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Emancipation in postmodernity : political thought in Japanese science fiction animation

Nakamura, M.

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EMANCIPATION IN POSTMODERNITY

Political Thought in Japanese Science Fiction Animation

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Promotor

Prof.dr. Katarzyna Cwiertka (Leiden University)

Co-promotor

Dr. Florian Schneider (Leiden University)

Promotiecommissie

Dr. Tom Looser (New York University)

Prof.dr. Madeleine Hosli (Leiden University)

Prof.dr. Ivo Smits (Leiden University)

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SUMMARY

Animation has long been overlooked as source for political thought. The aim of this thesis is to rectify this, and it will do so in two ways. First, it makes a theoretical and empirical case for animation as an intellectual source of political thought that should be used along with philosophical canon. Second, it sheds light on the political significance and expressive potentials of nonconventional sources for political theorists. The thesis explores the philosophical idea of emancipation, and expands the traditional corpus by drawing on Japanese science fiction animation (SF anime), a source that does not normally enter these philosophical debates. SF anime is an unconventional expression of political thought. It is medial rather than textual. Although philosophers have recently recognized the importance of visual media, film in particular, as an additional source for philosophical inquiries, the academic field of political thought remains predominantly textual. In addition, it is geo-cultural. Political thought has long been grounded in strong European traditions, including utopian and SF literature as extended fields of political expression. However, alternative political visions from non-European countries such as the science fiction from Japan have been little explored. Recognizing the scarcity of academic research on political expression in anime, this thesis proposes new ways of understanding the concept of emancipation. It argues that SF anime is a useful site for political theorists to interrogate pressing philosophical ideas, and it can engage with ongoing philosophical discussions through illustrations and thought experiments.

The thesis is organized as follows. The first three chapters establish a theoretical and methodological basis of the thesis. Chapter 1 maps out the landscape of emancipation as a field of knowledge in the existing field of political theory, and argues that the field is predominantly European and textual. Chapter 2 looks at the works of Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun. Discussing the role of intellectuals, the concept of everydayness, and the nexus between theory and practice, this chapter offers a theoretical basis of seeing anime – an everyday cultural practice in Japan and elsewhere – as an important site of philosophical inquiry. Chapter 3 considers the methods and approaches appropriate to analyzing anime as a mode of political thought. The following four chapters are case studies showing how the selected SF anime works become philosophical exercises in considering aspects of emancipation in two ways: *illustration* and *innovation*. That is, anime illustrates existing ideas and/or creates original philosophical arguments through thought experiments. Each chapter sets out the textual field and then demonstrates how SF anime can contribute to and forward our understanding of a particular aspect of emancipation and related concepts through visual narrative. Chapter 4 examines how the feature film *Time of Eve* illustrates Fredric Jameson's concept of *utopian enclave* and the possibility of an alternative world as a site for resistance. Chapter 5 analyzes how the

TV series *Psycho-Pass* illustrates the ways in which Michel Foucault's notion of power operates to secure people's wellbeing in the technologically enhanced surveillance society. It argues that the relation between emancipation and domination is dialectical. Chapter 6 analyzes Melvin Seeman's theory of alienation and its relation to emancipation in the TV series *Neon Genesis Evangelion*. Discussing the potentials and obstacles to the de-alienation and emancipation of the protagonist through a thought experiment, it suggests that imagination is emancipation. Chapter 7 shows how the feature film *Appleseed* performs a thought experiment that challenges the philosophical argument put forward by philosopher Nicholas Ager. It examines the idea of hybridity and its emancipatory potential.

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INTRODUCTION

Existing Sources of Political Theory

In 1989, Francis Fukuyama published an article in the American magazine *The National Interest* with the striking title of “The End of History?” The article announces the triumph of liberal democracy and liberal capitalism. His article and the subsequent book *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) attracted a lot of attention from scholars in the field of political theory and sparked an academic debate that is still ongoing.¹ Scholars have been discussing what is essentially the same question for over twenty-five years: have we reached the end of history? Or more precisely, have we arrived at “the end point of mankind’s ideological evolution and universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government?” (Fukuyama 1989, 4).

This question arguably only seems important if the history of political thought is approached from the dominant European tradition. Others thinking about it from a different starting point might instead ask how anybody could regard Fukuyama’s “end of history” thesis as an explanation of how political ideas have evolved in an increasingly transient world? Simply put, Fukuyama argues for the universality and superiority of a particular ideology or form of political thought developed in a particular time and place – political liberalism in modern Europe and America. It is far from clear how he could know that no innovative political ideas are found in non-European intellectual traditions or will emerge in the future in other parts of the world, including fictional worlds.

Fukuyama mirrors a tendency of many other political theorists by going straight to the same destination – the classical European philosophical canons – to find answers for all of their questions. This particular form of knowledge is assumed to explain everything. The problem is that the account they give is not a history of ideas developed in a particular region such as Europe or the USA, but a history of ideas whose universality is taken for granted. In Fukuyama’s case, he uses Hegel’s history of philosophy via Alexandre Kojève’s interpretation of Hegel, and Kojève’s theory

¹ For example, Samuel Huntington (1993) argues that the end of the Cold War would not bring the victory of political liberalism but merely a change from ideological or economic struggles to clashes between civilizations. Critical theorists such as Anderson (1992), Derrida (1994), Wallerstein (1995), Jameson (1998a) and many others provide sophisticated critiques of Fukuyama’s thesis. For a comparative survey of modern political theory including Fukuyama’s work, see Elliott (2008).

of the end of history, to demonstrate “an unabashed victory of economic and political liberalism” (ibid., 3). The hegemony of this particular ideology is the culmination of universal history because “it is the ideal that will govern the material world *in the long run*,” including the material world in Russia, China, Japan and other parts of the world that have historically had an ambivalent relationship with so-called West and western ideas (Fukuyama 1989, 4, emphasis in the original). To his credit, Fukuyama acknowledges that Hegelian human consciousness has to be understood in a very broad sense. It includes political doctrines as well as “religion, culture and the complex of moral values underlying any society” (ibid., 5-6). However, when he asks whether there are “any fundamental ‘contradictions’ in human life that cannot be resolved in the context of modern liberalism, that would be resolvable by an alternative political-economic structure?” (ibid., 8), Fukuyama dismisses the possibility that non-European thought may have anything significant to resolving such problems now or in the future. He is very explicit about this: “For our purposes, it matters very little what strange thoughts occur to people in Albania or Burkina Faso, for we are interested in what one could in some sense call the common ideological heritage of mankind” (ibid., 9). One wonders how he knows that the worldviews, or political and religious ideas developed in non-European countries have nothing to do with “the common ideological heritage of mankind,” which he identifies with a narrow spectrum of thought developed in Western Europe.

Alternative Approaches to Political Theory

Indeed, this kind of ethnocentricity and belief in the universality of the European intellectual tradition is widespread across the study of politics (i.e. political philosophy, political theory, and International Relations). For example, Goto-Jones (2005a; 2005b; 2008; 2009a; 2011) points out that the main problem with the history of political thought is its persistent conservatism and ethnocentricity. The canons of political thought taught in universities all over the world are almost exclusively concerned with “dead, white, ‘Western’ men” and pay no attention to non-European thinkers (Goto-Jones 2011). Gruffydd Jones (2006a) also suggests that research and teaching in International Relations (IR) remains Eurocentric today. The standard historical reference points of modern international politics and world history are “drawn almost exclusively from Europe’s ‘internal’ history”; the acknowledged canon and the majority of literature in the discipline are predominantly written by European and North American scholars (Gruffydd Jones 2006a, 2).

Although I acknowledge that political philosophy, political theory, and International Relations have been developed as distinctive academic disciplines in their own right, I treat IR theory in this thesis as part of a broader spectrum of the theory of politics and include the work of critical IR

theorists in the discussion when appropriate.² This is because there has been a continuing debate over the appropriateness of rigorous disciplinary boundaries in the study of politics: should the politics of government, states and interstate relations be the main object of analysis and delimit the scope of inquiry for IR theorists? Should political philosophers continue focusing on the study of public affairs within the state? Is this kind of intellectual division of labor helpful in understanding the complex and diverse nature, form, and content of modern political communities? Many leading political theorists, including Chris Brown (1992) and David Held (1991), question the validity of such a disciplinary separation and address its negative consequences. They call for a more inclusive view of political theory, re-integrating elements of these disciplines in order to understand the nature of the modern political world and its problems. As Held notes, “If political theory is concerned with ‘what is really going on’ in the political world and thereby, with ‘the nature and structure of political practices,’ then a theory of politics today must take account of the place of the polity within geopolitical and market processes, that is within the system of nation-states, international law and world political economy” (ibid., 10). Moreover, these theoretical fields of politics share at least two common features. Firstly, they are grounded firmly in European intellectual traditions (and are criticized as ethnocentric accordingly). Political philosophy, political theory and International Relations, and especially the various approaches critical of the realist and liberal mainstream of IR theory – normative theory (Beitz 1979; C. Brown 1992), English School (Linklater 1998; Linklater and Suganami 2006), critical security studies (Booth 2005; Wyn Jones 1999), to mention a few – have all developed from European political thought. Secondly, political philosophers and (international) political theorists are concerned with visions of the *good life* and this concern is closely connected to the normative issues such as order, justice, right, and security both within and among states. When it comes to studying normative ideas of emancipation, it would be appropriate to include the sophisticated debate on emancipation that has been conducted among IR theorists.

In spite of the conservative tendency in the study of politics, there has in recent years been an increasing amount of research into non-European philosophy and political thought and dialogue between different intellectual traditions. This includes research into less conventional forms of political expression such as storytelling, fiction and non-fiction, and textual and non-textual sources. Some of the most exciting work in the study of politics, particularly in the fields of political theory and IR theory, has extended across national and medial boundaries. Recent examples include

² I do acknowledge that the academic field of IR is neither monolithic nor homogeneous. It is a “discipline of theoretical disagreements” (Burchill and Linklater 2005, 4). For example, Feminism and Marxism are “very broad ‘churches’ which display great diversity” and their positions can widely differ and even conflict one another (ibid., 18).

insightful studies on the political and philosophical discourses of wartime Japanese philosophy, and the philosophy of the Kyoto School in particular, that illuminate the ways in which non-European thought could contribute to the traditional field of political thought and refuse to render them exotic to the orthodox European canon of political thought.³ Since 2009, the Routledge book series *Interventions* has offered a number of titles by feminist, postcolonial theorist, poststructuralist, and other critical thinkers operating beyond the traditional disciplinary realm of International Relations. The series also includes forms of writing rarely seen in the academic discipline of International Relations; authors such as Elizabeth Dauphinee (2013) and L.H.M. Ling (2014) explore the potential of the novel and the fairy tale as political media. Dauphinee's novel is among the narrative writings by Jenny Edkins (2013, 292), who suggests that novel writing has a practical political potential in its own right: it is capable of being "politically unsettling, disturbing, and transformative." In other words, by exploring unconventional source materials and approaches, those scholars intervene in an academic discipline frequently characterized by conservatism, ethnocentricity and masculinity, challenge received wisdom about the nature of international politics and the history of ideas, and search for new knowledge and new practices with which to explore pressing political philosophical questions.

While the arguments in this thesis are mostly of a general nature, I adopt the example of Japanese animation (*anime*) as a demonstration of an under-privileged yet potentially valuable source of difference and innovation in studying political thought. In other words, I would like to recommend anime to political theorists (and especially to those who have never seen anime before). To be clear, I do not claim that the canon entirely unimportant in the field of political theory. I merely want to propose that scholars should be aware of other forms of political expression, such as storytelling and anime, that are part of everyday life in Japan and elsewhere and have practical political effects. Indeed, more than thirty years ago, Fredric Jameson (1979, 130) called for attention to mass culture, such as popular TV programs and films, and its socio-political effects, because these artifacts "clearly speak a cultural language meaningful to far wider strata of the population than what is socially represented by intellectuals." Thirty years on, however, those working in mass culture industries and on its technological development are now much faster than the academy in responding to cultural and technological change and investigating its political implications. Observing the emergence of digital media and the technological transformation of the public sphere into a digital realm, Goto-Jones (2009b) proposes that intellectuals, and in particular political philosophers, engage critically with digital media in contemporary society. Extending the notion of the public sphere into digital media, he calls for serious scholarly investigation into

³ See for example, Goto-Jones (2005a, 2005b, 2008, 2009a).

emerging techno-media and proposes that modern Japanese anime, manga and videogames can be sources of theoretical insight into techno-advanced society and human experience of it.

This thesis aims to make a theoretical and empirical case for non-European and non-textual forms of political expression as a challenge to the existing mainstream methods of studying political thought, and to shed light on the political significance and expressive potentials of nonconventional sources for political theorists. The thesis explores the philosophical idea of emancipation in the light of a range of sources. While these include literature on the subject from the field of political theory, the thesis expands this traditional corpus by also drawing from a source that doesn't normally enter these philosophical debates – in this case, science fiction anime. Considering animation as an expressive medium, and science fiction as a locus of the thought experiment, the thesis explores how anime can develop and deploy various innovative ideas about the future of politics/political visions. In studying political thought through popular visual culture from Japan, I seek to broaden the field of political theory to include rarely explored forms of knowledge and practice.

Science fiction anime is an unconventional expression of political thought in two ways. The first is medial – anime is a visual medium and a major cultural force from Japan. Although philosophers have recently recognized the importance of visual media – films and TV dramas in particular – as an additional source for philosophical inquiry, the academic field of political thought remains predominantly textual. Moreover, serious research into the political significance of anime, another rich field of visual culture, is in its infancy. The second is geo-cultural. Political thought has long been grounded in strong European traditions, including utopian and science fiction literature as extended fields of political expression. However, alternative political thinking from non-European countries, and particularly the political visions in utopian and science fiction literature and visual media from Japan have been little explored.

Recognizing the scarcity of academic research on political expression in anime, this thesis sets itself two major goals. Firstly, by analyzing particular aspects of the concept of emancipation through some of the most popular science fiction anime titles over the last two decades, it shows how science fiction anime can in fact serve as an inspiration for philosophical exposition. My analysis will demonstrate that anime is a distinctive form of political expression in its own right. Secondly, the thesis proposes new ways of understanding the concept of emancipation. Emancipation is broadly defined as the liberation of human beings from external and internal constraints, or the realization of individual autonomy. The modern history of the idea of emancipation often refers to Karl Marx's work as the most important reference point (Laclau 1992; Kebede 2010). His theory and the responses to his work amount to the most sophisticated and fully developed site of politico-philosophical inquiry into emancipation. According to Marx, emancipation is the creation of a new social order called communism, in which those alienated in capitalist society, particularly the proletariat, recognize and organize economic, social and political

power to live in their unique species-being as beings producing in freedom from physical need. For philosopher Jürgen Habermas, emancipation is the establishment of a universal communicative autonomy based on reason, a practice that will eliminate all forms of inequality (i.e. class, patriarchy, and ethnicity). For poststructuralists such as Michel Foucault, by contrast, there is no liberation or emancipation; “there is no transcendence, there is only an alternation of discourse: another truth, another power” (Nederveen Pieterse 1992, 14). My analyses will show how the selected science fiction anime works become philosophical exercises in considering some aspects of power and emancipation in two ways: *illustration* and *innovation*. That is, anime illustrates existing ideas or/and creating original philosophical arguments through thought experiments. My analyses exemplify the relevance of anime as a mode of thought and show how selected anime illuminate existing philosophical ideas or have arrived at alternative conceptualizations of emancipation. In doing so, the thesis suggests the ways in which anime can contribute to the field of political theory by casting these ideas in a new light.

Structure of the Work

The thesis is organized as follows. The first three chapters establish a theoretical and methodological basis for the argument about anime’s contribution to political thought. Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 highlight emancipation as the subject of the thesis as a whole in two ways. Chapter 1 maps out the landscape of emancipation as a field of knowledge in the existing academic field of political theory, with a particular focus on the work of Karl Marx, responses to Marx in the Marxist tradition, and Michel Foucault. Even though my thesis is ostensibly about emancipation in Japanese science fiction anime, this chapter is almost exclusively about modern European (textual) thought in the orbit of Marx because I want to present the modern history of the idea of emancipation in the field of political theory and address its shortcomings. This history is predominantly European and textual. I do not discuss Japanese Marxists in this chapter, not because I want to devalue their importance and contributions, but because this is exactly how leading scholars in the field have treated non-European thinkers until very recently. Given the limitations of existing studies on the modern history of the idea of emancipation, I call for urgent attention to the fact that there is a clear absence of non-European and non-textual forms of political thought. I argue that this is a problem for me, for readers, and for the field. How can we pretend we are talking about emancipation in general if we are being so narrowly specific, referring exclusively to the work of European thinkers in our discourse about emancipation? Could and should we be more open to media other than the philosophical treatise? This is the major concern underpinning the thesis. It is thinking about these questions that lead me to a project exploring anime – a non-European and non-textual form of

political expressions – as an alternative source of knowledge and practice in contemporary political theory.

Chapter 2 is a response to some of the questions posed in Chapter 1. It makes a theoretical case for popular culture including anime as a respectable site of inquiry into the politics of emancipation. Discussing the role of intellectuals, the concept of everydayness, and the nexus between theory and practice in the work of Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun, critical theorists and Marxists in early twentieth century Europe and Japan, this chapter carves out an intellectual space for my subsequent treatments of anime.

Criticizing existing modes of knowledge production and traditional intellectuals, Gramsci and Tosaka redefined the idea of the intellectual in modern capitalist society. Both thinkers extended the scope of the intellectual from traditional elites and philosophers to the broad spectrum of specialists who are more actively involved in society in terms of economy, politics and culture, and saw them as important actors in organizing and leading moral and intellectual reformations. For Gramsci and Tosaka, a new vocation for modern intellectuals is to critically reflect on existing philosophy, common sense, and morality, and to engage with the creation of new worldviews, new common sense, and new morals in the politics of emancipation. The philosophers' vocation is accordingly to link philosophy and everyday practice. Philosophy in practice involves criticism of received common sense, current affairs, and social and cultural practices (including customs, literature, mass media and popular culture), together with the creation of new common sense and new morals. For Gramsci and Tosaka, everyday life is an important site for political and philosophical inquiries. Philosophers should not only look at classic philosophical texts but also extend the scope of their studies to everyday social and cultural practices. Moreover, everyday life has a political significance in the present through opening up the possibility for criticism and social change. Everyday life is a sphere of social, political, and cultural struggles for hegemony, ideology, and resistance.

Gramsci and Tosaka's respective theories offer a theoretical basis to see anime – everyday cultural practice in Japan and elsewhere – as an important site of philosophical inquiry, and as an additional intellectual source of political thought alongside the textual philosophical canon. Their theories also allow us to see the participants in the anime industry – the directors, animators, scriptwriters, and critics and many other professionals – as intellectuals who engage in intellectual activities. I argue that political theorists should not dismiss popular culture such as anime as having nothing to do with their political philosophical inquiries; they should instead critically reflect on such work because the political thought of our time is mediated and shaped by everyday cultural practices.

Chapter 3 considers the methods and approaches appropriate to analyzing anime as a mode of political thought. It begins by reviewing the common methods and sources in the field of political theory, and addresses their shortcomings: they are predominantly European and textual. I then look

at alternative approaches taken by scholars in the field of utopian and science fiction studies, as well as more recent scholarship on visual media, film in particular, and its philosophical aspects. I highlight how there are various ways to interrogate political ideas through looking at a less conventional corpus of sources, including utopian and science fiction literature, as well as film.

Literary theorist Darko Suvin (1979, 4) famously defines science fiction as “the literature of cognitive estrangement.” For Suvin, and his advocates such as Fredric Jameson, the most important function of estrangement in utopian and science fiction narratives is to estrange or distance readers from their society with its associated beliefs, norms, and values, and thereby to allow them to see their familiar reality critically. Estrangement is moreover always political, as it prompts readers to reveal that what has been taken to be eternal, natural, or universal is merely historical, and therefore changeable (Jameson 1998). In other words, science fiction literature could and should be an alternative form of political theory.

A similar point on the relation between estrangement and criticism is made by philosopher Stanley Cavell, who explores the philosophical significance of film as a medium of thought. Film is “a moving image of skepticism, a manifestation of our capacity to doubt the existence of the world” (Cavell 1979, 188) in which “the possibility of skepticism is internal to the conditions of human knowledge” (Rothman and Keane 2000, 68). That is, the objects and persons projected on the screen are real, but they do not exist in the spectator’s world right now. By projecting the everyday on the screen, film can disclose the unfamiliarity of the familiar to the spectator. This unfamiliarity, or the spectator’s feeling of estrangement from their living world is a form of skepticism. Film can invite us to philosophical questions of our sense of reality, the meaning of being human, the possibility of an alternative society and so forth. Although the question of to what extent the film (including anime) functions philosophically is still under debate among philosophers,⁴ Thomas Wartenberg (2007) provides two functions of film as philosophical practices: to illustrate existing philosophical ideas and to make original arguments through thought experiments. Using the work of Wartenberg, the later analytical chapters examine how anime do both: *illustrate* and *innovate*.

The research on alternative forms of political and philosophical expression initiated by some literary theorists and philosophers has made welcome and important contributions to understanding the intersection between popular culture and political thinking. Yet I would also like to call attention to the issue of sources again: most of the materials analyzed in existing studies – science fiction literature, film and TV drama – come from the USA and Europe, and are mainly live-action. Serious research into the political significance of anime – another rich field of visual culture from Japan – is still in its infancy. Calling attention to the scarcity of existing research on anime and politics, I propose its importance as a form of political intervention. This chapter then looks at

⁴ I look at some of these debates further in Chapter 3.

various existing methods for studying the (animated) moving image in the field of film, media and animation studies to create a toolbox for analyzing anime as a mode of political thought. Acknowledging anime as visual narrative, I take a trans-medial approach combining both narrative and visual analysis.

Chapter 4, 5, 6 and 7 are in-depth analyses of selected science fiction anime. The titles I look at are *Time of Eve* (Yoshiura 2010), *Psycho-Pass* (Motohiro and Shiotani [2012-2013] 2014), *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (Anno [1995-1996] 2006) and *Appleseed* ([2004] 2005). In selecting these anime I used the following three criteria.

Firstly, and the most importantly, the titles I focus on have to clearly address some aspects of emancipation and the related philosophical ideas of power, domination, or resistance in the narrative. Obviously there are a number of other anime that depict emancipation in terms of class, gender, race, and species, yet I have not set out in the thesis to provide a comprehensive picture of emancipation in Japanese animation. I do not claim that the selected anime titles represent the emancipatory politics of a particular group of people in Japanese society. Rather, I intend to look at these titles as a philosophical exercise, and examine how anime philosophize.

Secondly, I limit my selection to anime that has been produced in Japan, and released both in Japan and abroad since 1995. There are two concerns here: on the one hand, this allows me to locate anime's thought in the post-Cold War context, in which many political theorists have increasingly searched for alternative visions to liberal political order (Goto-Jones 2009b); on the other hand, I can also explore new political expressions that have emerged out of anime in both local and global cultural contexts. Although Japanese animation has been exported abroad since 1960s, many commentators suggest that Japanese animation became visible as *anime* around the world since the late 1980s and 1990s (Yamaguchi 2004; Napier 2005; Lamarre 2009; Tsugata 2011a; Clements 2013). The worldwide success of anime – Ōtomo Katsuhiro's *Akira* (1988), Oshii Mamoru's *Ghost in the Shell* (1995), the *Pokémon* franchise, the Academy Award winning *Spirited Away* (Miyazaki 2001), just to mention a few – signal the significance of anime within global media. Anime now appeals to a much wider audience than in previous decades.⁵ It should therefore be less controversial to look at anime since mid-1990s as an important part of interwoven global popular culture.

Thirdly, I have sought to expand my selection beyond a much-analyzed handful of established creators and genres in Japanese animation. The potential and significance of anime goes beyond the

⁵ Japanese anime industries gain international distribution channels with corporation with oversea partners since the 1990s, and this is a key to anime's international success in the American-dominated global popular culture (Iwabuchi 2002, 38). Iwabuchi addresses Disney's partnership with Studio Ghibli for global distributions of the Ghibli films as one of the prominent examples.

work of Tezuka Osamu, Miyazaki Hayao, Ōtomo Katsuhiro or Oshii Mamoru. I acknowledge the significance of their work to anime's popularity and multiplicity today, but there are already numerous scholarly and popular publications on their work available in both Japanese and English, and there are many philosophically interesting anime being produced by other creators. I have also sought to go beyond the *mecha* genre – the most established subgenre of science fiction anime, exemplified in the *Gundam* and *Macross* franchises. *Neon Genesis Evangelion* and *Appleseed* are of course also *mecha*, but I have included these titles for the analysis as they explore complex philosophical issues through the visual narrative as well as having the typical *mecha* elements (i.e. visually spectacular robots, weaponry, and battle scenes). The other two titles, *Time of Eve* and *Psycho-Pass*, deal with some of the pressing social issues set in the future societies. I have included both animated TV series and feature films as together these formats constitute the majority of anime. A typical animated TV series aired in one season contains around twenty episodes. The original *Evangelion* series has twenty-six episodes and the *Psycho-Pass* series has twenty-two, and each episode is about twenty-two minutes. The duration of a series is more than eight hours and the animated TV series can develop more complex narratives than animated feature films.

The first two case studies show how anime provides a lively illustration of existing philosophical ideas; the second two cases show how anime provides original philosophical arguments through thought experiments and hence contributes to existing philosophical debate. Each chapter considers a particular aspect of emancipation and related concepts through a trans-medial approach. I begin the chapters by setting out the textual field, before demonstrating how each science fiction anime can contribute to our understanding of emancipation through its visual narrative. In other words, the four selected anime titles become stepping-stones for confirming or problematizing ideas and arguments in relation to the concept of emancipation. These titles illustrate some familiar aspects of emancipation and related concepts discussed by political theorists and philosophers; they also invite us to perform various types of thought experiment: as a counterexample to a philosophical thesis, as confirming a theory, or as demonstrating the possibility of an alternative world.

Chapter 4 examines how the feature film *Time of Eve* (2010) illustrates the possibility of an alternative world or *utopian enclave*, to use Fredric Jameson's (2005) term, in which alternative imaginations of society and new political visions are thinkable. According to Jameson, this enclave is a kind of alien space that emerges from the process of spatial and social differentiation within society. However, it is not a closed space distanced from the rest of society as such, but a space that mediates radical political thinking within real society through a process of differentiation. In other words, the creation of utopian space is a distinctive socio-political process and practice in its own right. Borrowing Jameson's concept of the utopian enclave, my analysis explores the process of differentiation and its political implications through the visual narrative of *Time of Eve*. I argue that

the unique café Time of Eve functions as a utopian enclave allowing people within the enclave to reflect critically on the prevailing discourses and develop alternative political thinking. Through his unique experience in the café, the protagonist Rikuo, his android Sammy, and the other main characters begin to think critically about how their everyday practices – conversations, mass media, laws, social norms and common sense – are shaped on the basis of hierarchical relationships between humans and androids and by a prevailing anti-android discourse. Critical reflection leads Rikuo and others in the café to imagine a new human-android relationship. Here, the café Time of Eve becomes an important locus of resistance against the prevailing discourses and various forms of domination and power, while at the same time providing a space for generating alternative political visions. The anime presents the hope for a new human-android relationship envisaged by Rikuo and café regulars in the utopian enclave. Resistance begins with the characters questioning their subjectivity, a process that initiates a ceaseless struggle, rather than the achievement of a static state of emancipation. I discuss how the anime illustrates some aspects of power, domination and resistance as Foucault argues. *Time of Eve* does not present any concrete form of emancipation as an end-point or a goal, but it rather depicts the struggle, and the hope for an alternative form of society, emerging in the utopian enclave.

Chapter 5 examines how the concepts of security, emancipation and domination are interrelated in the TV series *Psycho-Pass* (2012-2013). I discuss the dialectical relation between emancipation and domination in the technologically enhanced surveillance society in *Psycho-Pass*. In the field of political theory, there are two conflicting views on security and power: the first is security as emancipation; and the second is security as domination. Ken Booth (1991) suggests that the emancipation of human individuals is a way to true security, while Michel Foucault (2007) argues that security has developed in modern society as a form of domination called *governmentality* – a new way to manage populations through the application of various knowledge and technologies and to secure people's health and productivity. *Psycho-Pass* is an interesting case through which to examine these issues since it articulates the ambivalent attitude of the guardians towards their powerful control system, as well as their struggles and rebellion, rather than portraying simple dichotomies. The analysis shows that *Psycho-Pass* vividly illustrates the ways in which the Foucauldian notion of power (i.e. disciplinary power, knowledge and biopower) operates to secure people's wellbeing in the future technopolis. The surveillance system and scientific knowledge about people's psychology are applied to human individuals through everyday practices, and people internalize these standards to maintain healthy bodies and minds. Along with the philosophical illustration, *Psycho-Pass* also performs a thought experiment that suggests we should side with Foucault's notion of security as governmentality and challenge Booth's argument on emancipation as security. The chapter suggests that the relation between domination and emancipation is dialectical. An ideal society without threats and fears – a vision of human

emancipation – is achieved through the control of the population and mass surveillance – exercises of power. Attention to this dialectic can therefore result in a more robust understanding of the concepts of domination and emancipation in technologically advanced societies.

Chapter 6 analyzes the idea of alienation and emancipation in the animated TV series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (1995-1996). It first reviews some of authoritative interpretations of the concept of alienation in the fields of political and social theory, sociology, and science fiction literature. It then analyzes how *Evangelion* illustrates some familiar aspects of alienation, in particular the five aspects of alienation proposed by Melvin Seeman (1959). Seeman identifies five meanings of alienation: *powerlessness*, *meaninglessness*, *normlessness*, *isolation*, and *self-estrangement*. The analysis suggests that *Evangelion* illustrates Seeman's conception, yet at the same time also represents the limitations of Seeman's understandings by exploring paradoxical aspects of alienation through the visual narrative.

