The Fascination of Manga: Cross-dressing and Gender Performativity in Japanese Media

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The Fascination of Manga:
Cross-dressing and Gender Performativity in Japanese Media

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies

By

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Abstract

The performativity of gender through cross-dressing has been a staple in Japanese media throughout the centuries. This thesis engages with the pervasiveness of cross-dressing in popular Japanese media, from the modern shōjo gender-bender genre of manga and anime to the traditional Japanese theatre. Drawing on theories from gender-studies and performance aesthetics to delineate the female gender in traditional Japanese theatre, I follow the roles of, representation of, and media for women, concentrating on (1) manga, a form of sequential art featuring illustrations with corresponding text, (2) anime (アニメ), animated productions (where the word anime is the abbreviated pronunciation of “animation” in Japanese, and (3) live-action dorama, or simply dorama (ドラマ), television dramas, not animated, but acted by live actors. With the permission of Hatori Bisco, and concentrating on my own translation of a single chapter from her manga, Ouran High School Host Club, as my case study, I complement my focus on gender performativity and cross-dressing, by analyzing the act of reading the manga in the light of contemporary cognitive studies in comic scholarship. Throughout my thesis, then, I frame the history of the female subject in Japanese popular media, through an analysis of the shōjo genre, the act of reading a shōjo manga, and the actual plot of that shōjo manga and its derivations to support my argument that in my material cross-dressing and gender performativity carry an enigmatic fascination that entraps the curiosity of audiences.
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Finally, I owe special thanks to my husband, Dustin, and my children, Ellianna, Trinity, and Sophia. I am who I am today because of their endless love and support.
Dedication

To my husband and my children.
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Note on Japanese Name Order and Pronunciation

All Japanese names that appear after this page in the book are written in the Japanese order of surname, given name.

Some guidelines to pronouncing Japanese names and terms:

Macrons have been included to indicate a long vowel, but have been eliminated from place names, such as Tōkyō and Kyōto. However, macrons have been included in the more genre familiar words such as shōjo and shōnen. Macrons have also been eliminated from popular show names, such as Ouran High School Host Club (Ouran Koukou Hosuto Kurabu), because of their greater familiarity in the West with their titles Romanized without them. Takemoto Novala’s name is romanized as such because that is how he chooses to Romanize his name, but it is pronounced as Takemoto Nobara in Japanese.

Notes on Reading Manga

Manga is read by following the panels from right to left and then top to bottom. So, the reader would start at the top right of the page at the upper most chat bubble and end at the bottom left at the lowest chat bubble.
Introduction:

The Fascination of Manga

“Art is based on the ideal attraction felt by all kinds of people.”¹

-Zeami Motokiyo

The art of cross-dressing must have an “ideal attraction” in Japan, because it has permeated Japanese performance history, with both men and women using gender as a performative act in various forms of traditional Japanese theatre. It is also common in contemporary Japanese popular culture and can be seen in manga, and in its derivations, such as anime, live-action movies, and dramas, and even in music. In fact, the idea of cross-dressing and gender performativity has been present since the inception of contemporary manga by Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) in the 1940s. Princess Knight (リボンの騎士 Ribon no kishi), a gender-bender manga and one of Tezuka’s early works, is often considered the progenitor of the shōjo (少女 “girl”) genre of manga; and if not accepted as progenitor, then it is at least acknowledged as a very influential predecessor.² For Princess Knight, Tezuka was highly influenced by the Takarazuka Revue, an all-female musical theatre troupe. Consequently, many of the ideas used in Japanese theatre were carried over into Japanese manga. The influence from Japanese theatre can also be seen in the genres, the characters, and even in the art of contemporary manga, such as in the well-known Ouran High School Host Club (桜蘭高校ホスト部 Ōuran koukou hosuto bu) series, one chapter of which will serve as my point of reference throughout this paper.³ Cross-dressing and gender performativity carry an enigmatic fascination that entraps the curiosity of audiences.

¹ Zeami 1984, 31.
³ Host Clubs are popular in Japan and East Asia. These are clubs where men cater to rich women with money. The job of a Host includes providing the customers with attentive conversation and waiting on them. It is often compared to an escort service, except the Hosts generally do not leave the club to escort their customers. In Ouran, it is only a school club at Ouran High School, not an actual club.
Chapter 1:
The Fascination of Gender in Japan

My research began with the attempt to establish the position of gender in Japanese media within the larger theoretical background on gender performativity. I started with Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble* and “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” both of which have had a significant influence on my approach towards the gender performances in Japanese media. Rather than making my critical discourse an auxiliary to Butler’s pre-set theoretical frame, though, I attempt to synthesize her theory with those of the 14th-15th century Japanese aesthetician, actor, and playwright Zeami Motokiyo (c. 1363- c. 1443), as well as with those of both the influential Japanese art historian Chino Kaori and the prominent linguistic anthropologist Inoue Miyako, in order to form a well-rounded idea of gender dynamics in Japanese media. Specifically, I shall use these scholars’ theories in order to frame gender performativity and cross-dressing in Japanese popular media. (The term “popular,” in this context, will refer respectively to the contemporary popular media of the time I am speaking of, i.e. in the Muromachi period (1336-1573), the popular media would be Noh theatre, whereas in the Edo, or Tokugawa, period (1603-1868), the popular media would be Kabuki or Bunraku, and so on. It does not mean to imply that Noh theatre is not still ‘popular’ in the sense of liked or enjoyed by many people contemporarily with manga and anime; but it is now considered a ‘traditional culture’ and has become a performing art with an elite following, rather than a ‘popular culture.’)

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4 Butler 1990.
5 Butler 1998.
In “Gender in Japanese Art,” Chino begins by defining “sex” and “gender.” She defines sex as “the division of male and female,” and then defines gender as the “social/historical functions/categories established over and above those sexed bodies.” She argues that the divisions of “masculinity” and “femininity” are “not necessarily tied to the biological classification of sex.” Chino continues on to define “masculinity” as “big, great, strong, grand, permanent, public, unified, fierce, aggressive,” and “femininity” as “small, delicate, soft, modest, ephemeral, private, diverse, calm, harmonious.”

Inoue, in her paper, entitled, “Gender, language, and modernity: toward an effective history of Japanese women’s language,” historicizes the creation of the Japanese women’s language within the late Meiji (1868-1912), early Taishō (1912-1926) periods and the search for a modern (read: more Westernized) Japan. She says that “the symbolic connection between softness and femininity, assumed today to be a natural outcome of repetitive practice, emerged at a specific point—a historical threshold in the recent past.” The symbolic connection that Inoue is talking about stems from the same associations that Chino makes with femininity. Inoue further states that “Japan’s modernization process thus entailed a complexly bifurcated construction of the traditional (or cultural) and the modern,” which, using Chino’s terminology, could be read as “the traditional” or Kara (masculine) and “the modern” or Yamato (feminine). Kara (唐) is the Japanese term for the Tang dynasty of China, while Yamato (大和) is the Japanese term for ancient Japan. Inoue states that this division of genders is “outcome of repetitive practice,” which, according to Butler’s well-known theory, would be the performativity of gender; “Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.”

6 Chino 2003.  
7 Ibid, 20.  
8 Chino 2003, 21.  
9 Inoue 2002.  
10 Ibid, 394.  
12 Inoue 2002, 394.
According to Inoue, the creation of the Japanese women’s language opened up a new way for women to “perform” their duties as presented by the Meiji “ryōsai kenbo” (良妻賢母 “good wife, wise mother”) campaign. The campaign entailed the 1899 directive on Girl’s High Schools (高等女学校令 kotōjogakkōrei), which aided in the formation of the Japanese women’s language. The campaign was part of a larger modernization project, which influenced the developments of print capitalism. This helped to form a girls’ magazine genre. These combined in a way to influence what the male scholars and government officials of the Meiji period deemed “modern Japanese women.”\(^\text{13}\) The “modern Japanese women” though were not only women, but also girls, as the option for higher education for women created a new category of schoolgirls (referred to as shōjo 少女 “small woman”), which did not exist prior to the Meiji period.\(^\text{14}\) The schoolgirls’ slang influenced the language in the magazines and this language gradually became the voice of the “modern Japanese women.” This government “project advocated the traditional virtues and values of ideal womanhood, such as obedience to father, husband, and later, eldest male child;” it was derived from the Confucian ideals valued by the ex-samurai class of the Meiji and “from the imported Western cult of domesticity.”\(^\text{15}\) The Japanese have always integrated other cultures’ ideas into their own culture, such as religion (from India and China) and a writing system (from China), and, more contemporarily, techniques of drawing manga and anime (from America-Disney’s influence on Tezuka). This was simply another way the Japanese sought to integrate other cultures into their own, as the Japanese tended to “take in and adopt only what it liked and wanted” from foreign countries.\(^\text{16}\) The campaign to regulate women went hand-in-hand with the Meiji modernization (or Westernization) campaign.\(^\text{17}\) It created a “critical gendered role in an anticipated

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\(^\text{13}\) Inoue 2002, 395.
\(^\text{14}\) Ibid, 403.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid, 397.
\(^\text{16}\) Chino 2003, 24.
\(^\text{17}\) Inoue 2002, 397.
modern capitalist society,” which women were expected to “take-on,” or perform. Chino carries the idea of gender performativity back further to the Heian period (794-1185), when the Japanese were developing their own identity of a “self that is not Kara (China).”\(^1\) She states that the genders were bifurcated into masculine and feminine traits during the Heian period, because of the desire to create a separate space for the Japanese people as “not Kara.”\(^1\) This desire led to the division in script of Chinese characters = masculine ideals ("big, great, strong, permanent, public, unified") and Japanese characters (hiragana) = feminine ideals (small, delicate, soft, private, harmonious).\(^2\)

This further created a division in the arts: writing was described as *otoko-de* (男手 “man’s hand”) and *onna-de* (女手 “woman’s hand”), while there were the artistic styles of *otoko-e* (男絵 “men’s pictures”) and *onna-e* (女絵 “women’s pictures”).\(^3\) This latter division evolved from the ideas of *Kara-e* (唐絵 “Tang pictures” on Chinese subject matter) and *Yamato-e* (大和絵 “Yamato pictures” on Japanese subject matter). The *otoko-e* and *otoko-de* directly correlate to the Chinese (*Kara*) style, while the *onna-e* and *onna-de* directly correlate to the Japanese (*Yamato*) style. But, it is important to note that, according to Chino, *Kara* does not simply mean Tang China, it means “*Kara* within *Yamato*” or the idea of the Chinese as presented within Japan society, culture, and politics.\(^4\) These ideas further contributed to the binary “roles” that each gender is expected to perform based on their sexed bodies.

Just as the division of genders is the result of “repetitive practice,”\(^5\) so is the division of the genres of manga. There is a link between *otoko-e* and *otoko-de* (I will use the term *otoko-kei* 男系 “mens’ style”

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\(^1\) Chino 2003, 22.
\(^2\) Ibid, 22.
\(^3\) Ibid, 22.
\(^4\) Ibid, 25.
\(^5\) Chino 2003, 23.
\(^6\) See page 5.
from here on, when talking about both) and shōnen manga and onna-e and onna-de (for which I will use the term onna-kei 女系 “womens’ style” from here on when talking about both) and shōjo manga. The genre divisions used in manga arose out of these previous divisions in art. The masculine otoko-kei influenced the shōnen genre and the feminine onna-kei influenced the shōjo genre. Chino’s idea of the “masculine within the feminine” can be evolved into the male mangaka (漫画家 “manga creators”) in the female genre (see Table 1).

### Table 1 Ideas of being “Within”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kara</th>
<th>within</th>
<th>Yamato</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>within</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>within</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male official</td>
<td>within</td>
<td>Women’s language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male creator</td>
<td>within</td>
<td>Shōjo genre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A linear progression occurs in the stylization of gender roles in Japan that can be seen through Chino’s theory of “Kara within Yamato”. As stated previously, the first noted shōjo manga was produced by Tezuka Osamu, a male, and his first major shōjo manga was Princess Knight.25

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24 Chino 2003, 24-25.
25 Shamoon 2012 is an important book that was recently brought to my attention, but unfortunately, it was too late to incorporate it into my thesis. Shamoon argues “that Tezuka was not the sole inventor of Shōjo manga and that many of the features of Ribbon no kishi cited as influencing later Shōjo manga derive from the Takarazuka Revue. (282)” It is similar to the connection that I am trying to make between the gender-bender genre of shōjo manga and Takarazuka by way of Princess Knight. Though she also states that Princess Knight holds little of the plots or stylistic conventions common in shōjo manga, i.e. “without the psychological or visual complexity that marks shōjo manga since the 1970s. (283)”
Interlude

Historical Notes on Gender Performativity in Japanese Media

Since I shall be referring so often to Japanese theatre, it seems only appropriate to provide an interlude explaining the history of the various types of Japanese theatre.

Beginning with the female entertainers known as shirabyōshi (白拍子 lit. “white beat”) in the Heian period, continuing into the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi periods with Noh theatre (能楽 Nōgaku), and into the Edo period with Kabuki theatre (歌舞伎) and Bunraku puppet theatre (文楽), the deep roots of gender performativity has created in audiences a fascination, which has continued to appear in contemporary media. In Heian Japan, around the year 1008, Murasaki Shikibu (c. 928-c.1014), a court woman, wrote what is considered the world’s first novel, The Tale of Genji (源氏物語 Genji no monogatari). Only a little over a hundred years after it’s completion, this was adapted into an emaki (絵巻 “picture scroll”), regarded, in turn, as a predecessor to the modern manga (漫画 “comics”).

Shirabyōshi itinerant women performers sang imayō (今様 “modern style” songs) and, dressed in male clothing, performed a dance with swords and scabbards. Noh theatre is a highly stylized theatre form, which was born out of sarugaku (猿楽 lit. “monkey music”), a form of popular theatre performed at temples and shrines with circus-like origins in forms imported from China. Developed to a more sophisticated level, it became popular in the Kamakura period with the rise of the father and son actor-

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26 In between these periods is the Kenmu restoration, in which the Emperor Go-Daigo tried to end the rule of the military Shogunate.
27 Goodwin 2007, 28.
playwrights Kan’ami Kiyotsugu (c. 1333-1384) and Zeami Motokiyo. In Noh, all the actors are male, and those who are performing a female character wear a mask to depict the age and mental state of the woman they are portraying; the Noh actor “takes on” the aura of the character he is portraying through the mask he wears, just as one “takes on” gender. 

