami 1990a, 172).¹⁹ Despite Rat’s affection for the woman, such a relationship poses a dilemma for the man who had staked his identity on a refusal to conform.

To return to the scriptural metaphor flagged by Rat in *Hear the Wind Sing*, Rat now appears to be at risk of losing his ‘salt’ after all. Surrounded by the relative comfort of a spacious apartment, he has begun to tamp down his former wildness, seen in *Hear the Wind Sing*. Although both Boku and Rat’s narratives explicitly refer to scenes of university protest, Rat has begun to distance himself from the student movement, growing anxious at the prospect of explaining his involvement and speaking only vaguely of his reasons for leaving university, saying, “We just couldn’t get along, the university and me” (お互い好きになれなかったんだ、俺の方も大学の方もね), when in fact he had dropped out under a cloud of suspicion due to his involvement with the protests (Murakami 1990a, 153).²⁰ With his pleasant but vapid girlfriend, chain-smoking habit and newly adopted jukebox hobby at J’s Bar, it seems that Rat is shadowing Boku’s former lifestyle in the town—again, as seen in *Hear the Wind Sing*. Rat appears to be attempting to suppress the suspicion of everydayness that he had once cultivated as an activist, no longer launching into diatribes about rich people, and accepting a stipend from the family fortune Rat’s father had accumulated during the war. Although he is unconscious of it, Rat’s rejection of his previously treasured shutaisei drives him into a deep depression.

In Tokyo, Boku seems to be attempting to resolve lingering emotional issues regarding his university girlfriend Naoko’s suicide and his estrangement from Rat. On the other hand, Rat’s attempts to conform to societal expectations of adult behaviour are what appear to be dragging him back into a period of stasis. Rat himself seems to be aware of this, with the third-person narration returning on several occasions to his sense of time becoming unclear or slowed. Rat shares his anxiety with J the bartender, equating it with a visceral sense of decay:

“Say J, I’ve been thinking—people—I don’t care who—all get to rotting. Am I right? [...] People go through changes, sure. But up to now, I never did get what those changes were supposed to mean. [...] Then it came to me. Whatever step forward, whatever the change, it’s really only a stage of decay.”²¹
(Murakami 1985, 142)

Further to this, Rat is only able to regain his sense of self-esteem in moments of destructive behaviour, with Murakami describing in uncomfortable detail one night when Rat drinks eight beers at J’s Bar before vomiting in the women’s restroom. After cleaning himself up a little, Rat takes a moment to look in the mirror and finds himself handsome once again. This takes us back

19 「確かに彼女は彼女なりの小さな世界で、ある種の完璧さを打ち立てようと努力しているように見受けられた。そしてそういった努力が並大抵のものではないことも鼠は承知していた。」

20 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 1985, 142).

21 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum. 「人間はみんな腐っていく。そうだろう？……それでも人は変わりつつける。変わることにはどんな意味があるのか俺にはずっとわからなかった。……そしてこう思った。どんな進歩もどんな変化も結局は崩壊の過程にすぎないんじゃないかってね。違うかい？」 (Murakami 1990a, 143)

to Boku's first encounter with Rat as a student activist, when he had also been drunk and inexplicably charismatic (Murakami 1990a, 15). Reconnecting with the same excess that marked his youth temporarily restores his sense of shutaisei. It is soon after that Rat finally makes the decision to abandon his unsatisfying relationship and leave the town forever. His year in *Pinball, 1973* ends ambiguously on the precipice of this journey. Exhausted, despondent, and possibly considering suicide, he reflects: "It must be warmer than any town at the bottom of the sea. More quiet and peaceful, too, I bet. No... I don't wanna think about anything anymore" (そして海の底はどんな町よりも暖かく、そして安らぎと静けさに満ちているだろうと思う。いや、もう何も考えたくない) (Murakami 1990a, 244).

Having found the trappings of Boku's more restrained consumerist lifestyle to be incompatible with his non-conformist sense of self, Rat retreats to the countryside to work on his novels. Art seems to call to him as an escape from the everydayness by which his life in Boku's shadow was plagued; but as the following novel reveals, it is not a permanent retreat.

COMMITMENT, WITHDRAWAL AND CHALLENGING EVERYDAYNESS IN A WILD SHEEP CHASE

The concluding book of the trilogy, *A Wild Sheep Chase*, differs substantially in tone and content from the previous two. Whereas *Hear the Wind Sing* is a largely realistic exploration of relationships, and *Pinball, 1973* begins to flirt with the uncanny through the search for the three-flipper Spaceship, in the final book magical realism becomes central to the plot. This opens up a far wider symbolic vocabulary with which Murakami explores the increasingly strange world of Rat and Boku. This offers a complex and accomplished denouement to the conflicting paths of Rat and Boku, resolving Rat's acceptance of his choices, and granting some avenue for Boku to express his shutaisei by enacting resistance against the ominous forces lurking behind everydayness.

As is revealed gradually through the novel's nonlinear progression, the sheep appears to be a malevolent spiritual entity that possesses human hosts through a cyst in the brain. Through Boku's journey to track down the sheep in Hokkaido, Murakami traces the sheep's mysterious power through the embedded historical connections of its former hosts. Boku's encounters lead him to two such hosts: the Sheep Professor, an elderly eccentric who was possessed by the sheep while conducting research in occupied Korea; and the Boss, a convicted war criminal who under the sheep's influence has taken control of postwar Japan's major conservative political party, and also runs a large and powerful media outlet.

In this way, Murakami associates the sheep with Japan's colonial aggression and the far-right influence on the country's political and business structure, suggesting an inevitable progression towards violent expressions of power. The mind-controlling ability of the sheep itself is similarly associated with

invasive violence, and its former hosts describe the process in terms such as “the sheep is inside me” (羊が私の中にいる)—a turn of phrase that the Sheep Professor’s superiors assume must be referring to questionable forms of animal husbandry (Murakami 1990b, 232). The control exerted by the sheep, and the ruined lives it leaves in its wake in Hokkaido and Korea particularly—form a subtle correlation with the military occupation, industrial expansion and rape associated with Japanese colonialism. In this way, Murakami traces patterns of political, military and business collusion in Japan’s modern imperial project from its inception.

Once Boku appears to have reached a dead end in the mystery, shut away in Rat’s abandoned Hokkaido lodge with only a mysterious local crank in a sheepskin suit for company, he discovers that Rat has already committed suicide, trapping the sheep in his dead body. Reappearing as a ghost, Rat explains to Boku that he was selected as the successor to the sheep’s empire, but refused. Rat’s ghost has one last request of Boku: that he complete the destruction of the sheep by setting a time bomb in the lodge, killing the Strange Man and putting a stop to the cycle of violence once and for all.

The friends’ final ghostly conversation brings closure to the two major recurring images associated with Rat, having made their first appearances in *Hear the Wind Sing* and *Pinball, 1973*: weakness and decay, respectively. Given a chance to speak his piece, the ghost of Rat explains that he has always felt “a weakness pulling [him] into darkness” (暗闇に引きずり込まれていく弱さ) (Murakami 1990b, 355). He describes this weakness as “something that rots in the body” (体の中で腐っていくもの)—a similar turn of phrase to his final conversation with bartender J at the close of *Pinball, 1973* (1990b, 355–56).²² This weakness leaves him vulnerable to the influence of the sheep, but also offers the only possible resistance to it. Rat explains:

I guess I felt attached to my weakness. My pain and suffering too. Summer light, the smell of a breeze, the sound of cicadas—if I like these things, why should I apologize?²³
 (Murakami 2003, 306)

In an allusion to the first book of the series, Rat explicitly associates the weakness that gives him the ability to resist the sheep, who has become associated with corruption and conformity to power, with the same love for living things that first inspired his decision to begin writing in *Hear the Wind Sing*—cicadas and the summer breeze. Embracing this shutaisei allows him to resist becoming co-opted by the forces of the militaristic Right, though it comes at the cost of his own life. The ghostly encounter gives Boku the chance to reconnect with Rat one last time and inspires in him a long-forgotten sense of shutaisei, prompting Boku to fulfill his friend’s final request to stop the sheep for good.

Rat’s sacrifice, and Boku’s decision to follow through on his old friend’s request to destroy the lodge and the Strange Man, is able to disrupt the

22 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum (see Murakami 2003, 282).

23 Translation by Alfred Birnbaum. 「俺は俺の弱さが好きなんだよ。苦しさやつらさも好きだ。夏の光や風の匂いや蟬の声や、そんなものが好きなんだ。どうしようもなく好きなんだ。」 (Murakami 1990b, 356)

sheep's cycle of reincarnation and colonial violence. This restores Boku's emotional engagement with the outside world, and he returns to J's Bar to talk about the events of his strange journey (presumably over a whiskey). The series ends with a scene of profound emotional catharsis:

I walked along the river to its mouth. I sat down on the last fifty yards of beach, and I cried. I never cried so much in my life. I brushed the sand from my trousers and got up, as if I had somewhere to go. The day had all but ended. I could hear the sound of waves as I started to walk.²⁴
(Murakami 2003, 306)

Murakami's conclusion to the Rat Trilogy thus implies that, comforting though they may be to have around, the spirit of the late 1960s cannot be revived through imported jazz records, the Beach Boys or pinball. Rather, this is only achieved through the harsh business of self-reflection, self-destruction and ultimately self-renewal. These are the processes that form *shutaisei*, and pave the way for meaningful resistance. This is what Rat, standing in for the values of the student movement, is finally able to communicate to the previously cold, clinical and materialistic Boku.

It is in this way that Boku's journey to Hokkaido makes explicit the student movement's notion of challenging the everydayness described by Ando (2013, 1). Like the unaligned masses whose consciousness the students aimed to transform, Boku is shaken out of his relatively comfortable and affluent existence due to his contact with Rat, the former activist who still maintains his counter-cultural lifestyle even as Boku drifts away from its ideology of resistance. For the first two books, Boku is ostensibly content to acquiesce to the everyday and consider the 1960s only in terms of its pop culture, free of political commitment. Rat, on the other hand, can only maintain his values and political *shutaisei* at the expense of personal relationships, as the everydayness he seeks to question has proven itself quite agreeable to Boku. However, through each of his interactions with the sheep's former hosts, Boku becomes more keenly aware of the complex impact of Japan's colonial aggression and his own affluent life, until he can no longer accept that this is 'just the way things are'. Murakami makes visible the invisible networks of power and control through the looming presence of the sheep, an apparently absurd and nonthreatening entity that nevertheless must be resisted and defeated once made tangible.

Against the sheep—the hidden incarnation of right-wing militarism, now identified as the object of political resistance by the dejected former activist Rat and the withdrawn loner Boku—the estranged friends are able to team up and disrupt the unspoken networks of power that have hitherto perpetuated its control. Exploring and confronting the complex forces underlying the mundane grants each friend an outlet to express his *shutaisei*, even though the mass demonstrations of their university days are long behind them. In the allegory that connects these three novels, Murakami shows that through

²⁴ Translation by Alfred Birnbaum. 「僕は川に沿って河口まで歩き、最後に残された五十メートルの砂浜に腰を下ろし、二時間泣いた。そんなに泣いたのは生まれてはじめてだった。二時間泣いてからやっと立ち上がることができた。どこに行けばいいのかわからなかったけれど、とにかく僕は立ち上がり、ズボンについた細かい砂を払った。日はすっかり暮れていて、歩き始めると背中に小さな波の音が聞こえた。」 (Murakami 1990b, 204)

the long, hard work of self-reflection and self-negation, the previously apathetic Boku and the embittered Rat are able to reassert their moral, social and political sense of self and being in the world: in other words, their commitment.

To assert the presence of commitment in the Rat Trilogy naturally questions the usual arc attributed to Murakami's work. Should his work continue to progress along the popularly asserted detachment-to-commitment trajectory, Murakami's future work should reflect on recent changes in the national zeitgeist. Indeed, such a process may already have begun. Norihiro Katō has recently observed in an interview with *The Asahi Shimbun's* Hiroshi Matsubara (2014) that the final chapter of Murakami's 2013 novel *Colorless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage* marks the author's first direct response to the 11 March 2011 catastrophe, with the protagonist's quest to reconnect with lost friends appearing to serve as a plea for a more cooperative and supportive society. This dovetails with Murakami's own words upon receiving the International Catalunya Prize in June 2011, when he said in the context of Japan's response to the triple disaster that

[i]n this great collective effort, there should be a space where those of us who specialize in words, professional writers, can be positively involved. We should weave together with words new morals and new ethical standards. We should plant vibrant new stories and make them sprout and flourish. Those stories will become our shared story.

(Murakami 2011)

It might then be argued that Murakami's sense of commitment may have led him to make such claims more explicitly in recent years. Nevertheless, if (as both Murakami and his commentators seem to agree) *Colourless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage* uses individual conflicts as allegories for broader social issues, it is important to consider when and where this tendency originated in Murakami's work. When understood through the student movement, the Rat Trilogy illustrates that Murakami has grappled with defining what constitutes social commitment, its personal cost, as well as its communal legacy, since his earliest works.

CONCLUSION

At the core of the 1960s student movement, there existed a tension between affirming the moral agency of the individual and pressing the need for individuals to enact change on society through direct action. Murakami wrestles with this same dilemma of moral subjectivity versus large-scale social engagement in the Rat Trilogy, through Boku and Rat's reactions to the end of 1960s student activism. The series proffers a scenario in which both men seem to have failed in their own ways to express the kind of subjectivity that activists had put at the forefront of the late 1960s movement, and traces their attempts to fill this emotional void in the absence of a unifying political purpose.

Allegorically, the arc of the Rat Trilogy shows how Boku and Rat are ultimately able to regain the ability to resist everydayness and exercise their subjectivity by defeating the vast far-right conspiracy represented by the sheep. Although bittersweet, the trilogy ends on a note of hope, with Boku finding emotional catharsis and the promise that even without large-scale demonstrations to give some rhythm and structure to dissent, there are meaningful ways for individuals to resist becoming co-opted by threatening power structures. Rather than following Murakami's often touted yet overly simplistic trajectory of detachment to commitment, the allegorical politics of individual subjectivity in the Rat Trilogy suggest that a complex balancing act between these two impulses has always existed in Murakami's writing, even despite the writer's own claims to the contrary.