The protagonist Shinji attempts to ease his sense of alienation by conforming to the accepted social norms through participating in the fight against the alien enemy Angels, but far from being successful, his attempts to relieve his alienated feelings end up deepening them. The more he devotes himself to the battle against the Angels, the more he finds contradictions in treating the Angels as the enemy. The transformation of the Angels in the later episodes challenges the binary distinction of the Self and the Other or the friend and the enemy that is the basis of the prevailing norms and values in the fictional world. The transformation thus intensifies the fear and psychological struggles of Shinji and the other main characters. *Evangelion* effectively depicts the protagonist's alienated feelings and his inner struggle through the innovative use of limited animation techniques, including the articulation of still images, montage, voiceover narration and dialogue, effective camera angles and movement, as well as the experimental use of written texts, abstract visuals, color motifs, and combining different textures in images such as photos, pen drawing and watercolor.

The later section of the analysis also suggests that *Evangelion* presents an innovative aspect of the concept of alienation through a counter-factual thought experiment. I discuss the potentials and obstacles to the de-alienation and emancipation of Shinji, and suggest that Shinji is freed from his sense of alienation in the final episode through his imagination of an alternative universe. In other words, imagination is emancipation. The uneasy visual effects used extensively in earlier episodes to portray Shinji's psychological struggle disappear in this imaginary world.

Chapter 7 shows how the feature film *Appleseed* (2004) performs a thought experiment that challenges the philosophical argument put forward in philosopher Nicholas Ager's book *Humanity's End: Why We Should Reject Radical Enhancement* (2010). Ager sets out a theoretical basis for *species-relativism* on the premise that human beings as a biological species share certain experiences and ways of existing, which may be different from another species, such as posthumans.

Accordingly, Ager argues against what he calls *radical enhancement*, or the augmentation and transformation of the intellectual and physical capacities of human beings well beyond those we presently have, because it alienates us from what makes us human beings. *Appleseed* depicts a future utopian society wherein genetic engineering technologies become widespread. Half of its population consists of human clones whose reproductive functions are controlled in order to prioritize normal humans. Tensions between the pro- and anti-clone camps escalate, until eventually their clashes plunge their society into terror. *Appleseed* presents an intriguing case with which to reflect on Ager's species-relativism and essentialistic understanding of human beings because it deals with issues such as differences between species in a future utopian society, the possibility of shared experiences and values among citizens, and posthuman subjectivity. Moreover, in its depiction of the problem of essentialist ideas of human beings and anthropocentric visions of utopia, I suggest that *Appleseed* offers an alternative political vision of emancipation – the hybridity of humans and posthumans – with which we might go beyond human essentialism.

In conclusion, the analyses show how science fiction anime, despite not normally being considered a valid source of philosophy, can in fact serve as an inspiration for philosophical exposition. The science fiction anime selected illustrate existing philosophical ideas and also perform various thought experiments and illuminate aspects of emancipation in new ways. In other words, anime is a form of political expression and a new mode of political thought in its own right; it can contribute to ongoing philosophical discussions on the idea of emancipation. The thesis therefore provides a fresh take on the overarching philosophical issue of emancipation. Through exploring political expressions in anime, the thesis demonstrates the political dimensions of this important medium and the need attend to them. This attention will not devalue conventional text-based political thought, but provide a valuable supplement to it for a more inclusive field of political theory.

1. DIALECTIC OF EMANCIPATION: EMANCIPATION IN POLITICAL THEORY

1.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to map out the landscape of emancipation as a field of knowledge in existing political theory, with a particular focus on the work of Karl Marx and responses to Marx in the Marxist tradition and poststructuralism. I scrutinize the concepts of emancipation, power, domination and resistance as developed by European critical theorists including Antonio Gramsci, the Frankfurt School (Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas in particular) and poststructuralists, especially Michel Foucault who critically engaged with Marx's philosophy. Critical theorists in Europe shared similar concerns regarding their respective social and historical conditions, and the normative visions they inherited from Marx. All of them to various degrees envisioned different forms of emancipation as a response to forms of domination in their societies. Yet this chapter argues that the visions of emancipation they proposed often constitute new forms of domination. Drawing on the thought of Michel Foucault, I argue that domination and emancipation are intimately related to each other; their relationship is circular and dialectical.

In addition, I discuss how some of these critical theorists developed their thought by exploring the intersections between philosophy and the social, economic and cultural dynamics of their time, rather than by remaining within a traditional field of philosophy. Although all of the theorists I review in this chapter received rigorous academic training in philosophy, they took different career trajectories as they developed their philosophical reflection on modernity. Some of them, such as Marx, Marcuse, and Habermas, kept their strong belief in reason and rationality as a unique trait of human beings – central ideas of the modern European philosophical tradition – and as a source of human emancipatory potential. Other theorists such as Gramsci were more nuanced, while Adorno, Horkheimer, and Foucault were radically critical of the belief in human emancipation through reason and rational thinking that permeated modern European intellectual traditions. They questioned and critically examined conventional understandings of the interrelated ideas of enlightenment, emancipation, reason, and progress by distancing themselves from existing methods and sources in philosophy. To some extent, the originality and innovation found in the works of Gramsci, Adorno,

Horkeimer, and Foucault derives from their unconventional approach to sources in traditional philosophy.

Although the modern history of the idea of emancipation I review in this chapter includes many of the most sophisticated and insightful discussions of the idea of emancipation in the field of political theory, it has some shortcomings: there is a clear absence of non-European and non-textual forms of political thought. In other words, it is supposed to be *a* history of modern European (textual) thought about emancipation in the orbit of Marx, yet the field usually proceeds as if it is *the* general history of the idea of emancipation. Although I am fully aware of the potential contributions and significance of the non-European Marxist thought such as that from Japan, and non-textual forms of philosophical expression such as film, it is nevertheless true that leading scholars in the field of political theory have ignored non-European thinkers and the non-textual forms of philosophical expression which I will discuss later.⁶ If political theorists are willing to recognize the importance of European critical thought – for example Marx’s philosophical reflection on the political economy of modern capitalist societies, Gramsci’s analysis of everyday practices, Adorno and Horkheimer’s literary, cultural and social criticism, or Foucault’s historical analysis of non-canonical and forgotten texts – they should be more open to non-conventional sites of inquiry, such as non-European thought and non-textual media. An encounter with non-European and non-textual forms of political philosophy would enrich the existing field of political theory, and produce new sites and senses of political thought.

1.2. Karl Marx

Marx’s normative interests and his vision of human emancipation are well documented in his earlier philosophical writings. Lamenting the neglect of practice by philosophers, Marx famously notes, “the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it” (Marx [1845] 2000d, 173). As Michael Löwy (2003) suggests, Marx developed his theory of revolution – a philosophy of praxis seeking the self-emancipation of the proletariat – in his early writings, and this becomes a central theme of his political thought. Löwy argues that Marx developed his theoretical

⁶ There has been growing attention among scholars in the field of political theory to non-American or non-European thought in recent decades. Scholars draw on a variety of theoretical resources as alternatives. For the recent treatment of Kyoto School philosophy as political philosophy, see Goto-Jones (2005a; 2008a). For the postcolonial critiques of conventional IR theory, see Gruffydd Jones (2006b), Hobson (2012), Shilliam (2011). For the recent survey on emerging Chinese political thought and its challenges in IR theory, see Schneider (2014).

foundation in the historical context of the social struggles in Europe in the 1840s, particularly his actual experience of the labor movement in France, as well as his critical engagement with Hegel's philosophy and the work of contemporary liberal philosophers, the Young Hegelians such as Ludwig Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer. Stimulating an interest in emancipation, Marx's philosophy influenced many social and political theorists, particularly the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School. As Martin Jay (1996, 259) suggests, the Frankfurt School detached itself from an orthodox Marxist theory of ideology and implicitly located Marx in the Enlightenment tradition. It is therefore worth examining the notions of emancipation and domination in his work.

Marx's philosophical writings about emancipation from the early 1840s developed out of his critical reflection on Hegelian philosophy. In "On the Jewish Question" ([1843] 2000a) for example, Marx criticized Bruno Bauer's essay on Jewish emancipation and discussed the differences between political and human emancipation. Bauer suggested that the emancipation of Jews as well as Christians in Germany could be achieved through the abolition of religions, since it is religion that separates Jews from Christians. Although Marx agreed with Bauer's liberal idea of political emancipation as a "great progress," he complained that Bauer confused political emancipation with human emancipation. For Marx, the extension of civil rights and political liberalism was not the "final form of human emancipation" since an individual remains abstract and alienated in egoistic bourgeois civil society ([1843] 2000a, 54). Instead, Marx proposed universal emancipation as non-alienated humanity. Marx notes that

All emancipation is bringing back man's [*sic*] world and his relationships to man himself. Political emancipation is the reduction of man, on the one hand to a member of civil society, an egoistic and independent individual, on the other hand to a citizen, a moral person. The actual individual man must take the abstract citizen back into himself and, as an individual man in his empirical life, in his individual work and individual relationships become a species-being; man must recognize his own force as social forces, organize them, and thus no longer separate social forces from himself in the form of political forces. Only when this has been achieved will human emancipation be completed. (Marx [1843] 2000a, 62)⁷

For Marx, genuine human emancipation involved taking back the *species-being* or *common essence* of human beings through which they connect with one another in their everyday life and work, overcoming their separation or alienation in civil society. Although, this was "essentially...a radical critique of 'modern civil society,' that is, of *bourgeois society* (in the present sense of the world) as

⁷ [*Sic*] is inserted here to mark the non-gender neutral writing.

a whole, in all its philosophical presuppositions, its political structures and its economic foundations” (Löwy 2003, 52), Marx’s idea of human emancipation was vague and abstract at this point. Marx attempted to integrate some of the socio-historical context of bourgeois society into his philosophical reflection, yet he was only able to discuss human emancipation with the vocabulary of Hegelian philosophy, with an abstract conception of human and species-being.

It was in another philosophical work, “Toward the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Law: Introduction” ([1843] 2000b) that Marx for the first time identified the proletariat as the subject of human emancipation. According to Marx, the proletariat experiences “the concentrated irrationality of society ... its emancipation is at the same time the emancipation of society as a whole” (Giddens 1971, 8). Marx comments that

[The real possibility of a German emancipation lies] in the formation of a class with radical chains ... of a social group that is the dissolution of all social groups, of a sphere that has a universal character because of its universal sufferings and lays claim to no particular right, because it is the object of no particular injustice but of injustice in general. This class can no longer lay claim to a historical status, but only to a human one ... In a word, it [the proletariat] is the complete loss of humanity and thus can only recover itself by a complete redemption of humanity. This dissolution of society, as a particular class, is the proletariat. (Marx [1843] 2000b, 81)

A few years later, in *The Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 2000f), Marx more explicitly described emancipation as the creation of a new social order called communism, aiming to free the proletariat from the exploitation and domination they experience in capitalist society. Marx envisioned that through this process, the new society becomes truly human. Marx later devoted his career to understanding the social structures of capitalism and the ways in which it shaped society. Accordingly, his field of focus shifted from philosophy to political economy, away from the philosophical context and towards the actual socio-historical context. Marx observed two inter-related forms of domination under capitalism: *alienation* and *class domination*.

The first form of domination in modern capitalist society – alienation – causes material things to dominate and devalue human beings on a large scale. Marx applied the philosophical notion of alienation that Hegel and Feuerbach had earlier developed to the actual socio-historical context of wageworkers in *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* ([1844] 2000c). In Marx’s analysis of alienation, workers are alienated from themselves or lose themselves in four ways (Marx [1844] 2000c, 85–95).

Firstly, workers are alienated from the product they produce since they do not have any control over it. The product of labor is owned by others, exchanged and controlled by the operation of the

market. “Labour does not only produce commodities; it produces itself and the labourer as a commodity and that to the extent to which it produces commodities in general” (ibid., 86). Secondly, workers are not only alienated from the product, the result of their production, but also from the act of production. “The alienation of the object of labour is only the résumé of the alienation, the externalization in the activity of labour itself” (ibid., 88). Marx called this phenomenon *objectification* (*Vergegenständlichung*); that is, the assimilation of workers (as subjects) by their products (objects). Workers become slaves to the product and their own work. Thirdly, workers are alienated from their *species-being* (*Gattungswesen*): the unique human attribute that distinguishes human life from that of the animals. Marx considered a species-being as a “universal and therefore free being” (Marx [1844] 2000c, 89). Yet, once workers are alienated from their labor, their labor is not their own free activity any more and becomes a mere means for their physical existence. Alienated labor “makes the species-being of man, both nature and the intellectual faculties of his species, into a being that is alien to him, into a means of his individual existence. It alienates from man his own body, nature exterior to him, and his intellectual being, his human essence” (ibid., 91). Marx considered alienation of a human from his species-being in a modern capitalist society to be focused through the class structure and the proletariat experience (Giddens 1971, 14). Fourthly, the workers’ alienated situation is also applied to their relations to other humans. “What is valid for the relationship of a man to his work, of the product of his work and himself, is also valid for the relationship of man to other men and of their labour and the objects of their labour” (Marx [1844] 2000c, 91).

Although the notion of alienation developed in the *Manuscripts* continues to be important in his mature works, Marx dropped the word alienation from his subsequent work (Giddens 1971, 9). This can be explained by “his desire to separate his own position decisively from abstract philosophy” and his belief that “alienation must be studied as an historical phenomenon, which can only be understood in terms of the development of specific social formations,” and not as an abstract philosophical concept, as it was treated by the German philosophers (Löwy 2003, 19). Chapter 6 discusses the psychological aspect of alienation and its relation to the emancipation of individuals through the anime *Evangelion*.

The second form of domination – class domination – exists in every society, according to Marx. In the first section of *The Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 2000f), he explained the history of society in terms of the means of production and class struggle. Marx argued that the modern form of class structure – the antagonism of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – became simpler and more universalized through the development of modern capitalist society. He observes that

The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and

individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes ... Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. (Marx [1848] 2000f, 252–253)

Moreover, Marx ([1846] 2000e) regarded class domination as existing not only in economic and material relationships but also in social and intellectual relationships. He argued that the dominant class with economic power is able to disseminate ideas which legitimize and naturalize its position of dominance in society. Marx contended that

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. (Marx [1846] 2000e, 192)

Thus, Marx regarded the economic relation as the most crucial element in the social structure, and believed that the changes in the economic structure lead to changes in other realms in society. According to his materialist conception of history, the dynamics of economic development within the capitalist system create the very condition for social changes. Alienation and class domination on a mass scale are the consequence of modern capitalist development.

At the same time though, alienation and class domination are a driving force for communist revolutions. In addition, Marx also believed that the contradictions and conflicts of the capitalist system unite the proletariat as a revolutionary class, first at the local level and later at the national and international level. In his vision, revolutionary movements create the active consciousness necessary to transform society through revolutionary practices, and eventually achieve human emancipation. In other words, Marx regarded the new social order of communism as predicated on the historical development of capitalism.⁸

⁸ The shape of this new social order, however, remains unclear in Marx's works (Giddens 1971, 60). Marx vaguely addressed his vision of the future society as the society that abolishes the division of labor and private property in *German Ideology* (Marx [1846] 2000e, 207) as follows: "Within communist society, the only society in which the original and free development of individuals ceases to be a mere phrase, this development is determined precisely by the connection of individuals, a connection which consists partly in

In summary, for Marx, the social structure of capitalism causes two types of domination: alienation and class domination; emancipation is to create a new social order, communism. In communist society, the division of labor and private property will be abolished, and exploitation over the proletariat will be overcome, which will eventually free all human beings from all domination under capitalism. In the new stage of development, human beings recover their alienated selves and species-being in the truly human society. The new social order is generated through the historical development of capitalism itself. Although Marx identified the proletariat as the subject of human emancipation in his reflection of socio-historical contexts, his inquiry and approach into the idea of emancipation in early writings was profoundly influenced by Hegelian philosophy. Concepts such as man, species-being or alienation are inevitably very abstract. His intellectual shift from philosophy to political economy was a response to the limitations of contemporary German philosophy for understanding the historical development of modern capitalist society and overcoming the alienation and exploitation of the proletariat and the modern individual.

The Russian revolution of 1917 and the German revolution of 1918 led many young intellectuals and activists to believe at one point that bourgeois capitalist society was destined to collapse, and to embrace Marxism. Yet, many of Marx's followers became pessimistic about the establishment of the communist society after witnessing the failure of European proletarian revolutions in the early 1920s and the rise of Fascism in the 1930s. They therefore tried to explain why Marx's prediction of proletarian revolution in Europe had failed to come about, and to contemplate what the alternatives might be.

Some of Marx's followers began to rethink or challenge orthodox Marxism, the dominant version of Marxism at that time, which emphasizes the analysis of economic and scientific dimensions of society and looks at the historical development of society in purely economic terms. Orthodox Marxists follow Marx's model of modern society as a dual structure consisting of two types of operations: the level of material production and economic relations (or the *base*) on the one hand, and the level that includes the political, legal, and cultural dimensions of society (or the *superstructure*) on the other.⁹ They advocate Marx's view that economics (the base) is the most

the economic prerequisites and partly in the necessary solidarity of the free development of all, and finally, in the universal character of the activity of individuals on the basis of the existing productive forces.”

⁹ The base of a society according to Marx consists of two parts: the means of production and the relations of production. The means of production are basically all nonhuman elements that are used to produce machines, factories, land, or materials. The relations of production refer to the application of the means of production. Together they constitute of the base that shapes the overarching superstructure. This represents the various relationships in a society and the way in which the actors in a society respond to each other. The

crucial dimension of social structure and the driving force behind social change. Thus, for Marx and orthodox Marxists, changing capitalist society requires replacing the economic base of capitalism with communism by the way of proletarian revolutions, while for more philosophically oriented thinkers, this kind of economic determinism lapses into dogmatic economic reductionism.

This view was challenged by a group of critical theorists who consider the relationship between base and superstructure to be a dynamic and interactive one. These two levels interact with and have an impact on each other in society, rather than economics determining all other non-economic dimensions of society. Among those thinkers, Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch and Antonio Gramsci were pioneers who attempted to develop a new critical interpretation of Marxism with the Hegelian dialectical method as their *philosophy of praxis* (Kellner 1989, 11). Those theorists were aware of the importance of subjectivity, culture and action in order to make radical political change possible. In what follows I first look at Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and then discuss the thoughts of Marcuse, Adorno, Horkheimer and Habermas, before elaborating Foucault's thinking. I also briefly discuss their approaches to philosophy.

1.3. Antonio Gramsci

Gramsci tried to provide an account of why socialist revolutions succeeded in Russia but failed in the liberal-democratic, capitalist societies in Western Europe. According to Gramsci, societies in Russia and in Western Europe have developed and operated differently, and therefore different kinds of revolutionary actions and strategies must be taken in Western Europe. Gramsci's comparison of the East and the West, the relationships between state and civil society, and discussion of different revolutionary strategies are at the heart of Gramsci's political thought throughout the Notebook (Anderson 1976, 7–8). Gramsci placed great importance on analyzing society, civil society in particular, and the ways in which power relations operate in civil society.

In Gramsci's account, Western Europe, compared with Russia under the pre-revolutionary Tsarist regime, generates a much more complex social and political structure. Gramsci (1971, 238) noted that "In the East the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed." In Russia in the early twentieth century, the social and political structure was less developed. For example, the level of material productivity was low, the agrarian economy still existed, and the ruling class's hegemony over society was weak

superstructure again maintains and legitimizes the base. For the more detailed discussion on the idea of base and superstructure in Marxism, see for example Rigby (1998).

and shattered. Moreover, there were few intermediaries between the authorities and revolutionary forces. With these factors combined, the Bolsheviks' sudden direct attacks on the existing regime were very successful in Russia. Gramsci called this type of war a *war of manoeuvre*, a frontal assault (Jones 2006, 30–32). In Western Europe however, social and political structures are much more complex. Various other political institutions and organizations (e.g. political parties, private companies, trade unions etc.) are operating in addition to the two camps of governmental authorities and revolutionary forces. As a consequence, Gramsci predicted that that revolutionary struggles would take a longer period of time, and that revolutionary forces should resort to an alternative strategy. Gramsci referred to this type of war as a *war of position* (Jones 2006, 30–32).

In a war of position, revolutionary opponents should only attack selected old ruling elites, co-opted with some other social groups into a new ruling coalition, and fight for social hegemony against existing regimes in various terrains of civil society. In Gramsci's words, "[a] war of position is not, in reality constituted simply by the actual trenches, but by the whole organizational and industrial system of the territory which lies to the rear of the army in the field" (Gramsci 1971, 243).

Gramsci's illustration of the war of position leads us to his theory of *hegemony*, one of the central concepts in his political thought. Gramsci borrowed the idea of hegemony from Russian political and intellectual contexts such as Lenin's writings and political slogans that announced the proletariat's hegemony in labor movements (Jones 2006). His theory of hegemony is innovative in the sense that he employed the term hegemony, which originally meant the leading role of the proletariat and peasantry in socialist revolutions in Russia, to explain not only the relationship between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, but also the social order of bourgeois capitalist societies in Western Europe (Anderson 1976). As we have seen earlier, Gramsci regarded the study of civil society and the mechanism of social hegemony as crucial to understanding how socialist revolutions succeeded in one society (Russia) but not the others (Germany and Italy). In one passage, Gramsci elaborated the term hegemony that is comprised of two elements: "The one that can be called 'civil society,' that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private,' and that of 'political society' or 'the State'" (Gramsci 1971, 12).¹⁰ He further noted that "these two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government" (ibid.). Hegemony, in Gramsci's own words, is "the dual nature of Machiavelli's

¹⁰ According to Hoare and Nowell Smith, Gramsci's conception of civil society contains some inconsistencies and he did not offer a single wholly satisfactory conception of civil society or the State. For instance, "The State is elsewhere defined as 'political society' + 'civil society,' and elsewhere again as a balance between political society and civil society. In yet another passage, Gramsci stresses that 'in concrete reality, civil society and State are one and the same'" (Hoare and Nowell Smith in Gramsci 1971, 207–208).

Centaur – half-animal and half human. They are the levels of force and of consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilization, of the individual moment and of the universal moment (‘Church’ and ‘State’), of agitation and of propaganda, of tactics and of strategy” (ibid., 169-170).

In this vein, hegemony is mediated and formed through civil society. It refers to a wide range of private institutions and organizations in capitalist society such as political parties, schools, families, churches, mass media, trade unions, companies, laws, as well as culture. In other words, civil society is a matter of people’s everyday life. To understand the mechanism of hegemony in civil society, Gramsci analyzed various aspects of people’s everyday life: culture, science, language, art, literature, theatre, education and so forth. These subjects are the object of study and “well integrated in Gramsci’s central idea of hegemony and political praxis” (Salamini 2014, 12). I will return to Gramsci’s conception of everydayness and its philosophical significance in Chapter 2. The point to be stressed here is that hegemony involves the control of ideas (a form of ideological domination) that operates in civil society both to protect the authority of the dominant group on the one hand, and to challenge the existing social order and generate a transformative social process on the other. For Gramsci, hegemony is unlike the form of power that governments or the ruling class exert through direct domination or direct force against subaltern people,¹¹ but rather the moral and intellectual leadership operating in civil society, emerging from various social processes with the active complicity of subaltern people (Jones 2006, 49–52).

Therefore for Gramsci, subordinate social groups are controlled not only in terms of material production and economic relations but also by the dominant ideology, as Marx argued. More importantly, the control of ideas or the maintenance of social hegemony is only achieved with the spontaneous consent of those people through their lived experiences. Thus social hegemony is a process in which power operates mutually, rather than operating in only one direction from the dominant social group to the subalterns. Raymond Williams (1977, 110) nicely summarizes Gramsci’s concept of hegemony as follows:

¹¹ In the Oxford Dictionary of English, the adjective *subaltern* refers to “of lower status” (Stevenson 2010). Gramsci seems to have used the term in his prison writings as a code word for any social group subject to social hegemony (i.e. the working class or the proletariat, peasants) to avoid prison censorship (Buchanan 2010b). Some scholars such as Joseph A. Buttigieg (2013), however, argue against such a narrow definition as a substitute of the working class or proletariat in Gramsci’s writings. According to Buttigieg, the term appears in Gramsci’s pre-prison writing and letters too, and Gramsci was well aware of the heterogeneous nature of subaltern people as he always refers to them as the plural (ibid., 36).

Hegemony is then not only the articulate upper level of ‘ideology’, nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as ‘manipulation’ or ‘indoctrination’. It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of our living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meaning and values – constitutive and constituting – which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a ‘culture’, but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes.

Hegemony penetrates into people’s everyday life and is a dynamic rather than static process. The dominant social group therefore has to make an effort to maintain their hegemonic social control in civil society even after they take control of society. In the meantime, if subordinate social groups want to challenge the existing social order, their struggles must be conducted in civil society. Moreover, Gramsci (1971) argued that control or leadership in civil society comes before control of governmental power. Gramsci wrote that

A social group can, indeed must, already exercise “leadership” before winning governmental power (this is indeed one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power); it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to “lead” as well. (ibid., 57-58)

Thus, according to Gramsci, examining civil society or people’s everyday life is crucial because it is a terrain of political struggle for social hegemony. To understand the operation of hegemony, intellectuals must analyze concrete everyday social and cultural practices, which mediate and shape people’s thought and worldviews. Indeed, methodologically Gramsci was much more open to alternative approaches to philosophy than traditional philosophers. Just as Marx responded critically to Hegel’s methodological limitations and abstract philosophy of history, Gramsci also linked philosophy, history and politics in a new way. For Gramsci, “the philosophy of praxis is a philosophy of history, a theory and methodology of history with practical intentions, that of directing all forces of society, intellectual and material, to change the world” (Salamini 2014, 179). Gramsci recognized the importance of everyday social and cultural practices as the object of philosophy, history and politics and the loci of social struggles. The materials he dealt with go far beyond the narrow confines of European textual philosophy. Although Gramsci rarely looked at the

materials from beyond Europe and America, he would have recognized the significance of cultural products from non-European countries, which shape and reshape people's thoughts and worldviews in both local and global contexts. Chapter 2 will look at how Gramsci would have concurred with his Japanese contemporary Tosaka Jun, and discuss the significance of their thought and method in considering popular culture, including anime, as a valid source of political thought today.

1.4. The First Generation of the Frankfurt School

Gramsci and his contemporaries were not the only scholars who sought to develop Marx's work in a philosophically sophisticated way. A group of intellectuals called the Frankfurt School joined this endeavor. The members of the Frankfurt School conducted a series of social studies and developed multidisciplinary social theory at the Institute for Social Research through the 1920s and the 1930s first in Germany and later in the United States. Under the directorship of Max Horkheimer, those associated with the School developed a new philosophical mode of inquiry now known as Critical Theory.¹² They sought to preserve Marx's spirit to some extent, but also to break with some tenets of Marx's account of emancipation, providing a broader normative vision of universal emancipation. In Douglas Kellner's (1989, 1) word, their work is "a critique of domination and theory of liberation."

Gramsci's shift in focus from material production and economic relations (or the base) to the superstructure resonated with Herbert Marcuse who argued that an antirevolutionary consciousness was prevalent among the majority of the working class because they were integrated into advanced capitalist society. According to Marcuse (1972, 79–80), "the oppressive rule of the established language and images over the mind and body of man [*sic*]" has reached "a population which has introjected the needs and values of their masters and managers and made them their own, thus reproducing the established system in their minds, their consciousness, their senses and instincts." What is at stake in the resistance is therefore a "qualitative leap," which "involves a radical transformation of the needs and aspirations themselves, cultural as well as material; of consciousness and sensibility; of the work process as well as leisure" (*ibid.*, 16-17). As Marcuse noted, neither "the extension of satisfaction within the existing universe of needs" or "the shift of satisfaction from one (lower) level to a higher one" are sufficient in the socialist revolution (*ibid.*,16).

¹² For the historical development of the Frankfurt School, see Held (1980) and Kellner (1989).

Here Marcuse proposed a new form of subjectivity, a new subject of radical reconstruction, or a “new type of man,” who is different from “the human subject of class society in his very nature” (ibid., 64). Marcuse notes that

The development of a radical, nonconformist sensibility assumes vital political importance in view of the unprecedented extent of social control perfected by advanced capitalism: a control which reaches down into the instinctual and physiological level of existence. Conversely, resistance and rebellion, too, tend to activate and operate on this level (ibid., 62-63).

What is required here is an “emancipation of the senses” (Marcuse 1972, 64). Human emancipation is built on the human *sensibility*. “The individual emancipation of the senses is supposed to be the beginning, even the foundation, of *universal* liberation, the free society is to take roots in new instinctual needs” (ibid., 72, emphasis in the original). On this aspect, the political struggle is drawn into “the realm of nonmaterial needs” and “the physiological dimension of existence: the realm of nature” (ibid., 129).

Importantly though, Marcuse did not oppose reason. He was not anti-intellectual, even though he believed in the senses as the common ground of human emancipation. According to Marcuse, “the instinctual rebellion will have become a political force only when it is accompanied and guided by the rebellion of reason”...The rebels need to succeed in subjecting their new sensibility to “the rigorous discipline of the mind (*die Anstrengung des Begriffs*)” (ibid., 131). “The revolution is nothing without its own rationality” (ibid., 132). Marcuse’s sympathy towards reason and rationality distinguishes him from his colleagues in the Frankfurt School such as Adorno and Horkheimer.

One of the most significant developments of Critical Theory was the shift from the intellectual project of producing multidisciplinary social theory to that of a new philosophical critique of scientific positivism (Kellner 1989). This philosophical turn in Critical Theory is found in Horkheimer’s work. In his essay “Traditional and Critical Theory” ([1937] 2002a), Horkheimer attempted to clarify the project of Critical Theory through the critique of traditional theory, which he associates with scientific positivism (which Horkheimer calls *instrumental reason*) and its application to social science.

According to Horkheimer, traditional theory tends to be deductive and to privilege science and mathematics. In natural science, subject and object are strictly separated and the external world is to be analyzed in an objective manner. Yet, Horkheimer argued, this scientific activity is itself a part of the social practice that constitutes capitalism and bourgeois society and is manifested in particular in the relationship between science, technology, and production (Peoples 2009, 9). Consequently, knowledge becomes instrumental, and scientific thought only serves to maintain the

existing system of social domination, rather than changing the current form of domination. As Horkheimer ([1937] 2002a, 196) notes that “The scholar and his science are incorporated into the apparatus of society; his achievements are a factor in the conservation and continuous renewal of the existing state of affairs, no matter what fine names he gives to what he does.”