Bunraku is a type of puppet theatre. It is sometimes called ningyō jōruri (人形浄瑠璃 “puppet storytelling”). In Bunraku, a 2/3 life-sized puppet is manipulated by up to three men wearing black robes (kuroko). Only the head puppeteer’s face is seen. Puppets have held a space in Japanese religious ceremonies, especially purification ceremonies, since before the seventh century CE. Contemporary with the shirabyōshi of the Heian period, kugutsu (傀儡 puppeteers) arrived in Japan by route of Korea. These kugutsu were traveling entertainers, similar to the shirabyōshi. The kugutsu eventually settled and begun to integrate local art styles and story legends into their art, which helped to create a puppetry form separate from that used in religious ceremonies. In 1558, a woman named Namuemon Rokuji was the first recorded female performer of accompanied jōruri, the storytelling tradition accompanied by the shamisen, considered as precursor to Bunraku. Jōruri originated from the storytelling of blind minstrels and street musicians from the fifteenth century. Jōruri is named after a fictional story character named Princess Jōruri, who was created by Otsu Ono around 1530. The story of Princess Jōruri was such a popular story told by these musicians that their style of recitation took her name. Jōruri was originally unaccompanied, but became accompanied first by a biwa, and later by a shamisen. There were some women jōruri chanters in the early Edo period. During this period, jōruri chanters, shamisen musicians, and puppeteers combined their arts into a more modernly recognizable

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28 All Japanese names will appear traditionally with their family name and then their given name.
30 a three-stringed Japanese musical instrument
31 Hironaga 1964, 22.
form of Bunraku.\textsuperscript{32}

Kabuki theatre arose in the Edo period; the first now-recognizable form of Kabuki was performed by an all woman troop, led by Izumo no Ōkuni (c. 1571-?) in 1603.\textsuperscript{33} Not long afterwards, in 1629, women were banned from performing in public because of the male customers’ unruly response to their overtly sexual performances.\textsuperscript{34} This ban also affected the women performers of jōruri and resulted in the substitution of young males as the female performers in Kabuki, requiring the female practitioners of jōruri to move to private homes to practice. But the substitution of Kabuki actors caused another problem for the government, once again due to the disruptive response by the male spectators, and in 1648, homosexual prostitution was banned. The ban had little effect and so, in 1652, the authorities closed all the theaters in Edo (modern day Tokyo). The theatres were reopened later that year, but with the stipulation that Kabuki could only be performed with adult male actors. The edicts only aided the flourishing of the pleasure quarters of the cities, because women continued to perform their arts in the pleasure quarters, without the approval of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the rulers of the Edo period. The edicts were all abolished by the Meiji government in 1877.\textsuperscript{35}

In the Meiji period, the government began spreading the idea of ryōsai kenbo in the girls’ schools. This campaign influenced the school of the all-girls’ theatre troupe, the \textit{Takarazuka Revue} (宝塚歌劇団 Takarazuka Kagekidan). The school not only taught theatre, but it was also a way to train the girls to become good wives and wise mothers once they graduated from the company. Indeed, this was

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, 21.

\textsuperscript{33} Also called the Edo period.

\textsuperscript{34} Coaldrake 1997, 7.

\textsuperscript{35} Coaldrake 1997, 14.
considered a major attraction of the school. The women of the Takarazuka Revue were trained to embody the stylized version of a woman presented in the contemporary media.

The portrayals of gender in the performing arts created an idealization of both genders that neither embodied. A very stylized androgyny of characters became prevalent in Japanese contemporary media.

Gender, as presented in traditional Japanese theatre, was fabricated to become an idealized concept that has continually shaped gender in Japanese contemporary media.
Defining the Fascination of Japanese Traditional Theatre

Returning to Butler and Zeami, once again I will use the former’s definition of gender and the latter’s aesthetic idea of the Flower to define Japanese traditional theatre and contemporary popular media. As stated earlier, “Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.”36 This quote could also be used to define Noh theater, Kabuki theatre, and the Takarazuka Revue, in that, performance in Noh, Kabuki, and Takarazuka is a “repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts, within a highly rigid regulatory frame” which in turn works to “congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.”37

Considering that all the characters in Noh and Kabuki are played by men, and all the roles in Takarazuka are played by women, comparison of gender to the theatre types is a suitable comparison. Butler’s theory can also be taken up for Bunraku, in that, the control of the puppets is through “the repeated stylization of the body”: the puppeteer moves the puppets in “a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame,” which has “congealed over time to produce the appearance of substance.”38

The quote could also apply to manga and anime in that the artistic style uses a “repeated stylization of the body” and a “set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame” in order to set common tropes in the genre to make it easy for fans to read. These common tropes have “congealed over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being,” to make the viewer know what to expect within the genre of media. Using the definition of gender to define Japanese theatre and media

36 Butler 1990, 33.
37 Ibid, 33.
38 Ibid, 33.
creates a new way to talk about gender in Japanese media.

When a genre has attained “the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being” it might be said to have gained the Flower, in that the Flower “represents a mastery of technique and thorough practice.” Substant can be defind as “consistency;” whereas natural can be defined as “existing in or formed by nature.” Consistency comes about once the tropes in a genre are established, or naturalized. Tropes create consistency and consistency is a representation of “a mastery of technique and thorough practice.” Ideas become naturalized through the past events that have, in turn, affected the present way of thinking about the ideas. In the past, the ideas were new, but as time has passed, the ideas (conventions and tropes) have become natural to the genre.

These ideas originated in the Heian period, so it might be conjectured that as Zeami was writing his Noh treatises, later in the 14th century, he had these ideas in his (possibly subconscious) mind. Though he had most likely absorbed unknowingly what Chino speaks of as divisions, he may not have been actively taking them into account while he was writing. Butler’s definition of gender can also be likened to Zeami’s aesthetic concept of the Flower, in that for him, the Flower “represents a mastery of technique and thorough practice.” Zeami’s Flower is a metaphor for a performer who can entrap the audience’s curiosity, by establishing what is omoshiroi (面白い lit. “face white”) with the usual meaning of “interesting, entertaining; delightful, amusing,” the meaning which also contributes to Zeami’s more complex idea of fulfillment (成就 jōju). To Zeami, the Flower develops with age, mainly because he

39 Zeami 1984, 53.
40 Ibid, 53.
41 According Roland Barthes, myth “transforms history into nature.” Barthes 2012, 240.
42 Zeami 1984, 53.
expects a performer to be practicing the art of Noh from age seven. To translate the idea of Zeami’s Flower to the idea of gender: one is expected to perform one’s assigned gender role from a young age. Based upon Chino’s idea of gender expectations being placed upon sexed bodies, the expectation of the performance of gender is placed upon those same sexed bodies first in Japanese theatre, and to a larger extent, in everyday life. In Japanese theatre, though, because males perform the role of the female, it has created different expectations of gender performativity; there the female figure is “a product of a male operation in which his desire carries power and action over the woman,” through the act of cross-dressing and gender performativity. But, in manga and anime, women have started to reclaim their power over their sexuality and gender performativity by becoming mangaka and taking control of the story lines in which the female characters are presented. These women mangaka were ingrained with a version of the same government system that helped to create the division in gender in the Heian period and which carried through to the Meiji’s “good wife, wise mother” program.

_Fascination in a Girls’ World_

The development of the girls’ magazines, such as Shōjo Sekai (少女界 “Girls’ World”; 1906-1931), and the illustrations for these magazines, in the early 1900s, helped to inspire the Takarazuka theatre. The magazines and the rise of the schoolgirl category also helped to make the term shōjo colloquial, with the growth of the _shōjo shōsetsu_ (少女小説 “girls’ novel”) included in the girls’ magazines. The schoolgirl or shōjo was a category of girls who existed outside of the traditional family system, “enabled by [...] the development of education for girls.” Sarah Frederick succinctly discusses the development of the girls’

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43 Terasaki 2002, 133.
44 Yoshiya and Frederick 2014, 7-8%.
45 Frederick 2005, 67.
magazine genre in her translator’s introduction to *Yellow Rose* (黄薔薇 - *kibara*) (1923) by Yoshiya Nobuko. These girls’ magazines welcomed contributions and held story contests, and “the reader submissions from young women like her [Yoshiya] made up ten to thirty percent of the pages.” The magazines, through and with the modernization efforts of the Meiji period in which they arose, beget the “new textual and paratextual genres in which schoolgirl speech took the subject position ‘I.’” They gave a space which allowed girls to learn to navigate the new, modern, girls’ culture that was arising in effect of the politics of the Meiji. The magazines also influenced Takarazuka theatre and “many of the stories made into theatre by Takarazuka appeared on the same pages of the girls’ magazines where “Yellow Rose” appeared;” therefore, the girls’ magazines, in turn, helped to influence Tezuka. The magazines “wistful, intelligent” illustrations depicting girls “has remained influential in the girls’ manga market.” Yoshiya is an influential author for many shōjo mangaka and a prominent influence on the “overall community” of shōjo mangaka. She “used the flexibility of fiction to construct alternative gender expectations in a way that could appeal to a broad range of readers of various sexualities and genders.” This then influenced modern girls’ movements in Japan, such as the Lolita fashion, as seen in Takemoto Novala’s works, *Shimotsuma Monogatari* (下妻物語 *Kamikaze Girls*) and *Missin* (ミシン *Missin’*), for instance. The way that the female gender is performed in modern media was created by these predecessors, Yoshiya, Tezuka, and those of the theaters of Japan. Women mangaka, such as Hatori Bisco (葉鳥ビスコ), have begun to create media in which girls cross-dress, and though not actively a political statement or a feminist statement, this creates a new space to examine the idea of gender performativity in popular media and in reality.

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46 Yoshiya and Frederick 2014, 7%.
48 Yoshiya and Frederick 2014, 8%.
49 Ibid, 9%.
See also: Frederick 2005, 66.
Beginning with Tezuka’s *Princess Knight* serialized from 1953 to 1956, the gender-bender genre has become a common trope in manga and anime. Whether it is meant to be political or not, the gender-bender genre calls upon the history of cross-dressing and gender performativity in Japanese theatre and gives a chance for women to control the performativity of the female gender in the media. As Tezuka’s *Princess Knight* was influenced by the all-women Takarazuka Revue, it could be expected that the next step would be women writing the performativity of their own gender, rather than just acting it as written by a man in Takarazuka.

The Fascination of Genres: Structures and Divisions

The fascination of manga begins with the division, or structuring, of genres. In manga, there are structures in the pages, there are conventions or tropes that are seen in multiple manga, there is a generally accepted style, each determined by the genre of the manga and its intended audience. In *Dreamland Japan*, Fredrick Schodt states that “manga are merely another ‘language,’” and the panels and pages are but another type of “words” adhering to a unique grammar.”^51^ Manga characters are drawn in a similar recognizable fashion, usually dubbed the ‘manga style’. Neil Cohn, a visual linguist with a Ph.D. in Psychology, has expanded upon Schodt’s ideas and stated that the manga style could be considered “the ‘standard’ dialect of Japanese Visual Language.”^52^

I focus on the idea of manga as a medium of art. Manga is the medium of transmission, not a genre of transmission. I refer to medium as “specific techniques and materials through which communication

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^52^ Cohn 2010, 4.
occurs;” whereas I consider genre “a type or category of composition within a medium.” Each medium (i.e. manga, film, literature) has its own style, which is then divided into genres and sub-genres. The manga medium is divided into *shōnen* (少年- “boys”) and *shōjo* (少女- “girls”) genres, as manga genres are categorized in first place by target audience. These genres can be divided yet again into sub-genres: set in specific historical periods, cast in different types of science fiction, adopting various sorts of romance. Each genre has specific visible conventions which it requires to fit within the medium; and each sub-genre has different visible conventions which the individual artist’s style must imitate to fit within the genre.

In an article entitled “Shōjo Manga! Girls’ Comics! A Mirror of Girls’ Dreams,” Masami Toku gives a history of shōjo manga (and a summary of shōnen manga). She states that shōjo manga, or girls’ manga, usually has a theme of finding love and overcoming adversity, while shōnen manga, or boys’ manga, usually focuses on a hero fighting to protect “women, family, country, or the earth.” As the children who loved the manga stories grew up, they continued to want manga stories and they also wanted more diversity in manga. These adults wanted manga with story lines to which they could relate, so “the themes in manga” at the time, reflected the “changes in Japanese social and cultural conditions.” The mangaka complied by creating new genres of manga to fulfill the demand. In the 1980s, shōjo split into shōjo and jōsei (女性 “ladies”) and shōnen divided into shōnen and seinen (青年 “young men”) genres. The main division in the artwork and layout is the difference between boys/men and girls/ladies genres.

According to some scholars, “there is no comparable tradition of a female comic genre” in the United

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53 Davidson 2008, 14-16%.  
54 This is not an exhaustive list.  
56 Toku 2007, 27.
States and, “girls do not read comics if there are no comics published for them.” But in Japan, since World War II, the role of shōjo manga was a reflection of female aesthetics and has functioned to fulfill female dreams. These dreams are, of course, culturally determined, at maximum, or incentivized, at minimum. The dreams were constructed in a way to reflect the cultural values aimed at women. Toku explores the history of the shōjo manga genre and its role in Japanese girls’ lives. Shōjo manga fills a role in Japanese manga that American comics lacked: to provide a “space” for female readers. This space is one in which Japanese women could explore their dreams and desires. Though shōjo manga was not always created by girls, the target consumer has always been girls. In the post-war period, mangaka was not a job available to women. Male mangaka established their careers as shōjo mangaka and then changed to shōnen mangaka. During this time, Toku argues that exploration of girls’ dreams and desires was limited, since girls didn’t create the manga; but it was a time that worked to inspire women to create shōjo manga and opened up a zone for women mangaka to design their own manga to reflect the girls’ dreams and desires.

Many shōjo manga have a theme of “how love triumphs by overcoming obstacles,” in other words, a romance-oriented theme. There is a sub-genre called gender-bender, which appears in both shōjo and shōnen manga, although in different manners. Gender-bending as manifested in traditional Japanese theatre continues to be a popular trope in contemporary story-lines. As in traditional Japanese theatre, one of the main strategies of ‘gender-bender’ media employs cross-dressing as a way to bend the

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59 “Space” as defined by Michel de Certeau, in The Practice of Everyday Life, as “an intersection of mobile elements.” (117).
60 Toku 2007, 22.
61 Ibid, 23.
gender of the characters. The gender-bender genre refers to characters experiencing changes in their biological sex, either through a transformation of their biological sex or in how their biological sex is understood by those around them. Therefore, the ability to alter the position of gender “lies in the power of performance.”\textsuperscript{63} The performances of Japanese theatre and anime have all redrawn the lines of gender through their unique portrayals.