APPENDIX: LIST OF REFERENCED HARUKI MURAKAMI WORKS, 1979-2013

Title [English]	Title [Japanese]	Title [Romanisation]	Year of Publication /Release
<i>Hear the Wind Sing</i>	風の歌を聴け	<i>Kaze no uta o kike</i>	1979
<i>Pinball, 1973</i>	1973 年のピンボール	<i>1973 nen no pinbōru</i>	1980
<i>A Wild Sheep Chase</i>	羊をめぐる冒険	<i>Hitsuji o meguru bōken</i>	1982
<i>Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World</i>	世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド	<i>Sekai no owari to hādo boirudo wandārando</i>	1985
<i>Dance Dance Dance</i>	ダンス・ダンス・ダンス	<i>Dansu dansu dansu</i>	1988
<i>The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle</i>	ねじまき鳥クロニクル	<i>Nejimakidori kuronikuru</i>	1995
<i>Underground</i>	アンダーグラウンド	<i>Andāguraundo</i>	1997
<i>Colorless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage</i>	色彩を持たない多崎つくると、彼の巡礼の年	<i>Shikisai o motanai Tazaki Tsukuru to, kare no junrei no toshi</i>	2013

GLOSSARY

Anpo (安保)

Japanese abbreviation for *Nihonkoku to Amerika gasshūkoku tonō aida no sōgo kyōryoku oyobi anzen hoshō jōyaku* (日本国とアメリカ合衆国との間の相互協力及び安全保障条約; Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan), first instituted in 1952 following the Treaty of San Francisco

boku (僕)

informal first-person masculine pronoun; also, used to refer to the unnamed protagonist Boku in the Rat Trilogy

hakai katsudō bōshi hō (破壊活動防止法)

Antisubversive Activities Law

junbungaku (純文学)

lit., 'pure literature' or high literature; literature acknowledged as having the aesthetic qualities and social importance expected of high art

moratoriumu ningen (モラトリアム人間)

lit., 'moratorium people'; youth who came of age after the late 1960s student movements, characterised as having chosen not to commit to ideologies or agitate for reform in social institutions, in order to be free to enjoy Japan's burgeoning consumer culture

nichijōsei (日常性)

a term defined by New Left activists as the complex system of social control and oppression supporting comfortable 'everyday' life in Japan's postwar economic boom

ore (俺)

very informal first-person masculine pronoun

otaku (オタク)

a person with an obsessive interest, typically in some form of popular culture or consumer commodity

shutaisei (主体性)

roughly 'individual agency' or 'subjectivity', it is a complex term referring to individual autonomy, both in the political sense as well as that of moral integrity; its meaning was ferociously debated within the postwar Japanese Left

taishū bungaku (大衆文学)

lit., 'mass literature' or popular literature; typically referring to literature, especially genre fiction, aimed at a commercial audience

Zengakuren (全学連)

All-Japan Student Union; a New Left-leaning student government organisation that broke ties with the Japanese Communist Party and instigated the major campus protests of the late 1960s

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Creatures of Myth and Modernity: Meiji-Era Representations of Shōjō (Orangutans) as Exotic Animals

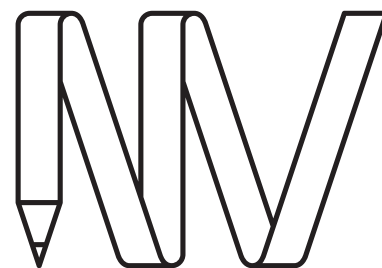
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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the multiple representations of *shōjō* in the translated literature and print media of Japan's Meiji era. It explores the origins of the *shōjō* as a *yōkai*, or mythical being of traditional folklore and Noh theatre, through to its unveiling as a real-life creature of the modern world, as an orangutan, initially at *misemono* sideshows, before its introduction to the Tokyo public at the Ueno Zoo, in 1898. The zoo, as a new framework for ordering the relationship between people and the natural world, is one of the cultural systems through which knowledge of the *shōjō* was constructed, circulated and experienced in this period. Examining such materials, the paper reveals contesting knowledge systems that contributed to modern experience. Translation also plays an important role in this process, and the translated literature of this era is explored and foregrounded here as an active contributor to the creation and transition of knowledge of exotic animals like the *shōjō* in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan.

KEYWORDS

literature; Meiji era; orangutan; *shōjō*; translation; Ueno Zoo



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During the Meiji era [1868–1912], several species of ‘exotic’ animals became transfer points for cultural configurations, including the *rakuda* (駱駝; camel), *zō* (象; elephant), *kirin* (麒麟; giraffe), *tora* (虎; tiger) and *shōjō* (猩々; orangutan). The interrelated meanings of traditional symbols that were projected onto such animals during this period reveal various cultural systems through which knowledge of exotic creatures was constructed and how their representations in the public imaginary transitioned and transformed. Translation of literature also functions as a key component in this analysis, as it not only highlights cultural interference in the rendering of language but also impacts knowledge production by manipulating meaning and enacting processes of transition and transformation. Accordingly, through a cultural biography of the representation and circulation of *shōjō* in the translated literature and print media of the Meiji era, this study explores three key themes: the *shōjō* as a cultural symbol and a creature of myth, the emergence of the *shōjō* as a real-life animal and a symbol of modernity, and the tension created at the intersection of these two conflicting views. Shifting representations of the *shōjō* presented in this paper highlight the complex relationship that existed between Meiji society and the cultural understanding of animals, but may also act as a reference point and resource for further avenues of study relating to the relationship between traditional knowledge and science, culture and animals, and nature and the built environment. More broadly, such research has implications for understanding the creation and transition of knowledge, as well as overlapping knowledge systems, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan.

The history of the *shōjō* reveals a duality of meaning associated with the creature, from its origins as a preternatural, mythical creature of Chinese and Japanese folklore, to a real-life specimen of the natural world, as it met with advances in modern science and a rapidly changing society striving towards *bunmei kaika* (文明開化; civilization and enlightenment). With the establishment of Japan’s first zoo, the Ueno Imperial Zoological Gardens (東京都恩賜上野動物園) (commonly referred to as Ueno Zoo or *Ueno Dōbutsuen* [上野動物園]), in 1882, exhibition, spectatorship and the production of knowledge became interrelated in a public spectacle. With the introduction of this new space that merged elements of traditional culture and modern recreation, representations of animals and wildlife transmuted and transitioned into different cultural forms, contexts and meanings.

MISEMONO AND INTERACTIONS WITH THE EXOTIC

Spanning the Sumida River (隅田川) in Tokyo, Ryōgoku Bridge (両国橋) was one of a number of sites throughout Japan that featured a form of entertainment popular in the pre-Meiji era known as *misemono* (見世物; exhibitions or sideshows).¹ These *misemono* exhibits included all manner of ‘exotic’ creatures and performances, as well as native Japanese animals and a myriad of traditional cultural beings referred to as *yōkai* (妖怪) and

¹ Other such precincts included: Shijō Kawaramachi (四条河原町) in Kyoto; Nanba Shinchi (難波新地) and Dōtonbori (道頓堀) in Osaka; Asakusa (浅草) in Tokyo; and Ōsu (大須) in Nagoya.

bakemono (化け物): preternatural creatures of indigenous folklore. As Gerald Figal states:

[S]upernatural signifiers commonly associated with the beliefs of an unsophisticated rural populace (although equally produced and reproduced in the city) saturated both city and country in mid-nineteenth-century Japan to a surprising degree and were available for reuse in new texts and contexts. (Figal 1999, 24)

Belief in *bakemono* and other kinds of supernatural creatures had persisted for centuries throughout Japan, but with rapidly changing political, social and economic institutions, and a growing demand for new forms of entertainment amidst an increasingly urbanising society, these creatures of traditional culture began to intersect with modern life, creating new readings and meanings of social significance—one reason for the popularity of *misemono*.

In his *Misemono kenkyū* [見世物研究; ‘Misemono Studies’], Asakura (2002) categorises *misemono* attractions into three types: *gijutsu* (技術) or ‘techniques’, including magic, acrobatics, spinning tricks, displays of strength, and balancing acts; *tennen kibutsu* (天然奇物) or ‘natural curiosities’, including so-called freaks, rare beasts, and strange fish and insects; and *saikumono* (細工物) or ‘craftworks’, including clay and papier-mâché dolls, and various types of boxes, shells, paper and flowers (13). ‘Exotic’ animals like the orangutan therefore corresponded to the second category, natural curiosities. Kuroda (1994) points out that this type of *misemono* was a “culmination of the foreign, the different, and the other-worldly” (異人性・異類性・異界性の極致) (60–61), and it was this element of the *kikai* (奇怪; strange or uncanny) that attracted people. Writing earlier, Furukawa (1970) further classified animals that correspond to this category of natural curiosities into seven subcategories:

1. *Nihonsan* (日本産; native Japanese) animals that were still relatively unusual to see up close for the average citizen, like wolves, monkeys, and foxes;
2. *Reijū* (霊獣) or ‘sacred beasts’, which was often merely an embellished title to attract customers—as in the case of the *sennen mogura* (千年土龍; ‘thousand-year-old mole’)²;
3. *Kikei* (畸形) or ‘deformities’, like deformed cows and dogs;
4. *Kaijū* (海獣) or ‘sea beasts’, used to classify whales and seals;
5. *Karatori* (唐鳥) or ‘foreign birds’, like peacocks and parrots³;
6. *Gaikoku watari no dōbutsu* (外国渡りの動物)⁴ or ‘imported beasts’, like tigers and elephants; and,
7. *Gyorui* (魚類), for various types of rare and peculiar fish (153).

2 The ‘thousand-year-old mole’ was really just a *mami* (獾; badger), but thinking that customers would not likely be drawn to a show advertising a mere badger, one *misemono* proprietor decided to focus on the fact that the legs of his badger resembled a mole’s and announced that his specimen was a “king mole that had lived a thousand years” (千歳を経た土龍の王である) (Asakura 2002, 183).

3 *Kara* (唐)—originally referring to Tang dynasty China [618–c.906 CE]—is a term that came to be used thereafter in Japan to describe imported items of Chinese or otherwise ‘foreign’ origin. During the Edo period, parrots and non-native birds were commonly imported to Japan via China, and as most people were not aware that these birds actually came from regions in Southeast Asia and India, they were initially ascribed the label ‘*karatori*’ or *tōchō* (唐鳥) using the ideograms for China (唐) and bird (鳥) (see Sugano 2004, 26).

4 Later Furukawa also uses the terms *hakurai dōbutsu* (舶来動物; imported animals) and *hakurai chinjū* (舶来珍獣; imported beasts).

In some cases, however, a single creature could appear as a motif in multiple categories. In relation to the *shōjō*, for instance, Furukawa cites examples such as: a *koi* (鯉; carp) fish exhibited as a *shōjō koi* (猩々鯉) due to its red colour, which was extremely rare at the time (171); the *shōjō mai* (猩々舞), a dance originally performed as a Shinto ritual in which a performer dressed in a Noh-style *shōjō* costume danced around the rim of a large pot (110); and an albino boy with reddish-brown hair, born of immaculate conception after a woman's mysterious encounter with a *shōjō* of the sea, put on display by his mother for all to see as a way of "expiating her sins" (罪障消滅のため) (143–44). The *shōjō* motif is drawn upon here through multiple pathways of knowledge that stem from both its original representation as a monkey-like, mythical creature of Chinese origin, and aspects of the story as it was adapted into Japanese folklore and Noh tradition. This highlights how elements of the *shōjō* crossed over into different categories and systems of interpretation, including *shōjō* as 'imported animal' (orangutan), *shōjō* as rare 'fish' (*shōjō koi*), *shōjō* as religious dance or performance (*shōjō mai*), and *shōjō* as 'deformity' (albino with red hair).

Of the seven categories identified by Furukawa, however, the foreign or imported creatures were the most sought after (164). Particularly popular amongst these animals were the tiger, cheetah, elephant, orangutan and camel, and their imagery and reproduction can be found in various forms of art and literature from the period. Kawazoe (2000) indicates not only the "rarity" (珍しさ) but also the "value" (ありがたさ) and potential "benefit" (ご利益) attributed to imported animals, all of which impacted the public imaginary of both the foreign creatures and the countries from which they came (91–126). 'Benefit' here refers to the properties of these various animals that were considered *akubyōharai* (悪病払い), i.e., something able to ward off illness. Cassowary feathers, for example, were said to prevent the contraction of smallpox (疱瘡麻疹疫疹のまじなひになる), hence many spectators would visit misemono stands that exhibited cassowaries in the hope of retrieving a feather to help ward off such illness (Kawazoe 2000, 94–95). Camels were similarly believed to ward off disease and even help one achieve *fūfuwagō* (夫婦和合; conjugal harmony), such that medicines made from camel urine were referred to as *reiyaku* (霊薬) or 'miracle drugs'.

The popularity of misemono exhibits peaked around the mid-nineteenth century. However, through a series of ordinances introduced by the new Meiji government between 1870 and 1873 opposing various carnivalesque practices, the misemono began a steady decline (Figal 1999, 25–26). It seems hardly surprising, therefore, that when Tokyo's first zoo was established at Ueno in 1882 as part of the National Museum of Natural History,⁵ barely a decade after the introduction of laws targeting misemono, "[t]he Japanese came to perceive zoos as amusement parks rather than as facilities for promoting education and the scientific study of animals, as well as for breeding animals for the preservation of species" (Itoh 2010, 18).

The inception of Ueno Zoo in 1882 and its reception by the public, as reflected in the translated literature and print media of this era, provides insights

5 The full name was the 'Museum of Natural History (Zoological Garden Annex), Natural History Division, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Empire of Japan' (大日本帝国農商務省博物館博物館付属動物園).

into how the zoo both mirrored and embodied changes within Japanese culture, identity and politics throughout the later Meiji period. With the progression of modernity, the public's view of foreign animals as creatures of awe and as quasi-spiritual beings shifted towards seeing them as objects of human rule and symbols of power. Perhaps the clearest example of this was the capture of animals by Japanese soldiers during the Sino-Japanese (1894–1895) and Russo-Japanese (1904–1905) Wars, labelled *senrihin dōbutsu* (戦利品動物; animal war trophies), which served as symbolic representations of the conquest of foreign lands. The exhibition of these animals at Ueno Zoo, as well as those that were gifted by other nations, thus functioned as a showcase of imperial power. A variety of animals, including dogs, horses, donkeys and camels were mobilised in military service as *gun'yō dōbutsu* (軍用動物; military animals) during these wars and the public could read about the animals and their performance of imperial duty in newspaper media, or otherwise witness it for themselves at Ueno Zoo's *senkō dōbutsu* (戦功動物; distinguished war animal) enclosures. Beginning in 1937, Ueno Zoo even held special events, such as the *senkō dōbutsu kansha no kai* (戦功動物感謝の会; lit., 'gathering for the commemoration of distinguished war animals') and *gun'yō dōbutsu ireisai* (軍用動物慰霊祭; lit., 'military animal memorial service'), as a show of appreciation to such animals for their distinguished war service.⁶ Thus, like the living 'trophies' exhibited at Ueno Zoo that served as spectacle while also demonstrating to the public the products of empire, the zoo itself performed a binary role: as a symbol of the government's ability to compete with Western civilization and as a tool to educate the public on modern taxonomic systems, on the one hand; and, on the other, as a stage for the new Japanese empire to flaunt its power through the capture and exhibition (i.e., control) of creatures from foreign lands.