Critical Theory, by contrast, challenges the foundations of traditional theory and the social contexts in which they are embedded. Rather than legitimating or consolidating the existing social system, Critical Theory aims to trace the contradictions in contemporary society, which may open up the possibility of transcending it and its forms of domination. Critical Theory is “an essential element in historical effort to create a world which satisfied the needs and powers of men...[and] its goal is man’s emancipation from slavery” (Horkheimer [1937] 2002b, 246). Accordingly Horkheimer called Critical Theory a “transformative activity” ([1937] 2002a, 232) and “critical activity” ([1937] 2002a, 206 n14). As Horkheimer notes,

The aim of this [critical] activity is not simply to eliminate one or other abuse, for it regards such abuses as necessarily connected with the way in which the social structure is organized. Although it itself emerges from the social structure, its purpose is not, either in its conscious intention, or in its objective significance, the better functioning of any element in the structure. On the contrary, it is suspicious of the very categories of better, useful, appropriate, productive, and valuable, as these are understood in the present order, and refuses to take them as nonscientific presuppositions about which one can do nothing (Horkheimer [1937] 2002a, 206–207).

Initially Horkheimer believed that the emancipatory thrust of Critical Theory would mean it could contribute to developing consciousness in the masses about existing social contradictions and transforming class society (Held 1980, 195). However, in the socio-historical context marked by the rise of fascism in Europe in the 1930s, Horkheimer’s optimistic view on emancipation turned into a pessimistic view of the system of domination behind those developments. In the 1940s, Horkheimer co-authored the book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* ([1944] 1997) with his colleague Theodore Adorno. Together they developed Critical Theory in a more philosophical direction, radicalizing Horkheimer’s critique of science and instrumental reason by examining the concept of enlightenment in European history.¹³ Adorno and Horkheimer posed the central question of “why mankind [*sic*], instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of

¹³ Martin Jay (1996, 256) suggests that Horkheimer’s and Adorno’s critique of enlightenment thinking is radical in its “etymological” sense of going deep into the “roots of the problem,” criticizing the very foundation of European intellectual traditions in the socio-historical contexts.

barbarism” (ibid., xi). Witnessing the violence of fascism and capitalism, and the way in which knowledge becomes instrumental and loses its potential for social critique in modern society, the authors sought an answer in the very idea of enlightenment itself.¹⁴ They argued that we must locate the enlightenment not only in intellectual history, but also in actual life (ibid., xiv). Accordingly, Adorno and Horkheimer not only traced enlightenment thinking through analysis of European intellectual history but also through a broad critique of European and American social and cultural forms, from Homer to Hollywood, modern technological warfare and anti-Semitism.

To start with, the authors traced the historical development of the concept of enlightenment in European civilization in relations between human beings and nature. Enlightenment is generally understood as a “progressive thought” that “has always aimed at liberating men [*sic*] from fear and establishing their sovereignty” (Adorno and Horkheimer [1944] 1997, 3). The authors find a dialectical relation between emancipation and domination in the concept of enlightenment. They argue that the aim of enlightenment is to liberate human beings from the fear of external nature and to control nature. Human history through “renaissance, reformation, and bourgeois atheism” is a series of attempts to overcome fear. Yet “whenever new nations and classes more firmly repressed myth ... the subjugation of nature was made the absolute purpose of life within and without” (ibid., 31).

Thus, the very idea of enlightenment for human emancipation and progress is the process of domination and regression. Human control of nature is a form of domination over external and internal nature, and once human beings get closer to achieving this control, human interest is oriented towards the domination of other human beings. They note that “social freedom is inseparable from enlightened thought ... [however] the notion of this very way of [enlightenment] thinking ... already contains the seed of the reversal universally apparent today” (ibid., xiii).

In other words, the enlightenment project was first intended to dispel myths, overthrowing fantasy with knowledge, or more precisely, rational thinking. Nevertheless, the project itself has become the myth; knowledge itself becomes a fantasy. Adorno and Horkheimer sum this up in two theses: “Myth is already enlightenment; and enlightenment reverts to mythology” (ibid., xvi). Thus, in their view, myth and enlightenment are not opposites but dialectically mediated in European civilization and implicated in social domination. They note that

As the magical illusion fades away, the more relentlessly in the name of law repetition imprisons man in the cycle – that cycle whose objectification in the form of natural law he imagined will ensure his action as a free subject. The principle of immanence, the

¹⁴ Many scholars find an affinity between Adorno and Horkheimer’s critique of reason with Nietzsche and poststructuralists. See Wellmer (1991) for one example.

explanation of every event as repetition, that Enlightenment upholds against mythic imagination, is the principle of myth itself. (ibid., 12)

In enlightenment thinking, such as scientific knowledge and rational thinking, human beings produce knowledge through various scientific activities – the ceaseless processes of objectification, abstraction and rationalization of the external world. The external world becomes subject to human beings through these processes. At this stage, scientific knowledge returns to mythical imagination, with ideas such as the belief that human beings are free subjects, and it becomes a dogma. Then, the idea of enlightenment itself reverts to mythology. Moreover, human beings cannot conduct the enlightenment project without the power of progress.

Adaptation to the power of progress involves the progress of power, and each time anew brings about those degenerations which show not unsuccessful but successful progress to be its contrary. The curse of irresistible progress is resistible regression. (Adorno and Horkheimer [1944] 1997, 35–36)

In summary, Horkheimer initially developed Critical Theory to emancipate the masses from social domination under the existing modern social system based on scientific positivism, but later began with Adorno to criticize the very idea of progress and enlightenment. They revealed the self-destructive nature of enlightenment within enlightenment itself by illustrating the dialectical relations between enlightenment and myth, progress and regress, emancipation and domination. The existing system of domination through fascism, capitalism, and the cultural industries, which the authors had experienced, is indeed the antithesis of enlightenment. It seemed to them that there is no absolute emancipation as such but rather a ceaseless dialectical relation between emancipation and domination. Adorno and Horkheimer's criticism of modernity goes further than Marx's in the sense that it is "not just criticism of a particular method of production as the cause of suppression and human affliction, but criticism of a collective way of thinking and acting, of a mentality, of a system of suppression that threatens not only a class but the whole of human society, including exploited nature" (Klapwijk 2010, 16).

Adorno and Horkheimer convincingly demonstrated the limits of existing philosophical methods and provided an alternative approach to philosophy by tracing the idea of enlightenment through a wide range of materials: history, art, literature, and other social and cultural phenomena in Europe and America.¹⁵ The philosophical insights they offer into modern society highlight the

¹⁵ Adorno and Horkheimer ([1944] 1997, 120–167) took mass culture (i.e. popular music, jazz, radio, TV, Hollywood films) or what they collectively called the *cultural industry* seriously, and severely criticized the

significance of social and cultural criticism as a valuable method of philosophy. As Adorno and Horkheimer observed in their analysis, enlightenment and domination are intricately interwoven into everyday life or the history of the present, and history can no longer be understood in Hegelian or Marxist terms as a dialectical movement towards the realization of human emancipation and social progress. For Adorno and Horkheimer, enlightenment and reason – the prevalent ethos of modernity – must be critically examined within the context of social dynamics, rather than discussed in an isolated and abstract manner as traditional philosophers do.

1.5. Jürgen Habermas

In contrast to the radical critique of Horkheimer and Adorno against enlightenment and its rational basis, Habermas, the leading figure of the second generation of the Frankfurt School, rejected his predecessors' skepticism of rationality and defends a version of reason embedded in communication. Habermas attempted to reconstruct Critical Theory by reworking its epistemological foundation and the relation between knowledge and basic human interests in his book *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1972). He identified three essential human interests in knowledge production: technical, practical, and emancipatory interests, and developed the theory of cognitive interests.

According to Habermas (1972, 301–317), these different human interests guide the different types of knowledge – empirical-analytic sciences, historical-hermeneutic sciences, critically oriented sciences – within different methodological frameworks. The *technical interest* informs empirical-analytic sciences (i.e. natural sciences) and directs them towards the control of nature; the *practical interest* guides historical-hermeneutic science (i.e. humanities and social sciences such as history, sociology and cultural anthropology) in its attempts to understand and communicate; the *emancipatory interest* provides the foundation for critically-oriented sciences (i.e. critical theory), which liberate human beings from external and internal constraints (Edgar 2006, 10–17). Habermas therefore argues that knowledge is always produced to meet basic human interests in survival,

industry as another example of anti-enlightenment phenomena in modern capitalist society. According to them, the audience becomes passive and uncritical as the cultural products become more formulaic and repetitive through the standardization. Adorno (1991, 106) reiterates his earlier argument that cultural industry becomes “mass deception” and turns into another “anti-enlightenment” that prevents people from the “emancipation for which human beings are as ripe as the productive forces of the epoch permit.” Yet Horkheimer and Adorno’s wholesale rejection of scientific arguments and their monolithic understanding of mass culture have raised many criticisms. For example, Carroll (1998a, 70–89) rejects Adorno’s idea of passive spectatorship and argues for the possibility of active spectatorship as a number of mass cultural products can engage audiences’ imagination and reflection.

development, and self-realization. For him, these three interests are intimately linked with one another, and the emancipatory interest is “at the root of traditional theories” (Habermas 1972, 308). In Habermas’s view, human emancipatory interest is driven by reason, and this is already embedded in traditional theories – human knowledge of the natural and social environment – because the emancipatory interest constitutes reason.

Habermas further developed his emancipatory vision by redirecting his philosophical inquiry toward language in his works *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (1979) and the two-volume *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1984; 1987). Habermas (1979) criticized Marxist historical materialism – an account of social structure and historical change in terms of labor – and proposed that we should also study the role of language in society. For Habermas, linguistic communication is a fundamental element to human interaction, and hence it is also fundamental to all aspects of society. In his words, “the structures of linguistically established intersubjectivity – which can be examined prototypically in connection with elementary speech actions – are conditions of both social and personality systems” (Habermas 1979, 98). The emancipatory project of Critical Theory must therefore seek not only to reduce economic inequalities and class struggles but also to investigate “how human beings use language to create orderly societies and how they have developed the principle that good societies should express the will of their members” (Linklater 2005a, 130). Habermas (1979, 117) notes that

Holistic concepts such as productive activity and *Praxis* have to be resolved into the basic concepts of communicative action and purposive rational action in order to avoid confusing the two rationalization processes that determine social evolution; the rationalization of action takes effect not only on productive forces but also, and independently, on normative structures.

In *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984; 1987), Habermas proposed that there are two basic types of human action: *communicative action* and *strategic action*. In communicative action one aims to reach understanding and consensus with others through linguistic communication; while in strategic action one aims to achieve one’s goal through impersonal and strategic means, rather than direct linguistic communication. Habermas argues that communicative action is both fundamental and rational in nature because it depends on participants’ rationality to achieve consensus and this rationality is inherent to human beings. He notes that

If we assume that the human species maintains itself through the socially coordinated activities of its members and that this coordination has to be established through communication – and in certain central spheres through communication aimed at

reaching agreement – then the reproduction of the species also requires satisfying the condition of a rationality that is inherent in communicative action. (Habermas 1984, 1:397)

Habermas (1987) also defines two realms of social structure in which these two types of social action take place: the *lifeworld* and the *system*. On the one hand, the lifeworld refers to everyday social life where communicative action takes place.

The lifeworld is, so to speak, the transcendental site where speaker and hearer meet, where they can reciprocally raise claims that their utterances fit the world (objective, social or subjective), and where they can criticize and confirm those validity claims, settle their disagreements, and arrive at agreements. (Habermas 1987, 2:126)

On the other hand, the system refers to the large-scale systems of the capitalist economy and administrative state developed in modern society where strategic action takes place. Habermas identified two subsystems: money and power, and called them the “mechanism of steering media” in modern society (Habermas 1987, 2:165). “In modern societies, economic and bureaucratic spheres emerge in which social relations are regulated only via money and power. Norm-conformative attitudes and identity-forming social memberships are neither necessary nor possible in these spheres; they are made peripheral instead” (Habermas 1987, 2: 154).

Accordingly, Habermas (1987) describes the development of modern society as the “colonization of the lifeworld” by the system where communicative actions have been increasingly replaced and been disabled by strategic actions.

[In modern society,] the competition between forms of system and social integration would become more visible than previously. In the end, systemic mechanisms suppress forms of social integration even in those areas where a consensus-dependent coordination of action cannot be replaced... In these areas, the *mediatisation* of the lifeworld assumes the form of a *colonization*. (ibid., 196, emphasis in the original)

Thus, Habermas’s vision of human emancipation is in the locus of communication, and oriented towards the construction of communicative autonomy, or what he calls the *ideal speech situation* – unrestricted and non-hegemonic discussion, in which all participants are free from all constraints of domination to achieve mutual understanding (Habermas 2001). It is a “situation of absolutely uncoerced and unlimited discussion between completely free and equal human agents” (Geuss 1981, 65). Habermas (2001) has argued that all participants presuppose this condition in their every

speech to reach any rationally oriented agreement or true consensus. “The defining feature of the ideal speech situation is that any consensus attainable under its conditions can count per se as a rational consensus” (Habermas 2001, 97). Thus, for Habermas, human emancipation and the intention of the good life are already embedded in linguistic communication. “The conditions for ideal discourse are connected with conditions for an ideal form of life; they include linguistic conceptualizations of traditional ideas of freedom and justice” (McCarthy 1988, xvii).

In short, for Habermas, emancipation is to establish a universal communicative autonomy, in which any form of inequality, such as class, patriarchy, and ethnicity, is reduced. This universal communicative autonomy should embrace all civilizations and unify all human races. To achieve emancipation, Habermas (1990) reconstructed the Marxist idea of materialism by providing the *paradigm of communication*. To put Habermas’s core argument simply, Habermas contended that “there is something inherent in speech that acts, in effect, as a promissory note for the possibility of a better world” (Wyn Jones 2005, 224). Habermas however, has not offered any details about the nature of what a *good society* ought to be. What he offers is a commitment that all human beings are equally entitled to participate in making any decision that may affect them (Linklater 2005a, 131). In this vein, Habermas attempts to establish a minimal foundation, in which all human beings can agree on basic procedures of communicating their respective positions and, if possible, to reconcile competing claims. *Discourse ethics* are hence required in this context.¹⁶ Although Habermas’s theory has made an important contribution to the discussion of emancipation beyond traditional Marxist concerns of production and labor, it has also generated a wide range of criticisms. For example, Chantal Mouffe (2005) rejects Habermas’s vision of deliberative democracy and discourse theory of morality that is its theoretical ground. While Habermas and his followers understand the notion of the political as the space for the possibility of rational consensus such as a universal communicative autonomy, Mouffe sees the political as “a space of power, conflict and antagonism” (ibid., 9). Wyn Jones (2005, 225) argues that Habermas’s abstract theory about ideal dialogic procedures fails to give sufficient attention to the actual context in which communicative action takes place; interaction always occurs within specific social contexts that include people’s economic activities as well as their relationship with nature. Even though Habermas’s theory has some weaknesses, some theorists of International Relations draw on Habermas’ writings and theorize Habermas’s perspective on the emancipatory potential of speech into a normative program in world politics to realize unconstrained communication through institutions and practices in an increasingly cosmopolitan world. Andrew Linklater (2005b) endorses Habermas’s discourse ethics since it has the potential to open the way to civilizing political processes and building better political

¹⁶ Discourse ethics is a common norm existing within human communicative behaviors among different language games (Habermas 1990).

communities in world politics – to developing social arrangements in which members of societies can satisfy their needs without violence or harm to each other. Those theorists conceive emancipation as an “unfinished business” (Wyn Jones 1999, 78) or “philosophical anchorage” (Booth 1999, 43). To them, emancipation is a condition of becoming rather than a state of being; it is a process utopia rather than an end-point utopia (Booth 1999, 41). Nevertheless, critical theorists still avow that there is a universal moral standard and aim to build either “concrete utopias” (Wyn Jones 1999) or “universal kingdoms of ends” (Linklater 1990, 159), such as “autonomy” (Linklater 1990, 135) and “security” (Booth 1991). Chapter 5 explores the relationship between emancipation and security further through a discussion of *Psycho-Pass*.

1.6. Poststructuralists

Poststructuralists are highly suspicious of the possibility of an ideal speech situation based on the universal idea of reason and rationality. Parallel to Habermas, poststructuralists also redirect their philosophical inquiry toward language, and argue that linguistic practices are essential for us to make sense of the world. From the poststructuralist point of view, we all depend on language to comprehend the world, to express our thinking, and therefore social reality is always constituted through language or discourse. In Jacques Derrida’s (1976, 158) words, “there is nothing outside of the text.” At the same time, words that are used to describe a social reality can never be neutral, fixed and stable, but will always be open to reinterpretations. Poststructuralists see language as a connection of signs, and argue that we distinguish what a certain word means only in relation to other words. As Nash (2000, 29) notes,

A word as a mark on paper or a sound means nothing except in relation to what went before and what will come after it, both in space and time. Meaning is always different from itself, and also deferred in time; hence *différance* which means both “to differ” and “to defer” ... Because the meaning of a word depends on its difference from and similarity to others, it can never actually be present in the sign itself, whether written or spoken. It is always indeterminate, though the extent of this indeterminacy is itself a political matter.

In other words, the context gives meaning to a word/sign. The meaning of a sign can never be fixed permanently because the same sign could refer to different things in different contexts. Since the social reality is constructed by language and discourse, this opens a way to politics. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 170–171) argue, politics involves the competition of meanings, and a broad

array of discourses compete to define what is “true” within a particular aspect of society. Moreover, as there is an ongoing struggle between different discourses in society, truth itself is a “floating signifier” (ibid., 171). Paul Bowman (2007, 14) suggests that “[for] as long as the struggle persists, it will be immensely important to each side of the struggle to reiterate a certain meaning for these events, in order that, over time, and through the ‘regularity in dispersion’ of these reiterations, the meaning which best serves the cause will become consolidated and sedimented as ‘true’ in the mindset, or imaginary, of as many people as possible.” Thus for poststructuralists, power is the power to define the meaning of the words or signs and the “truth” of society. Habermas’ notion of an ideal speech situation becomes inevitably involved in power relations.

This consideration brings us to Michel Foucault and his genealogical project. Borrowing from Friedrich Nietzsche’s genealogy of morals, Foucault used a genealogical research method in his series of historical studies to investigate the networks of power relations and the complex relationships between power and knowledge.¹⁷ Foucault critically analyzed the ways in which ideas, knowledge and discourses about human body such as madness or sexuality have been shaped over centuries by bodies of texts – not only academic texts of the human sciences but also non-canonical texts – as well as non-discursive social practices.

The genealogical approach takes a very different stance to historiography. While traditional historians tend to see the passage of time as “logical flow of causally connected events” and try to explain the logic or essence of history that forms part of a larger pattern or meaning to it (McNay 1994, 88); Genealogists, by contrast, reject such an approach to writing history and the notion of truths outside their context. They rather attempt to investigate the hidden structures and values behind certain ideas, discourses, and knowledge by tracing the uneven, contingent nature of the historical records. In this view, “the historical processes that give rise to the emergence of events are in fact discontinuous, divergent and governed by chance” (ibid., 89). From a genealogical point of view, there is no universal truths, but only the fabrication of truths through constant struggles between different power formations in society that attempt to impose and maintain their ideas.

Foucault’s genealogical work makes it possible to reconsider the conception of power by analyzing the networks of power relations in modern context and offers an alternative conception of power. Foucault (1980b) opposed the traditional understanding of modern power in social and political theory as negative and repressive in nature, and embedded in macrostructures such as ruling classes (i.e. the economic model) or the state (i.e. the juridical model). His primary target, the juridical model, analyzes power in terms of the state, and especially the law, and sees the state possess power over its subjects and impose order on them through the domination and control.

¹⁷ This section briefly reviews Foucault’s earlier work on power, while Chapter 5 looks at some of his later work on governmentality and its relation to the issue of security through *Psycho-Pass*.

Foucault does not deny that the state or the law is important, but he argues that we need to extend beyond the limit of the state for two reasons when looking at relations of power and analyzing power: the state is far from being able to cover the whole field of actual power relations; and the state can only operate on the basis of already existing power relations (Foucault 1980a, 122).

Foucault (1980a, 119) posed a question: “If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it?” He is more interested in taking an alternative approach to understanding power, particularly relations of power that is “more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and which implies more relations between theory and practice” (Foucault 1982, 780). For Foucault, power is a productive network and a set of relations.

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Foucault 1980a, 119)

Foucault proposed a new analytic of power to examine the constitutive and microphysical aspects of power. Power is constitutive in the sense that it shapes particular types of bodies and minds; forms knowledge, and produces discourse. Moreover, power is dispersed everywhere since it is exercised from innumerable points, rather than from a single political centre of the state or the ruling class. In his definition, power is “a multiple and mobile field of force relations wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable effects of domination are produced” (Foucault 1978, 102).

In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault examined how a new type of productive power has emerged in modern Europe since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. New knowledge, technologies, techniques and practices of surveillance have been developed and dispersed across societies in order to control people's behaviors. Human behaviors become the object of study. Using these new techniques and knowledge, modern institutions (e.g. prisons, schools, hospitals and armies) are able to manage people less violently and more efficiently. Power and knowledge are deeply intertwined across modern European societies.

Power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same power relations ... power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of

which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domain of knowledge.
(Foucault 1977, 27–28)

Foucault (1977) takes Jeremy Bentham's panopticon as an example to explain his notion of power and how power functions through modern disciplinary technologies and practices. Bentham originally designed the panopticon as a tool for securing individual freedom from physical coercion. As Greg Elmer (2012, 24) notes, for Bentham, the panopticon "served as a form of autonomy, a newfound freedom for the prison's managers," as well as for the prisoners who "were also liberated from more overtly coercive forms of institutional violence." Unlike Bentham, Foucault saw the panopticon as a modern form of disciplinary power shaping the autonomous self-regulated subject. It is a refined form of control and domination, not liberation as the individual internalizes the mechanism of control.

According to Foucault, Bentham's design of the panopticon places the prisoners in a situation where they are being consciously, continuously, and permanently observed. Power becomes *visible* and *unverifiable*.

Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so.
(Foucault 1977, 201)

As a consequence, power, instead of being "possessed as a thing or transferred as a property" (ibid., 177), is in effect dispersed and exercised "in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes, in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up" (ibid., 202). In Foucault's view, the panopticon is a "laboratory of power" that can experiment with modern disciplinary techniques in order to govern both the self and others more efficiently and sophisticatedly (ibid., 204).

The Panopticon may even provide an apparatus for supervising its own mechanisms. In this central tower, the director may spy on all the employees that he has under his orders: nurses, doctors, foremen, teachers, warders; he will be able to judge them continuously, alter their behaviour, impose upon them the methods he thinks best; and it will even be possible to observe the director himself [*sic*] ... enclosed as he is in the middle of this architectural mechanism, is not the director's own fate entirely bound up with it? (Foucault 1977, 204)

Thus for Foucault (1984), modern forms of reason and rationality are a subject of power, and positively shaped and formed within power relations. Reason therefore becomes the source and the construct of domination. The bodies of knowledge built on reason and rational thinking reproduce dominant political and social arrangements. In this sense, Foucault opposed the idea that progress would be reached through the accumulation of knowledge. As Foucault notes,

Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violences in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination. (Foucault 1984, 85)

In other words, the production of knowledge – something supposedly at the heart of emancipatory projects – can be understood as an effect of power relations and linked to the processes of domination. For Foucault, knowledge is inextricably intertwined with power relations, and the relationship between knowledge and power is circular. In McNay's (1994, 108) words, "all knowledge is the effect of a specific regime of power" and "forms of knowledge constitute the social reality which they describe and analyse." For Foucault, knowledge – social sciences and the fields that study human behaviors in particular (i.e. psychiatry, sociology, criminology and so forth) – is never neutral and objective as it has intimate relationship with power, and in fact emerges within power relations. The effects of the power-knowledge complex are relayed through different discourses such as medical, legal, academic, psychiatric ones (ibid.). These forms of knowledge constitute the subject and shape the social reality that they describe and analyze. We can see a sharp contrast between Habermas and Foucault when considering the relations between knowledge and emancipation. According to Susen (2009, 88), while Habermas sees "a will to reason" as human nature and argues that a will to reason is "a will to emancipation," Nietzsche and Foucault see "a will to power" as a fundamental element of human nature.

Moreover, according to Foucault, although power is diffused throughout the social field constituting subjectivities, knowledge, and individual pleasures, this does not mean that no kind of resistance is possible; as soon as there is a power relation there is the possibility of resistance (Foucault 1988a, 123). Resistance here refers to challenging the existing subjectivity of the individual. As the subject is produced within power relations, liberation accordingly signifies a renunciation of the subject. Foucault therefore called for the deconstruction of the subject and sees this as a key political tactic (Foucault 1980a, 117). Foucault tries to remind us, everything is dangerous, even resistance in the name of "emancipation" (Linklater 2005a, 124). When one thinks of successful resistance, the dissolution of an old subjectivity, one merely produces a new

subjectivity, another form of domination. Domination and emancipation are accordingly intimately related to each other; their relationship is dialectical.

In summary, Foucault rejects the enlightenment assumption that European civilization is the outcome of reasoning and the development toward universal truths. Foucault regards knowledge as an anti-emancipatory force, and understands the connection between knowledge and power as being conducive to building a dystopia (as imagined in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*) rather than a utopia. Foucault also opposes Marxist understandings of knowledge, as Marxism views knowledge as a force for emancipation. There is no objective truth toward human emancipation, rather the effect of power and knowledge produces and determines what the truth is.

1.7. Conclusion: The Modern (European) History of Emancipation as Transcendence/Another Discourse

In short, in Foucault's understanding, power is neither something that is merely acquired, seized by larger socio-political structures such as the state or the ruling class, nor is it solely centered in them as the state apparatus for social control. Instead, power is a ubiquitous, constitutive force working to produce various things: ideas, discourse, knowledge, and particular types of bodies and minds and so forth. Control is accordingly achieved not through direct repression but through the microphysical and constitutive operation of power in modern Europe. Yet at the same time, resistance is also possible as power relations diffuse across society. The two analytical chapters in this thesis will explore further how anime illustrates Foucauldian notion of power in relation to domination and resistance (Chapter 4) and security (Chapter 5). The other two case studies (Chapter 6 and 7) discuss some of the alternative aspects of emancipation expressed in the selected anime that the privileged literature has not covered thoroughly.

As we have seen in this chapter, there is a rupture between the Frankfurt School and poststructuralists when considering the relation between knowledge and emancipation. While the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School such as Habermas see human knowledge of the natural and social environment, derived from reason, as the source of human emancipation, poststructuralists like Foucault see knowledge as an inseparable part of control and domination. Whereas Marcuse proposed a new form of subjectivity that requires an emancipation of the senses on which human emancipation is built, Foucault argued that the subject is always produced in discourses and subject to power relations. Poststructuralists are highly suspicious of the concept of emancipation. For Foucault, "there is no transcendence," liberation, or emancipation; "there is only an alternation of discourse: another truth, another power. Struggle produces a new domination" (Nederveen Pieterse 1992, 14).

In addition, although the modern history of the idea of emancipation briefly reviewed in this chapter is one of the most serious and sophisticated debates in the academic field of social and political theory, I called for attention to its shortcomings: this history is solely grounded on European texts about historical experiences of European societies, as if the modern European history of ideas is *the* history of ideas. With a few exceptions, there is a clear absence of non-European thinkers' thought or unconventional forms of political or philosophical expression such as those found in literature, custom, or popular culture, including non-textual materials. Neither are poststructuralists entirely free from those exclusions including the predilection for high theory, ethnocentrism, or exclusion of the Third World (Nederveen Pieterse 1992, 27). This tendency is apparent, for example when looking up the term emancipation in an encyclopedia of the field such as *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*. In the entry, we can only find the names of European theorists such as Marx and Habermas, or Max Weber and Sigmund Freud who influenced the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (Kebede 2010). In addition to the ethnocentricity, another pressing methodological issue is the exclusion of the non-textual forms of political expression we look at further in Chapter 3. One wonders how we could pretend we are talking about emancipation in general if we are so narrowly and exclusively looking at the established philosophical and political texts written by European thinkers. Those texts by Marx, Marxists and poststructuralists in Europe are an informative and valuable component of the academic field of political theory, but it becomes a problem when these texts are treated as if they were the only source of knowledge about political ideas. One wonders if we could and should be more open to non-European thinkers' work and non-textual forms of political expression other than the philosophical treatise.¹⁸ As we see in the next chapter, there are other sophisticated sites of inquiry into philosophy and politics that have been developed by critical intellectuals in Europe and Japan. The next chapter discusses alternative approaches to philosophy and political thought taken by those intellectuals.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that area specialists and historians have contributed to intellectual history in many places outside of Europe, and these studies offer valuable insights when examining different projects of modernity, in which the idea of emancipation is central. For some examples from modern Japan, see Miyoshi and Harootunian (1989) and Sakai (1996) on critical reflections of modernity; Sakai and Isomae (2010) on the 1942 *Overcoming Modernity* symposium and the work of Kyoto School philosophers; Harootunian (2000a; 2000b) on intellectuals in Japan and Europe; and Calichman (2004) on post-war intellectual Takeuchi Yoshimi and his work on modernity and resistance.

2. THE POLITICS OF EMANCIPATION: INTELLECTUALS, EVERYDAYNESS AND PHILOSOPHY IN GRAMSCI AND TOSAKA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter makes a theoretical case that popular culture including anime offers a respectable and useful site of inquiry into philosophy and the politics of emancipation. I review the role of intellectuals, the concept of everydayness, and the nexus between theory and practice discussed by the critical theorists Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun (1900-1945). Although both Gramsci and Tosaka are identified as Marxist philosophers like some of other theorists I reviewed in the previous chapter, their views on popular culture are more radical than other philosophers. They considered popular culture as philosophical practices, rather than totally ignoring it or rejecting it as a “mass deception” of modern capitalism. Since popular culture mediates thought and worldviews, cultural practices are the object of philosophy. Moreover, the experts involved in the production and distribution of popular culture are intellectuals too. I further argue that anime is social, political and philosophical insofar as it is part of the fabric of people’s everyday lives, and that anime directors, animators and scriptwriters and other experts working in the anime industry are also intellectuals.