The ‘gender-bender’ genre is classified by misperception of the character’s biological sex, whether through magic, including magical objects, transformations, possessions, etc., or through cross-dressing, as seen in Japanese theatre. The idea of bending the gender of the character through magic is an interesting concept because many of the popular representations, such as in \textit{Ranma ½} (らんま½ shōnen) and \textit{Metamo Kiss} (メタモ☆キス shōjo), require an unwanted change which the protagonist must learn to navigate. Rather than the characters choosing to perform gender, they are forced to perform gender through a transformation of some sort.

The idea of performing gender and the idea of cross-dressing in popular media often tend to be connected; if one is openly performing a gender different from that one is accepted as, then one can cross-dress. Both gender performativity and cross-dressing are usually portrayed in the camp style in anime and manga. The camp style tends to translate to dorama or live-action movie adaptations of manga or anime.

As Stevie Suan states in \textit{Anime Paradox}, “anime devotes itself to a particular aesthetic with a conventionalized set of visual, aural, and narrative elements that are (re)arranged to produce a

\textsuperscript{63} Bolton 2002, 738.
particular type of stylization, resulting in an over-arching Anime form." These conventionalized elements can also be seen in other forms of Japanese popular media. Tropes are seen in the page layout, in the onomatopoeia (giongo 擬音語 “sound words” and gitaigo 擬態語 “mimetic words”) used. These conventions are also seen in the plot.

Similar conventions are used in Bunraku, Noh, and Kabuki theatre. As Kabuki is the most recently conceived type of all-male Japanese theatre, the influence from both Noh and Bunraku can be seen in some of the theatrical conventions. According to Suan,

“In Noh, Bunraku, and Kabuki, we find a localized system that employs specific formal conventions that bear much resemblance to those in Anime. These can be seen in three areas; 1) the interrelation of part and whole, 2) the mixture of unreality and realism throughout the form, 3) hyperbolized and highly stylized aesthetics as a focus—the form as content.”

Suan is talking about the general aesthetics of the theatre forms, as they relate to each other and as they relate to anime. I will be using these three areas, in order to discuss the specific conventions that can be seen in each type of theatre: first, in their respective stage and background set-up, secondly, in the plots, and lastly, in the performativity of gender, because all of the actors in these three theatre forms are male. I will also discuss the Takarazuka Revue using these same conventions. The same conventions apply to Takarazuka, except they are performing the male gender, rather than the female gender. Also, while Takarazuka has some basis in Japanese traditional theatre, it is also influenced by European theatre. Some of these conventions, such as settings, plots, and the performativity of gender, can also be seen in Japanese anime, television (for this purpose, dorama), and live-action movies.

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64 Suan 2013, 6.
65 Ibid, 10-11.
through the *jo-ha-kyū* (序破急 “beginning-break-rapid”) structure, a structure that I will examine later.

**The Fascination of Conventions: History**

The idealization materializes in the way that both men and women are depicted, though men hold agency in their depictions of their own gender. Because men control the writing, productions, and acting (or actions) of the characters, they control the way in which men and women are stylized, and therefore, the way in which men and women are expected to be. Even in Takarazuka theatre, in which all the actors are women, the plays are still mostly produced and directed by men. Females aren’t generally accepted in Noh and Kabuki theatre to date, though there are exceptions. In juxtaposition to traditional theatre, Japanese contemporary media (such as manga, anime, and drama) may be written, produced, or directed by a female.

There are many contemporary female mangaka. But the idealization and stylization of gender still occurs in contemporary Japanese popular culture in anime, manga, live-action, and visual kei (ビジュアル visual style) bands, through the art of cross-dressing and gender performativity. As in Japanese theatre, one of the main strategies of gender-bender media employs cross-dressing as a way to bend the gender of the characters. The ideal attraction that the audience feels is for the stylization of the characters being portrayed, or the stylizations of gender being performed. Noh theatre, Kabuki theatre, and the Takarazuka Revue use cross-dressing to perform gender; while in Bunraku, the puppets are all controlled by men, giving them the ability to perform gender through the puppets.

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66 There are some exceptions to this and for the past 50 years, women have become more accepted in Noh theatre. See: http://www.newsweek.com/should-women-be-allowed-japans-noh-theater-80973.
Because of the long-standing history of Japanese theatre and its commitment to tradition, there is limited opportunity for creativity. In fact, the *iemoto* (家元 “house origin”) system, in which the Japanese arts transmits their information from master to student, functions on the idea of minute imitation. The iemoto system emerged from the idea of *hidēn* (秘伝 “secret transmission”), which, from around the ninth century, has been described as “a method of closed knowledge transmission...adopted generally, far beyond the confines of religious communities: by theater troupes, martial arts schools, poetry composition schools, and so on.”\(^6^7\) The iemoto system allows a teacher (or the “origin” of the “house”) “exclusive right[s] to commodify teachings.”\(^6^8\) Many of the contemporary Japanese arts still follow the iemoto system, or at least its form of transmission through minute imitation. When performances get transmitted through minute imitation, there is little room for innovation. Without innovation, actions tend to become a highly stylized or idealized version of the reality. With gender being performed in the various forms of Japanese theatre, this led to the stylization of gender and the idea of gender as being something which could be put on, like the Noh mask, Kabuki make-up, the Takarazuka feathered back pieces (羽根 “feather,” “plume,” or “wing”), or the Bunraku kuroko (黒子, the black robes worn by puppeteers). The stylization also carries over to the art of manga and anime, as demonstrated in the ‘manga style’ artwork.

\(^6^7\) Morinaga 2005, 1.
\(^6^8\) Ibid, 141.
Chapter 2
The Case Study

*Ouran High School Host Club* (桜蘭高校ホスト部 *Ouran koukou hosuto bu*)

*Ouran High School Host Club* (called simply *Ouran* from this point) is a gender bender shōjo manga by Hatori Bisco that was serialized from September 2002 to November 2010 in the monthly magazine *LaLa*, published by Hakusensha. It has been collected in eighteen *tankōban* (単行本 “separate volumes”) in Japan. It is licensed in America under Viz Media. It was adapted into an anime, which ran from April 2006 until September 2006 containing 26 episodes. It aired on Nippon Television Network Corporation (NTV), and was voted one of Japan’s 100 Favorite Anime (number 71) in 2006. It is licensed in America by FUNimation Entertainment. In 2011, it was adapted into a live-action television drama (dorama) and aired on Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS). It aired from July 2011 to September 2011 with 11 episodes. A live-action film in 2012, featuring the same actors, followed the drama.

*Ouran* is a camp style show. According to Susan Sontag in “Notes on Camp”, camp is the love of the exaggerated. Therefore, the idea of cross-dressing often tends to be exaggerated. As *Ouran* is rendered in a camp style, the characters are highly over exaggerated. Because of the camp style, it is sometimes seen as fetishizing and commodifying the ideas of cross-dressing and gender fluidity. While *Ouran* may seem “condescending,” it can actually be considered an understated disruption of the patriarchal and heteronormative traditions in Japan. However, the characters, and their respective stereotypes, portrayed in *Ouran* are exaggerated because of the style of the show. Thereby the natural characteristics, which the Host Club uses to please their customers, are exaggerated through the

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69 Anime News Network.
70 Sontag, point 8.
71 Darlington 2014, 1.
stereotypes of what their customers’ desire. The customers, it must be noted, are teenage girls who would read shōjo manga, from where the stereotypes presented in Ouran originate. Where the actors in theatre are creating stylized versions of gender, the characters in Ouran are employing stylized characteristics to satirize the stereotypes.

The Story

In Ouran, Fujioka Haruhi is accepted to the prestigious Ouran Gakuen (桜蘭学園 “Ouran Academy”). She is the only scholarship student of the school, attending Ouran in order to follow in her mother’s footsteps to become a lawyer. Ouran Gakuen caters to the elite and the school motto is “lineage counts first, wealth a close second.”72 As a scholarship student, Haruhi is not ‘an elite’. She is from a single parent home, and she and her father live in a small apartment. Her mother, a lawyer, died when she was young. Shortly after that, her father, Fujioka Ryōji, or Ranka, as he preferred to be called, began to cross-dress. Ranka identifies as bisexual, but also states that he could never love another woman since Haruhi’s mother died.73 Ranka is a ‘professional’ transvestite who works at an okama (オカマ “male homosexual, effeminate man”) bar.74 He cannot afford to purchase Haruhi’s school uniform, so Haruhi attends school in some of her grandfather’s old clothing, a sweater with a collared shirt underneath and pants. She lost her contacts, so she is first seen wearing some old glasses. She also got gum stuck in her hair the day before school started and, finding it too trouble to try to get the gum out, cuts her hair

72 Ouran. manga, chapter 1.
73 Ouran. manga, chapter 12.
74 Ranka’s friends are occasionally mentioned in the manga and anime, though usually not by name. This is not true for Ranka’s friend Misuzu. Misuzu is also a transvestite. She runs a pension in Karuizawa, where Haruhi works for the summer in manga chapter 18 and anime episode 15. In the manga, Misuzu is Haruhi’s childhood friend’s father, Mei Yasumura. As Misuzu only appears in the manga and one episode of the anime, and I am focusing more on the biological females’ gender performativity, I did not use Misuzu as an example.
short. Haruhi has no problem with this and states that she cares little about exterior appearances. Later, it comes to light that she was popular among the males at her old school because of her looks, but she was also extremely oblivious to her own popularity.

At the beginning of the manga and the anime, Haruhi is searching for a quiet place to study. She starts with the libraries, but they are all too loud and then, oddly enough, she wanders into a music room; a room that one would expect to be filled with sound. The music room is the room where the Host Club meets. She arrives right after school lets out, but before club activities begin. The members of the Host Club mistake her for a boy. They quickly accept that ‘he’ has “different tastes,” and ask what ‘his’ preference is.

As an elite private school in a camp style media, mangaka Hatori, has written the characters who attend Ouran in an extremely stereotypical manner. Hatori has chosen to embellish the characteristics of other shōjo manga characters and use the stereotypes to represent the Host Club members. The members of the Host Club are labeled as the ‘princely type,’ the ‘loli-shōta,’ (ロリショタ a combination of the words ‘lolita’ and ‘shōnen,’ meaning a boy who looks much younger than he actually is), the ‘wild type,’ the ‘stoic glasses character,’ and the ‘little devils.’ Haruhi is confused and tries to back away, but in doing so, ‘he’ stumbles and breaks a vase worth 8 million yen. The club decides to let ‘him’ work off his debt as a ‘dog of the Host Club,’ or as their errand boy. The hosts soon realize that ‘he’ would pay off ‘his’ debt quicker as a host and soon figured out that ‘he’s’ a natural at hosting. Haruhi’s label becomes the ‘natural.’ One by one, the hosts figure out that ‘he’ is a she, but they each keep it a secret. By the end of the first episode of the anime and drama and the first chapter of the manga, the entire club has figured out that Haruhi is a girl and they are determined to keep her secret so that she can continue

75 Ouran manga chapter 1. Anime episode 1. Drama episode 1
working in the club to pay back her debt.

I chose Ouran as my case study because it is the epitome of a camp style gender bender shōjo. I use the word epitome because Ouran exemplifies all the characteristics of gender bender shōjo and exaggerates them, through the camp style. Camp style allows for exaggeration of characteristics and, according to Sontag, “the most refined form of sexual attractiveness [...] consists in going against the grain of one’s sex,” or being androgynous. 76 Haruhi’s character easily embodies the idea of androgyny. The embodiment of androgyny is also something on which traditional Japanese theatre depends.

The Structure of Manga

My main focus with manga was spent on analyzing the panels in volume 3 chapter 10 of Ouran High School Host Club manga which I translated (Figure 1).77 It is given in its entirety in Appendix 1. In Ouran, a girl cross-dresses for a role, which plays on centuries of Japanese theatre history and on the plot of the first of the shōjo manga genre (Princess Knight). It also contains several characters who cross-dress and even some characters who cross-dress and are transgender. The chapter that I translate (and analyze) references the Takarazuka review through the introduction of the St. Lobelia Girls’ Academy Zuka Club (ヅカ部 Zuka bu).

To analyze the manga, I followed the idea of Neil Cohn’s quantitative analysis comparison of manga and comics. Cohn, in turn, followed Scott McCloud’s analysis of “panel transitions,” which “characterized

76 Sontag, point 9.
77 I’d like to thank Tanaka Nozomi Sensei from the University of Arkansas for her help and guidance throughout the translation process.
relationships between the content of comic panels.” Cohn, a visual-linguist, using an approach of cognitive psychology, argues that people can “read” images, just as they can read sentences. Cohn’s study focused on proving the hypotheses of Scott McCloud and Toku “by comparing the panels in American and Japanese panels by looking at [...] [1] how panels highlight characters in a scene [...], [2] the use of subjective viewpoints [...], [and 3] the angle of view taken in panels [...].” Cohn examined and coded 300 panels in 12 American and 12 Japanese comic books (of the shōnen genre), according to their spatial properties. He attempts to analyze the difference between Japanese Visual Language and American Visual Language through a quantitative analysis by coding the properties of the comics and manga. He characterizes the panels first as either active or inactive entities. Active entities are active in the panel, whereas inactive entities are in the background. An ‘entity’ can be a group, substance or object, and “depends entirely on the context of the [...] role it plays in the sequence.” Next, he defines the panels by how many active entities are in each panel (see Table 2).

For my analysis of the Ouran High School Host Club manga, I use the idea of frames and panels, whereas Cohn only used panels (as he was analyzing the individual panels). Therefore, first, I must distinguish between a frame and a panel.

Frame- a complete idea (the “whole” picture); sometimes made up of multiple panels.
Panel- the individual panels that make up a frame. (ie. 1 panel can be 1 frame, or 2 or more panels can be 1 frame). 