Miller (2013) similarly highlights the creation of Ueno Zoo and its links to Japanese imperialism, but also cites the function of the zoo as a site for producing civilization that purposely contrasted with earlier *misemono*, as an institution that emulated Western scientific thought. He argues that Ueno Zoo's "wild" animals, from a natural world somewhere "out there" (i.e., beyond civilised, modern Japan), organised into carefully planned exhibits for privileged observation, instituted the paradox of Japan's "ecological modernity"—a term denoting the two-fold process of social transformation and intellectual separation of people from the natural world (2–3). The opening of Ueno Zoo certainly evinced the first significant change in context for the collection, display and representation of exotic animals distinct from practices of the *misemono* in early Meiji and previous eras. However, this disjuncture, particularly in the years immediately following its inception through to the end of the Meiji period, by no means represents a clear-cut departure from earlier exhibition practices. In many ways, this 'new' institution inherited the cultural attitudes of *misemono* proprietors, patrons and spectators regarding the treatment and interpretation of exotic animals, before they could transition into new forms of knowing and doing.

⁶ These events included live demonstrations of *gun'yōken* (軍用犬; war dogs) and *gun'yō bato* (軍用鳩; war pigeons) performing their military duties (Ueno Zoological Gardens 1982, 667).

The word ‘exotic’ was commonly translated in dictionaries throughout the Meiji era as *ikoku* (異国; foreign) or *hakurai* (舶来; imported) and was used to describe animals, people and products of other lands. It was not until the late Meiji, then Taishō [1912–1926] and early Shōwa [1926–1989] periods—concurrent with the changing implications of ‘exoticism’ in the West—that the term came to be translated as *ikoku jōchō* (異国情調),⁷ literally meaning ‘foreign air’ and thus referring to a state of mind. As such, foreign animals or ‘hakurai dōbutsu’ imported into Meiji Japan were admired as exotic items in the general sense, as creatures of distant lands. Interestingly, however, the ‘shōjō’ was not exactly a new creature to Japan, having in fact been known there for hundreds of years as a creature of myth. Thus, when an actual shōjō was first introduced at Ueno Zoo in 1898, one can imagine people’s fascination to learn not only that the shōjō was real and on display in Tokyo, but that it was a very different creature to that of the well-known traditional tales.

The shōjō of Japanese folktales and Noh plays is a type of preternatural creature originating in China (see Figure 1). Early documentation of the Chinese shōjō can be found in a translation of the ‘Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia’, *Wakan sansai zue* [和漢三才図会], compiled by Ryōan Terajima (寺島 良安) and first published in 1712. However, in a note preceding the introduction of the creature, Terajima comments that the original text states that

the fur of the shōjō is originally yellow not red, but the fur of the shōjō as it is known today is red. Furthermore, it states that there is a type of fabric called *shōjōhi* [猩猩緋; scarlet], which is a type of rug made by dyeing the fur of the yellow shōjō in its own blood. But surely this is just a made-up name.⁸
 (Terajima 1888, 98)

One can surmise from this that knowledge of the shōjō had already been imported and adapted into Japanese culture by this time. The translation of the explanation of the creature that follows reads:

Shōjō live in the mountains and valleys of Ailao [哀牢夷; the remote mountain regions in the northwest of present day Yunnan] and in the Fengxi County in Jiaozhi [交趾; present day northern Vietnam]. It is a type of monkey that has the legs and face of a human, but with a square-shaped head and long yellow fur. The sound it makes is like the cry of a baby or the bark of a small dog. Shōjō move around covertly and in groups. They also know how to speak and they love to drink sake. While it is said that they can speak, that doesn’t necessarily mean they can speak clearly like a parrot. To catch a shōjō, local people leave a pair of *zōri* sandals and some sake by the side of the road. The shōjō will come to that spot, curse the ancestors of

⁷ Exotic imagery was certainly not new to Japanese art or literature by the beginning of the Meiji era. With the evolution of a consciousness towards the exotic in the later Meiji period, however, the exotic image was gradually elevated from its traditional function of narrative ornamentation to become the pivot of artistic motivation. Mokutarō Kinoshita’s [木下 李太郎; 1885–1945] poetic cycle “*Ikoku jōchō*” [1910] is thought to be the first occurrence of the term in a creative context. From this point onwards, translations of ‘exotic’ and ‘exoticism’ also came to include multiple variations of the English pronunciation using katakana loanwords, such as *ekizochizumu* (エキゾチズム), *ekizochisumu* (エキゾチスム), and *ekizochishizumu* (エキゾチシズム), as well as various translations, including ‘*ikoku jōchō*’, *ikoku shumi* (異国趣味), *ikoku jōsho* (異国情緒), and *ikokufū* (異国風).

⁸ 「按謂黃毛不謂赤髮然今專爲紅髮又有名猩猩緋毛織類彼血染麝稱之者乎」



Figure 1: The original Chinese 'shōjō', left, as it appears in *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才圖會), compiled by Ryōan Terajima (寺島 良安) and published in 1712, reprinted in 1888.

those who left these things, then leave. But after a short while the shōjō would return to drink the sake and wear the sandals. While they are enjoying themselves, people capture them and keep them in cages to be raised and eaten as food. When one is to be killed, the fattest one is chosen and it weeps sadly. In the barbarian regions to the northwest [西胡; Xihu], they use the blood of the shōjō to dye a type of woollen fabric because their blood doesn't darken [i.e., it remains a vibrant red]. When they take blood from the shōjō someone will flog it with a whip and ask it how much to take. Once they have collected one *to* [斗; approximately 18 litres], they stop.⁹
(Terajima 1888, 98–99)

Apart from the difference in colour, the shōjō that flourished in the Japanese imaginary throughout the Edo and early Meiji periods is akin to that described in Terajima's translation; that is, a monkey-like creature that likes to drink sake and has the ability to speak. And while some interpretations perpetuate the theme of capturing a shōjō (although not for specific purposes such as food or textiles), the animal that was introduced and adapted into the cultural sphere of Japanese Noh and folklore was not a yellow-haired creature of the mountains, but a red-haired water dweller that brought good fortune.

9「本綱猩猩出哀牢夷及交趾封溪縣山谷中累似人狀如猿猴類人面人足黃毛長髮頭顏端正聲如兒啼亦如犬吠成群伏行能言而知來性好飲酒雖能言當若鸚鵡之屬亦不必盡俚人以酒及草履置道側猩猩見即人祖先姓名呼罵之而去頃復相與嘗酒履著因而彼擒檻而養之將烹則推其肥者泣而遣之西胡取其血染毛罽不黦刺血必篋而問其數至一斗乃已」

The Noh version tells of a man in China named Kōfū (高風) who lived in the village of Yōzu (揚子), at the foot of Mount Kanekin (金山). One night Kōfū has a dream that tells him he will become rich if he sells sake at the market in Yōzu. Following the dream, he begins to sell sake and becomes a wealthy man. One day Kōfū notices that the face of one of his customers never turns red, no matter how much he drinks. When Kōfū asks his name, the man replies that he is a shōjō who lives in the ocean. He tells Kōfū that if he brings some sake to the bank of the Yangtze River (潯陽の江のほとり), he will emerge from the waters to greet him. Later that day Kōfū goes down to the riverbank carrying sake and waits for the shōjō to appear. As the stars and moon begin to illuminate the night sky the shōjō appears before Kōfū; delighted to see him, the shōjō drinks the sake and dances merrily. Once he is finished, as a token of his appreciation, he presents Kōfū with a magic sake jar that never runs dry. Kōfū then wakes to find he has been dreaming, but sees that the magic jar remains.¹⁰ While the author of the original tale is unknown, the story is believed to have been in circulation from the Muromachi [c.1336–1573] through to the Edo period [1603–1868], with many variations, often relocating the setting to various regional sites around Japan (Nishino 1998, 412–14). Many examples can be found of performances of the tale in the Meiji era (see Figure 2), as well as its continued circulation in printed media, some examples of which are discussed below.



Figure 2: Kōfū waits by the river with a pot of sake. Illustration of a performance of the Noh tale, “Shōjō”, in *Hōshōkoutai shoshūgen* [宝正小謡諸祝言] by Hachirōemon Kon [近 八郎右衛門] in 1886.

Significantly, the period in which these stories first circulated and were filtered through Japanese culture and customs coincides with the *sakoku* (鎖国; lit., ‘closed country’) policy that prohibited Japanese people from going abroad and heavily restricted foreign trade and diplomatic relations to a few

select countries. The sakoku policy created major restrictions on the pursuit of knowledge to the extent that when Japanese people were confronted with exhibits of real-life orangutan referred to as ‘shōjō’—reportedly exhibited three times during the Edo period—the imagery and treatment of these animals was processed through familiar folktales and supernatural ideas, which heavily inflected systems of knowing the world for most people in Japan during this time. Yet, despite the abolishment of the sakoku policy and the transition from a closed, feudal society towards a modern state with the establishment of the Meiji government, the dissemination of new knowledge continued to circulate through and be negotiated by earlier systems of knowledge, particularly with regard to foreign or exotic phenomena, including animals like the shōjō. In the *tōshoran* (投書欄; letters to the editor column) of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* [読売新聞] newspaper on 7 October 1875, one reader reports their confusion about the display of a monkey exhibited as a ‘shōjō’:

They say that newspaper reporters impart wisdom to the people, so I would like someone to answer something for me. I read an article in another newspaper, not your newspaper, in which somebody wrote, “There was a sideshow in Owari until recently, which was trying to trick people into coming to see a shōjō, which was really a monkey that had been imported from somewhere overseas; and it wasn’t there long before it moved to Kaji, in Kanda, but even here it was falsely advertised as a shōjō on their sign, when they were really showing a monkey.” I also happened to see the same misemono, and I think what they were calling a shōjō was most likely an orangutan. However, it didn’t speak as it has been written that it should in the [Zhou dynasty text] *Book of Rites*, and it didn’t drink sake as Noh songs say it does, and it didn’t have two human arms and legs, but rather four legs, so I think it must have been a type of monkey. Since it didn’t have a tail, I do think it looked more like a human than a regular monkey, though. So what does the article above mean? Are we being deceived by people who claim monkeys to be shōjō and call an orangutan a ‘shōjō’? Or is there no such thing as a shōjō that can speak and drink sake; is that a lie? I can’t make sense of it. Orangutan is translated in the English-Japanese dictionary as shōjō, and it’s also translated in the English-Chinese dictionary as shōjō. So then all these must be lies, too. If there is a shōjō somewhere in the world that speaks and drinks sake as it’s supposed to, then these must all be lies. I’m not trying to make excuses for the misemono, but I want to ask the knowledgeable teachers of the world, does the shōjō as it has been described actually exist or not?—Seikichi Yoshino of Hatago, Kanda [Tokyo]¹¹
(Yoshino 1875)

The shōjō of traditional tales may have resembled something of an ape, but it also adhered to the other aspects of its preternatural heritage; namely, that

11「新聞屋さんは人の智慧を開くとかいふことで有りますが、そんならその様に書いて貰ひたいものでござります。貴社の新聞でない何處か外の新聞に『此間まで尾張町に見世を張り、何處やらの国からか舶来したる猿を猩々と欺き、一時の入りを取りしが、又神田鍛冶町へ店を移して矢ッパリ猩々と申触らし招牌に偽りある猿を見せるよし云々』といつて有ましたが、私もあの見世物を一度見ましたが、猩々と申居りますのはオラングウータングに違ひは有るまいと思ひます。併礼記に申して有る様に言ふでもなし、謡曲に申して有るやうに酒を好むとも承はず、人の様に手二本足二本ではなく、手が四本なれば、獼猴の種類に相違はありますまいと思ひます。併尾もなく通例の獼猴よりは人に余計似て居るかと思ひます。右の新聞に申してあるのはどういふことか、猿を猩々と欺きといふのはオラングウータングを猩々といふは当らぬゆゑ偽だといふことか、但しはほんとうにもの言ふたり酒を好んだりする猩々が有るゆゑ、あれは偽だといふことか、私にはとんと分りませぬ。オラングウータングは英和字書にも猩々と訳して有りますし、英華字典にも矢ッパリ猩々と訳して有ります。して見ると是らも皆偽で有ります。尤もの言ふたり酒を好んだりする注文通りの猩々が地球上に有りさえすれば偽に違ひは有りません。私は見世物小屋の言訳を致すのでは有りませんが、注文通りの猩々が有るか無か江湖の博識先生に伺ひ度存じます。神田旅籠町寄留吉野誠吉」

it could speak and drank copious amounts of sake. This created confusion among people who saw ‘shōjō’ (orangutan) exhibited as misemono in the Meiji era, as they wondered why it did not look or act like the shōjō as commonly described (i.e., the fictional ‘yōkai shōjō’).