Facing modernity, thinkers in Europe and Japan reflected critically on their everyday experiences as industrial capitalism developed. Recent studies on intellectual history in the interwar years in Europe and Japan show how thinkers in both places developed their thoughts through their contemporary experiences of modernity, conceptualizing the everyday as a social, political and philosophical category. European critical intellectuals such as Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, and Frankfurt School philosophers Walter Benjamin and Ernst Bloch, took everyday experience and the concreteness of material objects – from fashion to architecture, from opera to film – seriously as a source of philosophy in their works. Their approaches represented an alternative method to that of philosophy. For example, Buck-Morss (1989, 3–4) suggests that Benjamin tried to “bridge the gap between everyday experience and traditional academic concerns” in *Das Passagen-Werk* (the Arcades project) through his highly original approach to philosophy, and he aimed to “take materialism so seriously that the historical phenomena themselves were brought to speech.”

Examining the works of prominent intellectuals in the interwar period in Japan such as Tosaka Jun, Miki Kiyoshi, Watsuji Tetsurō, and Yanagida Kunio, along with the works of their European contemporaries such as Heidegger and Benjamin, Harry Harootunian (2000a; 2000b; 2008) suggests that the concept of the everyday became a “minimal unity of temporal experience” for those intellectuals reflecting on and understanding the process of modernity as experienced throughout the world, particularly in Europe and Japan in the interwar years.

Among these critical intellectuals, Gramsci and Tosaka shared a similar vision for the new type of knowledge inspired by Marx’s thought and oriented to human emancipation. Both thinkers understood intellectuals as playing a significant social and political role. For Gramsci (1971, 12), intellectuals are “functionalities” as they are “‘mediated’ by the whole fabric of society and by the complex of superstructures.” In other words, they are “pivotal to the working of modern society” (Said 1994, 10). Gramsci’s own career – as a philologist, an organizer of the Italian working-class movement, and a journalist – can be seen as a good example of the Gramscian intellectual “whose purpose was to build not just a social movement but an entire cultural formation associated with the movement” (Said 1994, 3–4). In a similar way to Gramsci, Tosaka’s own career – as a philosopher, a founder of a research group and a journal on materialism for the anti-fascist movement, and a cultural critic – also exemplifies his normative vision as an intellectual who sought to link current social problems with philosophy. Gramsci and Tosaka rethought existing modes of knowledge production and the role of intellectuals in society, relating themselves to political struggles against the social hegemony of capitalist ideology and fascism. As Harootunian (2000b) points out, there is an intellectual affinity between Tosaka and Gramsci concerning the nexus between theory and practice in everyday life and their contribution to political thought in the Marxian tradition. Harootunian notes that

Tosaka worked formally within the framework of a philosophical discourse devoted to the study of materialism, much like his great Italian contemporary Antonio Gramsci, who coded Marxism as a philosophy of praxis. It was the logic of this discourse that opened the way to thinking about how everyday practices might be disrupted, not the appeal to an explicit theory of revolution constituting a nodal event in the progression of a fictive narrative. (ibid., 150)

For both thinkers, everyday life is dynamic in nature and has a key role in both conservative and transformative projects in society. Everyday life mediates people’s worldviews, and at the same time opens the possibility for criticism and disruption of existing worldviews. Critical analysis of everyday life and its materiality is an alternative way of doing philosophy, different from both orthodox economic determinism and idealist philosophy. Gramsci and Tosaka’s thoughts on

intellectuals and everydayness remind us of the importance of everyday cultural practices as a site of inquiry in political thought, and they also enable us to see animation – a significant everyday socio-cultural practice in contemporary society – as a respectable and useful space for exploring the pressing political issue of emancipation.

In the following sections, I first look at Gramsci and Tosaka’s thought on intellectuals, and their ideas of everydayness as a historical, political and philosophical category, before discussing their theoretical contributions to the field of political thought in the Marxian tradition. I then argue that Gramsci and Tosaka’s works could serve as a theoretical and methodological basis for analyzing anime – a practice of cultural analysis – as a site of political thought.

2.2. Everyone is Potentially an Intellectual

Interestingly, for both Gramsci and Tosaka, everyone is potentially an intellectual, a philosopher, or a journalist in their everyday life. Every human activity links to an intellectual activity of thinking and doing; everyone participates in maintaining a particular kind of worldview and morality in society, or challenging existing orientations and promoting new ways of seeing the world and morality. As Gramsci (1971, 9) noted

All men [*sic*] are intellectuals, one could there say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals ... There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded: *homo faber* cannot be separated from *homo sapiens*. Each man, finally, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is he is a “philosopher,” an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought.

In a similar manner, Tosaka suggested that every human being is a journalist. Extending the idea that human beings are social animals, Tosaka argued that a human being with language capacity had a journalistic existence too. “Basically every human being, in its capability as a human, is necessary a journalist. In this sense, the fact that human beings are social animals, they are a journalistic being

(*jānarisuto-teki sonzai*)” (Tosaka [1935] 1966h, 156; Schäfer 2012, 105).¹⁹ Both Gramsci and Tosaka see an intellect and the capacity for language as basic characteristics of all human beings.

Moreover, they also regard critical thinking about everyday practices as the most important thing in philosophy and journalism. In other words, both philosophy and journalism are forms of critical analysis of everyday practices. In the case of Gramsci (1971, 324), he acknowledges that “we are all conformists of some conformism or other” because our conception of the world always belongs to a particular social group in a particular historical moment. Nevertheless, Gramsci thought that the critique of one’s own worldview would link to a more advanced level of philosophy. The important thing for philosophy is critical analysis of existing philosophy, which, in his view, is the result of contingent historical and cultural processes.²⁰ Thus, to criticize one’s own conception of the world means therefore to make it a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world. It therefore also means criticism of all previous philosophy. “The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and ‘knowing thyself’ as a product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory” (Gramsci 1971, 324).

In another passage, Gramsci noted that critical analysis of common sense is central to his vision of philosophy because common sense always remains in existing philosophy, which is the result of historical and cultural processes. “Every philosophical current leaves behind a sedimentation of ‘common sense’: this is the document of its historical effectiveness” (ibid., 326n5). Gramsci also calls common sense *the folklore of philosophy*, which is developed as “the result of historical processes of cultural sedimentation, the residue of a multitude of deposits, fragmentary and contradictory, open to multiple interpretations and potentially supportive of very different kind of social visions and political projects” (Rupert 2009, 183).

Indeed, common sense is a worldview, which looks static, conventional or traditional at a glance; for Gramsci however, it is dynamic and changing nature. “Common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continually transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life” (Gramsci 1971, 326n5). Accordingly, Gramsci considers that social change must be generated from criticism of existing common sense in society and made a clear distinction between common sense and good sense. “Philosophy is

¹⁹ Schäfer (2012, 105) translates *jānarisuto-teki sonzai* as a journalistic existence, while I translate as a journalistic being.

²⁰ Gramsci attempted to break down the widespread prejudice about philosophy as “systematic philosophy,” which is a specifically intellectual activity only for specialists (2000, 300). He extended the notion of philosophy greatly by including language, common sense and popular religion or the system of belief under the name of “folklore” or “spontaneous philosophy” (1971, 323).

criticism and the superseding of religion and ‘common sense.’ In this sense it coincides with ‘good’ as opposed to ‘common’ sense” (Gramsci 1971, 326).

For Gramsci, common sense is shaped and shared commonly by people in society and people support and/or maintain their common sense, just like their religious beliefs. Popular common sense is a form of social hegemony, and this hegemony is so widely penetrated and naturalized in society by people’s consent, as they internalize it as their beliefs. At the same time though, social change would be possible through criticism of existing popular common sense because common sense is also fluid and constantly changing. He therefore contends that *good sense* – another kind of common sense - is only generated from criticism of existing common sense, yet it has the potential for reshaping society.

To some extent, Tosaka would have shared Gramsci’s conception of philosophy as criticism of common sense and its indispensable function in society. As Harootunian (2000a, 133–134) suggests, Tosaka examined the status of common sense and its relationship to philosophy on many occasions and called for “philosophy to return to its roots in common sense,” and its criticism. Moreover, the temporality of the present offers Tosaka “an urgent reason to reconsider the role of common sense and how it relates to philosophy” (ibid., 133). In his discussion on a method of philosophy, Tosaka emphasised the significance of common sense as well as current matters – what’s going on now – and criticism as a site of philosophical inquiry.

This speciality [philosophy] must be returned to the world of common sense again. Moreover, it is necessary to dissolve it philosophically and honestly into the commonsense world. That is the problem of philosophy. The problem of philosophy, in a certain meaning, is the problem of contemporary eventfulness, the problem of criticism. A philosophy that does not understand the ‘problem of actuality’ is not philosophy (Tosaka [1935] 1966i, 173; Harootunian 2000a, 136).

It therefore makes sense for Tosaka to link philosophy with journalism, as both had a common vocation in criticism of everyday life and common sense.

In the essay “The Relationship between Journalism and Philosophy” ([1934] 1966g), Tosaka pointed out an affinity between journalism and philosophy, and proposes that criticism is the essence of both. Based on the common ground of their critical function, Tosaka discussed the philosophical meaning of journalism, and the journalistic necessity of philosophy (i.e. philosophy must engage with everyday practice in the present).²¹ Tosaka considered philosophy to be the

²¹ Schäfer (2012, 108) suggests that both Tosaka and early Frankfurt School saw the most fundamental meaning of philosophy and journalism in critique of everyday life.

“science of thought” (*shisō no kagaku*), and its appropriate method as the critical examination of thoughts (Tosaka [1934] 1966g, 147–148). In Tosaka’s view, thoughts are a summary of culture, which shape various forms (i.e. literature, custom, common sense and so on) – and thus criticism of thought is equivalent to criticism of culture ([1934] 1966g, 148). In other words, the critical analysis of ordinary cultural practices – criticism of literature, custom, common sense etc. – is an alternative way of doing philosophy. As Hashikawa Bunsō (1966) suggests, “Above all, Tosaka’s literary criticism illustrates his practice as a philosopher most vividly...at the same time, his criticisms of customs and morality are also his philosophical necessity” (471, my translation).

Tosaka ([1935] 1966c; [1935] 1977) made a distinction similar to Gramsci’s distinction between common sense and good sense. Describing popular common sense as *tsūnen* – something conventional and stereotypical – he envisaged a contrast with a new kind of common sense that contests commonly accepted beliefs or dominant ideologies.²² He also argued that literature’s role is to break down conventions and to create new common sense and new morals.

Moral common sense, as accepted beliefs and morality, is conventional and stereotypical. What kind of norm would literature have, if literature breaks down moral common sense? ...In other words, if literature cannot create new common sense, what moral inquiry and what literature is it for? ([1935] 1966c, 123, my translation)

For Tosaka, the task of literature is that of philosophy. Moreover, new common sense does not come from out of the blue. It is only generated from the negation of existing common sense. In fact, in his view, it is impossible to only negate the existing common sense, because there has always been new common sense or, at least, new morals out there (Tosaka [1935] 1966c, 124). Since everyday life is constantly changing, common sense must be changing and generating something new too.

How did Tosaka understand this new common sense or true common sense? Just as his concept of everydayness is based on the concrete rather than the abstract, common sense has to be grounded in people’s everyday life and its materiality. For him, true common sense is everyday

²² Schäfer points out an affinity between Gramsci and Tosaka with regards to their ideas of alternative common sense. He notes that “Gramsci and Tosaka (1977 [1935/36]: 91) would have agreed that another common sense – one of ‘everyday knowledge’ – exists besides a normative philosophical or political common sense. This ‘philosophy of non-philosophers’ (how Gramsci termed it) was a ‘concept of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man [*sic*] is developed’ and, thus was ‘not a single unique conception, identical in time and space’ (Gramsci 1988:343)” (Schäfer 2012, 26–27n12).

sense (*nichijō-kankaku*), which means not only a sense common among ordinary people, but also an attitude toward knowledge that is based on everydayness, or what he calls a “journalistic attitude (*jānarizumu-teki taido*)” (Tosaka [1932] 1966d, 128, my translation).

Indeed, for Tosaka, true common sense means a journalistic attitude with a critical perspective. Tosaka considered criticism of common sense based on everyday practices as a form of philosophy and he exemplified this throughout his career. His philosophical reflection centered on critical analyses of custom, morality, current social matters and literature, and his critical spirit has been highly regarded by many critics. Tsurumi Shunsuke, for example, observes that “the most noteworthy thing in Tosaka’s work is his consistent principle of criticism” (Tsurumi 1966, 439, my translation).

In summary, Gramsci and Tosaka had very original and unconventional ideas about the intellectual, and about philosophy and journalism. For them, human individuals are all potentially intellectuals, philosophers or journalists. They proposed that using their capacity for language involves human beings in a kind of intellectual activity. The critique of common sense and everyday life is, for them, the essence of philosophy and journalism. Both of them argued that the creation of new common sense (good sense) is required for the social transformational project and that new common sense can only be generated from criticism of existing common sense. Thus, strictly speaking, the intellectual activity of criticism – philosophy and journalism – is not exclusive to academic philosophers or professional journalists, but open to anyone. Yet as Gramsci noted, not everyone functions as a professional intellectual, philosopher, or journalist in society. Nor can everyone play a leading role in society, either stabilising social hegemony or challenging it. The concept of the intellectual, as they understand it, can denote anyone whose social function is primarily to organize, educate or lead others. It is very important, Gramsci and Tosaka suggested, to redefine the notion of the intellectual, and to analyze different types of intellectuals in modern capitalist society more closely, to understand the mechanisms of social hegemony and ideology. Gramsci and Tosaka considered the issue of the social and moral function of intellectuals further by categorizing different types of intellectuals in modern capitalist society. They also addressed the problem of existing forms of knowledge production by academic philosophers being separated from the criticism of current social issues.

2.3. Intellectuals and Society

The previous section elaborated on Gramsci’s and Tosaka’s understanding of intellectuals. This section looks at the ways in which intellectuals are associated with social change and social progress. Both Gramsci and Tosaka criticized traditional intellectual elites who merely deal with

abstract philosophical inquiries, detaching themselves from everyday practices rather than engaging with current social issues. They thought that those who create new knowledge could be crucial actors in generating social and political change. Gramsci and Tosaka distinguished between two types of intellectuals in modern societies: *traditional intellectuals* and *organic intellectuals* for Gramsci, and academic *philosophers* and *journalists* for Tosaka. Criticizing existing concepts of the intellectual, they developed more comprehensive notions that are not limited by conventional understandings of intellectuals in history.

Gramsci (1971, 9) described the “traditional or vulgarized type of the intellectual” as “the man [*sic*] of letters, philosopher or artist.” In his view, this type of intellectual is often rooted in traditional elites and deals with abstract philosophical or religious inquiries, but fails to deal with actual social problems. Gramsci was very critical of traditional intellectuals or “crystallized” intellectuals because they are “conservative and reactionary” or a “fossilised left-over of the social group which has been historically superseded” (Gramsci 1971, 453). They often contribute to maintaining the existing social order or social reality, rather than criticizing it. Gramsci called them “the dominant group’s ‘deputies’ supporting its social hegemony and political government, which, according to Gramsci, comprised of: (1) “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group;” and (2) the apparatus of state coercive power which ‘legally’ enforces discipline on those groups who do not ‘consent’ either actively or passively” (ibid., 12). Traditional intellectuals become a crystallized social group, which “sees itself as continuing uninterruptedly through history and thus independent of the struggle of groups rather than as the expression of a dialectical process through which every dominant social group elaborates its own category of intellectuals” (ibid., 452).

Renate Holub (1992, 165–166) suggests that the distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals in Gramsci’s thought is a complex one rather than a simple function or a relation, and that Gramsci carefully criticizes the problem of traditional intellectuals who think of themselves as politically autonomous and independent of the dominant social group. For example, traditional Italian intellectuals have organically emerged in a particular historical moment – e.g. the priest became an intellectual under feudalism. In other words, traditional intellectuals are also organic intellectuals. Yet, in Gramsci’s view, the traditional Italian intellectuals (i.e. the philosopher, the artist, the poet) attend “more closely to the world of Aristotle and Plato than to the political world of their own time” (Holub 1992, 165–166). “They have traditionally lived outside the parameters of political organicity, following a logic of their own that celebrated autonomy, self-determination and independence. This presumed autonomy of traditional Italian intellectual ... is nothing but social utopia” (Holub 1992, 166). For Gramsci, intellectuals and their work always interacted with their social context to some extent, and thus the autonomy of intellectuals is simply a myth.

Tosaka likewise criticized philosophers in academic institutions, calling them “snobs” (*zokubutsu*). He lamented the way they produce knowledge in the academy, often separating themselves from materiality or the *actuality* of everyday and merely dealing with abstract concepts in a disinterested or autonomous manner.²³ Tosaka ([1934] 1966b) considered this separation and dismissal of everydayness to be a major problem of the academy because, as a result, philosophers fail to link their knowledge with the worldviews and thoughts shaping society, and this means that they have given up their own vocation as philosopher. For Tosaka ([1934] 1966b, 148; 2013b, 41), thought is equivalent to “the content of a relatively unified worldview,” which is always political and philosophical. As Tosaka noted,

The academy has no connection with the everyday current problems of general society and deals with matters more fundamental and eternal...for the academy, problems are not current matters but *traditional* problems...as a consequence of this, irrespective of how political and intellectual [*shisōteki*] the science it utilizes may be, the academy pulls it away from an immediate relationship with thought itself. The sciences are not treated intellectually but rather in *technical* terms... They [scholars] no longer feel the need to link their technical specializations with a wider worldview; even academic philosophy has come to give up the latter along with its own philosophical pretensions. ([1934] 1966b, 149; 2013b, 42–43, emphasis in the original)

Tosaka believed that it is important for academic intellectuals to engage with current social problems as a site of philosophical and intellectual as well as political inquiry. For Tosaka, academic intellectuals, with their abstract and timeless mode of questioning, fail to do philosophy and science appropriately because their approach is merely technical or instrumental, lacking any intellectual or political engagement with the thoughts and worldviews of the present. In other words, existing academic intellectuals have abandoned their vocation as intellectuals to seek solutions to actual problems in society.

In summary, both Gramsci and Tosaka criticized traditional intellectuals, academic philosophers and their mode of knowledge production. This type of intellectual only studies philosophical texts in an abstract manner, as if current social and political issues have nothing to do with philosophy. For these intellectuals, the philosophical canon and associated texts are the only valid material for study, and they enjoy political and intellectual autonomy in devoting themselves into these texts. For Gramsci and Tosaka, this kind of approach to philosophy is wrong because

²³ Schäfer (2012, 95–98) juxtaposes Tosaka with Adorno and Horkheimer and their visions of true intellectuals and knowledge.

these intellectuals fail to recognize the fact that people's thought and worldviews have been shaped and reshaped through concrete everyday social and cultural practices. People's everyday practices and common sense are the proper subject of and valid sources for philosophy. If intellectuals' vocation is to lead other members of society toward emancipation by creating a new culture, new worldview, and new philosophy, philosophers must critically study social and cultural practices, rather than distancing themselves from those issues. In other words, both thinkers called for intellectuals to be political rather than apathetic. At the same time, they also sought a new type of intellectual who would more closely connect to emerging social groups and be more involved in political struggles.

Gramsci and Tosaka therefore radically redefined the intellectual in modern capitalist societies and examined the possibility of the emergence of a new type of intellectual. Gramsci (1971, 13) noted that "in the modern world the category of intellectuals, understood in this [broader] sense, has undergone an unprecedented expansion." Along with this expansion of intellectuals, the notion of knowledge is also broadened.

According to Gramsci (1971, 9), "in the modern world, technical education, closely bound to industrial labour even at the most primitive and unqualified level, must form the basis of the new type of intellectual." Gramsci thought that the new intellectuals, the organic intellectuals, would be specialists in political economy: "entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, business lawyers, economists, engineers and industrial technicians" who had organically emerged through the development of modern capitalist society (Jones 2006, 84).

Gramsci's idea of the intellectual not only links to economic relations, but also to social and political relations, as each social group creates its own intellectuals. Gramsci (1971, 5) noted that "every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields." For instance, the capitalist entrepreneur is a specialist in political economy as well as an organizer of a new culture, or a new legal system (*ibid.*). Gramsci's idea of the organic intellectual is a person who fulfills a particular set of functions in society. In Said's (1994, 8–9) interpretation, everyone who works in any field of so-called knowledge industries – i.e. broadcasters, academic professionals, computer analysts, sports and media lawyers, management consultants, policy experts, government advisers, authors of specialized market reports, and indeed the whole field of modern mass journalism itself – can be categorized as an intellectual. They all connect their work either with the production or distribution of knowledge. Said's account of an organic intellectual in modern society is also applicable to the anime industry. Everyone who works in anime industry, whether they are animators, directors, technical directors, art directors, special effects artists, character designers, motion graphic

designers, producers, voice actors and actresses, sound specialists, editors, or scriptwriters, can be categorized as an intellectual. This notion of an organic intellectual also applies to the creators of original stories including manga artists, novelists, and game developers, legal and marketing specialists, and the whole field of media industry linked to anime production and distribution.

Nevertheless, as Said (1994) rightly reminds us, organic intellectuals are not just faceless professionals, who are simply competent in doing their business. Rather, they must be “endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public” (Said 1994, 11). Moreover, they raise embarrassing questions publicly, “to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them), to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d’être* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug” (Said 1994, 11). In this sense, Gramsci characterized intellectuals as a collective rather than as individuals, and his concern was to create “the mass of intellectuals” that leads the revolutionary practice of the proletariat and is able to build an “alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses” (Gramsci 1994, 336). In his vision of emancipatory politics, new intellectuals have to be willing to participate in political struggles for social hegemony with their expertise and also to take up cultural and moral leadership among different social groups by shaping a “new common sense and with it a new culture and a new philosophy” (Gramsci 1971, 424).²⁴ Gramsci’s purpose is to build an entire cultural formation associated with the revolution in which the mass of intellectuals was involved. In Said’s (1994, 4) words

Today’s advertising or public relations expert, who devises techniques for winning a detergent or airline company a larger share of the market, would be considered an organic intellectual according to Gramsci, someone who in a democratic society tries to gain the consent of potential customers, win approval, marshal consumer or voter opinion. Gramsci believed that organic intellectuals are actively involved in society, that is, they constantly struggle to change minds and expand markets; unlike teachers and priests, who seem more or less to remain in place, doing the same kind of work year in year out, organic intellectuals are always on the move, on the make.

²⁴ Interestingly, Holub (1992) suggests that by the early to mid-1920s, Gramsci’s way of writing as an intellectual changes along with his notion of the intellectuals. “Gramsci’s new intellectual is now called upon not to reduce his/her field of influence by rhetorically restrictive methods but to expand the sphere of cultural literacy. This includes the identification of already existing cultural, moral, philosophical and artistic potentials of the proletariat, the mobilization of the latent intellectual power of the people” (ibid., 155).

Extending Said's account, we could say that experts in the anime industry can be considered organic intellectuals who try to gain the consent of potential viewers and consumers, and to lead them into new forms of aesthetics, cultural production and consumption. For example, tracing the cultural history of the first animated TV series *Astroboy* to the transformations of media culture in post-war Japan, Steinberg (2012a) suggests that anime is not only a style of Japanese animation per se but has been playing a pivotal role in the development of media convergence or *media mix* in Japan. Considering the intimate relationship between anime and media mix, Steinberg argues that the immobility or stillness of the anime-image (e.g. iconic image of Astroboy) – a particular kind of aesthetics in limited animation especially anime – is a key to further merchandising of the anime image and the expansion and commodification of its franchise across media. Thus, the creators of the anime *Astroboy*, the original manga artist and anime director Tezuka Osamu and his collaborators in Mushi Productions, are organic intellectuals who have actively involved in society in multiple ways through their product and media franchise. *Astroboy*, with its iconic character image and its immobility provides a new aesthetic for the moving image, which is very different from that of the cinematic movement. Moreover, this visual style opens a way to new communication, consumption and production of the anime-image across visual media. Creators of anime are also on the move, on the make.

Tosaka's vision of new intellectuals and new knowledge – journalists and journalism – is similar to Gramsci's conception of organic intellectuals. It is also based on everyday life and its social reality, and defined in contrast to the university system where philosophers often merely deal with abstract ideas detached from the social reality. Although Tosaka acknowledged that both the academy and journalism are ideological phenomena generated from the material foundations in society (Tosaka [1934] 1966b, 147; Tosaka 2013b, 39), and that he is taking a critical approach to mass media in relation to his theorization of ideology, Tosaka had more confidence in journalism than in academic philosophy. For Tosaka, journalism captures everyday experiences and its materiality in a concrete manner, while academic philosophy “disregards everyday life and the concrete as serious categories for a conception of abstract ‘reality’ or false concreteness” (Harootunian 2000b, 125).²⁵

Tosaka ([1934] 1966b; 2013b) observed a new wave of journalism called *theoretical journalism* (*ripon-teki jānarizumu*) or *journalistic theory* (*jānarizumu-teki riron*) which is led by

²⁵ According to Harootunian (2000b, 125–126), the confidence in journalism, newspapers, and magazines in which Tosaka and his contemporary Marxian critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke shared set them apart from German contemporaries such as Benjamin and Heidegger, but not Kracauer. Schäfer (2012, 111–112) suggests that Tosaka and many of the critical intellectuals of the Frankfurt School such as Benjamin, Kracauer and Bloch shared journalism's possibility of social criticism .

former professors who become journalists and critics in the 1920s after leaving or being dismissed from universities. Theoretical journalism is “not just another form of academic theorizing but rather by deploying theory in a journalistic manner, it stands in opposition to academia in a qualitative sense” (Tosaka [1934] 1966b, 146; Tosaka 2013b, 38–39). He believes that this new type of journalism becomes an alternative approach for creating new knowledge and a force for challenging traditional academic theory (*akademī-teki riron*). Tosaka finds some potential for the philosophical method in journalism set outside of an academic discipline of philosophy. In other words, Tosaka sees journalism as another way of doing philosophy.

Tosaka ([1934] 1966b, 147–148; 2013b, 40–41) notes that because journalism is always about something ordinary, social, and trivial, journalism closely connects to an everyday knowledge or common sense. Journalism is also about current matters, or about what is going on in society, and not about something timeless and detached from society. For Tosaka, current issues are trivial matters judged by common sense; in other words, these issues are the things people care about and are at the same time popular. Moreover, current affairs are always political as well as philosophical since social practices, politics, and thoughts are closely interrelated. According to Tosaka ([1934] 1966b, 148; 2013b, 41), social practice is the most significant form of politics; politics is reflected by consciousness or thought; and thought is always philosophical. “The contents of journalism must be one kind of direct expression of this [world] view as held by the members of society. In this way, the current condition of society [*sesō*] is vividly portrayed” ([1934] 1966b, 148; 2013b, 42). In other words, journalism must be an immediate way to engage with people’s everyday knowledge – their views, common sense, and thought – and this is an alternative way of producing knowledge.

In summary, Gramsci and Tosaka saw intellectuals as a sociological as well as a moral category. They argued that intellectuals function in both maintaining and challenging social hegemony. They also envisaged that new types of intellectuals in a rising social group – organic intellectuals in Gramsci’s case and journalists in Tosaka’s – would potentially play an important social role in challenging social hegemony through their everyday social and cultural practices: criticizing existing knowledge, creating new common sense, and organizing moral and cultural leadership in the politics of emancipation. Importantly, new types of intellectuals are actively involved in society and link to not only economic relations but social and cultural relations. In Said’s interpretation of an organic intellectual in modern society, everyone who engages in the production or distribution of knowledge (i.e. mass media journalism itself) can be categorized as an intellectual. Borrowing Said’s account, I argued that everyone who works in the anime industry can be categorized as an organic intellectual. Experts who work in anime production and distribution are actively involved in society: they attempt to gain the consent of potential viewers and consumers through their product, maintain and expand their market, and participate in new cultural production,

distribution and consumption. Just as media experts are organic intellectuals in modern societies, experts in the anime industry are also intellectuals.

2.4. Everydayness and Philosophy

The previous section discussed an affinity between Gramsci and Tosaka in their ideas about intellectuals and their own intellectual orientations toward the nexus between theory and practice in everyday life. This section further elaborates their notion of *everydayness* and its relation to philosophy.

Everyday life is an important site for politics in Gramsci and Tosaka's intellectual projects. As mentioned at the inception of this chapter, both thinkers developed their political and philosophical insights not only through their formal academic writings, but also in a large number of notes and essays about philosophy, politics, science, technology, journalism, literature, culture, and many other fields, in relation to current social issues in their time. In other words, their writing is itself the embodiment of their *philosophy of praxis* in Gramsci's term. Gramsci and Tosaka both witnessed the emergence of social movements in the 1920s and later the rise of fascism in the late 1920s and 1930s in both Japan and Italy. They were attracted by Marx's thought and his vision of human emancipation, and critically studied Marx's as well as other philosophers' works while reflecting on their own socio-historical context. They later developed their own particular theories of ideology and hegemony. Their ideas and method of philosophy – Marxism for Gramsci and materialism for Tosaka – are crucial to their studies of contemporary everyday life: for Gramsci, it was criticism of common sense, while for Tosaka it was journalism and critical analysis of everyday life. Their intellectual orientations were intimately related to their concerns with the problem of ideology, hegemony and political strategy, and their intellectual trajectories can be seen as a series of political and intellectual struggles against social hegemony in their historical context.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Gramsci defined hegemony as moral and intellectual leadership operating in civil society through various social processes in people's everyday lives. Importantly, Gramsci considered that the social hegemony of the ruling class in Western Europe is maintained not only through economic relations but also through complex social relations including the operation of popular common sense – received beliefs about the world shared among subaltern people – which lead to naturalization of the status quo. Thus for Gramsci, a new hegemony requires an *intellectual and moral reformation* to change people's way of thinking in everyday life and to create a new world-view. As Mouffe (1979, 191) notes, intellectual and moral reform plays a central role in Gramsci's conception of hegemony because for Gramsci, hegemony consists in the creation of a "collective will" based on "a common world-view which will serve as a unifying

principle” to fuse different social groups. As Gramsci (1971, 183) notes, “The establishment of a class of leaders (that is, of a state) is equivalent to the creation of a weltanschauungen [world-view].” The creation of a new political and civil society requires the creation of a new worldview, or in other words, “emancipation in practice must be preceded by ideational emancipation” (Robinson 2006, 78). However importantly, Gramsci did not envisage “the creation of a new world-view” in an *abstract* sense, but rather in a *concrete* sense on the basis of his observations and reflections of people’s everyday life. As we have seen in this chapter so far, Gramsci wrote extensive criticism of received philosophy and popular common sense; as well as on the role of the intellectuals in modern capitalist society in relation to social hegemony of his time.