I have combined Neil Cohn’s panel categories with the idea of perspectives in order to further analyze

78 Cohn 2011, 121.
79 Ibid, 122.
80 Ibid, 123.
81 See Figure 2 and Table 3 for examples of panels and frames.
the scenes. Cohn states that “while these might appear to have prototypical correspondences, these panel types measure the amount of entities per frame instead of the overall framing of a scene, meaning that a Macro with more than one entity can still have a close-up shot.” In a 2012 paper, “Framing Attention in Japanese and American Comics: Cross-cultural Differences in Attentional Structure,” co-authored by Cohn, his method expands to include film theory perspectives. Along with the frames and panels though, I also discuss layout, as does Cohn, in his 2013 paper “Navigating Comics: an empirical and theoretical approach to strategies of reading comic page layouts.” Cohn focuses on American comic layout, which has a left-to-right reading order, whereas manga, even in English translations, largely retains the original right-to-left reading order. I have used some of his terminology in order to discuss page layout.

For my purpose of comparing the manga to anime and Japanese theatre, the perspective is also important. I have taken some of the ideas of film theory from the above-mentioned paper. I have kept the main categories the same, but I have altered the definitions a little to suit the manga chapter I am examining.

- **Extreme long shot**: large amount of landscape (cityscape)
- **Long shot**: includes a large amount of landscape, but not a cityscape (setting scape)
- **Full shot**: a complete view of the characters
- **Mid shot**: the characters from the waist up
- **Close up**: a close up view of the characters (including head shots)

Words and images can cross panels and frames, in order to connect the ideas in both. The words cross over in order to ‘carry’ sound from one panel or frame to the next. This device is used to help create motion; to help the readers feel the movements through the pictures and “hear” the sounds ‘moving’.

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82 Cohn et. al, 2012.
83 Cohn 2013.
Table 2 Cohn’s categories of panel types and perspective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Micro (close up)- Less than a single entity</th>
<th>Mono (mid shot)- a single active entity</th>
<th>Macro (full shot)- More than one active entity; a full scene.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro (close up)- Less than a single entity</td>
<td>Mono (mid shot)- a single active entity</td>
<td>Macro (full shot)- More than one active entity; a full scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polymorphic 85 (full shot of the girls and mid shot of Tamaki) - An action shown by repeating the same figure in multiple positions</td>
<td>Amorphic 86 (long shot)- A non-active element; no entity, an inanimate object</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cohn’s approach, a mono can be a mid shot, a full shot, or a long shot, which is why, for my purposes, I broke it down into different perspectives. The perceived emotions and movements in manga are often carried out through the combination of panel styles and perspective styles. As Cohn discusses in his

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85 Cohn excludes polymorphic panels from his findings because the mean appearance was less than .1 for both America and Japan. This was the only semi-polymorphic panel I found in the chapter I translated. In this panel, Tamaki’s finger is the polymorphic entity, though I classified the panel wholly as macro because there is obviously more than one active entity involved in the panel and it is only a finger that is polymorphic, not a face or a body. This was just used to illustrate what a polymorphic entity looks like in a panel.
86 As there were no amorphic panels in the chapter that I translated, I edited a panel (from Figure 1) to show what an amorphic panel might look like, i.e. an inactive entity, the building of Ouran High School.
paper “Japanese Visual Language: The Structure of Manga,” there are certain visual conventions and tropes in manga which people who read manga can easily recognize. This is comparable to the conventions used in Japanese theatre, Japanese *emaki*, and musical conventions used in movies, such as disaster music, action music, or a character’s theme song.

The Study of Manga

Figure 1 is page 70 of volume 3, or the first page chapter 10; it is the first page I translated. During my translation, I first labeled each chat bubble on each page, i.e. page 1, chat bubble 1 was labeled 1.1 and page 5 chat bubble 2 was labeled 5.2, and so on. I then created a document with the labels and input my translations into the document. Then I ‘cleaned’ the chat of the scanned manga pages by editing out the Japanese text. Finally, I input my translations into the ‘cleaned’ versions. I knew that there already was an English language translation of *Ouran* (by Viz media) when I began my translation, but as I only had access to the Japanese language version, I felt that completing an English translation would not only improve my Japanese, but also give me more time working with and analyzing the structure and layout of the manga pages themselves.

Figure 1 shows my translation of the manga page. In this, Haruhi is running late to school because she had to pick up instant coffee (read: “commoner” coffee) at the twin’s request. She trips over a rock, and a mysterious hand reaches out to catch her.

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87 Cohn 2010.
Figure 1 Ouran, volume 3, chapter 10 (68-69).©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.

88 All English translations of Ouran are my own translations, completed with the help of Tanaka Nozomi, and translated and reprinted with the permission of ©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.
During the translation period, I had to decide whether or not to translate the onomatopoeia. I finally decided to leave these untranslated. My reason for choosing this option was because many times in Ouran (and manga in general), the onomatopoeia becomes part of the image, rather than just existing as text. Also, there are not many good English equivalents for the onomatopoeia, because the English language does not use onomatopoeia in the same manner as the Japanese language does. The sound that the onomatopoeia creates in the readers’ mind is used to help carry the action that the sound denotes from one panel to the next. It is also used to move the reader along with the motion. Sound words are written in either hiragana or katakana.

Onomatopoeia, both giongo and gitaigo (see page 17) are used often in manga and in the Japanese language. There is also giseigo (擬声語 “imitation voice words”), which are sounds that people and animals (actively) make, like a baby’s cry or a dog’s bark (the equivalent of “waah” or “ruff,” respectively), which I do not discuss. Sound words, which are not giseigo, but giongo, are used for sounds, such as the sound a person makes when running, the rain, the wind, or the sound a person makes when eating. Notice the human sounds are not voice sounds, like crying or speaking, but a noise that is made by a person’s actions, like tripping.

Figure 2 shows my analysis of the manga page. First, I separated the page into panels and frames. I have numbered the panels, but not the frames, to avoid confusion. When an image crosses a panel, it is denoted by a square. When sound crosses from panel to panel, it is marked with a circle.
Figure 2. My analysis of Ouran, volume 3, chapter 10 (69). (©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.)
The *giongo* onomatopoeia can be seen in panel 3 and also connecting panels 4 and 5. In panel 3, it says, ばたばた ('pata pata,' which is a running sound). The onomatopoeia is above running clouds, located under Haruhi’s feet, used to symbolize ‘kicking up dust,’ to illustrate the idea that she is literally disturbing her surroundings. The clouds are drawn to emphasize a quick running motion, supported by Haruhi’s words that she is running late, leading the reader to the conclusion that Haruhi is in a hurry. In each of Haruhi’s chat bubbles on the page, there are ‘sweat marks,’ which once again, are used to reinforce the idea of Haruhi running.

| Table 3. Panels in *Ouran* vol. 3, ch. 10 (69). |
|---|---|---|
| **Frame 1** | **Panel 1** | Micro | Close up |
| Panel 2 | Macro | Mid shot |
| Panel 3 | Mono | Long shot/ full shot |
| Panel 4 | Micro | Close up |
| **Frame 2** | **Panel 5** | Micro | Close up |
| Panel 6 | Micro | Close up |

- an inset panel inserted inside of a larger panel usually having nothing to do with the larger panel.

Figure 3. Sweat marks and breath clouds  ©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.

Figure 4. Close-up of sweat marks  ©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.
In panels 4 and 5, the Japanese text, (こけつ, romanized as ‘koket,’\textsuperscript{89} from the verb こける kokeru, meaning “to trip,” or “to fall down,”) has become a vital part of the picture. It is outlined and placed on top of the images, crossing over panel borders to carry the sound along with the action. First, the viewer sees that Haruhi’s foot is surrounded. There is a rock in front of her toe and a star above her foot, for emphasis. The star above her foot indicates a forceful impact, rather than a light touch, leading to the assumption that she will trip. The star is outlined, just as the onomatopoeia. The こ ‘ko’ section of the onomatopoeia is placed behind the raised part of Haruhi’s foot. It is raised because she is in the process of running. A rock is in front of her toe and the ‘ko’ is behind her foot, almost as if pushing her foot forward. The けっ ‘ket’ part of the onomatopoeia is shown in the blank background with the motion lines going out from it. Haruhi’s head is falling towards the ‘ket’ part of the onomatopoeia located within the same panel. Her hair even parts around the っ ‘t’ of the word. Together, the star and the onomatopoeia help to accentuate the picture and add sound and movement to the image.

Frame 2, or panels 5 and 6 are connected by an image. The picture carries the idea from panel 5 to panel 6. Her bag is ‘falling’ through the border panel, denoted by a square, carrying the motion of her falling downwards into the hand waiting in panel 6. The hand has motion lines, starting at the fingers and going towards the wrist. The lines imply that the hand is moving in the direction of the outstretched fingers. They inform the reader that someone is thrusting out a hand quickly to help catch Haruhi. If the hand was placed in another position, such as behind Haruhi and facing out, inside of up, it could lead the

\textsuperscript{89} There is no uniform way to Romanize the sokuon (促音 “geminate,” often simply called chiisai 小さい “small” instead) つ ‘tsu’ sound at the end of a word when it is not followed by a consonant, as in こけつ ‘koket’. For my purposes, I have decided to use just a ‘t’ as the small つ ‘t’ does not create the つ ‘tsu’ sound. The small つ ‘t’ is just a diacritical mark to denote the change in pronunciation between こけ and こけっ. It implies that the sound should have a glottal stop after the mora け ‘ke’.
reader to believe that the hand pushed Haruhi. The placement of the images and the use of the manga iconography work together for the viewer to properly ‘read’ the images, just as one who knows the basic rules of American English grammar is able to read and interpret this sentence properly.

At the bottom of the page is an inset with a *chibi* (チビ “small”) version of Kyoya (which is also called super-deformed style). The inset has nothing to do with the rest of the page; it is just sitting on top of the action. Neil Cohn uses inset as “one “enclosed” panel embedded within another “dominant” panel,” in which the dominant panel mostly comes before the inset in terms of plot.\(^90\) Cohn’s usage of the term inset would lead one to infer that what I have termed panels 1 and 2 are insets of panel 3. Since he is mainly analyzing American comic layouts and I am analyzing a single Japanese shōjo manga, I am choosing to use the term differently. Panels 1 and 2 are occurring simultaneously with panel 3. Panel 1 is a close-up of Haruhi’s face as she is running (shown in panel 3) while panel 2 is a memory of hers, that she is having while she is running (in panel 3).

Figure 5 is my translation of volume 3 page 81 or chapter 10 page 13 of *Ouran*. From page 1 of chapter 10, up to this point, the Host Club has been unable to charm the Zuka Club and the Zuka Club have finally introduced themselves as a Takarazuka Revue-like club, and state that “Plays, songs, and performances are presented by the top members.”\(^91\) By this, they are implying that they are in the same type of High School club as the Host Club by putting on performances for the other students at their respective schools. The Zuka Club tries to distinguish themselves from the Host Club though, by stating that they’re “proud of the equal relationships that we share come from the same-sex comradery of our

\(^90\) Cohn 2013, 8 states that the larger, outer, panel is ordered before the enclosed panel 60% of the time.

\(^91\) *Ouran*. Manga chapter 10 (78-79).
environment. So, for example, it’s even a loving relationship,” and then outside of chat bubbles, above the three Zuka Club members’ hugging, it labels their relationship as “an equal triangular relationship.” Tamaki has passed out once he learned they were part of a Zuka Club, believing they were all lesbians and the others in the Host Club start to ignore them. Benibara has threatened to get the Host Club shut down for handing out “flashy appearances and fake love.” Kyoya apologizes and asks them to come back to discuss it later because the Host Club leader has “passed out from culture shock.” Tamaki’s dramatics enrage Benibara, which can be seen in the first panel of this page.

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92 Ouran. Manga chapter 10 (78-79).
93 Ouran. Manga chapter 10 (79).
94 Ouran. Manga chapter 10 (80).
You're like a crane in a garbage dump, aren't you?

Well then, the 4 of us shall have a maiden's tea party.

Thank you...!! How are you so sweet?

Ah, it smells so good.

I made some coffee... would you like some?

As for God, why were Adam and Eve...?
Figure 6 Analysis of *Ouran* volume 3, chapter 10 (81).
(©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.)
Figure 5 (and 6) is a page of the manga denoted by “unconventional” panels, i.e. panels not marked off with solid, definite borders. These panels are denoted by a diamond border, an obvious, but unmarked change in background (white versus shaded), and a flower border. The panels also contain abstract backgrounds. Abstract backgrounds are used to emphasize the character’s emotions. In anime, abstract backgrounds are sometimes used and are often animated (see Figure 5).

Table 4 Panels in Ouran vol. 3, chapter 10 (81)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Panel 1</th>
<th>Panel 2</th>
<th>Panel 3</th>
<th>Panel 4</th>
<th>Panel 5</th>
<th>Panel 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Micro</td>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Macro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close up</td>
<td>Full shot</td>
<td>mid-shot</td>
<td>Full shot</td>
<td>mid-shot</td>
<td>Full shot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frame 1 consists of panels 1 through 3. Panel 1 shows the angry mask-like face of Benibara, drawing on references from Japanese Noh theatre. It is separated from the next panel by a diamond border.

Haruhi’s head, from panel 2, interrupts the border. Haruhi’s chat bubble also cuts into panel 1. Panel 2 is Haruhi bringing tea. Her words and face overlap into panel 1 because they reach Benibara and calm her down, as seen in panel 3. The background on panel 2 is blank, except for two flowers, lilies, which bloom behind Haruhi. Between panel 2 and 3 is no active border. The panel change is denoted by the change of the background, from a white background, with only two flowers, to a shaded background with darker flowers. Benibara, first seen on the page in panel 1, has changed her position, and her attitude, in panel 3. From an angry mask-like face to a shōjo manga face, complete with blush marks on her cheeks, Benibara has completely changed her demeanor.
The flowers from panel 2 carry over to bloom behind the scene being presented in panel 3. In panel 3, the Zuka Club are crowding around Haruhi, praising her (for making coffee—being sweet and thoughtful). One girl’s face is not showing, but her expression can be seen in her chat bubble, along with what she’s saying (“Well then, the four of us shall have a maiden’s tea party.”). Panels 1, 2, and 3 are all connected by Haruhi bringing the tea. Panel 1 and 2 are simultaneous, while panel 3 is the response to Haruhi’s action.

In the background of panel 3, Tamaki is waking up (quickly) from shock, (which is part of the camp aesthetic that Ouran holds—Tamaki is very over-dramatic). It is denoted by the onomatopoeia of ‘gaba’ (がば a “sudden” or “forceful” action, or a physical state of being frozen stiff). The sound ‘gaba’ equates to “jumping up—from a stationary position.” In both panels 1 and 3, there is a visual symbol that represents a “sudden” or “forceful” action or realization, which is usually negative, such as annoyance or anger (see Figure 9).