Other newspaper articles attest to conflicting views of the animal persisting throughout the Meiji era. The following, appearing a year before the opening of Ueno Zoo, highlights the customary knowledge of the shōjō as a sake-loving creature of myth, haplessly projected onto a real-life shōjō in modern society:

A misemono proprietor named Monjirō Tanaka thought he would strike it rich (大當りと取らうとした) after purchasing a shōjō all the way from India for a misemono he intended to run for 30 days in the Kannon Temple precinct, in Kakigara. He fed the shōjō bread and five to six cups of sake every day, and on the fifth day he opened the door to find the shōjō passed out with a hangover and even medicines like Hōtan [寶丹] and Senkintan [千金丹] couldn’t wake it up. [...] It’s still recovering but once it has made a full recovery he says he intends to move his show to Asakusa Park and only feed the shōjō bread and one cup of sake as a nightcap before bed.¹²
(*Yomiuri Shimbun* 1881)

When Ueno Zoo purchased its first orangutan in 1898, news of its arrival was reported in a number of newspapers. On 11 July the *Asahi Shimbun* described the shōjō as follows:

The width of its face is approximately 12 cm [四寸], its length approximately 24 cm [八寸], its colour is a deep black, and its skin is not smooth but something more like a shark’s. It has brown eyes and a round nose like a regular monkey, but its mouth is like a human’s, and it has reddish, chestnut-coloured hair up to approximately 18 cm [五寸五分] long. Its body is 54.5 cm [一尺八寸], its armspan 106 cm [三尺五寸], the length of its palms 13.6 cm [四寸五分], and its age is estimated at around eight years old.¹³
(*Asahi Shimbun* 1898a)

A report on the orangutan in the same newspaper the following day provided even more specific dimensions for the creature, including its weight and a description of its natural habitat, “above the trees, deep in the mountains of places like Sumatra and Borneo” (おもにスマトラ、ボルネオ等の深山中好んで樹木の頂上など) (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 1898a). Two months later, on 15 September 1898, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1898b) featured another article titled “Shōjō no ōtari” (猩々の大當り; “Shōjō a Big Hit”), which details the popularity of the latest addition to the zoo, with more than 20,000 visitors attending in one day, leading to the sale of various shōjō goods—even shōjō *jirushi hamigaki* (猩々印はみがき; lit., ‘orangutan-brand toothpaste’) (see Figure 3). However, what the expression ‘ōtari’ in the above headline suggests is an attitude towards the exhibition, spectatorship and commercialisation of animals that harks back to misemono practices (*Yomiuri Shimbun* 1881).

12「遠き印度より猩々と買入れ蛸殻町の観音の境内にて日数三十日の間見世物に出して大當りと取らうとしたは田中紋次郎といふ見世物師にて此猩々の喰料はパンと酒と五六合づつ毎日飲むところ木戸を開いて五日目に猩々どのは飲過の二日酔で寶丹でも千金丹でもなかなか枕が上らぬゆ……昨今療治中だが全快の上は處と変えて浅草公園内へ担ぎ込み以後食料はパンばかりにして寝酒に一合づつ飲せる事にするとか」

13「顔の幅四寸長八寸あり色は深黒にして其肌は俗に鯨と称するものに似て滑ならず眼は茶色にして圓く鼻は普通の猿の如く口は人間に似て毛は栗毛の稍紅きものなるが長き所は五寸五分あり胴の長さは一尺八寸、手の長さ三尺五寸、掌の長さ四寸五分にして年齢は八歳の見込みなりといふ」

The advertisement is a complex layout of text and images. At the top, there are several columns of small text, likely a headline or introductory text. Below this, there is a large central illustration of an orangutan (Shōjō) holding a branch. To the left of the illustration, there is a vertical column of text. To the right, there is a large block of text, including a price list and a list of agents. The ad is framed by a decorative border. The text is in Japanese, with some English words like 'TOOTH PASTE' and 'ORANGUTAN' visible.

Figure 3: 'Orangutan-brand toothpaste' in *Asahi Shimbun* (1898b).

"THE MURDERS IN THE RUE MORGUE" AS 'SHŌJŌKAI'

Edgar Allan Poe's short story, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" [1841], is a murder-mystery, often credited as the first modern detective story, about a man named C. Auguste Dupin who attempts to solve the mystery of the brutal murder of two women in Paris by an unknown and seemingly superhuman assailant. The story was first translated in Japan by Kōson Aeba [饗庭 篁村; 1855–1922] as "*Rū morugu no hitogoroshi*" [ルーモルグの人殺し], serialised in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper from 14 to 30 December 1887. The second translation¹⁴ was Shūtō Osada's [長田 秋濤; 1871–1915] "*Shōjōkai*" (猩々怪; lit., 'Supernatural Shōjō'), published in the literary magazine *Bungei kurabu* [文芸倶楽部; *Literary Club*] in October 1899.¹⁵ Despite the focus of the original story on the element of mystery and the detective-style logic of Dupin as he pieces together clues to solve the crime, Osada chose to frame the story as a supernatural tale in the tradition of Japanese *kaidan* (怪談). Not only did he translate the title as 'Shōjōkai'—*kai* (怪) signifying the presence of strange or supernatural elements—he also explicitly stated in his preface: "This tale [kaidan] was told to me during my time in Paris" (此怪談は予が嘗て巴里に居つた時分、人から聞いた話で) (Osada 1899, 118). While the story certainly displays elements of the uncanny, Osada's decision to reposition the story as a *kaidan* tale would seem unconventional were it not for the implied presence of a *shōjō* and the duality of its interpretation in the Meiji context.

14 Kawato and Sakakibara (1997) also list "*Tsutamomiji*" [葛紅葉; 'Scarlet Ivy'] as an adaptation of the story that was serialised over 47 installments in the *Yamato Shimbun* newspaper from 3 November to 29 December 1892. The story resituates the original Rue Morgue (Paris) murders in Tokyo, at "Building 92 of the Tsukuji foreign settlement quarters" (築地居留地第九十一番館), where the murders of a foreign mother and her daughter are committed at the hands of a *hihi* (狒々; baboon) (*Yamato Shimbun* 1892). However, as I have not confirmed the content of this story, I have chosen not to include it in my analysis.

15 A third translation appeared in 1909, as a partial translation, in the January edition of the English study magazine *Eigo seinen* [英語青年], titled "*Kōzetsu sōzetsu: Moruguchō no zansatsu jiken*" [凍絶倫絶モルグ町の惨殺事件; lit., 'Bloody Tragedy: The Morgue Town Massacre'] by Yoshijirō Fukazawa [深沢 由次郎].

“The Murders in the Rue Morgue” ends with the revelation that a sailor had recently captured an orangutan in Borneo and brought it back to Paris intending to sell it. Before he can do so, however, the orangutan escapes its enclosure and in a frightened state, on the loose in the streets of Paris, it accidentally kills two women in the Rue Morgue. Ueno Zoo had of course acquired an orangutan one year prior to the publication of Osada’s *“Shōjōkai”*. While the traditional shōjō certainly figures in the popular imaginary as a preternatural creature, the modern shōjō was very real, and for the Tokyo public in 1898–1899, the idea that a shōjō living in their midst could escape and wreak havoc on the city streets was perhaps frighteningly feasible. Thus, Osada’s translation hinges on an overlap of meaning, bringing the supernatural shōjō into dialogue with modern Japan and the presence of an actual shōjō in Ueno Zoo. The circumstantial overlap of an escaped orangutan in Paris and Ueno Zoo’s recent acquisition of its own orangutan becomes the contextual grounds for the introduction of a ‘modern-day’ creature into the kaidan genre, and this for the potential threat it posed to the capital of modern Meiji society.

Notably, Osada’s translation seems to have intentionally emphasised this tension more so than in Poe’s original, such as a key scene in which Dupin is processing the clues of the crime and hands his companion a book with a ‘scientific’ description of the animal. Poe’s source text describes the orangutan as a beast of the natural world and knowledge of the creature is widely understood:

It was a minute anatomical and generally descriptive account of the large fulvous Ourang-Outang of the East Indian Islands. The gigantic stature, the prodigious strength and activity, the wild ferocity, and the imitative propensities of these mammalia are sufficiently well known to all. I understood the full horrors of the murder at once.
 (Poe 2009, 21)

By contrast, in Osada’s translation the very existence of the shōjō is a revelation and the implication that such a creature might be involved in the murder case incites confusion:

It was an anatomical record of the shōjō in the East Indies. While I was astonished to learn that such an animal even exists in the world, reading the account only added confusion to my thoughts surrounding the case.¹⁶
 (Osada 1899, 132)

As stated previously, until the increased introduction and assimilation of Western knowledge in the Meiji era, shōjō were generally regarded as quasi-mythical, water-dwelling, sake-loving creatures, known from folktales and Noh theatre. What Osada’s translation reflects, though, is a perception that perfectly encapsulates the transitory nature of knowledge surrounding the shōjō at this point in Japan’s history. While the nature of the orangutan in the 1841 original is “sufficiently well known to all” (i.e., in Paris), the mere existence of a shōjō in Japan in 1899 is presented as cause for astonishment, highlighting the conflicting views of the shōjō as a fictional mythical creature and a real-life creature of modernity.

¹⁶「東印度に於ける猩々の解剖論である、予は其書を読み、慙くの如き動物が、天地の間に存在して、居るかを見て、驚くと同時に、此事件は倍々予が考をして素乱せしめた」

Indeed, a number of publications can be found in the early Meiji period that explicate the term 'shōjō' as 'orangutan', including *Dōbutsu kunmō: Shohen* (*honyūru*) (動物訓蒙 初編 [哺乳類]; lit., 'Guide to Animals: Volume 1 [Mammals]') in 1875, applying the same Chinese characters for the original preternatural shōjō (i.e., 猩々) to the real mammalian shōjō (i.e., orangutan), shown in Figure 4 (Tanaka 1875). Interestingly, Kōson Aeba's initial 1887 translation of "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" refers to the murderer as "a giant monkey called an orangutan" (オラングウタンといふ大猿), suggesting the true identity of the animal was still relatively unknown to the wider public at that time.

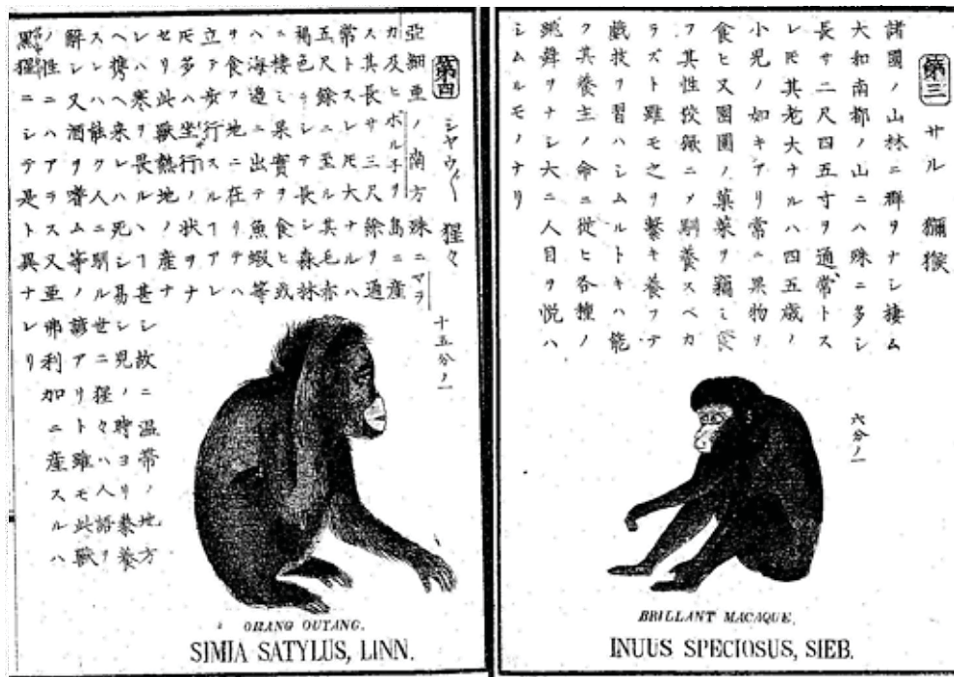


Figure 4: Shōjō (captioned "Orang Outang") in *Dōbutsu kunmō* [1875].

Following the introduction of a real shōjō into Ueno Zoo in 1898, a sudden rise in the number of publications relating to traditional tales of the shōjō surfaced—no doubt an attempt to capitalise on the recent fad for all things orangutan. In the same year that Osada's "Rue Morgue" translation was published, other stories and images appeared of the shōjō as both traditional, mythical creature and in its 'true form' as an orangutan, including *Kyōiku mukashibanashi: Shōjō no hanashi* (教育昔話 猩々の話; 'Educational Old Tales: Story of the Shōjō'), shown in Figure 5 (Honekawa 1899, 15), and a compilation of artworks entitled *Nōgaku zue* (能楽図絵; Noh Studies Illustrated) depicting scenes from well-known Noh plays, including *Shōjō* (猩々) (Kawanabe 1899, 3–4). Particularly interesting for this study is an illustration in *Nōgaku zue*, depicting a Noh performer playing the role of a shōjō as a sake-drinking *yōkai*, while an actual shōjō (orangutan) appears from the side of the page as though revealing its true form to the reader (see Figure 6). As with Osada's translation "*Shōjōkai*", this picture seems to represent how the Meiji individual may have processed knowledge about exotic animals like the orangutan. The dual presence of the mythical shōjō (adapted to the Noh tale) and the shōjō of the modern world (orangutan) reflects the multiple meanings, sites

and audiences through which an understanding of the creature in the public imaginary developed, exemplifying the transitory state of knowledge of the shōjō during this period.



Figure 5: In this variation of the story, a man attempts to catch the shōjō by luring it out with a pot of sake and waiting for it to pass out drunk. From “*Shōjō no hanashi*” (猩々の話; ‘The Story of the Shōjō’) in *Kyōiku mukashibanashi* [教育昔話; ‘Educational Old Tales’], 1899.



Figure 6: A creature of myth and modernity: Shōjō in *Nōgaku zue* (Tsukioka 1898, 54).

The fervor for the shōjō persisted throughout the Meiji era, particularly in the years following the introduction of Ueno Zoo’s first orangutan in 1898. But when new shōjō were introduced at the zoo in 1906 and 1909, these were still reported as *shinchin* (新珍; new curiosities). These new additions also roughly correspond with the translation of Rudyard Kipling’s “Bertran and Bimi” [1891] as “*Shōjō monogatari*” (猩々物語) in the magazine

Myōjō [明星] in 1908, and its retranslation as “*Shōjō*” in *Bungei kurabu* in 1909. By the end of the Meiji era, however, literature regarding *shōjō* suggests that people had come to distill fact from fiction and acknowledge a disconnect between knowledge of a traditional past and a modern present. The chapter “*Shōjō*” (211–19) in *Sekai shinotogi* (世界新お伽; ‘New Fairytales of the World’) by Tokusuke Nakamura [中村 徳助] in 1910 includes, for example, the following explanation distancing modern orangutan from folkloric *shōjō*:

In the past, it was believed that *shōjō* were sake-loving bakemono that lived in the water. To catch a *shōjō*, you could place an open sake barrel by the sea and when the *shōjō* smelt the aroma of its favorite drink it would come up onto land. Once it had had its fill and fallen asleep drunk, you could grab it and tie it up. Whether that’s true or not is unknown, but *shōjō* did used to be known as sake-loving bakemono. The true *shōjō*, however, is not a bakemono but a relative of man. They say that monkeys are three hairs shy of human intellect. The *shōjō* [i.e., orangutan] may be a beast and member of the monkey family but it is even closer to man than the monkey, so it might even be only one hair shy of us.¹⁷
(Nakamura 1910, 213)

Despite this acknowledgement, preliminary research suggests further investigation of the *shōjō* in later periods might continue to show an overlap of myth and modernity in the circulation of *shōjō* knowledge. An illustration in Yōichirō’s *Minami* [南 洋一郎] *Hoeru mitsurin: Mōjū seifuku* (吼える密林 猛獣征服; ‘Roar of the Jungle: Conquest of Beasts’) published in 1938—26 years after the end of the Meiji era—depicts an alcohol-loving *shōjō* that is lured out of hiding with a giant pot of sake and captured, illustrating how traditional knowledge remained influential in preceptions of the creature well into later periods of ostensibly modern history (see Figure 7). What the popularity of the *shōjō* in Meiji Japan reveals is a much broader and persistent fascination with animal figures in the pursuit of scientific knowledge that continued well into the Shōwa era. Engagement with the animal kingdom, not only through public spaces such as Ueno Zoo, but also through the literature and printed media of the era, enabled the Meiji citizen to enrich their understanding of their expanding world and Japan’s place in it.