In Tosaka’s case, his intellectual development was also closely linked to his political vision. The social and political incidents that moved Japan towards war and fascism after its invasion of Manchuria in 1931 shadowed Tosaka’s intellectual reorientation toward materialism (Yoshida 2001, 295; Harootunian 2008, 100). Tosaka co-founded the research group Studies in Materialism (*Yuibutsuron kenkyūkai* or *Yuiken*) in 1932. He was also an active editor of and a frequent contributor to its journal on materialism (*Yuibutsuron kenkyū*), which was published from 1932 to 1938 until the association was forced to disband by the police (Kawashima, Schäfer, and Stolz 2013, xii).

Significantly, *Yuiken* is the both an intellectual and cultural movement: it was the first association on materialism established in Japan; and the anti-fascist movement in the cultural sphere (Kozai in Yoshida 2001, 295–296). Moreover, materialism and critical analysis of everyday life became the intellectual and political strategy for Tosaka in the fight against the social hegemony of fascism, Japanism, liberalism and its capitalist cultural ideology, which was increasingly penetrating people’s everyday life in the 1930s.²⁶ In Harootunian’s (2008, 100) words, Tosaka “opened up a critical front against fascism as it had permeated everyday life in the 1930s through the publication of works like *Shisō to fūzoku* ([1936] 1966j) and *Sekai no ikkan to shite no Nihon* ([1937] 1967) that sought to clarify the conditions of contemporary Japan.”

Tosaka’s work resonates with Gramsci’s philosophy of praxis, in that he considered the urgent task of intellectuals and philosophers to link philosophy with the actual problems of people’s

²⁶ Tosaka ([1935] 1977) noted that there are three aspects of liberalism – economic, political and cultural – and attacked cultural liberalism in particular and its complicity with fascism and Japanism in interwar Japan. I will return to Tosaka’s criticism of cultural liberalism later in this chapter. Tosaka considered that each aspect of liberalism had developed within a specific historical context, hence it is a historical product. He, however, also argued that leading liberal intellectuals, such as contemporary philosopher Nishida Kitarō and his followers, nevertheless treated things in an abstract and eternal manner (Tosaka [1935] 1977). Tosaka ([1935] 1977) warned about the danger of such a philosophical method as it gives theoretical grounds for Japanism – the construction of essentialized Japanese nation and culture.

everyday life. Tosaka adopted a materialist approach for this project, which involved the criticism of contemporary social and cultural practices. His critical engagement with everyday life, its materiality and the actuality of the present was driven by both his intellectual and political concerns. Tosaka's project was a strong intellectual critique of contemporary idealist philosophy and metaphysics which merely dealt with abstract ideas in contrast to the concrete materiality embedded in everyday life, and lapsed into "the virtual dematerialization of experience and the detemporalization of the everyday" (Harootunian 2008, 98). Against this, Tosaka sought to rematerialize everyday experiences and called for attention to the centrality of everyday life as a philosophical category against the elimination of the concreteness of the everyday by contemporary philosophers including Heidegger, Watsuji, Nishida, and their followers.²⁷ Tosaka's materialism is political in the sense that he refuted the dominant discourse of fascism, its cultural ideology and the contemporary philosophers who conspired to provide a theoretical ground for it in interwar Japan. As Goto-Jones (2005a, 115) suggests, Tosaka was a rare intellectual who seemed to "resist the pull of everyday politics," and did so by "emphasizing how ineffective (and bourgeois) Nishida's idealism was in the everyday world of material reality" in the atmosphere of the late 1930s and the 1940s. By then, his fellow philosophers of the Kyoto School such as Miki Kiyoshi, Nishitani Keiji, and Tanabe Hajime had already been pulling Nishida's philosophical concepts in very dangerous fascist directions (ibid.).

Tosaka earlier developed his theory on everydayness in the present in "The Principle of Everydayness and Historical Time" ([1930/1934] 1966a; 2013c), together with his theory of space in "On Space" ([1931/1936] 1966k; 2013a). Tosaka formed his theoretical idea of the everyday as a central historical, philosophical and political category in these articles, and it formed the basis for his cultural critiques in the 1930s. Unlike other contemporary idealist philosophers who discussed consciousness and existence while abstractly removing the materiality of everyday life from their philosophical reflection, Tosaka saw the concreteness of everydayness as "the basic unifying element of the present" (Harootunian 2000b, 141). Tosaka centered the materiality and actuality of everydayness in history, or in what he called the *structure of history* or the *historical time* of the

²⁷ Harootunian (2000a, 146–147) suggests that Tosaka clearly targeted Heidegger's dismissal of the everydayness of the present in his theorization of space as everyday space and recall for the centrality of the materiality of the existence and the historical moment in philosophical reflection. Goto-Jones (2006) offers an insightful discussion on the philosophies of Tosaka Jun and Miki Kiyoshi in the multiple-directional context of political Left in interwar Japan. According to Goto-Jones, Miki's philosophy was "at the cutting edge of interwar political philosophy" inspired by eminent contemporaries like Nishida, Watsuji and Heidegger as well as Marx (ibid., 10) but "anti-materialistic from the start" (ibid., 9). Tosaka rejected Miki's new approach to Marxism. For Tosaka, Miki's Marxism was wrong because this kind of "philological and hermeneutic method" to history "opening the door to liberalism" as well as Japanism (ibid., 12-15).

present. He rejected the received category of history in historicism which depended on “metaphysical categories and narrative development under the sign of hermeneutics” (Harootunian 2000a, 136).

For Tosaka, “the problem for idealism has always been its misrecognized identification between the metaphysical meaning of practice and practice itself. Tosaka wanted to liberate ‘practice’ from its constrained idealistic identification” (Harootunian 2000a, 136). Thus, Tosaka ([1935] 1977; [1934] 1966f) also carefully distinguished between two realities that he called *reality* (*genjitsu*) and *actuality* (*jissaisei*): the former refers to an abstract reality used in idealism and metaphysics, while the latter designates a concrete reality used in materialism. He preferred to use the word *actuality*, as it signifies embeddedness in the concrete materiality of everyday life. Moreover, he underscored the importance of actuality and practice in the present, contrasting this with the principle of possibility and a utopian imagination set in the future. Tosaka observed that

The principle of everydayness is the principle of *presentness*. It is the principle of *reality*, the principle of *factuality* [*jijitsusei*]. Accordingly, it is the principle of *practice* [*jissensei*]. To sum up, the principle of everydayness is the principle of reality and factual truth [practice]. In other words, it is not the principle of *possibility*; this we must not forget. ([1930/1934] 1966a, 102; 2013c, 13)

It is also worth noting that Tosaka made a clear distinction between *actuality* (of the present) and *possibility* (of the future). For Tosaka, the actuality of now, today or the present – in other words, the various embodiments of the principle of everydayness – is far more important than any abstract possibility that might be realized tomorrow or sometime in the future. He believed that looking at the future instead of the present is merely to confuse actuality and possibility ([1930/1934] 1966a, 102–103; 2013c, 14). In his words, “[in] the end, aligning the *reality* given by the present with the *possibility* of the future (ideality, imagination, anticipation, fear, anxiety, and so on) – in a non-everyday, formalistic manner – is necessarily a fiction that renders any of our practical action impossible. This fiction is called utopia” ([1930/1934] 1966a, 103; 2013c, 15, emphasis in the original).

It seems here that there is little space for anything between actuality and possibility or between the present and the future. In this passage, we can see Tosaka’s idea of everydayness is precisely embedded within the actuality of the present, and not in a possibility grounded somewhere in the future or somewhere between the present and the future. In other words, Tosaka strongly rejected utopian thinking, because for him it merely belongs to the realm of possibility, not actuality. Although I do sympathize Tosaka’s firm commitment to the everydayness and materialism during the struggles against fascism and Japanism in his time, I do not agree with the anti-utopianism he

based on the clear distinction between actuality and possibility. As I discuss further in Chapter 3, imagination does matter to real politics; utopian narratives can become a concrete political practice in the present. The future depicted in utopian and science fiction narratives are not the future as such; rather, the depicted future functions as a metaphor of the present in which the authors and the readers live. Such temporal reorientation is a literary device of cognitive estrangement that allows us to see our present more clearly. Thus at this point, the significance of Tosaka's work is his conception of everydayness as a philosophical practice rather than his anti-utopianism. Harootunian (2000a, 137) suggests that Tosaka envisaged a new purpose and task for historical materialism by theorizing everydayness as a historical, philosophical and political category, and would have shared this ambition with his contemporaries Walter Benjamin and Gramsci, who also tried to "imagine a conception of history that would open the way for practice in history that historicism, in all of its forms, had simply foreclosed." In this vein, Tosaka established his basic materialist theory of everydayness, before launching his critiques of the social hegemony of Japanism (fascism in Japan) and its cultural ideology, as well as of contemporary philosophy's complicity with dominant ideologies.

Asking the pressing question of how liberalism turned into fascism in modern capitalist society in Japan, Tosaka attacked Japanism, fascism and liberalism, and their common theoretical mechanisms from the standpoint of materialism in *Japanese Ideology* ([1935] 1977). As Kozai notes, "Tosaka gradually built his materialist method from the late 1920s to the early 1930s, while it was after the break of the war in 1931 that Tosaka used this theoretical weapon to fight against fascism and the ideological glorification of war. *Japanese Ideology* was a culmination of his fight against fascism" (Kozai 1977, 423, my translation).

In this collected volume, Tosaka ([1935] 1977, 21–22) disclosed the common philosophical mechanism of interpretative philosophy (*kaishaku tetsugaku*) behind these ideologies: the philological and hermeneutic method in philosophy, which "only explains the corresponding order of meanings instead of clarifying the order of real matters/objects." According to Tosaka ([1935] 1977), this mechanism produces the literary (*bungaku-shugi*) and philological (*bunkengaku-shugi*) logic which has deeply penetrated Japanese intellectual life (*ibid.*, 22–23). In support of this, he cited as examples contemporary liberal philosophers Watsuji and Nishida as well as Japanist philosopher Takahashi Satomi, and their followers (*ibid.*, 28–29). In Tosaka's account,

Bungaku-shugi is a hermeneutic method using literary categories based on the literary image instead of using philosophical categories based on reality, while *bunkengaku-shugi* is a method solely based on etymology and philology instead of real matters/objects... *bungaku-shugi* makes a representation into an (abstract) idea, while *bunkengaku-shugi* makes a language into an idea. (*ibid.*, 24–25, my translation)

Tosaka regarded this method as a reactionary force that has emerged as a necessary consequence of modern capitalism (*fukko-shugi*) (ibid., 26). He also argued that this method becomes a perfect instrument for Japanism when it is applied to national history, for this is when various ideologies such as Japanese spiritualism, Japanese agrarianism, Japanese Pan-Asianism (*nihon-seishin-shugi*, *nihon-nōhon-shugi*, *nihon-ajia-shugi*) turn into a proper Japanism with their appeals to a particularized and essentialized Japanese culture (ibid., 26-27). Tosaka also argued that these interpretative philosophers “consciously and unconsciously conspire to support fascist ideology or end up supporting it” by creating a fantasy appealing to an abstract idea of the Japanese nation and the Japanese spirit in an eternal, ontological sense (ibid., 235).

Tosaka wrote numerous cultural critiques of custom, literature, journalism and morality from a materialist point of view when fascism and its essentialist cultural ideologies came to increasingly occupy people’s everyday lives. “What drove Tosaka ... in this project to reunite philosophy and everyday life was the desire to juxtapose an alternative everydayness and the production of modern custom to the fictive abstractions of national culture circulating in the 1930s” (Harootunian 2000b, 141). Importantly, in a move similar to Gramsci’s conception of common sense, Tosaka not only situated custom within a social and historical context and “at the heart of any social order,” but also recognized that custom is “susceptible to change” (Harootunian 2000a, 120). For Tosaka, everyday life, especially that of ordinary people, is not something merely routine or mundane, but rather lively, dynamic, and constantly changing in nature. From this perspective, everyday life is a repetition (*hanpuku*) but it is only manageable by breaking down conventions and creating new ones. According to Tosaka

It was not possible to carry out everyday life by merely following things as they are, historical necessity and received contention...everyday life survived only by destroying received conventions and constructing new necessities. (Tosaka [1934] 1966f, 136–137; Harootunian 2000a, 128)

Because of this changing nature of everyday life, Tosaka’s criticism of custom in everyday life is an important point of intervention to challenge dominant discourses of Japanism and their appeal to the idealised eternal ideas of national culture. As Harootunian points out, “Tosaka was encouraged to propose the everyday as philosophy’s true vocation and recommended a return to its materiality as a necessary countermove to offset the baneful efforts of metaphysics and its appeal to the transcendent and eternal” (Harootunian 2008, 106).

In summary, both Gramsci and Tosaka argued for the political and philosophical significance of everyday life. For Gramsci, civil society – everyday social and cultural practices – is a locus of political struggles for social hegemony, while Tosaka theorized everydayness as a proper

philosophical category, fighting against the dominant Japanese fascism and its cultural ideology with his materialism based on the concrete materiality of everydayness. Tosaka criticized received customs in people's everyday life, which are increasingly occupied by an abstract idealised idea of national culture, while envisaging new conventions and new morals emerging within the criticism of everyday life in the present. Importantly, both Gramsci and Tosaka believed that everyday life is constantly changing, rather than static and conventional, and the possibility for social change therefore always remains open.

2.5. Conclusion: Critical Analysis of Everyday Life as a Political and Philosophical Intervention

Gramsci's and Tosaka's work on the role of the intellectuals and everydayness provides a useful point of departure for dealing with similar problems in our time, and when considering how knowledge is produced and what methods and approaches are appropriate in studying political theory. They both criticized existing modes of knowledge production and redefined the identity and vocation of intellectuals in modern capitalist society. They extended the scope of the intellectual in modern capitalist society and saw them as important actors organizing and leading a moral and intellectual reformation in society. For Gramsci, the intellectual has a dual social function, both maintaining social hegemony and challenging it in transformative social projects. Both Gramsci and Tosaka envisaged a new purpose and task for intellectuals: to engage with the creation of new world-views, new common sense, and new morals in the politics of emancipation. Thus, the philosophers' vocation is to link philosophy and everyday practices, while philosophy in practice is the criticism of received common sense, current affairs, and social and cultural practices, together with the creation of new common sense and new morals.

By closely examining the everyday experience of their time, both thinkers linked philosophy with everyday experience by conceptualizing everydayness as a historical, philosophical and political category. They argued for immediate attention to everyday experience as the object of philosophy. For them, everyday life is not something merely pedestrian, traditional, or conventional, and therefore a matter of peripheral interest, but rather a rich source for philosophical inquiry, and philosophers should accordingly not only look at classic philosophical texts but also extend their scope of study to everyday practices. Moreover, everyday life has a political significance in the present, opening the possibility for criticism and social change. Everyday life is a sphere of social, political, and cultural struggles for hegemony, ideology, and resistance. In this vein, Gramsci's and Tosaka's respective theories offer a perspective from which history, culture, society and politics can be viewed as being irreducible parts of everyday life.

Thus, their new conception of intellectuals and the everyday has a significant political and philosophical connotation: it is political because it serves as a means for intellectuals to lead other members of society to reflect and criticize received worldviews and common sense, opening the way for political interventions through everyday practices. It is philosophical because theorizing intellectuals and everydayness becomes an alternative way of doing philosophy – Marxism for Gramsci and materialism for Tosaka respectively.

Accordingly, the importance of Gramsci and Tosaka's theory for the study of anime (or any of other cultural products) should seem clear now. In contrast to orthodox Marxists, Gramsci and Tosaka regard class essentialism and economism as unsatisfactory simplifications that cannot explain everything. Orthodox Marxism, saturated in economic analysis, is problematically fatalistic or even anti-political in determining in advance that everyday life and cultural practice are inconsequential. In offering an alternative to this economic determinism, Gramsci's and Tosaka's theories of intellectuals and everydayness have been strongly influential within cultural studies. Paul Bowman (2007) therefore calls for relating post-Marxist theory to cultural studies. He says that

Both post-Marxist theory and cultural studies as institutions initially and constitutively orientated themselves as interventional efforts, as wanting to challenge, dislodge, or at least develop, existing and often broadly Marxist models of political causality, of intervention, and of what determines the character of conjunctures, identities and objects. Both cultural studies and post-Marxism, that is, sought to establish precisely what effective and responsible, intellectually justifiable and rigorous ethico-political intervention could be. In other words, both sought to intervene. (Bowman 2007, xii)

To end this chapter, I'd like to pose the question of whether anime can be understood as a serious intellectual source of political thought that explores pressing political ideas. My short answer is yes, and Gramsci's and Tosaka's thoughts on a role of intellectuals and everydayness provide us with a helpful account of this issue.

Gramsci's and Tosaka's work suggests that everyday cultural practices are an important site of philosophical inquiry. Anime – a major cultural force in Japan and beyond – is an important intellectual source in the field of political thought. Moreover, with a broader definition of the intellectual, participants in the anime industry such as animation directors, animators, scriptwriters, anime critics can all be understood as intellectuals who engage in intellectual activities. For example, the work of leading animation directors and animators Tezuka Osamu, Miyazaki Hayao, Anno Hideaki, Oshii Mamoru, among many others, can become an additional intellectual source for political thought alongside classical political philosophical texts. Political theorists should not dismiss anime as having nothing to do with their political philosophical inquiries, and should

instead critically reflect on it as a site of inquiry. Anime's relevance as a site of inquiry seems to be valid now, but some may wonder why I focus on science fiction anime, and not on anime that depict more mundane, everyday situation. As we follow Tosaka's materialist standpoint, utopian imagination seems to be relatively useless or even harmful. The next chapter explains why imagination, in particular utopian and science fiction imagination matters to political thinking and political thought.

3. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter addressed the important link between culture, philosophy and politics and the significance of everyday cultural practices as a site for philosophical inquiry through the works of Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun. Contextualizing Gramsci and Tosaka's idea of intellectuals and everydayness in our contemporary society in relation to anime, I proposed to see anime as an important cultural practice in Japan and beyond, anime experts as intellectuals, and animation as an intellectual product. I argued that political theorists should look at popular culture including anime more seriously as part of their inquiries in contemporary political thinking.

This chapter considers the methods and approaches appropriate to analyzing anime as a mode of political thought. The first section of this chapter reviews the common methods and sources in the field of political theory, suggesting that the predominantly European and textual nature of their materials is a problem. The second section looks at alternative approaches taken by scholars in the field of utopian and science fiction studies, as well as more recent scholarship on visual media, and in particular film and its philosophical aspects. It highlights how there are various ways to interrogate political and philosophical ideas through unconventional sources such as utopian and science fiction literature and visual media. The last section then looks at various existing methods for studying the (animated) moving image in the field of film, media and animation studies to create a toolbox for analyzing anime as a mode of thought. Emphasizing anime as visual narrative, I take a trans-medial approach combining both narrative and visual analysis.

3.2. Existing Methods and Approaches to Political Theory

The mainstream approaches and methods used in studying political thought still remain very textual, focusing on analyzing canonical texts in the tradition of political philosophy, or at best analyzing these texts by situating them within their broader historical contexts. Compared with scholars in other fields of political and social sciences, "political theorists generally spend little time addressing questions of 'how' and 'why' in their work. Instead, they dive straight into their analysis, turning immediately to the task at hand; arguing, for instance, about the meaning and value of particular key

concepts such as liberty, justice and rights” (Leopold and Stears 2008a, 1). Along with political theorists’ scant attention to the question of *how* and *why*, they also seem less concerned with the limited nature of their sources. For example, they rarely ask why some texts are included in the history of ideas, and others are not, nor about the implications of these exclusions.

Recent scholarship in the history of political thought has been more concerned with the question of sources. Siep Stuurman (2000, 152) argues that the canon of the history of political thought is “selective and incomplete” as it is about “the history of the victors, mostly upper-class European white men.” David Runciman (2001) traces the methodological trajectory of the Cambridge School since late 1960s and defensively suggests that scholars of the history of political thought have broadened their sources by seeking out neglected ideas of the European past including political ideas of and about women in revolutionary Europe, and the political writings of Carl Schmitt and Michael Oakeshott. However, the state of the discipline clearly remains unsatisfactory for others who work on political thought in non-Euro-American contexts, because the mainstream disciplinary debates are still based on solely the Euro-American inheritance.

Chris Goto-Jones (2005a; 2005b; 2008b; 2009a) questions the accepted methodology of the history of philosophy and the history of political thought in Europe and persuasively argues for the relevance of studying the work of non-European thinkers, such as the philosophy of the Kyoto School. He demonstrates the sophistication and relevance of the philosophy of the Kyoto School in a series of works and argues for taking non-European work such as that of the Kyoto School seriously as philosophy, rather than simply dismissing it as a body of “exotic specimens” (Rorty in Goto-Jones 2005b, 36) or separating it as “Japanese philosophy” (or Indian Philosophy etc.) from consolidated “Western” philosophy.

Goto-Jones (2008b; 2009a) points out how the seemingly inclusive methodological argument of the Cambridge School – an emphasis on the importance of textual meaning and historical context – is actually exclusively applied to the European contexts and results in a persistent intellectual conservatism and Euro-centricity in the discipline. “Despite some successful efforts to broaden these contextual parameters, particularly to include dead, white females, it remains the case that of all the possible historical contexts that might be of interest to historians of political philosophy none of them appear to be found outside the geo-historical spaces of Europe and the USA” (Goto-Jones 2008b, 4). According to leading Cambridge School historians such as Quentin Skinner, the history of political thought should be about “uncovering the ‘range of options lying behind a given philosophical or political predicament’” (Runciman cited in Goto-Jones 2008b, 15). Or for Charles Taylor, it is the quest for “discontinuities,” which requires “recovering previous articulations which have been lost” (Taylor cited in Goto-Jones 2008b, 12). Their views appear to be open and inclusive. However, as Goto-Jones argues, one of the major problems for the history of political thought is that their enterprise has been based on a particular European history of political thought, yet it

clearly has an aspiration toward universalism. In other words, it is simply true that the Cambridge historians have deliberately or inadvertently marginalized or even excluded non-Europeans.²⁸

The history of political thought should be organized around competing explanations of particular problems, not around national or regional identities. It doesn't matter who thought of the explanations, what matters is that they were thought of and that they are interesting/relevant. Hence, the history of political thought should be a quest for intellectual discomfort, for alternatives and discontinuities that make us reconsider and think critically about our responses to the predicaments of the present. (Goto-Jones 2008b, 15–16)

Against this conviction deeply rooted among Cambridge historians, Goto-Jones calls for a more inclusive history of political thought that opens the doors to non-Europeans such as the Kyoto School philosophers, beyond simply seeking out early twentieth century figures in Europe as “source of recognizable innovation and discontinuity” (ibid., 21).

We can also find a similar dominant preference for textual and/or ethnocentric approaches in *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches* (2008b), a recent publication on methodology. According to the editors, the title aims to introduce some of the methods and methodologies used by leading scholars in the contemporary field of political theory (Leopold and Stears 2008a, 10). One reviewer praises it for covering a wide range of methods and approaches and discussions on them in the field of political theory including analytical philosophy, moral philosophy, the empirical social sciences, the history of political thought, the world of ‘real’ politics, critical social theory, and ideology (Zolkos 2011, 75). The editors Leopold and Stears (2008a, 4) emphasize the plurality and open-endedness of methods and approaches to political theory, and suggest that “the complex relationship between political theory and related disciplines” is the most important common theme shared among the contributors.

To some extent, this spirit of plurality and open-endedness is also found in the individual chapters written by leading scholars in the field. For instance, political theorist Michael Freedman (2008) emphasizes the importance of analyzing various ideologies and modes of political thinking not limited to the works of political philosophers. Although Freedman acknowledges an indispensable role for two mainstream approaches in the field of political thought, namely political philosophy

²⁸ For example, it is evident in the title of the works produced by these scholars in the discipline such as Skinner's *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1978). Skinner's work is about a European history of thought, but is presented as *the* history of political thought, implying universalism (Goto-Jones 2008b, 7–8).

and the history of ideas, he points out the limitation of these approaches in understanding political thought and their possible harmful effects. “With all their richness, they [political philosophy and the history of ideas] leave a large gap that takes insufficient account of the ordinary and normal manifestations of concrete political thought in any given society, its patterns, its subtleties, its languages, and the processes it permeates” (Freeden 2008, 197).

For Freeden, political theory must be “the study of actual political thinking (or thought)” and it has two characteristics. “Political thought always displays two characteristics: thinking *in* a political way – that is to say, thinking politically – and thinking *about* politics. If we ignore those important features of human conduct, we will perilously impoverish our views of politics and of political thought” (ibid.). Investigation of the various ideologies and modes of political thinking through which human beings shape their social practices must therefore be a central subject in the study of political thought. Freeden further argues for the importance of broadening the range of sources to go beyond classic texts of Western political philosophy by including other political writings (e.g. party manifestos), parliamentary debates, newspapers, popular literature, everyday conversation, and visual and aural displays (e.g. advertising, public architecture, national anthems etc.). Freeden notes that

If we fail to identify the various levels of complexity and the diverse conceptual forms in which those central modes of thinking about politics occur, and if we are not prepared to acknowledge their assorted written, verbal, and non-verbal forms, their rational and emotional dimensions, and the multiple seductive rhetorics they employ in different contexts, we will ignore a vast amount of what political thought embraces. (ibid., 205)

Freeden’s close attention to the actual political thinking in various forms of expression is noteworthy, yet his own sources of analysis still remain very European and textual. For example, his major work *Ideology and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* (1998) is a wide-ranging study of major political ideologies in the nineteenth and twentieth-century in Europe and the USA including liberalism, conservatism, socialism, feminism and environmentalism. It makes an important contribution to understanding ideologies as a central object of scholarship in political theory, but his sources remain the written works of political thinkers and several popular writings from Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Sweden, Belgium, and the USA. The title of the book, however, is *Ideology and Political Theory*, not “ideology and political theory in Europe and the USA.”

As we can find in Freeden’s approach and those of the other contributors to *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches*, the methods and methodologies used by leading political theorists are

predominantly textual and limited to the analysis of written and verbal forms of language in Europe and America. Some contributors such as Freeden address the limits of the existing approaches and sources and call for broadening the body of sources beyond the classic texts. However, the title neither includes the rich tradition of utopian and science fiction literature as expressions of political thought, nor any poststructuralist approaches to the analysis of various textual and non-textual social and cultural practices. Neither are there any surveys of political thought beyond Europe and the USA. The editors touch on some of these absences in Introduction and explain that “such absences are partly because what follows reflects a discussion taking place in just one particular centre of political theory at one particular time...we hope that these absences are not taken in the wrong spirit; what follows is intended as an invitation to others to debate, and not an effort to provide the conclusive word on questions of method” (Leopold and Stears 2008a, 3).

I aim to contribute to such discussions of methods and approaches to studying political theory within this spirit of “plurality and open-endedness” by drawing on the richness of non-European and non-textual materials, namely, through focusing on the visual medium of anime in the genre of science fiction as an additional source of political thinking and political thought. Before moving onto the visual medium, I will first discuss the important role imagination, and more specifically science fiction and utopian literature, has played in political thinking and political thought.

3.3. Utopia, Science Fiction and Political Theory

Political theorists often criticize utopianism, and yet at the same time they also offer alternative visions for the future. As Sargisson (2007, 25) rightly notes, “The relationship between politics and Utopia is curious because politics often rejects utopianism and yet politics is built on utopias.” We can see this tendency in the works of leading political theorists in history.

For example, Marx and Engels (Marx [1848] 2000f, 267–268) criticized contemporary utopian socialists in *The Communist Manifesto* as “fantastic” in that they “reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action.” Marx and Engels saw the utopian socialists as bourgeois idealists who envisaged future society in a speculative manner, and described them as being little interested in the revolutionary practices of the proletariat. For Marx and Engels, the critical utopian socialists “still dream of experimental realization of their social Utopias...and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois” (Marx [1848] 2000f, 267). Marx and Engels clearly differentiated communism from utopian socialisms on the basis of political and revolutionary action, which involved more than “fantastic pictures of future society” (ibid.). Yet, their communism was also a utopian vision to some extent envisaging the emancipation of the proletariat through revolutionary practices.

Likewise, British historian E.H. Carr challenged utopianism, or the idealist approach to the international relations, from a realist perspective in his major work *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939* ([1939] 2001). Utopian idealists are confident that universal moral values such as peace or stable international order can be realized, believing in a “harmony of interests” on the assumption that human beings are rational beings and can hence cooperate together for common interests such as peace. For Carr ([1939] 2001) however, morality is not universal but rather relative and subject to power relations and the particular interests of different groups or individuals. In other words, morality serves as a disguise for the interests of the privileged. World politics is not characterized by a harmony of interests, but rather a conflict of interests. According to Carr, there are simply not enough resources in terms of natural resources, land and so forth in the world. Hence, privileged countries want to implement laws and morality in order to keep whatever they possess and outlaw the use of violence. It is therefore unrealistic to expect the underprivileged to respect laws and morality because it is laws and morality that keep them disadvantaged. Nevertheless, while Carr delivered a powerful realist critique of idealist utopianism, he is also very critical of pure realism. For Carr, international politics should not be all about “a naked struggle for power” (ibid., 87). Rather, “any sound political thought must be based on elements of both utopia and reality” (ibid.). Carr hence called for attention to create “a new utopia” or a utopian realism. Moreover, as Howe (1994) suggests, Carr’s other writings during World War II revealed more optimism about the possibility of a peaceful postwar order.