In panel 1, Benibara was angry at the Host Club’s dramatic actions and was even making a growling sound towards them (see Figure 7). It was a quick, “sudden,” anger (see Figure 9- the visual symbol meaning “sudden”). To understand Tamaki’s actions on this page, I must backtrack and explain a bit of why he was waking up from shock. When Tamaki first learned of the Zuka Club, he automatically stereotyped them (negatively, as stereotypes usually are) as deviant lesbians and passed out, with the explanation being that he passed out because he was too shocked by this information. Once Tamaki “suddenly” wakes up (see Figure 8), he thinks (he has a realization) that the Zuka Club wants to steal Haruhi away and so, rushes to take Haruhi from the Zuka Club’s grasp, seen in panel 4.
Panel 4 begins a new frame. In panel 4, the Lobelia girls are standing in the same spot, but Haruhi is just an outline. The onomatopoeia is ‘shu’ for the “fabric rubbing” together when Tamaki grabbed Haruhi and ‘ba’ for the “sudden impact” made when he grabbed her. The onomatopoeia and the cartoon motion blur work together to create the motion of Tamaki grabbing Haruhi and rushing away from the Lobelia girls.

I placed panel 4 in it’s own frame because it is the only obviously separated panel on the page. Panels 1 through 3 and 5 through 6 do not have a “hard” border, whereas panel 4 has a definite bold border.

Panel 4 is also a motion panel. It carries the motion and facilitates a change in the character’s position from panels 1 through 3 and panel 5.

Panels 4 and 5 are connected by the image of Tamaki’s head, but they are two separate frames. In panel 4, Tamaki grabs Haruhi and runs. In panel 5, he places himself between Haruhi and the Zuka Club. Panels 5 and 6 are in frame 3. They are connected by Tamaki’s words. The background of panel 5 is focused on Haruhi and Tamaki, allowing Hinagiku, one of the girls’ from Lobelia, to move without the viewers’ noticing. In panel 6, Hinagiku, comes up behind Tamaki and pours hot tea on him. In panel 5, the onomatopoeia, which I chose to translate, because it was in a chat bubble, rattle (かいたかた ‘kata, kata’).
is for the cups on the tray. The onomatopoeia (かた) carries over to panel 6 and becomes ‘gacha’ (がち jangle), because the rattle gets “louder.” ‘Ga’ is the voiced form of ‘ka,’ while ‘cha’ is the palatalized form of ‘ta.’ When ‘ka’ became voiced, the placement of the tongue in the mouth changed, creating the alveolar-palatal affricate of ‘cha.’ (Please realize that the vowel does not change sound – it is /a/ and here I am only talking about the consonants.) Notice the text for is now bigger and bolder than the text for the rattle sound. Since one of the cups is being pushed over, the sound is louder than it would be just shaking on the tray resulting in a larger, bolder font to create a louder sound in the reader’s mind.

Panel 6 is denoted by another unconventional border. It is a border of daisies, because Hinagiku (“Daisy”) is the one sneaking up behind Tamaki. The border is broken by Tamaki’s words, a rant about gender and sexuality. Hinagiku pushes a cup off the tray Haruhi is holding, creating the ‘gacha’ sound, on to Tamaki. Tamaki then jumps, which is shown by replacing his feet with blurred lines. There’s the onomatopoeia, ‘kyaa,’ for a scream, and the word ‘attsu,’ with steam right above it, near Tamaki’s hand, where the tea spilled on him. The word ‘attsu,’ could either be short for ‘attsuu,’ (圧痛) meaning “pain, tenderness;” or could be an exaggerated, yet shortened, form of the word ‘atsui,’ (熱い) meaning “hot (temperature).” It calls to mind both in this situation, describing both the pain Tamaki feels and the heat from the tea scalding him.

After Tamaki’s dramatics from his injury, (because he is the most exaggerated camp-style character in the series he is prone to extreme bouts of emotion), Benibara swears to save Haruhi from the Host Club by immediately starting the admission process to Lobelia and accept her into the Zuka Club. Haruhi tries to defend the Host Club, stating that Benibara seems to have misunderstood, but the other

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95 Ouran. Manga chapter 10.
members of the Host Club contradict every explanation Haruhi tries to offer.\textsuperscript{96} Through this, Haruhi learns that the Host Club funds its activities and costumes by selling some items that belonged to the Host Club members. She gets angry because the Host Club had been taking her things and selling them without her knowledge and so, the Zuka Club tells her that she should quit the Host Club and join them. The Zuka Club tells her they will meet her the next day for her answer. The Zuka Club leaves and then she excuses herself. Tamaki, though the most dramatic character, also has his serious moments. He becomes very thoughtful and tells the host Club that it seems like the Zuka Club might be more “suitable” for Haruhi as she will be able to be herself, a girl, and still cross-dress, while continuing to gain attentions from other girls (the fans of the Zuka Club). Tamaki then comes up with a plan. Figure 10 is his plan in action.

Figure 10 is a spread page of pages 90 and 91 of volume 3 chapter 10. A spread page means that it contains an image that covers two pages. When scanned, it creates an empty white space, called a gutter, where it was bound. This can be removed through computer editing. I did not remove it, because I wanted to keep the natural appearance, and also because my main focus was on translation and the appearance of the font and chat bubbles.

\textsuperscript{96} Ouran. Manga chapter 10.
Figure 10 Ouran Vol. 3, Chapter 10 (90-91). (©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.)

When the doors were opened, there was a fake Zuka club.

Haru-chan, Haru-chan. I'm a princess!

Welcome
Figure 11 Analysis of *Ouran* Vol. 3, Chapter 10 (90-91). (©Bisco Hatori 2002/HAKUSENSHA, Inc.)
Table 5 Panels in Ouran Vol. 3, Chapter 10 (90-91).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame 1</th>
<th>Panel 1</th>
<th>Macro</th>
<th>Full-shot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ST-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel 2</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Close-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame 2</td>
<td>Panel 3</td>
<td>Macro</td>
<td>Close-up/ background full-shot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inside Frame 1 is a scene transition and panel 1. Rather than illustrate the way into the next panel by having character’s moving through the panel space, a scene transition panel is used to automatically change the scene to the place it is describing. It is used often in Ouran to enter the Host Club’s music room. In this scene, Haruhi and the Zuka Club have just entered the music room. The Host Club has dressed up as a Zuka Club. Tamaki is wearing the traditional Takarazuka feathered back piece. Another feathered back piece is behind Mori, but it is not attached to his costume, it is just for symmetry in the image (as can be seen later in the manga: see page 75 of the appendix, or Ouran volume 3, Chapter 10, page 13). Tamaki, Kyoya, and Mori are dressed up as European-styled princes, while Honey, Hikaru, and Kaoru are cross-dressed as European-styled princesses. Roses cross over the borders between panels 1 and 2 and 1 and 3, pairing with the feathers to frame the Host Club. Panels 1 and 2 are connected by the roses and a chat bubble, that says “welcome,” with a heart under the word. Once again, they are happening simultaneously, which is why I have placed them in the same frame. Panel 1 what Haruhi and the Zuka Club are seeing when they open the door to the music room. Panel 2 is their immediate reaction to what they see.

The darkening gradated scale background in panel 2 implies a darkening of emotion or of the thought with an emphasis on disbelief or shock. The character’s faces are blank, with fewer features than normal and their eyes are all blank with heavily out-lined black borders, which is another way to emphasize the idea that the characters are shocked. The chat bubble that crosses both Panels 1 and 2 is sparkling in
Panel 1, but gets darker as it crosses over into Panel 2, in order to imbue the viewer with a similar type of shock that the Zuka Club and Haruhi are experiencing. Panel 3 is connected to Panel 1 because it is their extended reaction. In panel 3, Haruhi’s character has moved and is no longer between Benibara and Hinagiku; she is now outside of the darkening lines that fill panel 2. Haruhi is not the only one who has moved though; the members of the Zuka Club have also switched places, with Benibara, their leader, in the middle-front position. Haruhi’s immediate shock has faded because she has come to expect this behavior from the Host Club. The darkening lines are filled with sweat marks, signifying the shock (and exasperation) that the characters under the darkened lines feel because of their interactions with the Host Club. The characters have gained back some of their facial features that they had previously lost to shock.

One of the twins, Hikaru, and Honey are also featured in Panel 3. Honey’s chat bubble (and his character, in this scene) is surrounded by flowers. Honey’s text is regularly in a bold, mono-space, rounded sanserif font. When Honey is being serious or when he gets mad, his font sometimes changes to support his mood. I have chosen ITC Kristen\(^97\), which is an asymmetric rounded sanserif, to represent Honey. I chose an asymmetric font, specifically, to illustrate Honey’s child-like nature and his love of cute things. The flowers that surround Honey’s chat bubbles and his character reinforce his child-like attributes.

*Ouran*, and shōjo manga in general, use specific conventions, that the reader can learn to interpret, which I have detailed in examples above. These conventions are the dominant elements featured in many manga so they have become familiar to the readers. The conventions can vary by country and genre. In Japanese manga, some are general conventions used across genres (i.e. sweat marks). Here I

\(^{97}\) Designed by George Ryan (1997).
would like to re-iterate that ‘cross-dressing and gender performativity carry an enigmatic fascination that entraps the curiosity of audiences’ (see page 1). The history of cross-dressing and gender performativity in Japanese theatre carried over, first into Japanese manga, and then into its derivatives, anime and dorama. The pervasiveness of cross-dressing and gender performativity in Japanese media can be seen by pursing the practice of cross-dressing in Japanese theatre into the abiding tradition of cross-dressing in Japanese popular culture.

Results and Discussion

In this chapter, I have stylistically analyzed three pages of a single chapter of the shōjo manga Ouran High School Host Club, in order to show the viability of analytical manga scholarship. My in-depth analysis was influenced by Cohn’s theories of visual narrative structure and general layout and used in order to analyze a specific shōjo manga. Though Cohn’s work largely focuses on American comics (and shōnen manga), he has set the groundwork for more comprehensive analyses of various genres of comics throughout the world, as evidenced by my use of his theories in this chapter. While current disciplines, such as comparative literature, history, cognitive psychology, anthropology, and film studies, lay out a base for comic studies, the creation and acceptance of an overarching approach to analyzing manga as a subject of academic research is important for the methodological and institutional identification of the comic’s discipline.

The subtleties of image and language converge in manga. By tracing the subject matter of a manga in order to find its history and using that history to analyze the manga, one can understand the tradition on which it is based. Simply analyzing the page layout of a manga is a work of cognitive psychology; analyzing the plot of a manga is a work of literary theory; while analyzing the graphics is a work of art
criticism. In combining the analysis of the page layout, the plot, the graphics, the language usage, and the historical tradition from which the manga arose, this thesis offers a new, multi-disciplinary, way to evaluate manga and its adaptations in Japanese popular culture.
Chapter 3: Structuring Fascination

Structure and Fascination

The well-known Japanese aesthetic concept of structural spacing and timing known as jo-ha-kyū is central to the structuring of a play in Noh theatre, as for many of the Japanese performing arts, and has also been observed in, and applied for the analysis of modern manga, film, and television. According to Zeami, the dynamic jo-ha-kyū process provides fulfillment. Fulfillment is the process by which an audience comes to experience “fascination” (面白 omoshira). In his treatise, Finding Gems, Gaining Flower, he states that “a constant appreciation of... beauty constitutes fascination.” If jo-ha-kyu structuring provides fulfillment, which leads to even “constitutes” – fascination, then, might this be simply stated as “structure leads to fascination”?

These Japanese media forms are all highly stylized through structures. I have already connected the idea of Zeami’s Flower to gender, in general, and now I will attempt to connect it to the ideas of gendered beauty as seen in the beauty idea of the ‘hana-bi-dan’ (花美男 “flower beauty boy”) and the ‘Yamato nadeshiko’ (大和撫子-lit. “Japan pink carnation”) or even the ‘sōshokudanshi’ (草食(系)男子 “herbivore boy”). The idea of the flower beauty boy and the Yamato nadeshiko both carry the symbolism of the Flower in their names and while herbivore boy doesn’t carry the symbolism of the flower, it does invoke the idea that flowers are just the blossoming of a plant.

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98 Suan 2013.
99 Zeami 1984, 137.
100 A nadeshiko is a specific type of carnation, called the Dianthus superbus, native to Japan.
As the masculine arose within the feminine in Heian Japan\textsuperscript{101}, the idea of the flower boy arises out of the ‘feminine’ ideas of flowers. Since the masculine arose within the feminine, it is acceptable for men (or boys) to display more feminine traits. This is why when women cross-dress and display some (often very few) masculine traits, they are readily accepted as a male who is feminine. In the world of Ouran, it is acceptable\textsuperscript{102} for Haruhi to be feminine as a male, but the characters aware of her cross-dressing don’t accept her being masculine as a female. The other club members constantly find reasons to put Haruhi in a dress and try to force her to be more “lady-like,” rather than accepting her masculine qualities. The idea of the masculine within the feminine allows for a boy to be accepted as a hana-bi-dan, because his masculinity is not lessened by his feminine traits. Ogi Fusami, who earned her Ph.D in English at the State University of New York at Stony Brook (2001) and serves on the board of directors of Japanese Society for Studies in Cartoon and Comics (JSSCC), states that “some people even believe that the word [‘hana-bi-dan’] might come from the comics (manga) and drama Hana yori dango.”\textsuperscript{103}

\textit{Hana yori dango} (花より男子-“Boys over Flower”) is a predecessor of Ouran, able to be categorized in the same genre and conventions. Both \textit{Hana yori dango} and \textit{Ouran} share a similar plot, but they are executed differently. In both, a poor girl attends a rich school on a scholarship and is surrounded by rich boys who want to gain her attentions. In \textit{Hana Yori Dango}, sometimes abbreviated as \textit{Hanadan} (花男-“Flower boy”), the rich boys are in a group named F4 or Flower Four. F4 is aptly named, as it is made up of four ‘flower beauty boys’. Both \textit{Hana yori dango} and \textit{Ouran} can be classified as reverse-harem, Cinderella story, school life, and comedy, within the shōjo genre. Though there are several other manga

\textsuperscript{101} See: Chino 2003.
\textsuperscript{102} Acceptable as it appears in the context of the manga.
\textsuperscript{103} Ogi 2008, 179.
that can be placed into all of the same genres, these are arguably two of the most successful.\footnote{It could be noted that I also considered mentioning Hanazakari no Kimitachi e (花ざかりの君たちへ For you in Full Bloom, also known as Hana Kimi) in the same category, but while it displays a similar situation as Ouran, it does not fit all the same sub-genre classifications (namely, Cinderella story), as Hana yori dango and Ouran do. But, it is a gender-bender, while Hana yori Dango is not. Also, the term Hana-bi-dan was already in use by the time Hana Kimi was released, in 1996. Hana Kimi is notable though because it also spawned several adaptations, including international adaptations.\label{foot:hanazakari}} Both have spawned several different adaptations, having been adapted into an anime, a dorama, and live action movies. \textit{Hana yori dango} has even spawned popular remakes in several different countries, such as Taiwan (2001-2002), South Korea (2009), and India (2014).