The sociocultural geography of the *shōjō* and the animal’s interpretation across a range of sites and contexts of meaning in this period intersects with what Secord (2004) terms “knowledge in transit” (654–72). Through various categories of movement, dissemination and translation, the distinction between making knowledge and communicating knowledge becomes blurred, even illusory. For Secord, tracing acts of communication, including texts, images and objects, and giving attention to practices of knowledge circulation on a broad scale, can act as bridging studies between specific works and their wider contexts (666). Locating exotic creatures like the *shōjō*

17 「昔は猩々は水の中に住んで酒の大好きな化物だと思つて居ました猩々を釣るには海際へ酒樽の蓋をあけて出して置くと猩々が好物の香を嗅ぎつけて陸へ上りその酒をがぶがぶのむでしまいに酔ふて寝る時を見計って一時に引捕へるのだと云ひ傳へられましたそれはうそかほんとかわかりませぬが猩々は酒呑の化物にしてありましたほんとの猩々は化物ではありません人間の親類ですほんとうの猩々とはこんなものです人間に毛三筋たらぬのが猿だと云ひます猩々は猿の仲間の獣ですが猿よりまだ人間に近いもので丁度人間に毛一筋足らぬ位かもわかりません」 The story proceeds to outline the differences between the *shōjō* (orangutan) and *saru* (猿; monkey), even drawing subsequent comparisons between *shōjō*, monkeys, and Japanese and Chinese people.



Figure 7: Hunters in Yōichirō Minami's [1938] *Hoeru mitsurin: Mōjū seifuku* (吼える密林 猛獣征服; 'Roar of the Jungle: Conquest of Beasts') attempt to catch a shōjō (orangutan) by luring it with sake and waiting until it passes out (111, 116–17). Knowledge of the shōjō here continues to overlap with traditional tales, such as that described in Figure 5.

and their role in the Meiji literary imagination reveals the specific social, cultural and scientific contexts within which the connection between traditional culture, animals and modern science was constructed in this

period and how representations of the shōjō transitioned through various knowledge systems, promulgated through translation. While Osada's supernatural reimagining of Poe's text, whether intentionally or instinctually, deviates from the source material, it reveals an awareness of the historical cache of mystery surrounding the shōjō. Foregrounding the uncanny aspects of the story, therefore, perhaps heightened the tension of Poe's tale, effecting a reading that was more relevant and comprehensible to the Meiji reader. Ultimately, what the study of translation and translated literature provides is insight into another facet of knowledge production and transition, the act of translation demonstrating that 'transition' here involves a process of manipulation as well as movement—of language, culture, and ideas.

CONCLUSION

This paper has outlined the significance of exotic animals in Meiji Japan with a focus on the intersecting representations of the shōjō (orangutan). Through an investigation of the printed media and translated literature that circulated concurrent to the import of the orangutan into Ueno Zoo, multiple interpretations of the shōjō can be identified from this era. Analysis of animal collection and exhibition practices of early- and pre-modern Japan, as well as the literary writings and topical articles that circulated through newspaper media of the Meiji era, highlights the various avenues through which the public constructed meanings from the 'exotica' that were imported animals. The thriving misemono business of the pre-Meiji period in particular, suggests that these attractions developed as sites of mystery, awe and sensory engagement, as many establishments provided not only the chance to witness these rare spectacles but also interact with them in multiple ways. However, in later periods, interaction with animals also became an act of consumption, as demonstrated by the commodification of animals as 'war trophies' ('senrihin', in which *hin* literally denotes an 'item' or a 'product') and as brands in product advertising (e.g., orangutan-brand toothpaste). To better understand the impact of the changes that influenced the ways knowledge about animals was processed in Meiji Japan, it is therefore necessary to examine the cultural practices of preceding eras.

The mid-nineteenth century, and specifically the *bakumatsu* (幕末; lit., 'end of the *bakufu*', referring to the end of the Tokugawa shogunal government, between 1853 and 1868), represents the transition from the Edo period to the new Meiji era, and with it, the creation of new sites and contexts for interactions with the natural world. Animals bear various cultural meanings and sociological implications in different societies, and such ideas evolve over time. Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, animals were a crucial medium for the dissemination of Western thought and modern science imported through translation. A number of translations from this era not only draw upon animals to highlight the progression of scientific thought and the shifting relationship between man and nature, but also reveal the fervor for natural history and the classifying or categorising of new species, both plant and animal—exemplified by the newspaper article

cited above, which subjected the orangutan to meticulous measurement of its bodily dimensions. The pervasiveness of representations of exotic landscapes populated by foreign creatures in the printed media and translated literature of the Meiji period further reveals how a culture of natural science and animal collection in this era became bound to national identity. The role of exotic animals in Meiji Japan was therefore multifaceted, as they served as symbols of the modern world, not only for their value as items of trade between foreign nations but also for the associations that came to be drawn between the collection and exhibition of foreign animals and Japan's concurrent imperial expansion. This is a process that accelerated and developed in parallel to Japan's expanding commercial and eventually military presence in Asia.

Traditional cultural understandings of the *shōjō* certainly influenced the way the 'modern day' orangutan was interpreted by the general populace in Meiji Japan—the confusion surrounding the appearance of a monkey (orangutan) advertised as a 'shōjō' at sideshows in the early Meiji era illustrating the confrontation between traditional and scientific knowledge systems of this period. As demonstrated by Shūtō Osada's reimagining of Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" as a Japanese *kaidan*, however, cultural knowledge also facilitated a greater understanding of new foreign literature for people of a developing Meiji society more familiar with popular *shōjō* imagery and its connection to the other-worldly. Osada's "*Shōjōkai*" reveals that knowledge is a process of dynamic, fluid and constantly changing ideas, impacted by greater society and changing institutional, cultural, economic, and political climates. The transition of knowledge, therefore, as demonstrated by multiple representations of the *shōjō* in the Meiji era, is not a linear process that sees the cultural transmission of images, ideas and beliefs shift swiftly towards a more scientific understanding; rather, it demonstrates a process of constant movement, inextricably linked to both culture and society, and highly susceptible to the influence of both human and non-human intermediaries. The producers and receivers of knowledge about the *shōjō* during the Meiji period included misemono proprietors, spectators, zoologists, the Meiji government, translators, journalists and general readers. Moreover, while the manifold representations of the *shōjō* visible in various forms of print media and translated literature of this era reflect the processes of a knowledge system in transit, they also reflect the very nature of translation itself.

GLOSSARY

akubyōharai (悪病払い)

having properties that are able to ward off illnesses

bakemono (化け物)

a shapeshifter; preternatural creature of Japanese folklore

bakumatsu (幕末)

lit., 'end of the *bakufu*', referring to the end of the Tokugawa shogunal government

bu (分)

3.03 mm; a unit of measurement in the old Japanese system of weights and measurements, known as *shakkanhō* (尺貫法; shaku-kan system)

Bungei kurabu (文芸倶楽部)

Literary Club; a literary magazine published by Hakubunkan publishing house from January 1895 to January 1933

bunmei kaika (文明開化)

civilization and enlightenment

fūfuwagō (夫婦和合)

conjugal harmony; successful marital relationship

gaikoku watari no dōbutsu (外国渡りの動物)

imported beasts; imported animals

gun'yō bato (軍用鳩)

war pigeons

gun'yō dōbutsu (軍用動物)

military animals

gun'yō dōbutsu ireisai (軍用動物慰霊祭)

lit., 'military animal memorial service'

gun'yōken (軍用犬)

war dogs

gyorui (魚類)

rare and peculiar-looking fish

hakurai (舶来)

imported (from overseas); foreign

hakurai chinjū (舶来珍獣)

imported beasts; see also *gaikoku watari no dōbutsu*

hakurai dōbutsu (舶来動物)

foreign animal; imported animal; see also *gaikoku watari no dōbutsu*

Hōtan (寶丹)

A brand of multi-purpose powered medicine, sold during the late Edo period

ikoku (異国)

foreign (in the context of this paper); foreign country

ikoku jōchō (異国情調)

foreign air; exotic (exoticism)

ikoku jōsho (異国情緒)

foreign air; exotic (exoticism)

ikoku shumi (異国趣味)

interest in foreign things; exotic (exoticism)

ikokufū (異国風)

foreign appearance; foreign-like; exotic (exoticism)

kaidan (怪談)

ghost stories; tales relating to the supernatural

kaijū (海獣)

sea beasts; used to refer to whales and seals

karatori or *tōchō* (唐鳥)

foreign birds

kikai (奇怪)

strange or uncanny; mysterious, especially in an unsettling way

kikei (畸形)

deformity

misemono (見世物)

exhibits; exhibitions; sideshows

nihonsan (日本産)

domestic; native Japanese (in the context of this paper)

ōatari (大當り)

a windfall; to strike it rich; big success

reijū (霊獣)

‘sacred beasts’, often an embellished title to attract customers to misemono exhibitions

reiyaku (霊薬)

lit., ‘miracle drugs’

sakoku (鎖国)

lit., ‘closed country’; referring to the policy of national isolationism that prohibited Japanese people from going abroad and heavily restricted foreign trade and diplomatic relations to a few select countries

senkō dōbutsu (戦功動物)

distinguished animals of war

senkō dōbutsu kansha no kai (戦功動物感謝の会)

lit., ‘gathering for the commemoration of distinguished war animals’

Senkintan (千金丹)

a brand of multi-purpose medicine sold during the Meiji era, taken to relieve general pain or discomfort; also used for the treatment of hangovers

senrihin dōbutsu (戦利品動物)
animal war trophies

shaku (尺)
30.3 cm; a unit of measurement in the old Japanese system of weights and measurements, known as *shakkanhō* (尺貫法; shaku-kan system)

shinchin (新珍)
new curiosities

shōjō (猩々)
orangutan; also, mythical creature of Japanese folklore and Noh tales (originating in China)

sun (寸)
3.03 cm; a unit of measurement in the old Japanese system of weights and measurements, known as *shakkan hō* (尺貫法; shaku-kan system)

tennen kibutsu (天然奇物)
natural curiosities; natural phenomena; natural oddities

to (斗)
approximately 18 litres; a unit of measurement in the old Japanese system of weights and measurements, known as *shakkanhō* (尺貫法; shaku-kan system)

tōchō (唐鳥)
see *karatori*

yōkai (妖怪)
preternatural creature of Japanese folklore

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Heteroglossic Masculinity in Haruki Murakami's 'A Wild Sheep Chase'

LAURA EMILY CLARK

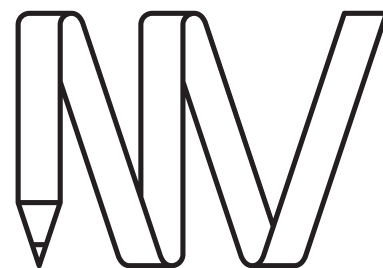
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ABSTRACT

Studies on Japanese masculinity have been consistently and strongly engaged with R. W. Connell's (1995) theory of the gender order and hegemonic masculinity, with the Japanese salaryman being identified as a masculine ideal by a number of scholars. Within this context there has been an emphasis on the plurality of masculinities present within society, and the instability of masculine ideals in gendered performances across different contexts. I argue, however, that there is still space to engage more deeply with Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia in order to reveal a multitude of different masculine voices present within a single gendered performance. Studies on the literature of Haruki Murakami have had only limited engagement with issues of masculinity, therefore this paper also demonstrates the potential for analysing the voices of male characters in fiction through masculinity theory. Here, I undertake a discourse analysis of three male characters in Haruki Murakami's *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982], proposing that although these characters are strongly engaged and invested in the monoglossic salaryman masculinity, there is always a heteroglossia of masculine performances present. This suggests that plurality is not actually an exception, or evidence of a failure to comply, but rather an ordinary aspect of gendered performance.

KEYWORDS

hegemonic masculinity; heteroglossia; gender; masculinity studies;
Murakami Haruki; popular literature; salaryman



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Masculinity studies is a significant and growing field of critical interest in Japanese studies. Influenced by Connell's (1995) theory of gender order and hegemonic masculinity, a number of studies have focused on the postwar Japanese economic miracle and its decline, and the position therein of the Japanese salaryman as a romanticised masculine ideal against which the rest of society constructs their own gendered performances (Dasgupta 2013; Hidaka 2010; Roberson and Suzuki 2003a). This approach has led to a significant commitment to the concept of many culturally constructed masculinities coexisting within a society through relations of power—interconnected, changeable and negotiated amid different socio-economic backgrounds, sexual orientations and workplace relations. Within these approaches, we see masculine performances as changeable, shifting in response to different contexts. Continuing from Connell's work and how it is commonly dealt with, I will take this concept a step further by proposing that plurality is always present, even within seemingly singular masculine performances.

Through a close reading of a set of interactions between three male characters from Haruki Murakami's first full-length novel, *A Wild Sheep Chase* [1982], I argue that individuals incorporate a range of different masculine voices within their performance of the salaryman construct.¹ Francis's (2012) 'heteroglossic gender' is a reinterpretation of the monoglossia/heteroglossia dichotomy theorised by Bakhtin (1981, 270). Monoglossia (meaning 'single voice') is defined as the macro-level form of language used to reinforce dominant social groups and their views, while heteroglossia ('many voices') refers to the variability of 'voices' and language present at the micro-level. However, whereas Francis focused on the presence of femininity in masculine performances and vice versa, I will explore the presence of many masculinities within a single gendered performance. Reinterpreting Francis's concept of heteroglossic gender, this article therefore reveals the 'heteroglossic masculinities' present within gendered performances that otherwise seem to align with hegemonic salaryman masculinity, demonstrating agency and changeability without implying inconsistency or incoherence. I argue that many performances of masculinity in Murakami's novel are ingrained with a range of different voices, suggesting heteroglossia is not exceptional but actually commonplace.