Marx’s vision of a new social order and Carr’s vision of a new postwar world order were based on their observation of the material conditions and/or social reality of their times, and yet their alternative political visions were also built on some kind of imagination. In other words, despite Marx’s rejection of utopian socialists and Carr’s criticism of idealist intellectuals for largely ignoring the role of power in international politics, they do not argue against an alternative vision of the future or deny a political role to imagination. Imagination does matter in politics and political thinking.

Indeed, as Lyman Tower Sargent (2007, 304) points out, “many political theorists agree that utopianism is important or even essential” in political thinking. For instance, Quentin Skinner (1998, 78–79) writes

I have never understood why the charge of utopianism is necessarily thought to be an objection to a theory of politics. One legitimate aspiration of moral and political theory is surely to show us what lines of action we are committed to undertaking by the values we profess to accept.

Likewise, Raymond Geuss (2010, x) argues that “Even the deepest kind of political conformism and any defense of the status quo require acts of imagining of some kind, albeit a particular kind of productive imagination.”

In other words, imagination, especially “the constructive imagination of alternatives to present ways of doing things, or discriminatory skill, and of judgement” is central in any kind of politics and political thinking (Geuss 2010, 110). Geuss asks further questions, such as “how and to what extent is it possible to free oneself or take one’s distance imaginatively from the beliefs, values and attitudes of one’s surroundings?” and “To what extent is such distancing necessary for radical social criticism?” (Geuss 2010, x)

Taking a self-reflective approach, in the tradition of philosophy from Hegel to the early Frankfurt School, Geuss discusses the nature of imagination and its role in politics by analyzing a wide range of political and cultural issues including the war in Iraq, literature, museum, poetry and so on. Geuss underscores a close correlation between imagination, distance and the possibility and limitation of social criticism in his discussion. He argues that “the distance I am able to put between myself and my social world with its associated beliefs, intellectual habits, and attitudes is a crucial variable in determining how much I can see, how much I can understand, and whether I can occupy a position from which radical social criticism is possible” (ibid., xi).

Although Geuss emphasizes the function of imagination in politics and political thinking, literary forms of utopia and science fiction have not, with some exceptions, been explored seriously in the traditional academic field of political thought. For instance, one of the major textbook series in the field, *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* includes only a few texts of modern utopian literature: Thomas More’s *Utopia* (2002); William Morris’s *News from Nowhere* (1995); the collected volume of *Utopias of the British Enlightenment* (1994), and Charles Fourier’s *The Theory of the Four Movements* (1996). Predictably the series neither includes a science fiction title nor a non-European text. Interestingly, Raymond Geuss is one of the general editors of the Cambridge textbook series together with Quentin Skinner, and both have acknowledged the indispensable role of imagination and utopianism in political theory and written about it. There appears to be very little room for science fiction literature as a source in the mainstream field of the history of political thought.

Many writers, critics and scholars of utopian and science fiction literature share Geuss’s concern with the role of imagination and distancing in political and social criticism, and regard these genres as important sites for generating political thinking (Moylan 2000; Moylan 2014; Wegner 2002; Baccolini and Moylan 2003a; Jameson 2005).²⁹ Utopian political thought can be

²⁹ Lyman Tower Sargent (1994) suggests that utopianism has been expressed in three major fields: utopian literature; communitarianism; and utopian social theory.

traced back to the ancient world (e.g. Plato's *Republic*); modern utopian literature is however rooted in Thomas More's *Utopia*, written in 1516. More coined the word *utopia* to refer to an imaginary island in his work. Utopia means *nowhere* or *no-place* from Greek *ou* (not) + *topos* (place) but More's usage is a pun, as Utopia could also refer to *good place* derived from the Greek *eu* (good) (Carey 2000, xi; Logan and Adams 2002, xi). The book is presented as the story of a fictional journey to the island by a fictional traveller Raphael Hythloday, whom More met in Antwerp. According to Hythloday, the social organization of Utopia is based on equality and justice, unlike contemporary England. There have been endless debates about the extent to which More meant the story seriously: Utopia would be an ideal society or "a land of happy, healthy, public-spirited communists", while many utopian practices such as religious toleration, divorce and euthanasia would be unacceptable for the readers in sixteen-century Europe (Carey 1999, 38). More's text could be read as political manifesto or elaborate literary joke. Although it is impossible to fully understand More's intentions in writing *Utopia*, it is less controversial to say "More's imaginary world surely prompts readers to see themselves and their society in a new light – a goal shared by nearly all writers of utopian fiction since (Weaver 2010, 17).

One of the important characteristics found in utopian and science fiction literature is the function of *estrangement* as a stimulus for critical reflection on the societies in which the authors and readers live, and for imagining alternative social and political arrangements. Literary theorist Darko Suvin (1979, 49) defines utopia as

[The] verbal construction of a particular quasi-human community where sociopolitical institutions, norms and individual relationships are organized according to a more perfect principle than in the author's community, this construction being based on estrangement arising out of an alternative historical hypothesis.

Utopian scholar Lyman Tower Sargent (1994, 9) defines utopia as "a non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space." Sargent's definition includes various forms of imaginary societies: eutopia or positive utopia; dystopia or negative utopia; critical utopia or an imagined society, understood "as better than contemporary society but with difficult problems that the described society may or may not be able to solve and which takes a critical view of the utopian genre" (ibid., 9).

Sargent also defines utopianism as "social dreaming" and elaborated it as "the dreams and nightmares that concern the ways in which groups of people arrange their lives and which usually envision a radically different society than the one in which the dreamers live. Not all are radical, though, for some people at any time dream of something basically familiar" (ibid., 3). In Sargent's

view, “utopianism is essential but dangerous,” a quality he describes as “the contradictory nature of utopia” (ibid., 22).

Suvin and Sargent agree on a number of important points in their definitions of utopia. Firstly, both scholars characterize utopia as a collective and social project rather than individual one. For Suvin, utopia is about the construction of a community different from author’s community; and for Sargent utopianism is “social dreaming.” Secondly, the particular social arrangements described in the utopia are “quasi-human”, and thus utopian communities are the products of humanity rather than ideal societies portrayed in a mythical tale. Thirdly, and most importantly, both scholars emphasize the link between utopia and the socio-historical context in which it emerges. Referring to utopia as “historical estrangement,” Suvin (1979, 53) notes that the estrangement is achieved by “explicit or implicit reference to the author’s empirical environment.” In Sargent’s conception, this reference is the society where dreamers live. Because of this link to the empirical reality of authors and dreamers, fictional utopias allow readers to understand the texts as “an alternative historical hypothesis” in Suvin’s (1979, 49) terms and to see their familiar environment differently. Referring to the utopian philosopher Ernst Bloch, Suvin (1979, 54) suggests that “the real function of estrangement is – and must be – the provision of a shocking and distancing mirror above the all too familiar reality.” In Sargent’s (1994, 27) words, “utopia serves as a mirror to contemporary society, pointing to strengths and weaknesses, more often the latter. This is one of its most important functions.” The link between utopia and its historical context is essential for the function of social criticism and the political significance of utopian fiction.

Suvin also claims that utopian literature is the “*sociopolitical subgenre of science fiction*” (1979, 61 emphasis in the original). Although Suvin’s categorization has produced disputes among utopian and science fiction scholars,³⁰ Suvin’s definition of science fiction still remains an important reference point in thinking about the political dimensions of utopian and science fiction literature. Drawing on the idea of estrangement in literary theory developed by the Russian Formalists and the German dramatist Bertolt Brecht, Suvin (1979) defines science fiction as “the literature of cognitive estrangement.” He elaborates on this, commenting that

A literary genre whose necessary and sufficient conditions are the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, and whose main formal device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author’s empirical environment. (ibid., 7-8 emphasis in the original)

³⁰ Sargent (1994) and Fitting (2010) disagree with Suvin’s definition of Utopia as subgenre of science fiction, while Jameson (2005, xiv) follows Suvin’s view and defines utopia as “sociopolitical sub-genre of science fiction.”

For Suvin, science fiction is a distinctive literary genre and its essential function is to *estrangle* or *distance* the readers from their social world with the associated beliefs, norms, and values and thereby to allow them to see their existing surroundings critically. Estrangement in science fiction arises from a narrative device Suvin called a *novum*, or a strange newness, novelty, and innovation which is based on “cognition” and its rational, logical and scientific implications (ibid., 63). Borrowing the idea of the *novum* from Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, Suvin defines it as a “totalising phenomenon or relationship deviating from the author’s and implied reader’s norm of reality” (ibid., 64). According to Suvin, both Bloch and himself assume that a *novum* participates in the “front-line of historical process” in the Marxist tradition, which means a “process intimately concerned with strivings for a dealienation of men [*sic*] and their social life” (Suvin 1979, 82). This innovation is significantly different from the world in which the author and readers live and it highlights the tension between the world portrayed in science fiction and the world of the author and readers. For Suvin, it is this tension that estranges existing social norms and values of the readers (ibid., 64).

Literary theorist Fredric Jameson has written extensively about the relationship between utopia and politics, and the political role of utopian thinking through a constructive reading of various utopian and science fiction literary works within the context of globalization in late capitalism. Considering the discourses of the powerful liberal capitalist system – discourses such as “there is no alternative to Utopia” or “late capitalism seems to have no natural enemies alternative to Utopia” – Jameson (2005, xvi) argues for utopian thinking employing the “slogan of anti-anti Utopianism” as the best working political strategy.

Following Suvin’s definition of utopia as “sociopolitical sub-genre of science fiction,” Jameson (2005, xiv) sees utopia as a “socio-economic sub-genre” of the broader literary genre of science fiction, which is “specifically devoted to the imagination of alternative social and economic forms.” Although he has been attracted by utopia throughout his career, Jameson has also written much about the failures of utopian thinking and the impossibilities of imagining and representing a radical difference. For example, Jameson (2005, xiii) notes that “our imaginations are hostages to our own mode of production (and perhaps to whatever remnants of past ones in has preserved)...at best Utopia can serve the negative purpose of making us more aware of our mental and ideological imprisonment...and that therefore the best Utopias are those that fail the most comprehensively.” In other words, utopia and “our most energetic imaginative leaps into radical alternatives were little more than the projections of our own social moment and historical subjective situation” (Jameson 2005, 211). For Phillip E. Wegner (2002, 23), this is “the apparently paradoxical and the seemingly classically post-structuralist conclusion” of Jameson’s thinking.

So, how did Jameson reach such a paradoxical standpoint? What is the political role of utopian thinking? For Jameson, the failure of utopian thinking or the impossibility of imagining a radical

difference does not mean a dead end and we should reject any utopian thinking (i.e. become anti-Utopian). On the contrary, such a failure is a crucial moment precisely because it forces us to generate further critical reflections and attempts to imagine another utopian vision or a novum that has not yet arrived. Jameson (2005, 232–233) notes that

The formal flaw – how to articulate the Utopian break in such a way that it is transformed into a practical-political transition – now becomes a rhetorical and political strength, in that it forces us precisely to concentrate on the break itself: a mediation on the impossible, on the unrealisable in its own right. This is very far from a liberal capitulation to the necessity of capitalism, however, it is quite the opposite, a rattling of the bar and an intense spiritual concentration and preparation for another stage which has not yet arrived.

Echoing Bloch and Suvin, Jameson argues that the political function of utopian thinking is estrangement, which generates critical reflection and concentration on imagined alternatives to our present.

In a similar manner to these theorists, Wegner (2002, 17) argues that the utopian text or what he calls the “narrative utopia” has a pedagogical function for “teaching its audiences how to think of the space they already inhabit in a new critical fashion.” Closely examining some of the most renowned narrative utopias such as Thomas More’s *Utopia* ([1516] 2010), Bellamy’s *Looking Backward* ([1878] 2000), Bogdanov’s *Red Star* ([1908] 1984), London’s *The Iron Heel* ([1907] 1981), Zamyatin’s *We* ([1920] 2007), Le Guin’s *The Dispossessed* ([1974] 2003), Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* ([1949] 2000) and their historical contexts, Wegner (2002, xx) suggests that these narrative utopias have played a vital role in the historical process of modernity, generating “the cognitive space around which new kinds of lived experiences and theoretical perceptions form” and teaching its readers to live in the new social space now called the modern nation-state. The narrative utopia is a concrete practice and process in the histories of modernity, which engages in “a particular kind of praxis, a specific representational activity” of new lived experiences, rather than merely a fictional idea or vision (Wegner 2002, xviii).

It is very important to look at narrative utopia’s concreteness and actuality in its readers’ present, or what Wegner calls a “concrete symbolization of the historical *process*” because this concrete symbolization can explain why the narrative utopia matters to our political thinking (ibid., 24).³¹ The narrative utopia is not merely a fictional narrative about a different time and place, which

³¹ Wegner’s argument allows us to rethink Tosaka’s rejection of utopia that I discussed in Chapter 2. If we look at Wegner’s work on narrative utopia and its close relation to the emergence of modern nation-state, we

is nothing to do with its readers' present; on the contrary it serves as "a constitutive element in the production of modern social reality, a progressive counterblast to the essential conservatism of ideology" (ibid., 18). In other words, "the utopia transforms the closed circle of ideology or belief into an open spiral" (Ricoeur cited in Wegner 2002, 23). Echoing Jameson's discussion on science fiction and its specific narrative form to defamiliarize our own present rather than to offer images of the future,³² Wegner suggests that the narrative utopia implies "dynamic temporal reorientation" since "the narrative utopia conceives of the present in terms of the future, as something that is incomplete and continuously coming into being...[and] the present, its concerns, desires, and contradictions...serves as the very raw material from which the narrative performance will generate something original" (Wegner 2002, xix). In other words, narrative utopia is a concrete political practice as a form of new political thinking and new political thought employing its estrangement function and temporal reorientation.

As the aforementioned scholars and critics suggest, utopia and science fiction are useful sites for exploring political visions. Yet, there have been few studies of non-Western utopia. As Sargent (1994) reminds us, the scarcity of the scholarship on non-Western utopia does not mean that there is no utopianism in other parts of the world, because people everywhere imagine some kind of fictional society or community, and engage in social dreaming. Sargent (1994, 19) suggests that although More's invention of a particular literary form of utopia is immensely important and spread rapidly, "clearly, if a non-Western utopia must be similar to More's *Utopia*, it is quite probable that none will be found." The limited scholarship on non-Western utopianism and utopian and science fiction literature is evident. For example, look at the number of published articles on Japanese utopia and science fiction in major academic journals of the field such as *Utopian Studies* (1987-present) and *Science Fiction Studies* (1973-present). Only a few articles on utopias in Japan appear in *Utopian Studies*. In *Science Fiction Studies* more articles are available than *Utopian Studies*, but this is a relatively recent phenomenon since 2000: part of the Global Science Fiction special issue in 2000 covers Japanese science fiction (Yuen 2000; La Bare 2000; Tatsumi 2000b; Fisch 2000); there

should not dismiss narrative utopia as something useless or mere imagination/fiction. As Wegner suggests, utopian literary works have played a significant role in reorienting or/and shaping people's view about social space in modern history. Hence reading/watching utopian and science fiction works is a concrete social and political practice.

³² See "Progress versus Utopia, or, Can We Imagine the Future?" (2005, 281–295). In this article Jameson argues that science fiction has a "far more complex temporal structure", especially in terms of the ostensible content of the described future: it exists "not to give us 'images' of the future – whatever such images might mean for a reader who will necessarily predecease their 'materialization' – but rather to defamiliarize and restructure our experience of our own *present*, and to do so in specific ways distinct from all other forms of defamiliarization" (ibid., 286, emphasis in the original).

is a special issue on Japanese science fiction in 2002³³; and the occasional research articles have been published. Although the existing scholarship on utopia and science fiction beyond Europe and USA is still relatively small, it has been growing, and further research will enrich our understanding of utopia and science fiction, and hence political thought from multiple locations more broadly.³⁴

3.4. Visual Media and Political Theory

Existing studies on utopia and science fiction suggest that utopian literature is a concrete political practice and a form of political thought. Utopian and science fiction scholars have expanded their source of analytical material from texts to visual media such as films and TV series (Jameson 1979; Jameson 2005; Fitting 2003; Wegner 2003; Roberts 2006).

Among these studies, Fredric Jameson (1979) reconsiders the negative aesthetic evaluation of mass culture relative to high culture, and proposes an alternative approach to mass culture in terms of its social and political aspects. If we want to understand the social functions of culture, it would be more appropriate to examine popular TV programs or films such as *Jaws* (1975) or *The Godfather* (1972; 1974) rather than Wallace Stevens' poems or Henry James' novels, because such mass cultural artifacts "clearly speak a cultural language meaningful to far wider strata of the population than what is socially represented by intellectuals" (Jameson 1979, 130). Analyzing *Jaws* and *The Godfather*, Jameson argues that the narratives in mass culture have both an ideological and a utopian or transcendent function at the same time.

For example, in his analysis of *Jaws*, the killer shark represents polysemous social and historical anxieties or "the most recent embodiment of Leviathan." The heroes who fight against the shark represent a utopian dimension of social harmony, which indicates "its ritual celebration of the renewal of the social order and its salvation" (Jameson 1979, 142). Jameson suggests that "anxiety and hope are two faces of the same collective consciousness, so that the works of mass culture, even if their function lies in the legitimation of the existing order – or some worse one – cannot do their job without deflecting in the latter's service the deepest and most fundamental hopes and fantasies of the collectivity, to which they can therefore, no matter in how distorted a fashion, be found to have given voice" (ibid., 144).

Jameson's account of mass culture's socio-political function as both ideological and utopian is insightful, yet he drew his arguments from a narrative analysis without paying any attention to

³³ This special issue was later published as an edit volume (Bolton, Csicsery-Ronay, and Tatsumi 2007).

³⁴ Some notable exceptions to the academic neglect on science fiction outside of Europe and America include studies on Japanese science fiction literature by Tatsumi (2000a; 2006); Bolton et al. (2007); Brown (2010).

visual or acoustic elements of the films. Since he already argues for the importance of studying the narratives of mass culture, especially visual ones (i.e. TV programs and films), it would be appropriate to analyze how visual and acoustic elements function in a narrative more closely. For example, *Jaws* uses montage and sound effects extensively to dramatize the horror of the shark, and these effects construct a sense of anxiety and fear, which is central to Jameson's discussion. In other words, images and sounds play a crucial role to achieve the spectacular effect as part of the visual narrative in the film. Moreover, because of these visual and acoustic elements, the experience of viewing *Jaws* would be different from the experience of reading the original novel, hence these difference in media and narrative forms may have some impacts on "how a narrative could be consumed," which is also one of Jameson's major concerns (Jameson 1979, 132).

In the field of International Relations, some scholars have more recently studied the relationship between science fiction films and world politics (Weldes 1999; Weldes 2001; Weldes 2003a; Sheeran 2007; Buzan 2010). According to Jutta Weldes (2003b), popular science fiction themes such as alien encounter, outer space, war, crisis and so forth are familiar issues in world politics too: encountering Others is a theme found also in diplomacy or imperialism; the imaginary outer space can be linked with issues of sovereignty and subjectivity; and war and crisis with alternative processes and possibilities for world politics. Weldes (2003b, 2) also notes that "the apparent great divide between the 'hard truths' of world politics and the imagined world of SF is deceiving, however. The dividing line between the natural facts and material realities of world politics' material realities and natural facts and the fictional worlds and imaginative possibilities of SF is far from clear." Pointing out the scarcity of scholarship on fictional imagination in the field of world politics, Weldes calls for attention to examining the connection between science fiction and world politics.

Existing studies on the relation between science fiction and world politics demonstrate that science fiction films could be a representational vehicle for reproducing official discourse about world politics (e.g. US foreign policy discourse), as well as challenging existing ways of thinking world politics (e.g. state sovereignty). For example, in her analysis of the socio-political contexts of the popular science fiction TV series *Star Trek* through its various seasons, Weldes (1999) suggests that the series reproduces and popularizes common assumptions of US foreign policy discourse such as liberal multiculturalism with hierarchy, pervasive militarism and interventions in other states. While analyzing *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987), Inayatullah (2003) suggests that the series portrays a mixed picture of imperialism and resistance through its depictions of first contact. Some episodes present the aliens in respectful ways, while other episodes rather remain imperialist, assimilating diversity through the device of the *universal translator*.

While these studies by International Relations scholars are informative for thinking about world politics through popular science fiction, their analyses again remain very verbal and textual,

while visual elements are largely neglected. For example, Weldes's analysis focuses on the ways in which the crews of the *Enterprise* use the pronoun "we/us" referring to themselves and more broadly the Federation, which would be associated with the United States. Inayatullah focuses on conversation analysis during the first contact. Although verbal language is one of the important analytical elements, *Star Trek* is a visual narrative, not a novel, and the visual dimension plays a significant role in representational practices. Again, by ignoring the visual, their analyses might miss out on some of the key issues of representation. For example, the character design of alien antagonists such as the Klingons is visual representation of the Otherness, carrying with it orientalist connotations. Moreover, as Adam Roberts (2006) suggests, the depiction of the Klingons and their culture (i.e. character designs, acting and casting) has changed over time significantly: from the samurai-like caricature of the Japanese in the original series in the 1960s to more sympathetic and attractive looks in the later series in the 1980s and 1990s. In Roberts' account, this shift would involve "an internalisation of the cultural signifier 'Klingon' into a North American cultural logic, albeit one that still marks their separation" (ibid., 103-104). By this shift, the Klingons as Japanese (non-American) become coded as African-American and Native-American (American). As Roberts' analysis shows, without analyzing the visual in visual narratives, it is difficult to fully capture the representation of the Others or aliens and its connotation, and hence to study the issue of subjectivity or imperialism in visual media insightfully.

Along with the growing interest in visual media in the field of literature and politics, philosophers have also explored film as a site of philosophical inquiry. There are at least two orientations: one is the more traditional field of philosophy of film and film aesthetics, which is concerned with the nature of the film as art, dealing with the nature of film, and how it differs from other art forms (Deleuze 2005a; 2005b; Carroll 1996; 1998a; 1998b; 2008); another field is called *film and philosophy*, *film philosophy* or *film as philosophy*, which is inspired by the work of Stanley Cavell (1979; 1981; 1996). Film philosophy scholars explore the philosophical significance of film as a medium of thought (Mulhall 2008; Litch 2010; Read and Goodenough 2005; Wartenberg 2007). Sinnerbrink (2011, 41) nicely summarizes the essence of Cavell's approach to film and philosophy.

Cavell's 'Film and Philosophy'...expands how we might imagine thinking to occur, revealing film as a medium of thought that accompanies but also questions philosophy, inviting us to transform philosophical expression in light of what film allows us to feel and to think. For film can disclose the everyday in ways that bring to our attention the unfamiliarity of the familiar, the difficulty of acknowledging others, the problem of our sense of reality, the meaning of being human, the question of scepticism or nihilism, the possibility of love – all things that philosophy has traditionally asked about, and that film has now rediscovered, questioned and reanimated in its own distinctive ways.

There are two important points to note in relation to Cavell's approach to film and philosophy, and particularly regarding the philosophical capacity of film. The two points are interrelated. The first is to acknowledge film as a *medium of thought*, which casts familiar philosophical questions in a new light through the cinematic experience. The second point concerns film's function as a *mode of estrangement*. Film allows viewers to feel, think and question, and this cinematic experience would estrange viewers from their familiar surroundings and beliefs, allowing them to question what they know. For Cavell, estrangement through film is the "possibility of skepticism" which is "internal to the condition of human knowledge," and both philosophy and film are concerned with skepticism (Rothman 2003, 207). As Cavell puts it,

Film is a moving image of skepticism: not only is there a reasonable possibility, it is a fact that here our normal senses are satisfied of reality while reality does not exist – even, alarmingly, *because* it does not exist, because viewing it is all it takes. Our vision is doubtless otherwise satisfiable than by the viewing of reality. But to deny, on sceptical grounds, just *this* satisfaction – to deny that it is ever reality which film projects and screens – is a farce of skepticism. (Cavell 1979, 188–189, emphasis in the original)

For Cavell, film is skepticism in a sense that the projected and screened reality in films does not physically exist, and, in fact, we cannot entirely know what reality is (in films). This uncertainty is exactly a form of skepticism about human knowledge.

Inspired by Cavell's works on film and philosophy, his followers have further developed the theoretical basis of "film as philosophy." Although to what extent films could be philosophical or contribute to the academic discipline of philosophy is still under debate, "it is uncontroversial to observe that a range of films, including popular ones, resonate in fruitful ways with traditional and contemporary philosophical issues" (Livingston and Plantinga 2008, xx). Among these philosophers, both Stephen Mulhall (2008) and Thomas Wartenberg (2007) argue that film can make contributions to philosophy through its distinctive art form yet they offer different accounts of what the philosophical practice of film consists of.

Mulhall (2008) explores the possibility of films as philosophy by demonstrating that some films can be thought of as *philosophizing*. Mulhall gives a significant role to some films such as the *Alien* series (1979; 1986; 1992; 1997), *Mission: Impossible* series (1996; 2000; 2006) and *Minority Report* (2002), which are equivalent to philosophical works, rather than merely seeing them as illustrations of philosophical ideas and issues in narratives. For example, analyzing how the *Alien* series addresses various interrelated anxieties about human identity, Mulhall argues that each film in the series develops sophisticated arguments about "the reflection of human identity to

embodiment” similar to those made in ongoing dialogue on the same subject among philosophers, and the series could make a substantial contribution to these debates. He notes that

I do not look to these films [the *Alien* series] as handy or popular illustrations of views and arguments properly developed by philosophers; I see them rather as themselves reflecting on and evaluating such views and arguments, as thinking seriously and systematically about them in just the ways that philosophers do. Such films are not philosophy’s raw material, nor a source for its ornamentation; they are philosophical exercises, philosophy in action –film as philosophizing. (Mulhall 2002, 4)

This is a bold claim because in his view, some films themselves can “reflect on and evaluate” philosophical arguments, and also “think seriously and systematically.” Moreover, as Wartenberg points out, Mulhall clearly distinguishes “popular illustrations” from “thinking seriously and systematically,” dismissing “popular illustration” as “lacking any serious and systematic thinking,” while for Wartenberg (2007, 38), illustrations through cinematic narratives could be part of serious philosophical thinking.

Mulhall’s analysis is very insightful and suggests that films could represent an alternative approach to thinking about philosophical themes and issues. His analysis focuses on the narrative, dialogues, character development, and acting, while paying little attention to cinematic features such as cinematography (e.g. low key lightening, low camera angles, point of view shot), editing, mise-en-scène (distorted images) or sounds, which play an important role in visual narratives and distinctive iconographies (e.g. monstrosity, bodily transformations, fear of otherness). Thus, without analyzing these cinematic features, it is still not very clear to what extent cinematic narratives are different from narratives in other art forms such as literature or theatre, which would also address philosophical questions.

Wartenberg (2007) also argues that films not only have philosophical elements or themes, but also *philosophize*. By philosophize, Wartenberg means that films can “illustrate philosophical claims or theories in a way that provides genuine illumination, [and also] *make arguments, to philosophical claims, and put forward novel philosophical theories*” (ibid., 9, emphasis in the original). Compared with Mulhall’s (2008) more rigorous idea of philosophical exercise as “serious and systematic thinking”, but not as an illustration of philosophical issues, Wartenberg takes a more moderate approach to the philosophical practice of films. In Wartenberg’s examples, Charlie Chaplin’s *Modern Times* (1936) provides the viewers an accessible illustration of Marx’s critique of capitalism and theory of alienation, while science fiction films such as *The Matrix* (1999) and *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* (2004) perform thought experiments. These three films are all philosophical exercises.

Wartenberg regards the thought experiment as a particularly important practice linking philosophy and imagination. The thought experiment is a common technique used by philosophers in history, which philosopher Tamar Szabó Gendler defines as “to reason about an imaginary scenario with the aim of confirming or disconfirming some hypothesis or theory” (Gendler cited in Wartenberg 2007, 57). Wartenberg suggests that Gendler’s definition contains two important aspects of the thought experiment: the philosopher asks the reader to imagine a fictional narrative; and this fictional narrative should play a role in a broader debate over a certain philosophical claim or theory, supporting or challenging the argument in question (Wartenberg 2007, 57). He also points out that both philosophy and film rely on fictional scenarios. Moreover, just as philosophers use the thought experiment in various ways, so do films. They can be a counterexample to a philosophic thesis; establish the possibility of a world; demonstrate impossibility; confirm a theory; or build an idealized model of the world (ibid., 58-67).

In the case of *The Matrix* (1999), Wartenberg demonstrates that the film performs a thought experiment as confirming Descartes’ claim that “all of our beliefs about reality might be false” by showing viewers a fictional world. Moreover, *The Matrix* illustrates Descartes’ philosophical claim about the deceptiveness of reality, and also leads viewers to accept that it is true “not only in the fictional world of the film but in the real world in which they [viewers] have been deceived about the world of the film they have been watching” (Wartenberg 2007, 74). What viewers see at the beginning of the film through the eyes of the protagonist Thomas Anderson/Neo is actually deception, the illusionary world of the Matrix. Only in later scenes do viewers gradually start understanding that the world of the Matrix is not real, for example by seeing a fight scene between Neo and Morpheus (in the Matrix) intercut with other members watching the fight on CRT screens (in the real world). With this example, Wartenberg very briefly discusses how some visual elements function in the thought experiment, yet most of his analysis is based on the narrative and he seldom touches on more specific cinematic features. Similar to Mulhall’s analysis, it is not so clear to what extent cinematic narratives are different from narratives in other art forms in Wartenberg’s analyses. Since Wartenberg argues for the significance of visual narrative because “the film’s deception takes place in an even more immediate manner than that of the novel” (ibid., 72), it would be more convincing if he could explain exactly how the cinematic feature functions in the visual narrative.