The term ‘flower beauty boy’ is common across Asia, spanning China and Taiwan (花美男 hua-mei-nan), Korea (꽃미남 or 꽃美男 ggot-mi-nam “flower beauty boy”) and Japan (花美男 hana-bi-dan). The Chinese characters are all the same for flower beauty boy, though the pronunciation changes with the language. The title itself \textit{Hana yori dango} (花より男子) is a word play on an old Japanese proverb, “dumplings over flowers” (花より団子 hana yori dango). The proverb means that dumplings are better than (or more practical than) flowers. It means “preferring the practical to the beautiful.”\footnote{Ogi 2008, 179.} The Japanese proverb is also akin to the idea of substance over style, or the old Danish proverb, “pudding before praise.”\footnote{Miyagawa 1983, 79.} The title though, translates to boys are better than flowers (or more commonly: boys over flowers). Ogi states that the title “identifies the boy characters in the story, the members of F4, with everything practical (like dumplings), such as beauty, money, and power.”\footnote{Ogi 2008, 179.} Identifying these boys as something practical, recalls the Cinderella story, which it is based on. Both Ouran and Hanadan are parodies of a Cinderella story, with Suō Tamaki\footnote{Suō is normally romanized in the anime subtitles and the English translation as Suoh, so I have decided to use that romanization.} from Ouran describing himself as the ‘prince’ of the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\footnote{It could be noted that I also considered mentioning Hanazakari no Kimitachi e (花ざかりの君たちへ For you in Full Bloom, also known as Hana Kimi) in the same category, but while it displays a similar situation as Ouran, it does not fit all the same sub-genre classifications (namely, Cinderella story), as Hana yori dango and Ouran do. But, it is a gender-bender, while Hana yori Dango is not. Also, the term Hana-bi-dan was already in use by the time Hana Kimi was released, in 1996. Hana Kimi is notable though because it also spawned several adaptations, including international adaptations.\label{foot:hanazakari}}
\footnote{Ogi 2008, 179.}
\footnote{Miyagawa 1983, 79.}
\footnote{Ogi 2008, 179.}
\footnote{Suō is normally romanized in the anime subtitles and the English translation as Suoh, so I have decided to use that romanization.}
\end{thebibliography}
Host Club and Tsukasa Dōmyōji playing the role of the unofficial ‘prince’ of the school. In both, the boys are rich, placing them in a role to be something “practical” for a poor girl, who needs to find a man to marry and take care of her. It leaves the girls in both of these stories in the position to be a “good wife, wise mother,” similar to the Meiji campaign, in which women are to be raised well and sent to good schools, so that they may, consequently, find a man to marry and raise his children. Using a boy as something “practical,” can be seen as a way to create a Yamato nadeshiko, or a feminine, chaste, devoted Japanese woman. The term Yamato nadeshiko is used as a nostalgic term, referring to a lady who represents the desirable traits of a ‘flower of Japanese womanhood’. The idea of both the Flower beauty boy and the Yamato nadeshiko are similar to Zeami’s Flower because just as a flower, beauty can bloom and can fade.¹⁰⁹

There is another manga (with anime and dorama adaptations), which uses a similar tradition, named Yamato Nadeshiko Shichihenge (ヤマトナデシコ七変化), translated to English as either The Wallflower or Perfect Girl Evolution.¹¹⁰ It is similar to both Ouran and Hanadan, in that it is about a teenage girl surrounded by a group of boys, though it is not technically a gender-bender or a Cinderella story, it employs both tropes throughout the series. The story has four beautiful boys who are renting rooms in a mansion. The owner of the mansion sends her niece, Nakahara Sunako, to live with them. If the boys can make her into a real ‘Yamato nadeshiko,’ (or a ‘perfect lady’) then they can live there rent-free. Sunako begins the series as a loner, who does not want to show her face to anyone. Sunako is a good cook and has motherly tendencies, so she is already in a position to be a “good wife, wise mother,” but her love for horror movies and solitude negate her good qualities. Her aunt leaves her there, because she is traveling the world searching for a husband. Her aunt’s desire is for the boys to turn

¹⁰⁹ Zeami 1984, 30.
¹¹⁰ Hayakawa 2000.
Sunako into the type of “good wife, wise mother,” Yamato nadeshiko that she herself would be if she could just find a husband. The boys are all Flower boys, just as the beautiful boys in both *Hanadan* and *Ouran*, who cross-dress throughout the series for different reasons. The *loli-shōta* of the group, Tōyama Yukinojo, (who is smaller and cuter than the other males, similar to Honey from *Ouran* in this respect) cross-dresses more often than any of the other characters in the series. He does not cross-dress to gain access to something, as Haruhi does in *Ouran*. He cross-dresses for frivolous things, such as for a photo shoot, or because he looks cute and the characters need a disguise for some reason. The other boys cross-dress when they need a disguise, such as entering a Host Club as customers. From these popular examples, it can be noted that Flower boys are prevalent in the shōjo genre.

Herbivore men grew out of the Flower boy tradition. Because of *Hana yori dango*, ‘Flower boy’ was already a well-known term. Herbivore men (or herbivore boy) became a popular term beginning in 2008. It arose from the existence of men who were more feminized or not as masculine as is generally expected within male culture, or previously dubbed Flower boys. Herbivore men, by Morioka’s definition, are “kind and gentle men who, without being bound by manliness, do not pursue romantic relationships voraciously and have no aptitude for being hurt or hurting others.” Morioka’s paper details the several different types of Herbivore men and even breaks down the parallel between herbivore men and the obvious opposite, carnivore men. Morioka talks about herbivore men and gender and states that “if they [the older generation of men] happened to like cute things or cake it was impossible for them to say so,” unlike the herbivore men, who have “broken the spell of manliness.” This is reminiscent of what Tamaki told Honey when he invited him to join the Host Club in *Ouran*. In a flashback scene, before Honey decided to join the Host Club, he said to Mori, “You know what? He

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112 Morioka 2013, 7.
113 Ibid, 16.
[Tamaki] said it was okay for me to like cute things. He [Tamaki] said it was okay for me to like cake.”114

Honey is the “loli-shōta” of the Host Club. Loli-shōta is a mix of the words “lolita” (from the Lolita fashion style) and “shōnen,” combining to mean a child-like boy. But, Honey is not a herbivore man. According to the characteristics listed by Morioka, none of the boys in the Host Club would not be herbivore men, because they don’t seem to view women as equals. The fact that Tamaki felt the need to make a club to “give solace to young girls with too much time on their hands,” is a statement to the idea that the boys attending Ouran high school are expected to become the heirs of their parent’s businesses, while the girls at Ouran are just rich with nothing better to pass their time.115

The Structure of Gendered Language

Gendered language in Japan was part of the Meiji government’s approach to modernize Japan and create the ‘ideal’ Japanese woman, or the Yamato nadeshiko. The gender in Japanese language is determined by the ending of the sentence. For example, if a sentence ends in wa (わ), wane (わね), wayo (わよ), no (の), or noyo (のよ), it is a good indication that someone is using Japanese women’s language. Conversely, ending a sentence in da (だ), ze (ぜ), or zo (ぞ) is considered men’s language, though da can also be used as a gender-neutral ending.116 Personal pronouns can also be used to denote the speaker’s gender. The use of the personal pronoun, atashi (あたし), rather than the more neutral watashi (私), is also considered women’s language. The personal pronouns boku (僕) and ore (俺) are considered men’s language, though women sometimes use boku. The word jibun (自分) means ‘myself’

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116 These lists are not exhaustive lists of sentence endings for women’s and men’s language. See: Inoue 2006, pp. 94, 96.
and is ungendered. The use of Japanese women’s language is something that manga characters can “take on,” depending on the surrounding circumstances and plot. It is seen as an indicator of the speaker’s gender and sometimes age in popular media.

In *Princess Knight*, Tezuka calls specific attention to the differences in the language by having the character Sapphire (the cross-dressing Prince) use the ending ‘wa’ when she is acting her own gender, a female. Tink, an angel who was sent to follow Sapphire, is trying to figure out how Sapphire identifies. Tink believes that Sapphire must identify as a girl, so Tink pretends to be Sapphire’s nanny and calls for her to hurry in order to hear how Sapphire will respond.

はい いま 行く わ
hai ima iku wa
yes now go (feminine ending)
(or “Yes, I’m going now.”)

Tink determines that Sapphire’s use of the “wa” ending means that Sapphire is a girl. Women’s language had been in use for close to 40 years when Tezuka was writing. This speaks not only to the importance of the Japanese language, but also to the prevalence of it.

In *Hana Kimi*, Ashiya Mizuki, dressed as a boy and about to enter an all boys’ school, uses the gender neutral term “watashi,” (meaning “I”) and a woman looks at her inquisitively. Then Mizuki quickly runs off and states that she should use the masculine term “ore” (also meaning “I”) like a boy, rather than “watashi” like a girl.

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117 *Hana Kimi*. Drama episode 1.
As I stated earlier (see page 53) Haruhi is not as conscious of gender as the others in the Ouran series and she doesn’t care if the members of the Host Club see her as a boy. She also states that “From now on, I’ll say ’ore,’” which she does.\textsuperscript{118} As for the Zuka Club, Hinagiku and Suzuran use women’s language, ending their sentences with \textit{wa} and \textit{wane}. Benibara, on the other hand, refers to herself as “\textit{boku}.” She ends her sentences with \textit{da}, either choosing to live her everyday life asserting her role as an \textit{otokoyaku}, as a reference to the \textit{onnagata} of Kabuki theatre, or just asserting her gender neutrality. As she appears in male clothing when she is not in her school uniform, it can be assumed that it is her presentation of her gender, rather than her dedication to her role as an \textit{otokoyaku} in the Zuka Club. The customers of the Host Club, including Renge (the self-appointed manager), use Japanese women’s language. They refer to themselves as ‘\textit{watashi},’ and end their sentences in the many variations of the women’s language endings.

While Japanese women’s language was first popularized in the Meiji period, with the use of schoolgirl language and magazines, it has since grown deep roots in Japanese society.

\textbf{Stylization and Idealization}

Artistic stylization is used to create the manga characters with minimal features, which gives the mangaka more ability to easily adapt their manga into dramas. When characters are drawn with fewer features, it is not hard to find an actor to look the part. The characters in manga, such as \textit{Hana yori dango}, \textit{Yamato Nadeshiko Shichihenge}, and \textit{Ouran} are highly stylized to a vague Japanese beauty ideal (large eyes, pale skin, contemporary hair styles), so that many actors can easily suit the characteristics

\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Ouran}. Manga chapter 1. Anime episode 1. Drama episode 1.
displayed by the characters. Because of this, the characters in manga have less facial definition than that of characters in American comics. According to Ogi, in order to “portray an ideal, shōjo manga often employs a stereotypical human figure which reminds one of Caucasians.” While I agree that manga (not just shōjo manga, but also shōnen manga) employ a stereotypical human figure, I feel the statement is too general. While the characters can remind one of Caucasians, I believe that it is because of the Western influence on modern manga and a preference for adapting things from other cultures to suit their own culture that causes this. Emaki, ‘picture-scroll narratives’, also featured characters with minimal features so that the readers’ could impose the looks of their ideal person upon the drawn characters. As emaki is similar to manga, with sequential pictures and corresponding text, I believe that this is an apt comparison. Lady Sei Shōnagon (c. 966-1017?), in The Pillow Book (枕草子), lists “men or women who are praised in romances as being beautiful” among her list of “Things that Lose by Being Painted.” The characters in manga, just as the characters in emaki, are created with an idealized general beauty in order to avoid individuality. Rather than using this individuality for the emaki readers’ imagination, it is used in manga to make it easier to adapt to other mediums. If a character is drawn in an extremely specific manner, then it would be hard to find an actor to suit the character.

The Japanese theatre forms all carry the idea of ‘ideal attraction,’ idealization and stylization. In the Heian period, the characters in the emaki were drawn with very few features, similar to the features presented on a noh mask. Noh theatre is not only idealized through the mask, but also through the highly stylized movements of the dances. This “ideal” can also be seen with the stylization of the female in Kabuki theatre through the art of the onnagata  (“female role”), which emphasized the

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121 Woods 2014, 47.
importance of the actor to psychologically project himself into the female role and to live his life as a woman, both onstage and off, so that the actor is 'transformed' and able to become "a male who is a woman acting a role" rather than "a male acting in a role in which he becomes a woman."^{123} In Bunraku puppet theatre, the puppets are all controlled by men, allowing the men to stylize the female how they choose. In fact, Chikamatsu, hailed as the Shakespeare of Japan and a famous Bunraku playwright, said that art must resemble the original and have stylization, for this “is what delights men’s minds.”^{124} This implies that these men are seeking to portray what they believe a woman should be, rather than what a woman is. In the Takarazuka Revue, the ideal male can be seen in the role of the otokoyaku (男役 “male role”).^{125} The otokuyaku represents an “idealized, “beautiful” man.”^{126} She is seen as a “third gender” and wears high heels and make-up in order to create a “risōteki no dansei (理想的の男性 “ideal male”); it is a way to remind the audience that the actor is an idealized version of the male and not a real (“raw”) man.^{127} On the official Takarazuka website, it states that “In other words, the actors who know women’s feelings the best play the part [of a woman]. Then, can’t it be said that every woman is held captive by the glamorous and beautiful world that is produced.”^{128} So while it is said that Bunraku delights men’s minds, and Takarazuka captivates women’s feelings, I argue that the cross-dressing and gender performativity in Japanese media does both as it entraps the curiosity of the audiences.

This idealization also carries over to visual kei (visual style) bands in modern Japan, in which each member of the band plays a role through their performativity of gender. Some of the ‘roles’ are female.