Although Murakami's novel was written and set when the salaryman ostensibly had a hegemonic claim on masculine identity, none of the characters fulfil such a mono-dimensional role. Instead, the performances of the nameless protagonist-narrator ('Protagonist'), his *aibō* (相棒; or 'Business Partner'), and the *kurofuku no hisho* (黒服の秘書; or 'Black-suited Secretary') offer an alternative prism through which to question the prescriptive salaryman image of masculinity.²

¹ This article is based on the 2004 Japanese Kodansha edition of the novel entitled *Hitsuji o meguru bōken* [羊をめぐる冒険]. However, block quotations are taken from the 2002 Vintage Books International edition translated by Alfred Birnbaum.

² The Protagonist identifies himself simply as *boku* (僕), using the common Japanese masculine pronoun. It is common practice in literary studies of Murakami's novels to employ the personal pronouns by which the nameless protagonists identify themselves, such as 'boku' or *watashi* (私) (Rubin 2005; Hirata 2005; Suter 2008). This article instead uses 'the Protagonist' in order to acknowledge the absence of a name. Likewise, other characters will be identified with capitalisation (i.e., the Business Partner and the Black-suited Secretary).

A Wild Sheep Chase is set in Japan in 1978 and tells the story of a 29-year-old man's search for a very special and powerful 'sheep'. The plot begins with the divorced Protagonist, who despite having a new girlfriend is maintaining a mediocre, somewhat boring life. His business partner in a small publishing firm serves as a counterexample to the Protagonist, as someone who has successfully settled into adulthood: he is married with two children and owns a large apartment. These two men then encounter the Black-suited Secretary, the representative of a shadowy right-wing conglomerate who contacts them regarding a recent newsletter their company printed, on the cover of which is a photograph of a sheep that the Black-suited Secretary wants to find. The plot then takes an increasingly magical realist turn, as the Protagonist travels to Hokkaido and begins (metaphorically) exploring Japan's imperial past.

I consider this work an example of what Bakhtin calls a 'polyphonic novel', a notion based on Bakhtin's (1981) argument that Dostoyevsky pioneered a unique form of novel in which a range of voices were present within the text, without being resolved into a single world view (341). Bakhtin argued that all Dostoyevsky characters speak in voices that are semantically separate from each other and from the author, at times absorbing each other's words or meanings but always remaining fundamentally independent. This is arguably also taking place in *A Wild Sheep Chase*, for although the Protagonist narrates the novel, other characters often take over the narration with their own stories and much of the novel takes place in conversations between characters.

As Murakami's first major work, *A Wild Sheep Chase* has been the subject of a significant amount of scholarship. However, a key trend has been to interpret this novel as a story about later generations coming to terms with Japan's colonial and imperial past (Benhammou 2010; Rubin 1999). This has especially been the case for studies making connections between this novel and Murakami's other works, such as *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* [1995], through the repetition of symbols and character-types (Ishihara 2007; F. Murakami, 2002). Another approach, particularly in English-language studies, has been to explore the concept of the self in *A Wild Sheep Chase*, notably employing psychoanalytic theory to identify the separation of self and consciousness, especially in explaining the magical realist aspects of the narrative (Strecher 2002, 2014). The Protagonist is seen as a 'typical' Murakami protagonist: bored (Rubin 2010, 56), cool, detached, and without ambition (F. Murakami 2005, 30, 25; Suzumura 2015, 65), as well as lacking the "social promise, and a ruthless efficiency" (Hong 2013, 40) necessary to succeed in modern Japan. I posit that, although the author may not necessarily have intended to critique masculinity within Japanese culture, *A Wild Sheep Chase*, though fictional, is immersed in a cultural context imbued with social tensions regarding permissible performances of gender. As such, it is possible to theoretically explore masculinity discourse within Japan through the voices and performances of this set of fictional characters. If the characters' voices are seen as "semantically autonomous" (Bakhtin 1981, 315), then their

behaviours and choices can be examined as separate and whole, and therefore individually analysed with regards to gender discourses.

Gender in Murakami's works has been addressed by researchers using psychoanalytic approaches (Dil 2009; Flutsch 2010; Hansen 2010). Gender-based studies have also largely dealt with the depiction of women in his works, which reflects a recent focus on women writers and characters in Japanese fiction studies more generally (Copeland 2006; Schalow and Walker 1996). Such studies have broadly sought to explore the social and gendered inequality within Japanese popular culture and the literary elite, particularly the marginalised position of female authors as unwanted daughters and heirs (Copeland and Ramirez-Christensen 2001). When masculinity within Murakami's novels is discussed, it tends to be biographical, with the author's personality being seen as fundamental to the ways in which masculinity is constructed and explored in his works (Nihei 2013; Lo 2004). Gender in Murakami's work has rarely been explored from the perspective of social theory, especially with regards to performances of masculinity. My approach is to see the characters within the novel as products of discourse, within a cultural context in which particular versions of gender are valued, specifically men as persevering breadwinners of the salaryman type. Therefore, the question of Murakami's intentions as an author can be briefly set aside. Through analysis of Murakami's characters—the Protagonist, the Business Partner and the Black-suited Secretary—we can explore theories of gender that are usually employed beyond the confines of literature.

THEORISING MASCULINITY IN JAPAN

Although masculinity studies on Japan covers a highly diverse range of topics, as a field there has been a strong tendency toward social constructivism³ and a deep engagement with Connell's theory of the gender order. Working from Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Connell (1995) conceptualised hegemonic masculinity as a "configuration of gender practices" (77) that subordinates and dominates both men and women, delimiting acceptable performances of gender. The salaryman figure in Japan has been broadly accepted as a recent example of hegemonic masculinity, and as an ideal to which all men were expected to aspire (Roberson and Suzuki 2003a).

One striking trend within certain studies on masculinity in postwar Japan has been a focus on the construction of masculinity amongst certain groups of men. Key monographs by Taga (2011), Dasgupta (2013) and Hidaka (2010), for example, explore the construction of salaryman masculinity by interviewing men who could be identified as, or self-identify as, salarymen, generally based on their participation in white-collar work for a large company. Although there had previously been a significant body of work on the salaryman as a uniquely Japanese (i.e., cultural) phenomenon, these recent studies have instead focused on the salaryman as a gendered construct. There has long been a lively discourse regarding women and gendered identity,⁴ it is

³ In social constructivist theory, power is understood "in terms of social structures", and therefore with identities being formed within and against those structures (Beasley 2012, 750). For an in-depth critique of the fundamental theoretical orientations in masculinity studies, refer to Beasley (2012, 2013, 2015).

⁴ This discourse, in some ways, reached its apex with Butler's (1999) 'performativity'.

only since the late 1990s that a similar discussion has developed regarding men and masculinity in Japan, reflecting such developments across masculinity studies generally (Gardiner 2002, 11).

The salaryman is not so much a character-type as the combination of a set of traits: middle-class, university educated, and married with children (Dasgupta 2013, 1); the breadwinner and *daikokubashira* (大黒柱; economic pillar of the household) (Roberson 2003, 129); and a loyal *kigyō senshi* (企業戦士; corporate warrior) working tirelessly in return for guaranteed lifetime employment (Dasgupta 2003, 118). Salaryman masculinity as a performance notably touches upon all facets of life, from morning till night, and has been a highly prescriptive version of manhood. To be an adult and a successful man, an individual has been expected to fulfil as many of the above traits as possible. It has also been intimately linked to the postwar economic miracle, and to the emergence of a Japanese identity founded upon economic success and corporate culture (Dasgupta 2013, 4). Therefore, this concept places masculinity at the centre of a complicated network of institutions, as well as putting significant pressure to succeed on those who aspire to it. Social ideals are by their nature difficult if not impossible to fulfil for large sections of a community. However, the salaryman ideal has been perceived as being achievable through hard work and the consumption of middle-class products such as washing machines, televisions, and refrigerators (Dasgupta 2003, 123).

In this way, the prevailing salaryman discourse typically presents masculinity as a performance experienced and crafted by men. Dasgupta (2003) does so by highlighting how the men he interviewed adjusted their performances in order to fit the gendered expectations of their company and cohort (10). Throughout his monograph, Dasgupta also discusses the tension between different performances of masculinity across contexts, especially for those participants who do not fit comfortably into a heterosexual matrix. Although Hidaka's (2010) work is very similar with regards to the construction of the salaryman, her investigation is concerned with how the term 'salaryman' has referred to changing practices and lifestyles over the past three generations. Meanwhile, Taga (2011) focuses more specifically on the increasing tension and instability within the salaryman lifestyle as men are pulled between the demands of home and work. These key works reveal aspects of change, transition and instability within performances of masculinity, as well as the impact of social forces and changes over the course of a lifetime.

A counter-current has been research on men ostensibly subordinated or marginalised by the salaryman ideal, yet who still construct their masculinity in its shadow. The edited volumes of Roberson and Suzuki (2003a), and Louie and Low (2003), are particularly notable for bringing together critical approaches that destabilise the predominance of the salaryman figure in Japanese studies. Roberson and Suzuki's (2003b) volume highlights the institutional systems that empower the image of the salaryman and "subsume non-normative (non-salarymen) men and masculinities" (8). For example, in a context where the stereotype of Japan as a classless society of businessmen has endured, contributions such as Gill's (2003) on day labourers and Roberson's

(2003) on working-class masculinities highlight experiences of diversity and daily compromise. Louie and Low's (2003) collection less directly challenges the dominance of salaryman masculinity, yet they highlight the construction of specifically Asian masculinities. Hence, although the individual chapters may not target marginalised masculine groups in the manner of Roberson and Suzuki, the volume nevertheless reveals the highly constructed and interconnected nature of manhood and masculinity in modern Japan.

Two other important areas of interest in studies of Japanese masculinity are the role of women and the formation of gay or queer masculinities. The former relates to the role of women in the construction of masculinities, as well as how women perceive changing masculinities in Japan. A striking example is Allison's (1994) pioneering ethnographic exploration of the role that women in hostess clubs serve in aiding company employees' obligatory after-work socialising, thus supporting their construction of masculinity. Darling-Wolf (2004) has reflected on the manner in which women perceive and judge different emerging styles of masculinity or stereotypes of feminised masculinities, such as *sōshokukei danshi* (草食系男子; 'herbivore men'). There have also been significant contributions to the discussion from the field of queer studies, including the work of McLelland (2000, 2005), Lunsing (2001) and Mackintosh (2010). McLelland and Mackintosh, for example, both focus on the hybridity of gay Japanese men's masculinity, based on intersections between Western discourses and the shifting local Japanese discourse, as well as the construction of gay masculinities within Japan's mainstream media versus gay community media, such as internet forums and *Barazoku* [薔薇族] magazine. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss in depth the sheer range of masculinity studies as a field, the kinds of discussions outlined above demonstrate the presence of instability and variation in gendered performance, as well as the importance of plurality to this discussion.

PLURALITY AND MASCULINITY STUDIES: AN ARGUMENT FOR USING HETEROGLOSSIA

Plurality in Japanese masculinity studies has tended to refer to variation across society, with many competing masculinities, or across contexts, with shifting performances in different social situations. The latter is the central thesis of Aboim's (2010) work, which although not focused on Japan, identified different masculinities being performed by men depending on whether they were in the public or private sphere. However, there has also been an increasing focus on the blurred borders between masculinity and femininity in artistic representation, such as fashion magazines and newspaper cartoons. For example, Monden (2015) discusses a much more inherent plurality in his exploration of Japanese men's fashion magazines, revealing the instability of constructing masculinity as separate from femininity, through the blending of feminine attributes into masculine performances (32–33). Although the models in these magazines are presented and perceived as male, they play with a combination of masculine and feminine signifiers.

In a similar manner, Karlin's (2014) work on Meiji era Japan [1868–1912] explores the conflict and tension between performative 'Westernised' masculinities and 'traditional' masculinities as evidence for blended masculinities.⁵ While Connell's theory of the gender order proposes the idea that performances that incorporate feminine traits are subordinated (especially with regards to queer masculinities), studies such as Monden and Karlin's demonstrate the space for a more flexible division between masculinity and femininity. This is very similar to Solomon-Godeau's (1997) work on the construction of male bodies in artistic nudes and the challenges of feminised masculinity within the art world, and echoes Francis's approach, which sits at the centre of this paper.

Developing Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossic and monoglossic discourse, Francis argued that although people maintain the appearance of a single gendered performance that is monoglossic (i.e., one voice), there is generally a range of traits incorporated from both genders within any gender performance, thus making it heteroglossic (i.e., many voices). Francis developed this theory from her observations of young people in school classrooms in the United Kingdom, arguing that maintaining an appearance of monoglossia is encouraged in the interest of dominant groups. Therefore, although within an individual's gendered performance there are a combination of traits associated with both femininity and masculinity, it must be disguised as monoglossic through displays of dominant and acceptable gendered traits in order to prevent social censure (Francis 2012, 11). This way of thinking about gender performance is a call to recognise plurality, while also accounting for how individuals can still be understood as performing a socially legible gender (Mackie 2003, 11). In this context, the appearance of monoglossia is valued while heteroglossia is something to be hidden. Francis's work also engages with gender as a "mutual construction", based on both the successful production of gender and the audience's acceptance of this performance as legitimate, much like Bakhtin's approach to language (Francis 2012, 9). If heteroglossia is always present, even in the most successful performance, then Francis's work demonstrates how plurality may actually be very common even if seldom recognised.

Here I am interested in applying Francis's observations of 'gender heteroglossia' in the performances of masculinity in *A Wild Sheep Chase*. However, rather than focusing on the feminine elements present within a masculine performance, I will instead be exploring the heteroglossia of different masculinities present. Of course, the aim in Francis's work was to explicitly trouble the sexed body ties to feminine and masculine behaviours. However, my approach in this article is to look at how these performances, even in their variation, continue to benefit from being aligned with cultural ideas of masculinity within the gender order and cultural context.⁶ These male characters seem to display 'complicit masculinity', in terms of Connell's gender order, as they help sustain power relations that idealise salaryman hegemonic masculinity while not fully embodying it themselves. Nevertheless,

⁵ One example of this is the opposition of a stoic "male primitivism" identified as *bankara* (バンカラ; lit., 'barbarian-collared') masculinity to the Westernised *haikara* (ハイカラ; lit., 'high-collared') gentleman, who was increasingly associated with a feminine interest in appearance (Karlin 2014, 56).