Although Wartenberg only discusses very briefly how the visual narrative functions as a thought experiment and how it appeals to the viewer more immediately, he rightly suggests that the viewer’s experience of watching the film and one’s possible reflection on reality are a mode of doing philosophy.

Placing a person in an epistemic situation where they are made to question the justification of a certain belief or action is, of course, one of the characteristic moves of

philosophy...it [*The Matrix*] renders problematic the assumption that our ordinary beliefs are reliable guides to the nature of reality. (ibid., 74)

Interestingly, we can also find a parallel between the philosophical aspects of film, particularly, the *thought experiment* and the *estrangement effect*, which Suvin, Jameson and their followers characterize as one of the most important functions of science fiction and utopian literature. Just as an imagined world in science fiction and utopian literature allows readers to distance themselves from their present, and lead them to question their existing beliefs about the present world, a thought experiment in a film would similarly invite the viewers to confirm a philosophical claim, or question or disconfirm it through a fictional narrative. Science fiction and utopian literature become a mode of political thought by contrasting a portrayed fictional world with the characteristic political forms and beliefs in the author's own present environment, while a film like *The Matrix* becomes a mode of philosophy by examining philosophical claims and theories through the visualised imaginary world. Both art forms can be useful approaches for readers and viewers, including political theorists and philosophers, to critically engage with a belief or an argument in question and to generate new thoughts and theories.

In summary, existing studies on film, politics and philosophy by scholars in the field of literature, politics and film philosophy have suggested that visual media, especially film, are a useful alternative medium for social, political and philosophical inquiries. Their studies provide valuable insights about a range of concepts and issues such as the ideological/utopian function of visual culture, subjectivity, human identity, and reality. Although debates on what it could mean to say that film is a mode of thought or political thinking continue, Wartenberg (2007) provides a more explicit account than Jameson (1979) or Mulhall (2008) about how film could function as a mode of philosophy, such as an illustrations of philosophical issue or a thought experiment. Wartenberg's approach to film is helpful in exploring anime's philosophical potential as a mode of political thought in this project. However, there are at least three limitations with the aforementioned studies, including Wartenberg's work.

The first is the issue of medium-specificity. The abovementioned works tend to analyze films as if they were like any other text, focusing on narratives with little attention paid to how a specifically visual narrative works. It is less clear to what extent narratives in films are different from other narrative forms such as literature or theatre in the existing studies. As I pointed out, images and sounds play a crucial role in cinematic narrative and they are closely linked to the concepts and issues in question. I want to suggest that some narrative styles and techniques are specific to the moving image, and these visual narrative strategies relate to the expression of political or philosophical themes, issues or questions. Thus, it would be more appropriate to examine how visual narratives exactly work. Looking at earlier studies on film aesthetics will help

illustrate how visual narratives are integrated into the depiction of philosophical ideas and arguments.

The second limitation is their restriction to live action films. The films analyzed are mainly live action films, yet animation and anime – another visual art forms and important cultural forces – and their relation to political and philosophical ideas have not been explored to the same extent.³⁵ As we have seen earlier, science fiction is a significant literary and cinematic genre and has attracted a lot of scholarly attention as a mode of political thought. Moreover, science fiction is also one of the most popular genres in anime.³⁶ There is much more scope to explore philosophical aspects of the moving image beyond live action films and I assert that science fiction anime is a potentially promising site for political thinking.

The third is that sources are largely limited to Hollywood and European films. Some popular films from the USA and Europe have been analyzed as a potential medium for political and philosophical inquiries in the field of literature, politics and philosophy, yet with only a small number of exceptions, the political and philosophical implications of imaginative fictions from other parts of the world such as Japan have remained unexplored.³⁷

Thus, considering the limitations of the methods and sources in existing studies of film and its political and philosophical aspects, it would be appropriate to add to this work by looking at medium-specific features more closely, as well as extending the sources from live action to animation and anime, from Hollywood and Europe to the world beyond. Anime has specific aesthetic features and tendencies that differ from live action films and these features also relate to the expression of pressing political and philosophical ideas. Anime – rich fictional imaginings from Japan – can be a valuable source for exploring the philosophical capacity of the moving image further.

3.5. Towards a Method for Analyzing Anime as a Mode of Thought

Considering some limitations in sources and methods in existing studies on visual media, politics and philosophy discussed in the previous section, I drew attention to animation, particularly anime. In this section, I review some of the existing studies that analyze the political and philosophical

³⁵ Some notable exceptions are Lamarre (2009); Goto-Jones (2007); Brown (2010).

³⁶ Napier (2005, 11) suggests that cyberpunk and the so-called *mecha* genres (a genre featuring robots and machines) are the two most popular genres in anime.

³⁷ Oshii Mamoru is one of the few exceptions in Japanese films that caught a large scholarly attention for the philosophical exploration. Oshii's *Ghost in The Shell* (1995) is a very popular object of study (Silvio 1999; Napier 2005; Orbaugh 2002; Orbaugh 2006; Goto-Jones 2007; S. T. Brown 2010; G. A. J. Miller 2012).

aspects of the animated moving image and categorize them into two methodological orientations: the *thematic-oriented approach* and the *aesthetic-oriented approach*. Film philosophers and literary theorists often use a thematic-oriented approach in their analyses, while film and media scholars use the aesthetic-oriented approach to investigate the characteristics of media. I argue that we should analyze both thematic and aesthetic aspects of the animated moving image in order to understand the political and philosophical aspects of anime because these aspects are integrated into anime's expression of philosophical ideas. As the preceding studies have shown, anime has its own specificities and tendencies and anime's different styles and techniques are often integrated into the visual narrative. The visual narrative is also closely linked to the expressions of philosophical themes and ideas in anime. Thus, we need to pay attention to both aspects. I propose a *trans-medial approach* combining thematic-oriented analysis and medium-oriented analysis to explore anime's political thought.

The growing body of scholarship focusing on political and philosophical aspects of animation is a more recent trend, both inside and outside of Japan since the late 1990s (Kotani 1997; Ueno 1998; Azuma 2001; Azuma 2007; Napier 2005; Bolton, Csicsery-Ronay, and Tatsumi 2007; S. T. Brown 2006; S. T. Brown 2010; Goto-Jones 2007; Lamarre 2009; Steinberg 2012a; Condry 2013; Yokota Masao and Hu 2013). A number of articles have been published in the leading academic journals since 2000 including *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *Science Fiction Studies*, *Japan Forum* as well as *Mechademia*, an annual book series by the University of Minnesota Press dedicated to critical works on anime, manga and fan culture since 2006. Accordingly, a number of monographs and edited volumes on anime's cultural, political, and philosophical expressions have been published.

3.5.1. Napier's Thematic-Oriented Analysis

Among those works, Susan J. Napier's *Anime: from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation* (2005, formerly *Anime From Akira to Princess Mononoke*) is a pioneering work offering an insightful overview of contemporary Japanese anime and discussing anime's expressive potentials in a book-length form. Focusing on anime's narrative form, Napier argues that anime is a distinctive art form effective in "stimulating audiences to work through certain contemporary issues in ways that older art forms cannot" (ibid., 4). Napier also points out anime's medium-specificity by saying that "anime is a medium in which distinctive visual elements combine with an array of generic, thematic, and philosophical structures to produce a unique aesthetic world" (ibid., 10).

In her analyses, Napier examines a variety of anime titles in terms of the three major expressive modes: the apocalyptic, the festival, and the elegiac, and discusses how these expressive modes interrelate with contemporary issues such as gender, identity, technology, modernity and so forth. Although she also admits that these modes are also found across other cultures, she sees anime as “a new kind of hybridity on the part of a global younger generation that is increasingly electronically conversant with the vast variety of worldwide popular culture” (ibid., 26). Thus, she emphasizes the importance of studying anime and its relation to various social and cultural issues both in a global context as well as in Japan’s socio-historical contexts.

Napier’s work is very informative and insightful yet there are some limitations in her approach to anime analysis. Firstly, she examines anime like any other literary text, rather than as an animated moving image, by solely focusing on the narrative structure, themes, and ideas found in anime. Although she rightly points out that anime is a distinctive narrative art form combining both visual and philosophical elements, her analyses tend to be less explicit about the ways in which visual elements are integrated into the philosophical dimensions, partly because she hardly discusses how the visual narrative works in expressing philosophical ideas in anime. In Chapter Five (85-102), for example, Napier examines three titles of the so-called robot anime or *mecha* genre – a subgenre of science fiction featured robots and machines: *Guyver: Out of Control* (1986); the OVA series *Bubblegum Crisis* (1987) and its sequel *Bubblegum Crash* (1991); and the television series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (1995-1996). She discusses how these works depict human interaction with technology in very sophisticated ways. Although all three titles are categorized into a typical *mecha* genre, Napier suggests that each work addresses human’s ambivalent feelings about robot through the depiction of the anxieties, fears, and struggles of the protagonists rather than an optimistic celebration of technological empowerment found in other *mecha* anime. Her argument is plausible but her analysis does not address the visual narrative. It is therefore not clear to what extent the narratives of these anime titles are distinctive and different from other sophisticated cyberpunk titles, films, or spin-off manga.

For example, *Evangelion* is widely seen among fans, critics and scholars as an unconventional *mecha* anime in terms of both its themes and aesthetics.³⁸ Although the series has some basic

³⁸ Azuma Hiroki (1996) celebrates director Anno Hideaki’s achievement by discussing how Anno abandons a happy-ending narrative common in anime especially in the second half of the series. The series also deviates from conventional anime aesthetics, or what Azuma calls “anime-like things.” While critic Kotani Mari (1997) points out the unique narrative of the series in terms of feminist literary theories, Lamarre (2009) discusses how the series articulates moral and existential crisis as technical crisis, and vice versa using effective limited animation techniques.

elements of *mecha* (combat scenes of giant robots, a story about teenagers etc.), its thematic aspects are distinctive, as Napier also notes. These include the fears, anxieties, and complex psychological status of the protagonists and the main characters when they face serious problems about human relationships, as well as in human-machine relationships. However, Napier seldom discusses its visual aesthetics – another important aspect of the narrative. *Evangelion* effectively uses various visual narrative techniques throughout the series to depict characters' complex emotions (a mixture of photorealistic still images and abstract images, color motifs, effective camera angles, voiceover narrations and so forth). These emotions are closely related to a symbolic expression of anxieties as well as ambivalent feelings about human interaction with technology. These visual narrative strategies are clearly different from the techniques used in text-based narratives. If we assert anime's medium-specificity – the combination of visual and philosophical elements in the narrative – as Napier suggests, it would be helpful and more convincing to examine how both the thematic and visual aesthetic aspects are integrated in anime narrative as well.

Napier's second limitation is that her three expressive modes – the apocalyptic mode, the festival mode, and the elegiac mode – appear to be a plausible account of common narrative forms in anime, yet it is less clear to what extent these expressive modes are distinctive aspects of anime because many anime titles she selected for the analysis are in fact adaptations of other narrative forms, most prominently manga and novels. Just to mention a few, *Akira* (1988), *Ranma 1/2* (1989), *Sailor Moon* (1992), *Cutey Honey* (1973), *Ghost in the Shell* (1995), *Nausicaä on the Valley of the Winds* (1984), *Only Yesterday* (1991), and *Barefoot Gen* (1983) are all based on the original manga titles; while some other anime works by Studio Ghibli such as *Kiki's Delivery Service* (1989), *Howl's Moving Castle* (2004), and *Grave of the Fireflies* (1988) are based on the novels. Although there are also original animated works such as *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (1995-1996) or *Princess Mononoke* (1997), it would make more sense to see Napier's expressive modes as not exclusive to anime but rather common to Japanese visual culture in general, including manga and anime.

In summary, Napier's work convincingly demonstrates that anime is valuable for scholarly investigation, "a cultural phenomenon worthy of being taken seriously, both sociologically and aesthetically" (2005, 4). Her work has been an important reference among the studies of anime available in English and has generated further critical scholarship in North America, Japan and beyond since her monograph was first published in 2001. Methodologically, however, Napier's focus on the generic, thematic and philosophical aspects of anime in the narrative, or what I call thematic-oriented analysis, has some limitations when it comes to consider anime's media-specificity, because anime's visual narrative forms or that of the (animated) moving image more generally remain unanalyzed in her study. In other words, Napier's work does not give a clear answer to questions such as what is anime; whether anime is a distinctive expressive medium or not;

and to what extent narrative in anime is different from other narrative art forms such as novels, manga or live-action film.

3.5.2. Lamarre's Medium-Oriented Analysis

Among the growing scholarship on anime and its philosophical aspects, Thomas Lamarre (2002b; 2006; 2009; 2008; 2010; 2011) considers the limitations of existing anime scholarship focusing on a thematic and/or socio-cultural 'reading' of anime, and extensively studied the anime medium's specificity. However, Lamarre acknowledges from the outset the difficulties of defining anime, as well as cinema and animation, because they are all related to each other. "If it is impossible to isolate and define cinema, animation and *anime* as objects, this is because there is always animation in cinema, cinema in animation, cinema in *anime*, *anime* in animation and so forth. And there always has been" (Lamarre 2002a, 187). Therefore he theorizes anime by examining anime's relations to other media, the dynamic of changing material conditions such as digital technologies, as well as the social, cultural and historical contexts in which anime has emerged.

In his major work *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (2009), Lamarre suggests two tendencies of compositing (i.e. internal editing of image layers) that appear across cinema and animation called *cinematism* and *animetism*, and stresses the multiplicity of animation.³⁹ In Lamarre's account, *cinematism* and its adjective *cinematic* are associated with cinema and camera movement; *animetism* and its adjective *animetic* are associated with cel animation and the moving plane. Lamarre characterizes animetism with its openness in compositing that allows layers of the image to move more independently that create a very different sense of motion. Yet, Lamarre stresses that neither tendency is the exclusive property of cinema or animation, and that both tendencies can be found in the moving images of cinema and animation. Referring to the multiplicity of animation, he notes that "it is the coexistence of so many different varieties of animation based on divergent series of animation that makes for the overwhelming sense of the centrality and ubiquity of animation today" (Lamarre 2009, 36–37).

Lamarre has developed an alternative theory of animation, centered on Japanese animations, but without lapsing into *medium-essentialism* or technological determinism.⁴⁰ He is well aware of

³⁹ Lamarre (2009, 324n16) borrows the terms *animetism* and *animetic* from Ueno (1998) to capture qualities of the animated moving image. Lamarre does not use the term animatic to indicate characteristics of animated moving image. There is no discussion on his choice of the term animetic over animatic.

⁴⁰ According philosopher Noël Carroll (1996, 49), *medium-essentialism* is "the doctrine that each artform has its own distinctive medium, a medium that distinguishes it from other forms." Carroll rejects major positions

the danger of technological determinism and notes that his approach to animation “does not imply technological determinism, historical teleology, or formal exclusivity” (ibid., xxii). Lamarre argues that cinematism and animetism are different tendencies of the moving image, rather than a genre, styles, or mediums in their own right. Both cinematism and animetism “harness different potentials of the moving image in specific ways” (ibid., 10). Moreover, he also suggests that cinematism and animetism might coexist in a single film or even within a single moving image (frame or shot) and we might find various mixtures of those tendencies (Lamarre 2009, 10). Lamarre, however, stresses the specificity of animation because he believes that it is impossible to separate questions about the material specificity of animation from questions about material conditions or historical formation (ibid., xxiii). For Lamarre, animation is not an ontologically determined medium but rather a series of relationships or intervals between different technologies. By borrowing Felix Guattari’s theory of the machine, Lamarre looks at animation in terms of the machine and sets it as a theoretical basis. Here, the machine means a series of relations and intervals between different technologies and it also implies a freer relation to technology, not the inevitable structural submission to technology (ibid., 303). Lamarre sees the animation stand – a device used for cel animation production since the early days to stack multiple celluloid screens in front of the camera – as an apparatus of animation that assembles other technical devices such as cameras and lighting to generate animated moving images. Since animation entails technologies of the moving image, he regards animation as the *multiplanar* or *animetic machine*. Looking at animation in terms of the animetic machine allows him to account for movements not only in cel animation but also at 3-D digital animation and CGI in live-action cinema because these technologies face a similar problem of “how to make the layers of the image appear to hold together under conditions of movement due to the mechanical succession of images” (ibid., 304).

In summary, Lamarre (2009) closely studies anime’s medium-specificity and its relations to other media, material and technological orientations, most prominently the relationship between cinema and anime. Considering anime as a way of thinking about technology, Lamarre integrates the philosophical aspect of technology into his study of animation. In other words, Lamarre successfully examines both thematic and medial aspects of anime. His detailed study of various forms of animetic aesthetic features (open compositing, depth, movement, character design etc.) are very insightful and allow us to understand the dynamism of the animated moving image and sheds

of film theory, such as photographic realism that claim film’s medium specificity as a unique, determinate medium. He instead suggests that there is no “nature” or ontological essence of the film or any other art media. Carroll (1996) argues that the very existence of any art medium is merely contingent, and there are only norms, styles, and practices in casual historical context. He also proposes an alternate framework for understanding the moving image and attempts to theorize the moving image at micro-levels, rather than establishing a grand theory of film.

light on anime's relation to technology. There are, however, some limitations if we are going to apply his medium-oriented approach to visual narrative analysis for exploring philosophical ideas through anime.

Firstly, Lamarre devotes a large part of his analyses to a thorough discussion of animetic features, yet hardly addresses common cinematic features in anime. Lamarre's primary focus on animetic features may be insufficient when it comes to analyzing political and philosophical aspects of anime, since it leaves other significant cinematic narrative strategies in anime unanalyzed. When analyzing philosophical issues in the in animated moving image, we need to include both animetic and cinematic features since cinematography (e.g. camera movement, camera angle), editing and sound also play an important role in the narrative of the animated moving image.

Secondly, Lamarre's discussion focuses on the animetic features and their relation to the issue of technology, but does not touch on how technology is depicted through the narrative and especially verbal elements of anime, such as dialogues, voiceover narration or written texts. Obviously Lamarre's work is a critical reflection of textual and thematic anime analysis done by other scholars, and he focuses on key medial/visual aspects of anime rather than non-visual elements in the narrative. Yet, anime is story animation and storytelling is essential in anime. The narrative form of anime, or that of limited animation more generally, lie in the effective combination of verbal and acoustic elements with simpler motion design. Thus, it is also important to include narrative analysis of non-visual elements when it comes to exploring political and philosophical ideas through anime.

3.5.3. Towards a Trans-Medial Approach to Anime

Combining the *narrative-oriented approach* with the *medium-oriented approach* to the moving image makes it possible to propose a trans-medial approach to analyzing political-philosophical ideas in anime. On the one hand, the thematic-oriented approach used by literary scholars and philosophers makes it possible to explore how a particular philosophical theme or idea is depicted in the narrative. On the other hand, the medium-oriented approach taken by film and media scholars makes it possible to consider anime's medium specificity and its relation to other media, and also to explore how various visual and acoustic techniques are integrated into the visual narrative. It is important to identify how the different elements come together to shape a narrative and express ideas with animated moving images.

Existing studies on the aesthetics of the (animated) moving image will be useful to identify which elements we should include in the trans-medial approach for the analysis of political philosophical ideas through anime. This section looks at elements and techniques analyzed in the

animated moving image. In the case of the moving image in general, the filmmaker controls a variety of cinematic techniques such as *mise-en-scène*, cinematography, editing and sound to shape a visual narrative. Similar techniques are also used in the animated moving image but there are other specific elements to animated moving images, which we should particularly pay attention to in analyzing anime.

The first feature is *mise-en-scène*. *Mise-en-scène* is originally a theatre term in French meaning “putting into the scene” or staging. In film studies it is about *what* is filmed and it refers to various visual elements involving in the framing of the shot such as setting, lightening, costume, the movement of the figures (Bordwell and Thompson 2003, 176).

According to animation scholar Maureen Furniss (1998, 62–83), because the components of animation design are different from those of live-action film, animated *mise-en-scène* should include other elements such as image design (character and background); color and line; movement and kinetics. Among these elements, image design and movement, and the relation between the two, are the most widely discussed aspects of anime aesthetics in the preceding and ongoing scholarship with a particular focus on compositing, depth, flatness, and motion design.

For example, animation historian Tsugata Nobuyuki (2011b, 12–19) summarizes four stylistic features of anime and most of them are about image design or movement: first, limited animation techniques such as flat and even image design, simplified motion design with reduced number of images; second, distinctive character designs (e.g. characters with big eyes); third, the compositing of two-dimensional and three-dimensional images; and fourth, sophisticated shooting, such as creative lighting and camera movement.⁴¹

Lamarre (2009) devotes a large part of his discussion on the relationship between the compositing and movement common in anime in his theory of animation. In his account, because the animated image is composed of multiple layers or planes, it creates a kind of openness or gap between the planes of the image, what he calls the *animetic interval*, and the planes can stand out or move more independently. This compositing creates a different kind of movement that he called

⁴¹ Tsugata (2004; 2005; 2011b) suggests that anime has developed a particular mixture of historical, stylistic and generic features, and this distinguishes anime from animation as Japanese commercial animation. Historically, Tsugata traces the origin of anime back to the early 1960s when the first animated television *Tetsuwan Atomu* series was aired in Japan. Tsugata suggests that the creators, Tezuka Osamu and his animation production studio Mushi Production, played an indispensable role in establishing the significant characteristics of anime. They created its distinctive styles and techniques under the cost-saving production system, and their style has become widely diffused in animated TV works (Tsugata 2004, 138–43). Others acknowledge Tezuka’s contribution to anime aesthetics but also address that limited animation and its techniques were already found earlier in the works of United Productions of America (UPA) and Hanna-Barbera Productions (Gan 2009, 254–255; Steinberg 2012a, 11; Ōtsuka Y. 2013, 153).

animetism, which is different from *cinematism* associated with camera and camera movement. In his word, “*animetism* is not about movement *into depth* but movement *on and between surfaces*” (ibid., 7, emphasis in the original).

Animators, critics and scholars also address the visual styles of limited animation, particularly its image design and movement compared with that of cinema and full animation, which are often associated with realism. For example, the still image (*tome*) is used extensively in anime’s limited animation combined with other techniques including camera angle and camera movement, editing or sound. There are mixed views on the use of still images.

For example, Miyazaki Hayao ([1988] 1996) points out the intimate relation anime has to manga, and calls its manga-inspired visual style *hyōgenshugi* (expressionism). Miyazaki is very critical about excessive use of such techniques in anime because in his view, animation without motion thoroughly deforms not only the designs and personalities of characters but also time and space (ibid., 106-108).⁴² Other critics have been more positive, explaining how the still image is used in a creative way in limited animation as a narrative device rather than a mere means of reducing the number of drawings to save time and cost. Commentators Ōtsuka Eiji and Sasakibara Gō (2001) value such visual expressions developed by Mushi Production Studios and their animators such as Desaki Osamu. Ōtsuka and Sasakibara (2001, 169) see such a visual style as an impressionist approach rather than realist one.

More recently, media scholar Marc Steinberg (2012a, 1–36) considers the specificity of anime, and particularly that of limited animation, in relation to anime’s central role in the Japanese model of media convergence, or so-called *media mix*. Steinberg argues that it is the dynamic stillness of the image or what he calls *dynamic immobility* of the image and the centrality of the character that allows anime to connect across different media forms and develop the media mix (ibid., 6). Analyzing the preceding media forms of *manga* (comics) and *kamishibai* (storyboard or paper theater), and their historical and aesthetical contexts in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century, Steinberg convincingly argues that manga and kamishibai developed a sense of dynamism within the still image and paved the way for TV anime’s aesthetics and the popular reception of such “still-yet-dynamic images” later.

On one hand, this dynamically still image [of manga and kamishibai] functioned as a kind of aesthetic precursor to anime, allowing spectators to feel the anime image moving and be moved by the image affectively – even if the image was formally immobile. On the other hand, kamishibai’s and manga’s development of the techniques

⁴² Neither Takahata Isao nor animator Ōtsuka Yasuo appreciate such *hyōgenshugi* aesthetics, yet they admit its effectiveness as visual expression (Takahata 2013, 363–364, 371; Ōtsuka Y. 2013, 134–142).

for the creation of this dynamically still image provided a toolbox for the development of devices and techniques essential to the production of anime's limited animation. (Steinberg 2012a, 33)

In summary, image design and movement are one of the most fundamental elements in animated *mise-en-scène*. As many commentators suggest, anime's limited animation creates a distinctive sense of movement and dynamism by using image design and compositing even without moving the image itself.

The second feature is *cinematography*. Cinematography refers to the filmmaker's control over "how it is filmed" and "cinematographic qualities involve three factors: (1) the photographic aspect of the shot, (2) the framing of the shot, and (3) the duration of the shot" (Bordwell and Thompson 2003, 229). Cinematography includes all manipulation in the moving image by camera, such as focus, zoom, angle of framing (straight-on angle, high-angle, low-angle), level of framing (horizontal or canted framing), distance of framing (close-up, medium shot, long shot etc.), as well as camera movements (panning, tilting, tracking or craning), and special effects. Many commentators and animators suggest that anime has effectively used sophisticated cinematography to shape narratives and achieve distinctive aesthetic effects since the first TV animation series *Tetsuwan Atomu* in the 1960s. (Furniss 1998; Tsugata 2005; Tsugata 2011b; Gan 2008; Gan 2009; Steinberg 2012a).

However, in the case of animation in general, its material and technological conditions mean that cinematographic techniques are limited compared with those available in live-action film and this limitation also has affected its aesthetics. Recent developments in digital technology have allowed much more complex camera effects and have had some impact on animation aesthetics too (Furniss 1998, 63). Going even further, media theorist Lev Manovich (2001) claims that this new technological development in digital cinema transforms traditional photographic cinema into a kind of animation. Manovich defines digital cinema as "*a particular case of animation that uses live action footage as one of its many elements*" (ibid., 302, emphasis in the original). Examining the technological development of computer-generated special-effects in Hollywood in the 1990s, Manovich suggests that traditional on-set filming becomes merely one of many raw materials (e.g. painting, animation etc.) to create moving images.⁴³ Once live action material is digitalized, the

⁴³ Manovich (2001) gives the example of *Stars Wars: Episode 1 – The Phantom Menace* (1999). Traditional on-set filming was shot in sixty-five days but the postproduction lasted over two years and ninety-five percent of the film was created on a computer (ibid., 303). Yet this approach has received so much criticism that director J.J. Abrams is now explicitly shifting that ratio back to on-set filming for the new Star Wars films.

computer breaks every frame down into pixels, and pixels are then easily processed further. Live action material “functions as raw material for further compositing, animating, and morphing” (ibid., 301). Although Manovich points out the significant technological and stylistic influence of animation on contemporary filmmaking, there have been some critiques from animation scholars. Paul Wells and Johnny Hardstaff (2008, 6–7) argues that Manovich’s view remains insufficient in two ways: first, Manovich defines animation as digital animation and neglects many other forms of animation; and second, his definition of digital cinema suggests that animation has been absorbed by cinema, and that no difference between the two exists. Lamarre (2009, 35–37) similarly criticizes Manovich’s account of contemporary filmmaking as a simple shift from cinema to animation and Manovich’s homogeneous view on animation. Rather, Lamarre suggests a divergence in the moving image called cinematicism and animeticism. Cinematography has been an important narrative device in anime from the beginning, yet new technological development in digital cinema further influences anime aesthetics too.

The third feature is *editing*. Editing is “the coordination of one shot with the next” (Bordwell and Thompson 2003, 294). There are various kinds of editing techniques such as continuity editing, cross-cutting editing, and montage. Editing is a very powerful technique and it involves a filmmaker’s choice of and control over graphics, rhythm, space and time (Bordwell and Thompson 2003, 294-310). Anime also uses various editing techniques such as rapid cutting to manipulate a sense of motion and speed, cross-cutting or flashback to disrupt the temporal continuity in the narrative, or montage editing to dramatize the event and character’s feeling.

The fourth feature is *sound*. Bordwell and Thompson (2003, 352) identify three types of sound in cinema: speech, music and noise (or *sound effects*). Sound is another powerful film technique for several reasons: it engages a distinctive sense of mode; it also can guide the viewer’s attention; and it can shape a certain perception or interpretation of the image (ibid., 348).

In a similar way to Bordwell and Thompson’s account of sound in cinema, Furniss (1998) identifies three types of sound in animation: dialogue, sounds effects, and musical scores. In the case of anime, dialogue or speech more generally plays a crucial role in the narrative. Anime very often uses monologue to express a character’s inner feelings both on-screen and off-screen as well as voiceover narration accompanied by a still image or a reduced number of images.

In relation to voice acting in animation, Furniss (1998, 87) also emphasises that voice recordings are important “not only for the development of action within animation; they also greatly affect characterization.” In other words, vocal quality and the action of the voice actors and actresses become an important part of character development. This is even more important in

This shift has been part of the advertising campaign for the 2015 film *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (Abrams 2015).

anime's limited animation, or anime in general, because anime tends to delineate individual characters through character design rather than character movement. As Lamarre (2009, 185) suggests, "in some respects, it is true that the trajectory of limited animation has been to favor graphic design and character design over character animation." Thus, performances by voice actors and voice actresses breathe life into characters and stands in for action in their character development.⁴⁴

In summary, we should consider all of the abovementioned features and elements in the animated moving image in the analysis of anime narrative. These elements are:

- Animated mise-en-scène: image design (character and background); movement; color and line
- Cinematography: camera angle, camera movement, duration of the shots, special effects
- Editing
- Sound

However, the question of how far it is relevant to discuss these stylistic or technical features depends on the focus of the analysis, and different anime titles use different techniques to achieve their aesthetic effects. For example, in the depiction of a battle scene, the 3D animation *Appleseed* (2004) chooses more realistic character movement with the use of special effects, complex cinematography and sound. The animated TV series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (1995-1996), by contrast, makes extensive use of limited animation techniques such as speed lines, camera movement, rapid cutting, editing, and sound to depict a battle parallel to the characters' inner feelings rather than using more realistic character movement. These stylistic features may or may not link to the theme or idea that the researcher focuses on, and therefore the researcher has to examine their significance in each case. In the analysis, one has to ask whether different visual

⁴⁴ It is worth noting that director Miyazaki Hayao and the Studio Ghibli prefer non-professional voice actors to professionals in their films. The studio often chooses actors and singers, as well as other professionals who do not necessarily have voice acting experiences: copy writer Itoi Shigesato and his casting as dad in *My Neighbor Totoro*, or animation director Anno Hideaki and his casting as the protagonist Horikoshi Jirō in *The Wind Rises* are some of those examples. Hioki (2013, 223–224, my translation) suggests that Miyazaki would want to bring "something unexpected, surprise, or ordinary" from the non-professionals to complete his characters rather than simply adopting "perfect voice" performed by the professional voice actors. For Miyazaki's thought on voice casting and sounds in his films, see Hioki (2013). For the interesting discussion on Hollywood stars' voice casting for Miyazaki's films in the American market, see Denison (2008).

narrative styles and techniques link to the theme or idea in question or not, and if so, they should be addressed in the research.