^{123} Robertson 1998, 54.
^{124} Keane 1969, 390.
^{125} This is the Takarazuka equivalent to the onnagata of Kabuki.
^{126} Brau 1990, 86.
^{127} Brau 1990, 86.
^{128} Takarazuka Revue Company. The original Japanese reads: つまり女性の気持ちを一番知っている役者が演じる。それがあらゆる女性をとりこにする、あの華やかで麗しい世界を生み出していると言えるでしょう。
It can also be seen through the way manga and anime characters are drawn and then again when they are represented by living people in their corresponding dramas (dorama) or live-action movies. Manga and anime characters are highly stylized to a vague Japanese beauty ideal, which endows them with minimal features, so that many actors can easily suit the illustrated characters. This is similar to the artistic technique used in Japanese *emaki*, in that, by avoiding individuality the artistic styles allowed the reader to superimpose the images of the live-action actors onto the already drawn characters. The images of the characters in the reader’s mind did not conflict with their portrayal in the live-action because the portrayal in the manga and/or anime was intentionally unrealistic and abstract.

**The Fascination of Gender in Manga**

The stylization of gender is prevalent in contemporary manga, but can be easily seen in gender-bender manga in which a character cross-dresses, such as in the *Ouran High School Host Club* manga series and its derivations by Bisco Hatori. In *Ouran*, not only is the female stylized, but as Haruhi cross-dresses a male, the male is stylized. In the world of *Ouran*, gender has a different dynamic. The male gaze is reversed by females looking at the male members of the Host Club, even to the point of buying photo books with them in their Host Club persona. All of the characters in the Host Club are already playing roles, but Haruhi is placed into a role dubbed as “the natural,” as in ‘natural looks’ and ‘natural talent,’ implying that Haruhi doesn’t look like she’s acting when she’s entertaining the guests of the club. Yet, at school, she’s always seen performing the role of a male, rather than being her biological self, a female. So, in being a natural at charming female customers, she is upsetting the traditional binary gender dynamic between male and female.

The key to the gender bender idea in *Ouran* is the fact that it must remain a secret. There are several
gender bender shōjo manga where it is not imperative that the cross-dressing remains a secret, such as Princess Princess. It is partly the secret aspect that makes Ouran so campy; without the necessity of keeping Haruhi’s gender a secret, Ouran would not have been so exaggerated. Many of the chapters evolve around the idea that Haruhi’s secret must be kept. Haruhi is cross-dressing in order to gain access to the all-male Host Club. If she did not cross-dress, then as a student of Ouran, Haruhi would have been relegated to the role of a female, who, in the series, were only allowed to be customers, with the exception of Hōshakuji Renge. Renge is the self-appointed Host Club manager, but she is a background character. Kyōya is the acting manager of the Host Club, whereas Renge just declared herself manager. It could even be argued that if Haruhi had not been inadvertently cross-dressing when she broke the vase, the Host Club would have never made her cross-dress, thereby negating the entire premise of the series. Since she was cross-dressing when the Host Club first met her, she was required to continue cross-dressing, because otherwise she would be denied access to being a member of the Host Club based on her gender.

According to Peter Thornton, “because gender is recognized as a form of self-consciousness, it must be emphasized that the fulfillment of one’s gender is presented as a kind of self-identification in which one takes on,” or is put on to one.129 This idea, once again, makes gender into a performance similar to that of the performance in Japanese theatre or the conventions in Japanese manga, anime, and dramas. The performer in Japanese theatre must “take on” the gender and become the character they are performing through the minute imitation taught in the iemoto system.

The actors must perform well enough to convince the audience that they are the other gender; similar to the way the members of the Host Club must act in order to please their customers. The entire

The premise of the Host Club is to play a role, or as it is stated in Ouran, the motto of the Host Club is “to make use of each of our characteristics to answer our customers’ needs.” The characters in the Ouran Host Club must “take on” the gender of the role they are performing in the Host Club. In their performance, rather than women being put on display for a male gaze, the boys of the Host Club are put on display for the female gaze. Haruhi is also put on display for the female gaze, and by extension, she confuses the sexuality of the female customers who believe they are fawning over a male. It is also a way to disrupt the male gaze because the males in the Host Club are looking at Haruhi, cross-dressed as a male. Haruhi is the epitome of androgyny. She rarely shows a strong masculine or feminine attitude. She “takes on” these qualities occasionally. When she thinks something is cute, she ‘takes on’ what is seen as a more feminine or girly persona; but when she interacts with the customers, she tends to ‘take on’ a more masculine role. She is androgynous in that only those who know that she is a girl notice her biological gender. Even the theme song lyrics support her androgyny stating, “Lady maybe, or host, I find, I really don’t mind.” While these lines recognize the bifurcated gender lines in Japanese society, they fail to recognize the androgyny present in the Japanese theatre.

In Ouran, the main characters are not the only ones that are stereotyped and stylized; there are also many side characters, who are not a part of the Host Club, but are a part of the members’ lives. These characters include those of the Zuka Club (schoolgirl lesbians), who will be discussed in more detail later, a fangirl otaku (extreme fans), a pale-skinned goth, and a yakuza heir (Japanese organized crime syndicate). The other students of Ouran encountered are usually only used for plot purposes and for only one or two chapters of the manga, or one episode of the anime or drama, such as the Newspaper Club or the student council. Then there are the customers, or fangirls of the Host Club. These customers

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130 These lyrics are from the English version of the song. The Japanese lyrics read: レディーでもホストでも構わないよ
are the elite female students with lots of free time who don’t have any identity outside of being customers of the Host Club. These female customers did not have to think about what is practical, similar to the Rococo-era elite women whose style influenced Lolita fashion. These customers are the girls who determine the way the Host Club performs. Butler states that “there are social contexts and conventions within which certain acts not only become possible but become conceivable as acts at all.” The Host Club is one such social context. The members of the Host Club, not just Haruhi, are able to be themselves within the social context of the Host Club, which doesn’t fit in well with the society of Ouran. But as members of the Host Club, they are granted an exception to the expected roles dictated by the atmosphere of Ouran. As a member of the Host Club, Haruhi is allowed to perform as a female, in her male role, without anyone realizing that female is her assigned gender role. Also, Haruhi is a scholarship student at the school, the only scholarship student at the school. As such, she can’t afford the school uniform and wears some of her father’s clothes, which lead the Host Club and the rest of the school to think that she is a boy. She is not one of the “elite,” but an outsider, part of the ‘other’. As part of the other, she is allowed even more flexibility of gender roles because the students of Ouran are very naïve to the way in which non-elites are “supposed to” act.

Haruhi is completely oblivious of the way that people around her view gender and the idea of cross-dressing. In Episode 1 of the anime and drama and chapter 1 of the manga, she states that “getting fussed over by girls is not that bad” and that she’s “probably a little into that”. Haruhi has realized that as a Host, she enjoys the attention the female customers give her. The ‘Prince’, Tamaki, is often frustrated with her indifference towards performing her assigned gender role. He often states that Haruhi should start acting like a girl and dressing like a girl. Tamaki says that it’s time she starts dressing

131 Takemoto 2014.
132 Butler 1998, 525.
like a girl and then in the manga, he insists that she wear proper girls’ clothing.\textsuperscript{134} Tamaki also says that he “can’t go on hiding the fact that [Haruhi] is a girl anymore.”\textsuperscript{135} He later conspires with the other members of the Host Club to help her get a female friend, in order to “help her get in touch with her feminine side.”\textsuperscript{136} In his ‘inner mind theatre’, he daydreams of Haruhi in an apron and making him homemade bento boxes. Kasanoda Ritsu, the yakuza heir, learns that Haruhi is cross-dressing and falls for her. But he falls for her before he realizes that she is cross-dressing. This confuses him and he begins to question his sexuality. He is placed in the role of a secondary sexually confused love interest. This is also seen in \textit{Hana Kimi}, with Nakatsu Shūichi and his feelings for Ashiya Mizuki.\textsuperscript{137} In \textit{Ouran}, after Kasanoda promises to keep Haruhi’s secret, he begins to visit her at the club, even though everyone believes that he is visiting a male. The other customers of the Host Club dubbed it a “forbidden romance.” But Haruhi was completely oblivious to his feelings and thought that he was only trying to be a friend. She is not just oblivious to his feelings towards her, but anyone’s true feelings towards her, and not just her as a host. Haruhi also states that she enjoys the female customers’ fickle attentions more than the genuine attentions of the male members of the Host Club.

The performer in Japanese theatre or the characters in the \textit{Ouran} series must “take on” the gender and become the character they are performing. Noh theatre, Kabuki, Bunraku, and the Host Club are (supposed to be) all male groups who dress up, either in costume or in robes, as seen in Bunraku, to perform a role. Another thing to note is that Haruhi is not the only one who cross-dresses in the \textit{Ouran} series. Haruhi’s father, the other members of the Host Club, and members of the Zuka Club (mentioned later) also cross-dress. Firstly, her father is a transvestite, so Haruhi was raised with a different view of

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Ouran}. Manga chapter 2. Anime episode 2.
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Ouran}. Anime episode 3.
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Ouran}. Anime episode 4.
\textsuperscript{137} Nakajō 1996.
See footnote 104.
the binary ideas of gender. Moreover, the idea of performing gender permeates the Ouran series.

For one familiar with Japanese culture and history, reading or watching Ouran High School Host Club can call to mind the traditions of the performativity of gender in Japanese theatre. In the series (mostly seen in the manga because of its length), the boys in the Host Club cross-dress occasionally for different reasons, usually for the playing of a role in the Host Club. The Host Club also has a rival group called the Zuka Club, which is based on the Takarazuka Revue. The Zuka Club is a parody of the Takarazuka Revue and its’ members are parodies of feminist stereotypes, namely using the highly derogatory, but commonly used, femi-nazi trope (or overzealous militant feminists) in the anime when they are introduced. There is even a scene in the anime in which the three main characters of the Zuka Club, Benibara, Suzuran, and Hinagiku, appear in a military uniform, standing in front of a flag with the Japanese kanji for woman flowing behind them. All the members of the Zuka Club are female and they present plays like the Takarazuka Revue theatre. The Ouran Host Club is more like a Host Club, entertaining the customers as a performance instead of the Takarazuka theatre-type performance.

Not only does Ouran have its history in the Takarazuka theatre, it also carries the use of flowers as a motif to represent the characters throughout the manga. The Host Club, and Tamaki, are generally represented by roses, which in general hanakotoba (“flower’s language”) stands for love. The Zuka Club, also called the “White Lily Association,” is represented by white lilies. White lilies represent chastity and purity, which reminds one of the St. Lobelia school motto of “charity and chastity” (see: Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 5). Each of the Zuka Club’s members also have flower names, Suzuran is the lily of the valley (meaning “sweet”), Hinagiku is daisy (which means “faith” or “childish innocence”), and

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139 Daisies are the type of flowers that surround Honey’s chat bubbles too, working with the font in suggesting his childish innocence.
Benibara is red rose. Where the Host Club’s flower is a red rose, Benibara’s name translates to “red rose,” which is the specific color of a rose that means love. While roses themselves are seen as a symbol of love, the color of the rose can change the sentiment behind it (i.e. a pink rose, momoirobaraha, symbolizes confidence or trust. The name ‘Benibara’ is also very similar to the nickname of a popular Takarazuka show, The Rose of Versailles, (ベルサイユのばら) which is often simply called Berubara, with only one different mora.

Both the Host Club and Benibara both offer love as a commodity with schoolgirls as the target consumers, though Benibara boasts that she offers an “equal, triangular,” “even loving,” relationship. The love that the male Host Club offers is willingly bought by the female students of Ouran (see: Ouran High School Host Club Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 8), while Benibara’s love is a performance on a stage for her all-girls’ school. It is similar to what the otokoyaku of the Takarazuka theatre offers its female fans. Conversely, the Host Club is more active in their customers’ lives, going so far as to help them and the other students with their problems. While the reader does not get to see the Zuka Club’s activities at St. Lobelia’s, outside of their interaction with the Host Club, what the reader does see shows only the performance-based aspect of the Zuka Club, with fans, paparazzi, and plays.

The Zuka Club first appears wearing the Ouran uniform. In their first appearance, they are performing the role of Ouran students. Benibara is dressed in the male uniform (referring to the Takarazuka otokoyaku), while Suzuran and Hinagiku are dressed in the female uniform (referring to the Takarazuka musumeyaku娘役 “female role”). In Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 7 (75), the Zuka Club can be seen doing a quick change of clothes (Figure 12). In panel 2, Benibara is in the Ouran Academy male uniform.

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140 Ouran. Manga volume 3, Chapter 10 (75)
But in panel 3, there are motion lines and a hand gripping a piece of fabric, to signify a hand ripping off clothes. The onomatopoeia ‘ba,’ is located above the hand, surrounded by motion lines, signifying the character from the previous panel, Benibara, is ‘tearing off [her] clothes.’ Then, in panel 4, she appears in the St. Lobelia’s school uniform. Panels 2 and 4 are placed diagonal from each other with the movement in panel 3 coming from the direction of panel 4. The hand is also placed in the right corner of panel 3, directly above Benibara’s head in panel 4.

The reader’s eyes move in a reverse-Z path to read the page, by following the reverse-Z path from panel 1 to panel 6 (see Figure 12), and the motion lines (in panel 3) help lead the reader’s eyes in that reverse-Z direction when the page is split by the panel (3). In panel 1, Tamaki is looking up at Benibara in panel 2, whereas in panels 4, 5, and 6, the Zuka Club’s faces are all even, at the top of the panel, with a chat bubble at the bottom of each panel. The choice of the page layout and the diagonal use of Benibara in panels 2 and 4 create the movement necessary for the readers to understand that panel 3 is the removing of clothes, even for English fans who can’t read Japanese.

\[141\] See: Cohn, Neil, and Hannah Campbell. “Navigating comics II: Constraints on the reading order of page layouts.” *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 29 (2015): 193-199. Doi: 10.1002/acp.3086. Though Cohn and Campbell do not address this specific layout in their examples, this paper was in my mind when I was working on this. Also, Cohn specifically deals with the reading of American comics and the “Z-path,” though he does mention the “reversed” order for reading Japanese comics (6).
Throughout her appearances in the series, Benibara takes on a manly role, such as deciding that she will ‘save’ Haruhi from the Host Club. She calls Haruhi ‘maiden’ (乙女 otome), calling to mind the idea of the “damsel in distress,” and the necessity of being saved. According to Tv Tropes, “the classic damsel has been kidnapped or captured and is locked away, awaiting rescuer and afraid for her life and virtue.” This is how Benibara sees Haruhi’s role in the Host Club. Benibara does not want to believe that Haruhi is a willing participant; rather, she chooses to see Haruhi as a captive. She views Haruhi as being locked away by the Host Club, waiting for someone to save her, afraid for her virtue. Haruhi rejects the sentiment though, by saying that “from the beginning,” she was never willing to quit. She did not need to be saved by the Zuka Club’s otokoyaku, because Haruhi does not see herself as a maiden.