⁶ This is also with awareness of Paechter's (2012) point that orientating oneself within masculinity is a matter of positioning oneself with regards to relations of power as much as relating to actual attributes (237).

the permissible gendered performance available to the male characters within the version of Japanese society portrayed in the novel is a monoglossic one, in line with salaryman masculinity. However, within the voices of these characters I believe there exists a ‘heteroglossia of masculinities’—to adapt Francis’s Bakhtinian terminology. Gee (1999) has previously explored how individuals can be engaged by multiple “Discourses”⁷ within a single conversation, or how “[y]ou can get several of your Discourses recognized all at once” (21). Although Gee was not necessarily advocating a categorical numbering of Discourses, I argue we can observe the emergence of a number of different ‘voices’ in masculine performances throughout *A Wild Sheep Chase*, reminiscent of Gee’s theory of a cornucopia of Discourses.

Regarding the issue of defining distinct ‘masculine’ performances, here I will be focusing on how aspects of these performances draw on commonly held perceptions of masculinity within Japan. These are based on interviews conducted by Taga (2011, 36) and Itō (1996, 23, 88–89) with a range of young male interviewees, which demonstrate that key concepts consistently associated with masculinity in Japanese culture are the importance of physical and mental strength, the ability to take responsibility for oneself, and perseverance. While the characters in *A Wild Sheep Chase* display a great deal of variation in their performances, there is ultimately a recognisable commitment to these kinds of traits throughout. Likewise, the hegemonic salaryman ideal of masculinity has been consistently associated with similar traits, particularly perseverance in the face of taxing work conditions (Rohlen 1974, 85). As such, across the contexts of the corporate world during Japan’s economic boom period, interviews in the post-boom period, and the characters in this boom-era novel, a remarkably consistent discursive construction of masculinity emerges, against which individuals are shaping their gendered performances.

NOVEL-BASED ANALYSIS

How is heteroglossic masculinity performed by characters within *A Wild Sheep Chase*, and what does this suggest about the relationship between individuals and social ideals? The plot of *A Wild Sheep Chase* is driven by the Protagonist’s quest, taking him to the depths of Hokkaido to find an old friend, nicknamed Nezumi, and a magical sheep with which Nezumi seems to have become entangled. However, my analysis will focus on interactions between the Protagonist, the Business Partner, and the Black-suited Secretary. Although seemingly banal, and at times a little odd, the performances of these three men are inherently heteroglossic, with multiple ‘voices’ emerging from within the guise of the salaryman ideal. This demonstrates that although gender performances may be valued for appearing monoglossic, heteroglossia is actually quite ordinary.

⁷ Gee (1999) argued for a distinction between ‘little d’ discourse, as language, and ‘big D’ Discourse as the complicated network of “ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing, together with other people and with various sorts of characteristic objects, symbols, tools, and technologies” (7). Gee also positioned people as carriers of Discourses through which they are recognised and comprehended by others.

The first interaction between the Protagonist and the Business Partner occurs when the Protagonist is unexpectedly called into their office from his summer holiday by the Business Partner. As the conversation unfolds it is revealed that the matter is an unsettling visit that morning from the Black-suited Secretary. But first, on entering the office, the Protagonist muses about the nature of his friend and business partner, and the significant differences between the two of them.

He was wearing a deep-blue shirt with a black tie, hair neatly combed, cologne. While I was in a T-shirt with Snoopy carrying a surfboard, old Levi's that had been washed colorless, and dirty tennis shoes. To anyone else, he clearly was the regular one.⁸

—Protagonist (H. Murakami 2002, 80)

However, the Business Partner is not without flaws, as he has developed a drinking habit.

Five years ago, my business partner was a happy drunk. Three years later, he had become a moody drunk. And by last summer, he was fumbling at the knob of the door to alcoholism.⁹

—Protagonist (H. Murakami 2002, 77)

The conversation develops into a tense discussion about the nature of their small business following its growth, with the Business Partner particularly acknowledging the benefits of their recent success:

[BP: "Sure it made money. Let us move to a larger office and take on more staff. I got a new car, bought a condo, sent two kids to an expensive private school. Not bad for thirty years old, I suppose."

[P:] "You earned it. Nothing to be ashamed of."

[BP:] "Who's ashamed?"¹⁰

—Business Partner (BP) and the Protagonist (P) (H. Murakami 2002, 81–82)

However, the Business Partner also spends a good portion of his dialogue questioning the validity and honesty of their work as the price of their success. This is constructed both in terms of their ignorance of their financial matters, as well as a willingness to create or print content with views they do not personally hold.

"A lot of things have changed," my partner said. "The pace of our lives, our thinking. Above all, we don't even know ourselves how much we really make. A tax accountant comes in and does all that awful paperwork, with

8 「彼は濃いブルーの新しいシャツに黒いネクタイをしめ、髪にはきちんとくしが入っていた。オーデコロンとオーションの匂いは揃いだった。僕はスヌービーがサーフボードを抱えた図柄のTシャツに、まっ白になるまで洗った古いリーヴァイスと泥だらけのテニス・シューズをはいていた。誰が見ても彼の方がまともだった。」

(H. Murakami 2004a, 88)

9 「一九七三年には僕の共同経営者は楽しい酔払いだった。一九七六年には彼はほんの少し気むずかしい酔払いになり、そして一九七八年の夏には初期アルコール中毒に通ずるドアの把手に不器用に手をかけていた。」

(H. Murakami 2004a, 85)

10 「『金にはなったよ。おかげで広い事務所には引越せし、人も増えた。車も買い換えし、マンションも買ったし、二人の子供を金のかかる私立学校にも入れた。三十にしちゃ金のある方だと思うよ』

『君が稼いだんだ。恥じることはないさ』

『恥じてなんかいいないよ』」 (H. Murakami 2004a, 89–90)

exemptions and depreciations and write-offs and what not.”¹¹
—Business Partner (H. Murakami 2002, 82)

The Protagonist, meanwhile, seems unperturbed by this change:

[BP:] “Last week you—I mean we—wrote the copy for that magazine ad. And it wasn’t bad copy. It went over real well. But tell me, have you eaten margarine even once in the past couple years?”

[P:] “No, I hate margarine.”

[BP:] “Same here. That’s what I mean. At the very least, in the old days we did work we believed in, and we took pride in it. There’s none of that now. We’re just tossing out fluff.”

[...]

[P:] “It doesn’t matter,” I said. “It’s the same whether we eat margarine or don’t. Dull translation jobs or fraudulent copy, it’s basically the same. Sure we’re tossing out fluff, but tell me, where does anyone deal in words with substance? C’mon now, there’s no honest work anywhere. Just like there’s no honest breathing or honest pissing.”¹²

—Business Partner (BP) and the Protagonist (P) (H. Murakami 2002, 84–85)

Without a close analysis of the Business Partner’s brief appearance in the novel, his performance of masculinity may appear to be that of a regular Japanese businessman: jaded, but still compliant. However, this normality is undermined by the Protagonist’s comment regarding the Business Partner’s increasing alcoholism. Of course, the consumption of alcohol in and of itself is not unusual; the drinking culture amongst businessmen, particularly during the period of economic boom in Japan, was typically a social one that facilitated group rapport in a public space (Allison 1994). The Business Partner’s habit, however, has become one of drinking alone in the morning: when the Protagonist arrives in the office, he observes that the Business Partner “had already drunk one shot of whiskey” (彼は既にウィスキーを一杯飲んでいて) (H. Murakami 2004a, 87). The choice to drink alone, and the apparent increase in the frequency with which he does so, suggests internal conflict regarding his role as successful businessman and breadwinner. The Protagonist suggests that the Business Partner’s performance as a “regular guy” (まとも) (H. Murakami 2004a, 88) is becoming increasingly problematic—while he originally consumed alcohol to maintain this jovial public performance, this has since shifted to a private, somewhat shameful habit.

The other inconsistency between the Business Partner’s success and his behaviour is his concern regarding the kind of company they have become, and the kind of work they now do. During the conversation outlined

11 「『いろんなものが変わっちゃったよ』と相棒が言った。『生活のペースやら考え方がさ。だいいち俺たちが本当にどれだけでもうけているのか、俺たち自身にさえわからないんだ。税理士が来てわけのわからない書類を作って、なんとか控除だとか減価償却だとか税金対策だとか、そんなことばかりやってるんだ』」 (H. Murakami 2004a, 90)

12 「『先週君は、つまり我々は、マーガリンの広告コピーを作った。実際のところ悪くないコピーだった。評判も良かった。でも君はこの何年かマーガリンを食べたことなんてあるのか?』

『ないよ。マーガリンは嫌いだ』

『俺もないよ。結局そういうことさ。少しも昔の俺たちはきちんと自信の持てる仕事をして、それが誇りでもあったんだ。それが今はない。実体のないことばをただまきちらしてるだけさ』……

『同じだよ。我々がマーガリンを食べなくても、結局は同じことなんだ。地味な翻訳仕事だってインテキなマーガリンの広告コピーだって根本は同じさ。たしかに実体のないことばを我々はまきちらしている。しかし実体のあることばがどこにある? いいかい、誠実な仕事なんてどこにもないんだ。誠実な呼吸や誠実な小便がどこにもないようにさ』」 (H. Murakami 2004a, 92–93)

above, another voice within the Business Partner emerges. This is not the performance of the smartly-dressed businessman, the regular guy or the closet alcoholic, but rather that of a man who is uncomfortable with the fluid morality of big business. Indeed, he distrusts the vested interests or “exploitation” (搾取) (H. Murakami 2004a, 92) that are an increasingly common part of his work. Although for the majority of their conversation the Business Partner maintains a salaryman-style performance, in airing his moral concerns a different voice is present—one of frustration and suspicion. He points out in the passage quoted above, as a consequence of their business growing, what they write is dishonest and has no meaning or value to them—they write advertisements encouraging people to consume margarine, but never eat it themselves. They do not personally know what they earn as they use accountants to facilitate the kind of tax reduction associated with big business. Within the narrative timeline, this conversation takes place after the Business Partner’s encounter with the Black-suited Secretary, but in the novel the conversations are presented in reverse order. This suggests the challenging and somewhat insidious conversation with the Black-suited Secretary may highlight unsavoury aspects of the corporate world, such as vested interests and underhanded deals with powerful men. The voice that emerges from the Business Partner reveals to the reader that his increasing alcoholism may be part of a range of performances he enacts in order to maintain his position despite harbouring such doubts. Thus, an alternative reading of the Business Partner could be that while appearing to be a ‘regular’ salaryman, he also displays other voices and performances (e.g., a desire to be normal and a distrust of hidden power structures, as well as an increasing habit of alcoholism), which reveal ongoing tension regarding his professional role, both within the company and broader society.¹³

The Protagonist’s performances, on the other hand, depict a far more unstable monoglossic salaryman masculinity. As indicated above, the Protagonist does not conform with the visual presentation of a salaryman masculinity as he goes to the office wearing what is presumably his holiday wear: American brand-name jeans, a cotton T-shirt with the image of Snoopy carrying a surfboard, and tennis shoes (H. Murakami 2002, 80). This is in stark contrast to the Business Partner’s neat businesswear and cologne. The Protagonist’s choice of apparel, however, does betray a certain relaxed consumerism, and indeed the kind of ‘Americanisation’ often associated with Japan’s postwar development (Duus 2011). On the other hand, when the Business Partner challenges the ethics of their work, the Protagonist appears to be completely accepting of these practices. He justifies their work arguing that it is common practice; within the business world “there isn’t honest work anywhere” (誠実な仕事なんてどこにもないんだ) (H. Murakami 2004a, 93). Even through these brief examples we can see two very different performances being undertaken by the Protagonist: within one he displays a casual masculinity that appears immature or reluctant to ‘grow up’ (i.e., into a salaryman), whereas in the other he assumes the voice of a seasoned, cynical-realist corporate-man. This suggests that the Protagonist is not unaware of his role and position in society as a businessman and the

¹³ I have argued elsewhere that we can read the Business Partner’s shifts in behaviour as evidence of tension with the salaryman as a hegemonic masculinity, and a challenge to its position as a desirable masculinity to perform (Clark 2015).

associated ideals against which he is measured, but he is not limited to only performing this particular version of masculinity.

The Protagonist and the Business Partner Versus the Black-suited Secretary

Having compared the Protagonist and Business Partner it is worth considering them again within the context of their encounter with the Black-suited Secretary. After discussing his concerns regarding their business, the Business Partner recounts the Black-suited Secretary's visit earlier that day. This mysterious figure is described initially as having the appearance of a respectable businessman:

Despite the unusually hot late-September weather outside, the man was rather formally dressed. Impeccably. His white shirt cuffs protruded precisely two-thirds of an inch from the sleeves of his well-tailored gray¹⁴ suit. His subtly toned striped tie, accented with a hint of asymmetry, was positioned with the utmost care. His black shoes were buffed to a fine gloss.¹⁵

—Protagonist recounting the Business Partner's description (H. Murakami 2002, 90)

However, this normality is interrupted when the Black-suited Secretary produces a name card with an important individual's name on it—so important that the Business Partner immediately recognises the name and the significance of meeting this individual's representative—and then requests that the Business Partner burn the card (その名刺を、今すぐ焼き捨てて下さい) (H. Murakami 2004a, 99). The Black-suited Secretary then begins to describe the nature of the conversation they are about to have:

“[T]his is neither a conceptual issue nor a political deal; this is strictly a business proposition.” [...] “You are a businessman and I am a businessman,” he went on. “Realistically, there should be nothing between us to discuss but bizness.”¹⁶

—Business Partner recounting the conversation with the Black-suited Secretary (H. Murakami 2002, 93)

The Black-suited Secretary then makes two requests: that a certain pamphlet be immediately removed from publication, and that he be given the name of the individual who produced the pamphlet.

We can observe two particular masculinities emerging within the Black-suited Secretary's initial appearance. On the one hand, he wears the outfit of, and speaks as, a reasonable businessman and representative of an important

14 The colour of the suit is translated in some editions as grey, and black in others. The original 2004 Japanese Kodansha edition often refers to him as wearing *kurofuku* (黒服), or a black suit.

15 「九月の後半にしては異常なほどの外の暑さにもかかわらず、男は実にきちんとした身なりをしていた。仕立ての良いグレーのスーツの袖からは白いシャツが性格に一・五センチぶんのぞき、微妙な色調のストライプのネクタイはほんの僅かだけ左右不対称になるように注意深く整えられ、黒いコードヴァンの靴はぴかぴかに光っていた。」 (H. Murakami 2004a, 97)

16 「『とはいっても、これは概念的な話でも政治的な話でもなく、あくまでビジネスの話です』……『あなたもビジネス・マンだし、私もビジネス・マンです。現実的に言っても、我々のあいだにはビジネス以外に話すべきことは何もない。』」 (H. Murakami 2004a, 100)

power broker, making a relatively reasonable request. On the other hand, he is a threatening figure claiming absolute power over the conversation when he demands without explanation that the business card be burned. Within the conversation, the Black-suited Secretary maintains the voice of a businessman overall, positioning the exchange as one between responsible men who will perform their roles appropriately. Given his unique position as the second-in-command to a hidden but socially powerful figure, the Black-suited Secretary is in no way positioned as a typical salaryman, but the businessman figure that he presents draws from this style of masculine performance. It is worth noting that the additional voice represented by the Black-suited Secretary's pronunciation of the word 'business'—*bizinesu* (ビズィネス) rather than *bijinesu* (ビジネス) leads him to being identified by the Business Partner (and potentially the reader) as a *nikkei no nisei* (日系の二世; second-generation overseas-born Japanese) (H. Murakami 2004a, 100). This single word brings the voice of another masculinity into the fray: a masculinity separate from the assumed cultural homogeneity of the Japanese salaryman ideal.

In the face of the Black-suited Secretary's two dominant voices (businessman and underworld figure) the Business Partner appears to retreat into a more monoglossic performance of salaryman masculinity. Rather than challenging the Black-Suited Secretary's dominance over the conversation, he simply receives his instructions and indicates his intention to fulfil them, using such terms as "certainly" (そのとおり) (H. Murakami 2004a, 100) and "I see" (なるほど) (H. Murakami 2004a, 102). There is a sense here that the Business Partner is only following the normal rules for business interactions, unsure of how to adjust to the changes in performance that the Black-suited Secretary is enacting. In this way, the Business Partner seems so deeply married to his businessman persona that he can only follow what is happening and process it later. It is only during his subsequent conversation with the Protagonist that he engages alternative masculinities through his criticism of the business world and their personal responsibility for their work.

By comparison, the Protagonist's encounter with the Black-suited Secretary is far more combative. The Protagonist, as the producer of the pamphlet with which the Black-suited Secretary is concerned, is delivered by limousine to the compound owned by the Black-suited Secretary's employer. However, during the course of the conversation a complicated, sinister mystery is also revealed. After some initial comments by the Black-suited Secretary, the conversation begins with a discussion of the "practical losses" (現実的な損失) (H. Murakami 2004a, 184) the Protagonist's business will experience by ceasing publication of the pamphlet. The conversation shifts dramatically when the Black-suited Secretary requests information regarding the individual who had produced the photograph of the sheep featured on the pamphlet's front cover. The Protagonist responds with a striking change of performance, prompting a similar change in the Black-suited Secretary.

[P:] "I'm afraid I'm not at liberty to say," I tossed out the words with a cool that impressed even myself. "Journalists rightfully do not reveal their sources."
 [...]

[BS:] “You are a fine one,” said the man. “You know, if I felt like it, I could stop all work from coming your way. That would put an end to your claims of journalism. Supposing, of course, that your miserable pamphlets and handbills qualify as journalism.” [...] “What’s more, there are ways to make people like you talk.”

[P:] “I suppose there are,” I said, “but they take time and I wouldn’t talk until the last minute. Even if I did talk, I wouldn’t spill everything. You’d have no way of knowing how much is everything. Or am I mistaken?”¹⁷

—Protagonist (P) and the Black-suited Secretary (BS) (H. Murakami 2002, 186–87)

Both the Protagonist and the Black-suited Secretary can be seen to change masculine performances in the above interaction. The Black-suited Secretary again maintains two key masculine performances: the reasonable businessman and the threatening underworld figure. He also claims authority in these two positions: firstly, as someone hierarchically superior, as the personal secretary of a power-broker; and secondly, as someone with access to resources that can easily ruin a person’s life. Indeed, as he threateningly notes in a later conversation, it is his speciality to find whatever it is that someone cannot bear to lose (誰にでも失いたくないもののひとつやふたつはあるんだ。……我々はそういったものを探し出すことにかけてはプロなんだ) (H. Murakami 2004a, 237–38). What is most striking in this interaction is that when one of these characters assumes a different voice or performance, the other party shifts accordingly. Hence, at the beginning of the conversation, the Black-suited Secretary uses the voice of a reasonable businessman when he prompts the Protagonist to speak of the many consequences his request will have upon the Protagonist’s business. The Protagonist responds at some length about the considerations for such a small business, borrowing both the Black-suited Secretary’s terminology and tone. The Protagonist uses this particular voice very infrequently, and only when prompted in contexts similar to this one.

Subsequently, we see the Protagonist abandon the voice of the businessman and shift into that of a hard-boiled journalist, claiming the right to protect his sources. This voice is very different from the salaryman he performs earlier in that he is uncooperative, and appears to call upon higher values compared to the cynical dishonesty of the business world he seemed to accept in his conversation with the Business Partner earlier in the text. In his response, the Black-suited Secretary challenges this change in performance, questioning its validity and thus whether the Protagonist can assume this voice. When it becomes apparent that the Protagonist is not going to revert to being the businessman, the Black-suited Secretary switches to his threatening underworld voice.

This exchange recalls Francis’s (2012) emphasis on gender being accepted and validated by the listener (9). Therefore, the manner in which the

17「『言いません』と僕は自分でも驚くくらいあっさりと言った。『ジャーナリストにはニュース・ソースを守秘する権利があります』……『君はどうも奇妙な男だな』と男は言った。『私にはやろうと思えば、君たちの仕事を全部シャット・アウトすることもできるんだよ。そうすれば君はもうジャーナリストとも言えなくなる。もともと今君がやっている下らないパンフレットやちらしやらの仕事がジャーナリズムであると仮定すればの話だけだね』……『それに、君のような人間をしゃべらせる方法は幾つかある』『たぶんそうでしょう』と僕は言った。『しかしそれには時間がかかるし、それまでは僕はしゃべらない。しゃべったとしても全部はしゃべらない。あなたにはどれだけ全部なのかはわからない。違いますか?』」(H. Murakami 2004a, 188–89)

audience receives the performance of masculinity is vital to its success as there is a genuine risk of rejection. This view puts the power of acceptance in the hands of the listener and highlights the interactivity inherent to gender performances; however, it also puts a certain onus on the listener to understand and keep pace with the performance with which they are being addressed. In changing his performance in such a drastic manner, the Protagonist runs the risk of being rejected, and indeed the Black-suited Secretary attempts to do just that. However, when the Protagonist does not abandon this voice when prompted, the Black-suited Secretary adjusts his own performance, assuming a voice that counters this change, performing the kind of masculinity that would openly threaten a journalist. This shift in the conversation toward discussing the possibility of torture could also be seen as a reference to masculine ideals, with both characters making claims to physical and mental strength. The Protagonist acknowledges within his narration that he is actually bluffing, but that given the events of their meeting this seemed like the kind of performance he ought to produce (全てははったりだったが、コースは合っていた) (H. Murakami 2004a, 189). The Protagonist can be seen as following the script instinctively, suggesting his awareness of the performative nature of this interaction.

The conversation between the Protagonist and the Black-suited Secretary demonstrates the potential to address even brief interactions as performances of a heteroglossia of masculinities. While the Black-suited Secretary does not fit the corporate warrior model, he presents a reasonably monoglossic masculinity that features a number of salaryman traits. However, what makes him challenging, especially for the unsuspecting Business Partner, is the presence of other powerful voices—particularly that of the dangerous, underworld enforcer for a right-wing conglomerate. There is more variability in the Protagonist's performances. He can speak of business affairs in the appropriate manner, but also shift into performing a hard-boiled journalist protecting his sources. These are not inconsistencies or poor characterisations on the part of the author, but rather the presence of a heteroglossia of voices being adapted and abandoned by the characters in response to the demands of the situation within the reality of the novel.

The Black-suited Secretary in the Mountains of Hokkaido

There is one more brief appearance of the Black-suited Secretary. Near the end of the novel the Protagonist resolves the mystery in the mountains of Hokkaido. With his somewhat unsatisfying solution, the Protagonist travels alone back down the mountain, meeting the Black-suited Secretary along the way. Here, it is confirmed, as the Protagonist had come to suspect, that the Black-suited Secretary had known where Nezumi was all along but had tried to use the Protagonist to draw him out of hiding. To begin their conversation, the Black-suited Secretary notes that he was only waiting for a short time for the Protagonist to come down the mountain, intimating his use of some form of psychic power:

“How do you think I got to be the Boss’s secretary? Diligence? IQ? Tact? No. I am the Boss’s¹⁸ secretary because of my special capacities. Sixth sense. I believe that’s what you would call it.”¹⁹

—Black-suited Secretary (H. Murakami 2002, 291)

Later in their conversation, following the Protagonist’s prompting, he explains how he manipulated the situation and the Protagonist in order to lead him to the mountain:

“Lay out the seeds and everything is simple. Constructing the program was the hard part. Computers can’t account for human error, after all. So much for handiwork. Ah, but it is a pleasure second to none, seeing one’s painstakingly constructed program move along exactly according to plan.”²⁰

—Black-suited Secretary (H. Murakami 2002, 292)

Misplaced gloating aside, the Black-suited Secretary does not realise that Nezumi has in fact killed himself, thus destroying the sheep that was possessing him. What these two quotes actually reveal is the Black-suited Secretary’s use of two new voices.

As with his previous appearances, the Black-suited Secretary positions himself as powerful and authoritative. Here, however, he assumes two quite different voices to do so—that of a psychic and a computer engineer. The first emphasises intuition, an aspect of himself that is inherent and vital, through which he has access to a realm beyond the understanding of the Protagonist. This is also striking within the context of Murakami’s writing more generally, in which it is more common for women to be intuitive or psychically powerful.²¹ The second voice reinforces his intelligence and perseverance, and his power to manipulate the world to suit his ends. He is claiming the ability to calculate and construct the quest, engineering a desired outcome in the face of human unpredictability. Therefore, although neither of these voices fit completely in the salaryman masculinity markers as previously discussed (being a psychic and grand manipulator), they still claim superiority within the mainstream masculine discourse of perseverance and mental strength. Due to his (rather salaryman-like) hard work and planning the Black-suited Secretary believes that he has won; but unlike their previous encounters, here he is neither the dangerous enforcer nor the reasonable businessman.

However, there is an ironic aspect too, as the Protagonist and the reader are aware that the Black-suited Secretary has already lost both Nezumi and the sheep, and in fact it is later intimated that the Black-suited Secretary subsequently dies in the explosion that the Protagonist had arranged as per Nezumi’s wishes. Likewise, on the mountain in Hokkaido the Black-suited Secretary has also lost his signature outfit: he is now wrapped in a beige jacket and ski pants. This section could be read as ultimately undermining the

18 The Boss is actually identified as *sensei* (先生; teacher, master, doctor) in the original text.

19 「『私がいったいどうして先生の秘書になれたと思う？ 努力？ IQ？ 要領？ まさか。その理由は私に能力があったからさ。勘だよ。君たちの言葉に即して言えばね。』」 (H. Murakami 2004b, 240)

20 「『種をあかせばみんな簡単なんだよ。プログラムを組むのが大変なんだ。コンピューターは人間の感情のふれまでは計算してくれないからね、まあ手仕事だよ。しかし苦勞して組んだプログラムが思いどおりにはこんでくれば、これに勝る喜びはない……』」 (H. Murakami 2004b, 242)

21 Such Murakami references to this include the Protagonist’s girlfriend with magical ears in this novel and the psychic sisters Malta and Creta in *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle*.

claims of control and strength upon which the Black-suited Secretary's performance was premised.

CONCLUSION

Through an examination of the conversations between this set of characters in *A Wild Sheep Chase* we can see a range of masculine voices being engaged. In the case of the Black-suited Secretary, these voices can help to control interactions and prompt useful responses. Meanwhile, the Protagonist also assumes and discards a range of performances, but he has no insidious intent, demonstrating instead an ability to readily shift performances as needed.²² The Business Partner demonstrates a more sustained commitment to the salaryman masculine ideal; however, my closer reading of his performance also identifies the presence of other voices or masculinities. Regardless of how each of these characters copes with the contemporary fictional Japan they inhabit, what can be seen consistently is the performance of more than one masculinity. Yet none of these performances are necessarily a departure from the social ideals surrounding masculinity in Japan, or the importance of the salaryman. Even when these characters show evidence of heteroglossic masculinities, they do not necessarily challenge hegemonic masculinity and the gender order it sustains—their complicity remains in place.

This paper deals with constructed characters within a fictional world, therefore the potential parallels between their performances and masculinity in the real world need to be treated with caution. However, work such as this demonstrates how broader social discourses on masculinity, like ‘common sense’ constructions of masculine ideals, are recreated within fictional texts. Likewise, the masculinities presented by these characters demonstrate that there is still space within masculinity studies to engage further with ideas of plurality and heteroglossia. Moreover, as suggested in the work of Francis and the variety of masculine performances identified in *A Wild Sheep Chase*, neither is heteroglossia necessarily special or exceptional; rather, it is quite ordinary or even commonplace. Indeed, as the Protagonist says to the Black-suited Secretary, “[M]ediocrity takes many forms” (凡庸さというのはいろんな形をとって現れる、ということです) (H. Murakami 2004a, 212).

²² Refer to Clark (2015) for a more detailed discussion of the Protagonist's relationship to the salaryman ideal.

aibō (相棒)

business partner

bankara (バンカラ; also 蛮カラ)

Meiji-era male fashion trend rejecting Western refinement for unadorned, stoic 'barbarism'

boku (僕)

informal first-person masculine pronoun; also, used to refer to the unnamed protagonist Boku in *A Wild Sheep Chase*

daikokubashira (大黒柱)

economic pillar, or breadwinner, of the household

haikara (ハイカラ)

lit., 'high-collar'; Meiji-era male followers of Western styles, referring to the high-sitting collars of Western shirts fashionable at the time

kigyō senshi (企業戦士)

corporate warrior; an exceptionally dedicated and hard-working employee

nikkei no nisei (日系の二世)

second-generation overseas-born Japanese

sōshokukei danshi (草食系男子)

lit., 'herbivore man'; men who are typically not competitive compared to the traditional male stereotype, and associated with shyness and sexual disengagement

watashi (私)

polite first-person pronoun

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