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143 Television Tropes and Idioms.
144 Ouran. Manga chapter 10.
Haruhi cross-dresses in order to perform her role in the Host Club, because only males are supposed to be members of the Host Club. It is a similar role to many of the male actors in traditional theatre who cross-dress to perform the role of a female. But, Haruhi never consciously performs a role, a binary gender. She even states that though she was mistaken for a boy at first, it was not a conscience action of cross-dressing. In the first chapter (or episode) of Ouran, Haruhi states that “if senpai (one’s senior at work or school) thought of me as a guy, I figured that was okay with me. Probably my consciousness of being a guy or a girl is lower than other people. And I’m not that interested in appearances either.” In a side panel, she also notes that it could be because of her father, who is a cross-dresser. Having been raised with a father that was a cross-dresser, and around her father’s friends who included cross-dressers, she pays very little attention to outer appearance and instead focuses on what’s inside. She says that, “if you judge people by their appearance then you’re stereotyping them and you’ll never see the person inside.” It has become a natural state of being to her, whereas in Ouran high school, it was something for frivolity and entertainment. To the students of Ouran high school, cross-dressing was not a lifestyle, but something that one could “take on” on a whim, as seen by their acceptance of the Host Club’s gender performances.

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145 Ouran. Drama episode 2.
The Conclusion

Gender performativity has a long history in Japanese performance theatre and the art form has carried over to contemporary Japanese media. This thesis offers an overview of the history of gender performativity in Japanese traditional theatre and popular media, while presenting a new approach to discussing cross-dressing and gender performativity in Japanese popular media. There is a plethora of gender performativity and cross-dressing media in Japan. The idea of gender-bending and cross-dressing are common in contemporary Japanese media, such as anime and manga. Applying the definition of gender to define the different types of Japanese media allows for a new conversation about gender in media to arise. Whereas, in Japan, male actors and writers have projected their perceptions of how women are expected to behave on to the roles created by society, female performers and now female mangaka are reversing the model, created by men, and projecting a woman’s perceptions of how they want men to act (although the women’s perceptions have not yet been projected onto the greater societal roles of men). Many of the conventions of Japanese theatre can also be seen in shōjo manga: in the genre of gender-bender itself, and in the characters as presented in the genre. By synthesizing Butler’s idea of gender performativity with Zeami’s idea of the Flower, this thesis creates a new space for the analysis of gender performativity and cross-dressing as presented in contemporary Japanese media.
Bibliography


Because we don't know where they sell it at! I was just so blown away!

Damn Hikaru and Kaoru! Couldn't they just go buy instant coffee by themselves?

Oh no... if I'm late to club activities, Tamaki-tenpai will throw a fit!

*senpai: a student in a higher grade
If you open the doors, there are Western-style Knights within

Oh Princess... even if the world
were to be destroyed, even with my life, in order to protect you I would want to be a knight.

It would be troublesome if you injured your cute face

So lovely... ♡
It's because Tamaki-sama's western costume suits him so well.

Oh dear, aren't the Hitachin brothers just as lovely?

I want Mori-kun to give me protection.

Tamaki-sama!!

Tamaki-sama's words today

the top floor of the south building

at the end of the north corridor

Are you okay?
I vow to you, if you ever tire of this life, I will forever be by your side and never leave you.

If it's a fight, then fight together.

There's nothing you can do about it, Suiran-neesama.

Such men, whose own honor is most important... are lower forms of life.

Do you really think that a woman you left behind would be happy with that?

So, I wonder, "even with my life," isn't that an extremely arrogant emotion?

You can't even protect yourself. You're just covering up this disappointing condition with patronizing words.

Oh my... Hinagiku is very good.

He’s a very troublesome person... And who is this lovely person?

Benihara-sama, you’re too much... you were so late...

That’s right.

If it were me, she would never have to be alone.

That’s hash...

Well then, what kind of words would you prefer?

Ffff

Such men, whose own honor is most important... are lower forms of life.
Who the...!!
You're not from Ouran, are you...?!

Really...? She's a rare gem. She's a natural, huh?

This child's skin is so beautiful...

Ah... a little bit over there.

Even though she's dressing as a man, I knew immediately. I could see it clearly, in the eyes of the maiden...

Umm, ah...

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WAIT...!!
There's been a misunderstanding! He's always been a real boy!

Don't touch you snob!

he's worse than the rumors...

The history of this shallow, rag-tag group is very frivolous indeed.

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Same school, first year, Hinako Tsurubuchi
Same school, second year, Chizuru Mahara
St. Lobelia's Academy High School Department, second year, Benio Amakusa
You mean, lesbians!!?

Around here, let's give a simple explanation.

And among them all, the Zuka Club, especially, is a gathering of maidens who consider women to be the supreme beings.

Founded 30 years ago, it's an association of girls, for girls, and by girls.

St. Lobelia’s Girls Academy

It's truly a woman's paradise.

The Zuka Club

St. Lobelia’s GIRLS’ Academy
"White Lily Association"

ZUKA CLUB

From Ouran, 1 hour by car.
From preschool to junior college, junior high and high school classes are a boarding school.
The school motto is "Chericy and Championships".
My translation of Ouran High School Host Club Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 10-11 (78-79)

The Zuva Club activities include a “maiden’s tea party,” and the discussion “What is it to be a girl.”

A maiden’s beauty is a pure spirit, not to lose to that exterior beauty and power and lust.

“Because you’re a woman,” “in spite of being a woman,” I’m so tired of men’s oppressive attitudes and disdain towards women!

We’re proud... the equal relationships that we have come from the same-sex comrades of our environment.

Club President Benio Arakusa
Aka. “Yours, Benio”

That’s pathetic. For us, their specialty host techniques are meaningless. It must be troublesome.

Hinako Tsurubuki
Aka. “Yours, Hinagiku”

What are these people saying?

Haha ha ha...

Hey, how’s your love life...

Benio, on sale...

Oh no, aren’t you all...? I don’t know if it’s because the president is half-man or what, but...

to hand out things such as flashy appearances and false love to play games with a pure maiden’s heart is a complete disdain for women!

You must feel at a loss for words for our sublime love...?

That’s pathetic. For us, their specialty host techniques are meaningless. It must be troublesome.

Benio, on sale...

What’s going on here...

Seriously, get out.

An equal triangular relationship

It’s even a losing relationship

Benio is out.

Aha, Enma.

Front of laughing customers left.

About Enma being found out for being a girl, we didn’t have to worry much.

whatever’s meant if it’s you all.

About Enma being found out for being a girl, we didn’t have to worry much.
You're like a crane in a garbage dump, aren't you?

Thank you...!! How are you so sweet?

Umm...

Well then, the 4 of us shall have a maiden's tea party.

I made some coffee... would you like some?

Things like this host club, I'll try to get it shut down immediately!

As for God, why were all love-love Adam and Eve...

You've got it all wrong! What kind of productivity is there when women are with each other?

But, because the president is still in bed from culture shock, I wonder if you could come again.

Um, you know, Tama-chan is sleepy-man right now.
Of course the club has a shallow history, it was founded 2 years ago. It's because when Toru came up to high school, he made it. There seems to be several misunderstandings. The Host Club's history may be shallow...

But Tama-chän is half...? He is half-French and half-Japanese.

And I've never even heard that Tamaki-senpai was half? Certainly, he must have French blood, right? I thought he was born to the pair. Then why?

It's not so much payments as it's a points system. And you mentioned self-interests, but we don't even receive payments from the customers.

Wait...

We'll welcome her into the Zuka Club!!

As I know the present situation, I cannot afford to leave the maiden in this club! I'll start the admission process for Lobelia.

It seems like he's not even worth talking to.

It looks like a 'graduation' club party.
I'm sorry, Haruhi! We weren't trying to hide it!

Here! Take my mechanical pencil!

No, out of all the things I've asked for the first time today, that's the most ridiculous.

What if I also reveal the secret of my heart?

I don't need it anymore.

No, I've been quite shaken up today.

Ditch these guys and come back with us.

Being fooled like that must surely be a shock.

Well, wait. Daisy, the maiden has been quite shaken up today.

It's only a small profit.

Even so, please don't sell people's things without their permission.

We're not thieves. It was dropped!

Fainting innocence.

Your used mechanical pencil just sold for 30,000 yen.

Outari Kyouya's used mug

Yen 120,000.

Fujisaki Haruhi's used mobile

Yen 30,000.

This is all messed up! Why have I never heard of this before?

No one told me we were taking money like this!!

Main pentameters

Food expenses, period costumes, and the customer's food and drinks.

You didn't think we did such services at no cost, did you?

I'm not going to force you to work.

Wow, looks like an ant in a zoo.

Money's favorite cafe photo

Yen 150,000.

Other Prohibition Thieves cap used by King

Yen 30,000.

Money's favorite cake plate

Yen 20,000.
I wonder why I didn't notice until now... perhaps for her, instead of the Host Club.

Moreover, once, she even told me this, "it doesn't bother me when the girls are fussing around me."

And, "it seems like I might have some skills in that area."

The Zuka Club might be more suitable...

Though Haruhi is basically indifferent if anything, she does tend to prefer men's clothing.

"Please excuse me for today."

"No, now that I think of it, there was an electronic shop's name printed on it."

"Maybe it was a memento of her mother's."

"Why did you have to go and say something stupid like that? It's like pouring oil on fire!"

As I thought, selling her mechanical pencil was bad.

The truth is the truth. That's the way it is.
My translation of Ouran High School Host Club Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 20-21 (88-89)

#### Chapter 10: The Secret of the Host Club

**Page 20:**

- **Panel 1:**
  - A student exclaims, "Oh, my lady!!"
  - Above the student, it reads, "As promised, we came back!"

- **Panel 2:**
  - A student says, "Did you wait outside the club room especially for us?"
  - Another student responds, "Actually, everyone's been acting very weird since this morning."  

**Page 21:**

- **Panel 1:**
  - A student says, "I was told to enter with you when you arrived."

- **Panel 2:**
  - A student says, "If it's Lobelia, they'll likely pay off her $1 million in debt."

- **Panel 3:**
  - A student says, "WAA! Haru-Chan is going to change schools!"

- **Panel 4:**
  - A student says, "Calm down everyone! Listen to me!"

- **Panel 5:**
  - A student says, "And if it's Haruhi's brains, she'll surely pass Lobelia's scholarship test!"

- **Panel 6:**
  - A student says, "I have a secret plan!"
When the doors were opened, there was a fake Zuka club.
If you choose our club, it includes both older brothers and older sisters!

Mocking...? Surely, that's outrageous!

What kind of mimicry is this!? Are you mocking our culture!!

This is the grand strategy of "the two times delicious in only one club"

It's all as I calculated!!

This is a deadly mystery that, if you're a commoner, would even please a crying child!

Well? HaruhI, HaruhI!! Look at me, aren't I pretty?

Perhaps, Haruhi feels a certain attraction towards the Zuka Club but, however,

The sheltered ladies of Lobelia may have a hard time understanding this, but commoners are weak when they hear "freebies"!!

While in the Host Club, you can also get a taste of the Zuka Club too!!
My translation of Ouran High School Host Club Volume 3, Chapter 10, page 26-27 (94-95)
From the beginning, I was never willing to quit.

If you never thought of quitting, then what made you so angry yesterday!?

Ah... I understand.

Since after yesterday, the supermarket had a special "Time-service DAY".

In the world, there are lots of different types of people, and I think that people who also think like you are unique and interesting, but...
Translator's notes:
titles have not been translated.
Tono- (lit. Feudal Lord), is the title that Hikaru and Kaoru use for the club president
Nesama or onesama- older sister
chan- title used for close friends or girls that are younger than the speaker
senpai- title used for a senior at school (or at work)

Thus

An unknown rival of the Host Club was born

Good luck, Zuka Club!!

I'm not giving up, Milady...

I will show you that I will always save you and I will crush the Host Club!!

I swear!!

Don't waste my time, Milady!!!

You're too busy with your own stuff, Milady!!!!

Don't waste the time of other members in a club!!!

More work help—!!

Hkukukuku...
Appendix 2: List of Ouran Characters (not an exhaustive list, just those important to understanding this thesis)

**Host Club members:**
Fujioka Haruhi – female (to male cross-dresser, subconscious) – first year student and member of the Host Club – the “natural” – uses ‘jibun’ to refer to herself, a more gender neutral term, meaning “myself”.
Suō Tamaki – male - second year student and president of the Host Club – the “prince”
Ōtori Kyōya – male – second year student and vice president of the Host Club – the “glasses character” (megane kyara)
Hitachiin Hikaru – male – first year student and member of the Host Club - Kaoru’s older twin brother – “little devils” (with Kaoru)
Hitachiin Kaoru – male – first year student and member of the Host Club - Hikaru’s younger twin brother – “little devils” (with Hikaru)
Haninozuka Mitsukuni “Honey” – male – third year student and member of the Host Club – the “loli-shōta”
Morinozuka Takashi “Mori” – male – the “stoic” type or the “big brother”

**Zuka Club Members:**
Amakusa Benio “Benibara” – female – refers to herself using “boku” (“I” – masculine)
Maihara Chizuru “Suzuran” – female
Tsuwabuki Hinako “Hinagiku” – female

**Others:**
Fujioka Ryōji “Ranka” – male to female cross-dresser – Haruhi’s father
Kasanoda Ritsu – male – Yakuza heir
Hoūshakuji Renge – female – otaku and self-proclaimed manager of the Host Club
Appendix 3: List of Japan Period dates mentioned or referenced (relevant)

- 794-1185: Heian
- 1185-1333: Kamakura
- 1333-1336: Kenmu Restoration
- 1336-1573: Muromachi
- 1573-1603: Azuchi-Momoyama
- 1603-1868: Edo (Tokugawa)
- 1868-1912: Meiji
- 1912-1926: Taishō
- 1926-1989: Shōwa
- 1989-present: Heisei