4. THE UTOPIAN ENCLAVE AND RESISTANCE IN *TIME OF EVE*

4.1. Introduction

The following four chapters are in-depth analyses of science fiction anime, and they demonstrate anime's two distinctive approaches to philosophy: *illustration* and *innovation*. The first two chapters show how anime can illustrate existing philosophical ideas, and the next two chapters show how anime can philosophize, making innovative philosophical arguments through thought experiments.

This chapter analyzes the animated film *Time of Eve Ivu no jikan: Gekijō-ban* (Yoshiura 2010), and looks at how the anime illustrates some aspects of power, domination and resistance as Michel Foucault suggests. It also explores how the creation of a place or a *utopian enclave*, to take Fredric Jameson's term (2005), can function as a political method to invoke critical reflections on everyday life and imagine political alternatives. *Time of Eve* intimately depicts a utopian space that estranges the protagonist and main characters from their everyday experiences, and becomes a locus of resistance.⁴⁵

Time of Eve is written and directed by Yoshiura Yasuhiro. It was first released as a six-episode animation series on the internet in 2008, and was on screen in 2010. Set in a near future, possibly in Japan, human beings use robots and androids widely throughout society. The authorities require

⁴⁵ Tom Moylan (2007, 212–213n7) sees Jameson's utopian enclave as a "productive holding mechanism or counter-hegemonic zone within the apparently unstoppable drive of history" and finds affinity with his own concept of *critical dystopia*. According to Baccolini and Moylan (2003b), critical dystopias are different from traditional dystopias such as *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or *Brave New World* in which protagonists are crushed by the authoritarian societies and there is no escape for them. The critical dystopias, by contrast, "allow both readers and protagonists to hope by resisting closure: the ambiguous, open endings of these novels maintain the utopian impulse *within* the work. In fact, by rejecting the traditional subjugation of the individual at the end of novel, the critical dystopia opens a space of contestation and opposition for those collective 'ex-centric' subjects whose class, gender, race, sexuality, and other positions are not empowered by hegemonic rule" (Baccolini and Moylan 2003b, 7).

human beings to treat androids as household appliances or tools (as opposed to sentient beings), and distinguish human beings very strictly from androids. Yet in reality, the appearance and abilities of androids have become so close to those of human beings, and even moved beyond them, that the boundaries between human beings and androids have become blurred. In addition, some people are addicted to androids and have difficulties in building “normal” social relationships with other human beings, which becomes a social issue known as *android-holics*. A very formidable anti-robot organization called the *Ethics Committee* is accordingly established, mounting a series of widely disseminated anti-robot campaigns and spreading anti-robot discourses throughout society.

The story begins with the protagonist Rikuo, a high school student, tracing an unauthorized action by Rikuo’s house android (*houseroid*) Sammy. The trail ends up in a mysterious café called ‘Time of Eve,’ which has the house rule “no discrimination between humans and robots.” Rikuo and his friend Masaki are very suspicious of the café at first – it is a strange place and perhaps illegal too – but they start going there out of curiosity. Through spending time with the café owner Nagi and the café regulars, they witness and become aware of a variety of relationships between humans and androids. The film depicts the complex relationships between humans and androids and seeks alternative ways to live together challenging existing laws, social norms and discourses based on the rigid and hierarchical human-android relationship. The café is an important place in imagining and generating an alternative human-android relationship.

I begin by explaining Jameson’s (2005) notion of the utopian enclave, before showing how the concept functions in *Time of Eve*. The analysis then examines how the utopian enclave in this anime generates critical political thinking and alternative views that call into question prevailing discourses and social practices, and in particular the forms of power and the possibilities for resistance against various forms of domination discussed by Michel Foucault.

4.2. Jameson’s Utopian Enclave

Fredric Jameson has extensively written about the concept of utopia in utopian and science fiction literature throughout his career.⁴⁶ Jameson’s discussion of utopia, in particular the concept of the

⁴⁶ For insightful articles on Jameson’s thought on utopia, see the special section on the work of Fredric Jameson in the journal *Utopian Studies* 9:2, in particular Fitting (1998) and Wegner (1998). Jameson’s 2005 book *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* offers a comprehensive collection on Jameson’s thought on utopia. The book is made up of one long essay “The Desire Called Utopia” in Part One and a collection of earlier essays on science fiction and utopian literature in Part Two.

utopian impulse – the critique of the status quo and the attempt to imagine political alternatives as a form of thought experiment – is one of the most characteristic aspects of Jameson’s work (Fitting 1998).⁴⁷ As Tom Moylan (1998, 2) suggests, we must locate Jameson’s focus on utopia and history within his broader political and intellectual commitment to political alternatives. For Jameson, the utopian narrative is a “determinate type of praxis” whose function is a critique or “neutralization” of contemporary society and the dominant ideologies that penetrate everyday life, rather than a “specific mode of representation” or an idea of perfect society (Jameson 2008, 392). Utopia has not been merely imaginary, but always political and it is a “radical act of disjunction” from the totality of the existing world and an endless search for radical political alternatives (ibid., 412). Jameson also notes

The Utopians not only offer to conceive of such alternate systems; Utopian form is itself a representational meditation on radical difference, radical otherness, and on the systematic nature of the social totality, to the point where one cannot imagine any fundamental change in our social existence which has not first thrown off Utopian visions like so many sparks from a comet. (Jameson 2005, xi–xii)

Since utopia itself can mediate the radical political alternatives in society, utopia is not merely an imaginary space or a representation of ideal society but also “a whole distinctive process in its own right” (Jameson 2005, 10). What then is this process of utopia?

For Jameson, it is the process of *differentiation*. Jameson argues that utopian space is an imaginary space that has emerged from the processes of spatial and social differentiation within society. “Utopian space is an imaginary enclave within real social space, in other words...the very possibility of Utopian space is itself a result of spatial and social differentiation” (Jameson 2005, 15).

According to Jameson, the process of differentiation generates utopian enclaves. Such enclaves look politically powerless since they are closed spaces and are distant from the rest of society. Nevertheless, this alien space and its exclusion from society make alternative imaginations of society visible and thinkable, and therefore crucial to social change.

⁴⁷ Many writers and critics share the idea of science fiction and utopian literature as thought experiment and its primary function is to ask questions and to perform and process thought, rather than finding an answer. For example, novelist Ursula K. Le Guin suggests that the essential function of science fiction is “question-asking: reversals of an habitual way of thinking, metaphors of what our language has no words for as yet, experiments in imagination” (Le Guin 1979, 163).

Such enclaves are something like a foreign body within the social: in them, the differentiation process has momentarily been arrested, so that they remain as it were momentarily beyond the reach of the social and testify to its political powerlessness, at the same time that they offer a space in which new images of the social can be elaborated and experimented on. (Jameson 2005, 16)

Thus the utopian enclave, with its physical and social exclusion from the rest of society, is a key to imagining political alternatives and envisioning social change. In other words, utopia is a kind of “method” or a specific “political act” contributing “the reawakening of the imagination of possible and alternate futures, a reawakening of that historicity which our system — offering itself as the very end of history — necessarily represses and paralyzes” (Jameson 2010, 21).

So how does the utopian enclave relate to the anime *Time of Eve*? In the following analysis, I consider the unique café Time of Eve as a utopian enclave for two reasons: firstly, it is differentiated spatially and socially from the rest of society; secondly, it works as a representational mediation of alternative possibilities, or a political act to envisage different possibilities in the human-android relationship at the micro level. As stated above, the café has its house rule: “No discrimination between humans and robots.” Accordingly, the café becomes an alien space distinguished from wider society through the exercise of this rule. This is a radically different approach in terms of the human-robot relationship in the fictional world, since anti-robot discourse dominates society. Many human individuals distinguish themselves from robots and naturalize a human-robot hierarchy through various social practices: by following laws and norms; treating robots in a certain way; consuming news; talking about one’s own or others’ behavior, and so on. The spatial and social differentiation turns the café into a utopian enclave, and the individuals in the enclave begin to share different ways of thinking from those of the outside world. A consequence is that the café functions as a locus for imagining different possibilities. The next section explores how the anime depicts a utopian enclave, and how this enclave becomes a useful site for critical reflection on the world, and the social norms and discourses in which the protagonist lives. Imagining an enclave in the narrative would also allow the viewers to consider critically their own social norms and the discourses they inhabit.

4.3. The Utopian Enclave in *Time of Eve*

Differentiation is a crucial process to generate utopian enclaves. We can find this process in the conversation scenes in *Time of Eve*. Conversation indicates various human-android relationships both directly and indirectly and the interlocutors attitudes to relationships with others. In the anime,

characters at times distinguish humans from robots, while at other times making no such distinction. Speech reflects visual, acoustic, social and linguistic features and these features enable us to recognise social meanings such as social distance or power relations between humans and androids in society; speech also marks the café as a distinct space.

In *Time of Eve* androids normally follow the default register or speech style of servant or machine when they communicate with humans.⁴⁸ Visually, they do not use many gestures or facial expressions. Acoustically, some sound-effects (an echo and blip at the beginning of each utterance/reaction) mark an android's speech and the distance (both physically and socially) between humans and androids. The volume, pitch, timbre and speed of androids' speech are flat and fixed. Humans tend to speak to androids in a less expressive manner compared with interactions between humans. In addition, the androids use very formal language and speak to humans in a less expressive or more mechanical manner. For example, the opening conversation scene between the protagonist Rikuo and his housemaid Sammy at home illustrates the default speech style between humans and androids (00:02:50-00:03:05).

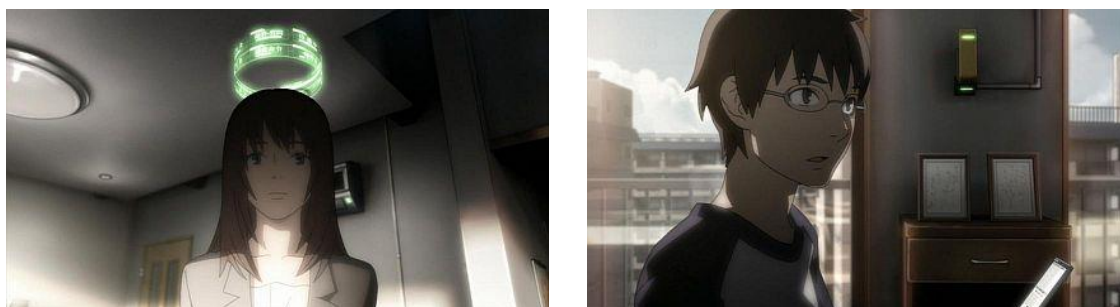


Figure 1 Conversation between android Sammy and her human master Rikuo (left: Sammy; right: Rikuo). Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

Sammy: [beep] “The log has been correctly outputted, master.”

Rikuo: “Question.”

Sammy: [beep] “What is it?” (*Nande shōka?*, a very polite form)

Rikuo: “No...Cancel the question. Coffee.”

Sammy: [beep] “Certainly.”

Rikuo's utterances, such as “question” “cancel” and “coffee” are cues or commands rather than conversation, and Sammy's formal response with echo and sound effects marks her speech as

⁴⁸ In sociolinguistics, the register or speech style refers to “variation in a person's speech or writing. Style usually varies from casual to formal according to the type of situation, the person or persons addressed, to collation, the topic discussed etc.” (Richards et al. 1992, 360).

artificial. Here, the android is an object, just like a computer that accepts speech recognition cues. It reminds us that androids are programmed to follow set protocols. Visually, there is a green *ring* above Sammy's head, a type of hologram that displays the android's current status mode (i.e. green is active; red is stand-by), which distinguishes androids from humans. The low-key lighting surrounding Rikuo and Sammy also adds a sense of impersonality or coldness compared with the next example of human-android conversation held in the café.

When androids are in the café, by contrast, they shift their speech style to a very natural human manner. Androids speak in a lively manner and with emotion; they use gestures and expressions of emotion such as laughter, crying, sighing and grunting. They change various features of their voice (i.e. volume, pitch, timbre and speed) and speech style (e.g. casual or formal), according to the situation. Silence and pauses mark hesitations. There is no mechanic sound-effect anymore. For example, we can see these features in a short conversation scene between Rikuo and a café regular android Akiko (00:20:58-00:21:18).



Figure 2 Conversation between Akiko and Rikuo in the café. Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

Akiko: "It's Rikuo! ...Hey, what the matter? Stop looking at me like that!"

Rikuo: "You're completely different."

Akiko: "Really? I am so pleased!"

Rikuo: "Um...that's not what I meant... Question."

Akiko: "Yeah."

Rikuo: "What's happened to the *ring*?"

Akiko: "It's turned off. If I don't look like a human, I'll break the rule."

Rikuo: "But robotic law..."

Akiko: "OK! Enough of this talk!"

When Rikuo talks to Akiko during his second visit to the café, he also adopts a more friendly style of speech, but it is clear that initially, at least, he feels uncomfortable about speaking to an android in friendly way. He prefaces his inquiry by using "question" as a command cue, as he normally would with Sammy. Rikuo hesitantly asks a sensitive question about Akiko's ring because there is no ring

above Akiko's head. During a conversation, both Rikuo and Akiko are flushed (i.e. red squiggle lines appear on the cheek, a common facial expression in manga and anime) showing their emotion. Acoustically, there is no mechanical sound after Akiko's utterances. Her voice is high-pitched and lively. She changes the speed of her speech, sometimes speaking fast. In addition, Akiko's speaks in a very friendly and casual manner; she blinks her eyes and laughs too. Rikuo's gestures, sitting next to her and leaning forward confidentially, also indicate that this conversation is private, and he also treats Akiko as a person rather than an android.

Through the exercise of the rule, the café is differentiated from the rest of society spatially and socially and becomes a unique space within society. In this enclave, individuals, both humans and androids, talk more freely to each other without any distinction between them. This is a totally new experience for Rikuo, and he is very confused at first. For example, when Rikuo bumps into Sammy in the café for the first time, Rikuo is very upset. After Sammy disappears, Rikuo talks with the café owner Nagi and learns that Sammy has personality traits he has never thought about before (00:26:29-00:27:47).

Rikuo hears from Nagi how Sammy came to the café. Nagi tells Rikuo that Sammy has gradually started talking about her life and is getting used to the atmosphere in the café. Nagi says, "The girl...at first she was at a loss, but gradually she opened up...Yeah, she talks about a lot of different things. The mother who buys her clothes, occasional nightmares, the boy who stopped playing the piano. And the other day she said to me, she wants to make a good cup of coffee. Seems she worries a lot... she is not sure if the things she's doing are right or wrong" (00:26:38-00:27:22). Rikuo repeats Nagi's words, "open up" and "worries." These words are very new to him in describing Sammy. Apart from the dialogue, images and sounds also lead us to anticipate Rikuo's process of self-reflection. Extreme close-ups of Rikuo with Nagi's off-screen talk and the soundtrack of soft piano music lead the viewer to focus on Rikuo and his feelings. The unbalanced framing of Rikuo and shade on his face relays his confusion (Figure 3 right).



Figure 3 Nagi (left) speaks to Rikuo (right) about Rikuo's family android Sammy. Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

After this small incident, Rikuo starts rethinking his attitude towards androids, especially towards Sammy. This unique experience leads Rikuo to realize that the existing ways of treating androids as machines is not quite right and to recognize the prevailing discourse that forces androids to remain machines. He starts imagining the alternative of seeing androids as people. Small changes occur in Rikuo's mind when he visits the café more often. I interpret the café as a utopian enclave for Rikuo, allowing him to imagine and experience a new place where a different kind of human-android relationship is possible. The café Time of Eve – a utopian enclave – generates Rikuo's self-reflection on the current dominant discourse of the superiority of human beings, and provides space for him to imagine an alternative, more intimate relationship between humans and androids.

4.4. Domination and Resistance in *Time of Eve*

The café becomes an important place of disjunction from society, where Rikuo and other café regulars can look at existing society and their everyday life, with its prevailing norms, rules and values, from a distance. What they have been taught to see as a natural or normal feature of human behavior is simply another discourse. Yet without such an enclave, it is hard to escape from the totality of existing society. My next question is: what processes of domination are depicted in *Time of Eve*, how are they enacted, and is there any way to challenge them? How do Rikuo and the other main characters reflect critically on the social practices that surround them? This and the following sections analyze these various forms of power, domination and potential for resistance depicted in the anime by introducing aspects of Foucault's notion of power.

4.4.1. Domination: Anti-Robot Discourse, Knowledge Production and Self-Discipline

As we have seen in Chapter 1, Foucault opposes the conventional understanding of power that tends to perceive power as essentially negative, repressive and one-directional force. Instead, Foucault's analytic of modern power suggests that power is constitutive, microphysical and plural. Foucault's notion of power is useful here to examine the various forms of power at work in the everyday life depicted in *Time of Eve*.

As Foucault suggests, institutions are created in most societies “to freeze the relations of power” by a certain number of people who benefit socially, economically and politically by these arrangements; particular power relations are “institutionalized, frozen, immobilized” in forms profitable for those people (Foucault 1988c, 11). In *Time of Eve*, this traditional type of power

typically enacted by the state and the law does exist, in the so-called *Three Laws of Robotics* that are effective across society (00:16:56-00:17:11).⁴⁹ The Laws state:

1. A robot may not injure a human being, or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm.
2. A robot must obey the orders given it by human beings except where such orders would conflict with the First Law.
3. A robot must protect its own existence as long as such protection does not conflict with the First or Second Law.

The Laws guarantee not only human safety from potential harm through robots, but also the *absolute* human control over robots and the self-defence of robots. The Laws imply an *absolute* hierarchy between human beings and robots. People have a tendency to treat robots as their obedient servants. Apart from the Three Laws of Robotics, there are other laws and norms that distinguish androids from humans. For example, the law states that the android must present the *ring* above its head at all times (e.g. Sammy in Figure 1). It is in fact very difficult to distinguish androids from humans as they look so similar; the ring functions as a marker to distinguish them.

Yet, law is only one form power relation in society. Power cannot be deduced only from the domination enacted through these laws. When we closely analyze social practices in *Time of Eve*, we see that they enact microphysical power relations that work through constituting various things such as discourses, forms of knowledge, and particular types of disciplined individuals. First of all, power shapes the anti-robot discourse throughout society. A very influential anti-robot organization, the Ethics Committee, mounts a series of widespread anti-robot campaigns and manipulates the discourse in society. The organization claims that a robot is merely a machine for humans and humans should strictly distinguish themselves from androids. Their advertisements against robots are everywhere in society, from the TV to the streets (Figure 4).



Figure 4 “Do you eat machine-made tomato?” Anti-robot campaigns are everywhere: On the TV (left) and the street (right). Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

⁴⁹ Science fiction author Isaac Asimov set the principles in his *Robot* series. This English version are from *I, Robot* (1950) (Prucher 2009, 165).

Power also forms knowledge about human behavior and mental health: experts set criteria for who is normal or abnormal; a symptom or mental disorder is discovered and named *android-holics*. Some people have a strong empathy for androids or feel affection for androids, and they have difficulties in building social relationships with other humans. The mass media describe these people as *android-holics* and label the phenomenon as a social problem. Once it has a name and is acknowledged as a problem, people start exercising various practices of surveillance. Individuals start monitoring each other's behavior as well as their own attitudes towards androids to see if it is normal or abnormal in everyday life. That is, microphysical forms of power produce disciplined individuals who talk about android-holics and monitor others and themselves to check whether or not they are suffering from this disorder. The anime introduces this “social problem” at the very beginning: Rikuo's sister turns on the TV in the morning and it shows news on *android-holics* (Figure 5). She reminds Rikuo “You should be careful [about android-holics] too.” Throughout the story, Rikuo's sister keeps reminding Rikuo not to be an *android-holic* and Rikuo himself constantly wonders if he is an android-holic or not. Rikuo becomes very sensitive in hearing the slang *dori-kei*, which indicates android-holics everywhere, at home, at school and on the street. Rikuo's behavior is observed by others, such as his sister, his friend Masaki or strangers on the street, and at the same time, he also monitors himself. Android-holics becomes a reality and the Android-holic discourse becomes the truth. As Foucault notes, “‘truth’ is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it” (Foucault 1980a, 133).



Figure 5 Mass media features Android-holics or *Dori-kei* as a social problem. Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

In *Time of Eve*, social control is exercised through various discourses and social practices: through laws, anti-robot discourse, knowledge production and the self-discipline of individuals. Various forms of power relations penetrate society, and the social hegemony of anti-robot discourse appears to be very powerful. Is there any possibility to escape from the dominant discourse? How is

emancipation identified and imagined in the animation? How and through which political tactics is emancipation to be achieved? This is the concern of the next section.

4.4.2. Resistance: Self-Reflection and Imagining Alternative Possibilities

Foucault's notion of domination seems to be unbreakable. Power is diffused everywhere throughout society. It constitutes individuals, their knowledge and pleasures and induces obedience. As he notes, "What I am attentive to is the fact that every human relation is to some degree a power relation. We move in a world of perpetual strategic relations" (Foucault 1988b, 168). Yet, Foucault also argues that since power is decentred, plural, and fluid, it could also form a possible resistance. "As soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance. We can never be ensnared by power: we can always modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy" (Foucault 1988a, 123).

What about the possibility of resistance in *Time of Eve*? The café Time of Eve becomes a space of generating anti-hegemonic thought, which becomes the locus of resistance. As we have seen earlier, the café functions as a utopian enclave separate from the rest of society. The café is a unique space since anti-robot discourse becomes ineffective there. In the enclave, individuals are distanced from the current dominant discourse and have space to reflect on it. They see both the current domination (i.e. anti-robot discourse outside the café) and the other possibilities (i.e. no distinction between humans and androids inside the café), as well as the juxtaposition of the two. The juxtaposed situation makes individuals in the café realize that the legitimacy of anti-robot discourse is questionable, and they find a discrepancy between what they believe in society and what they are experiencing in the café. In fact, androids do have empathy, intention, identity, and the ability to interact with humans and all these elements seem to meet the conditions to be an individual or to be a person.

Philosopher Daniel Dennett (1976) lays out the necessary conditions to be a person in his well-known essay "Conditions of Personhood." If something is to be a person, Dennett suggests, it must fulfill six necessary conditions, including: rationality, intentionality, a particular relational property, mutuality, linguistic ability, and consciousness. By strictly examining each condition though, he concludes that one cannot claim that these six necessary conditions are sufficient because the concept of a person is inescapably normative. Dennett argues that "the moral notion of a person and the metaphysical notion of a person are not separate and distinct concepts but just two different and unstable resting points on the same continuum" (ibid., 193). Dennett's analysis leaves open the possibility that nonhuman persons such as androids could satisfy these conditions, a question also raised by Goodenough (2005) in his discussion the film *Blade Runner* (R. Scott 1982). Goodenough

argues that the film involves a philosophical discussion of personhood that challenges the conditions of personhood set out by Dennett.

Time of Eve can be understood in a similar way as a philosophical exercise, a thought experiment, that allows viewers to reflect on the sufficiency or otherwise of Dennett's conditions for personhood. Interestingly, androids seem to fulfill almost all of the conditions but the personhood of androids is rejected by society in the fictional world. *Time of Eve* points viewers to an apparent discrepancy between Rikuo's intuitive feeling about Sammy and existing social norms based on the absolute human-android hierarchy. The utopian enclave makes it possible to reveal such a discrepancy and leads Rikuo and the viewers to raise the question of how legitimate the dominant anti-robot discourse actually is. Rikuo's unique experiences in the café (e.g. chatting with androids or observing various relationships between humans and androids) make him realize that in fact androids also have intentions and emotions, share their thoughts with others, and try to figure out what they want to do. Rikuo sees that androids are persons too. His self-reflection opens up new possibilities for imagining alternative human-android relationships. He is puzzled by the situation at first (as we have seen in Figure 3), but he gradually starts to reconsider the very distinction between humans and androids in society. Rikuo changed his attitude towards androids and this is as a sign of resistance against the prevailing discourse. He challenges the existing social norms that make clear distinctions between humans and androids. He is against what is thought to be normal, natural or universal, or even the very idea that there is something called normal, natural or universal. The following two examples illustrate Rikuo's confusion, self-reflection, and change. His change first occurs in the café when he talks to another café regular Rina, and later extends outside the café.

In the first example, Rikuo finds that the café regular Rina is an android and she is burdened with many personal problems just like other human beings, such as her illegal status, her broken leg, and a complicated relationship with her human master. Rikuo starts talking to Rina and revealing his mixed feelings (00:37:51-00:38:32). Rikuo says, "The flavor of the coffee changed...at first I was angry [at Sammy], but after I understood [her good intentions about making a good coffee for me] I got just a little bit happy, even though it isn't a human being" (00:37:52-00:38:08). Flashback images of a cup of coffee and Sammy in the dark are inserted during Rikuo's speech. A soft piano soundtrack leads viewers to focus on Rikuo. He thinks about Sammy and he realizes that Sammy may have a similar feeling like Rina too. Then Rikuo says to Rina, "Tell him! Tell him what you want to say! Even if it's to a human being!" (00:38:09-00:38:10). Close-ups and swift camera movement of Rikuo in the shot show his intense emotion. Switching medium close-up with close-up frames of Rikuo and Rina during the conversation presents them as having a kind of affinity with one another. Here, recalling Rina and Sammy, Rikuo speaks to Rina and his speech presents his dissent against existing patterns of human-android relations. However, at the same time, he also has

a mixed feelings and murmurs comically “Oh, I can’t believe the things I’m saying”, wondering if he is android-holic.



Figure 6 Close-ups of Rikuo (left) and Rina (right) depict an affinity between them during the conversation. Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

Rikuo’s change occurs in the café first, then goes beyond the enclave later. The second example is a conversation scene with Masaki at school (01:26:57-01:27:52). Later in the story, while Rikuo continues going to the café, his friend Masaki stops going. One day after school, Rikuo asks Masaki if he would like to go to the café. Rikuo tells Masaki that Nagi and café regulars including Sammy worry about him and hope that he will come again. Masaki says, “She [Sammy] wants me to come? So what? It’s a houseroid.” Rikuo replies to Masaki clearly “Right. That’s right,” Masaki says coldly “You’ve changed” (01:27:31-01:27:40). Rikuo does admit that Sammy is an android, but at the same time he identifies her as a person with intention; Masaki belittles Rikuo’s attitude and is upset about Rikuo’s change. During the conversation, the clash between the two characters is also visually significant. The long shots of Rikuo and Masaki indicate a sense of distance between the two. The Dutch angle of Rikuo looking at Masaki skews the perception and indicates something is clearly not “right” here. Uneven camera angles (low and high angles) show that two characters are visually as well as in terms of their relation not on the same plane (Figure 7). In fact, Masaki is looking down on Rikuo and the particular angles of the two characters relay Masaki’s speech. An extreme close-up of Masaki’s face cast in shadows with uneasy sounds depicts how upset he is. Here, we can see that Rikuo’s change in attitude towards androids has expanded from the café to the outside world and both Rikuo and Masaki notice this change. Yet, Masaki does not feel comfortable with it. Rikuo is taking the counter-discourse generated in the utopian enclave with him outside the café, but it is another thing when this challenge clashes with actual forms of domination in the “real” world. This is the upsetting effect of resistance in a fully disciplined society, and here we can see how the relationship between the two characters is pushed out of its usual frame, or out of the usual comfort zone.



Figure 7 Uneven camera angles (low and high angles) depict the distance and uneasy atmosphere between the two characters. Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

The reconciliation between Rikuo and Masaki appears in the climax through another little incident that happened in the café. One day, an old robot comes to the café making an intense noise and warns that the café has to be shut down immediately. Rikuo calls Masaki and asks him for help. Later Masaki comes to the café and finds that it is his family's robot Tex. Masaki tells Rikuo and others his story. When Masaki was very small, Tex used to take care of Masaki and was his best friend. One day, Masaki's father, who works at the Ethics Committee, worried about his son's attachment to the robot and banned Tex from speaking no matter what and Tex has been mute since then. Without knowing his father's order, Masaki felt hurt and betrayed by Tex's sudden change. Masaki is traumatized by this childhood experience, and neither forgives Tex nor trusts any robot since. When Masaki finishes his story, a strange man comes into the café and Tex suddenly starts speaking to the man. Under the Three Laws of Robotics, Tex is breaking the Second Law (a robot must obey the orders given by human beings, in this case the order 'not to speak'), but it becomes apparent that he is doing this because the order conflicts with the First Law (a robot may not injure a human being). Masaki realizes that Tex is talking in order to protect him from danger. Looking at Tex's action, Masaki asks Tex in tears, "Tell me! What were you thinking for all those years, watching me all those years, you were right there with me...Tex help me! Speak to me! [sob]" (01:34:40-01:35:10). Tex eventually replies, "I couldn't speak to you...I always wanted to be on your side. I...I...always...Masakazu-kun..." (01:35:11-01:35:46). Tex's words make Masaki realize how difficult it is for Tex to obey his father's order. Yet, once the man disappears and the danger has gone, Tex becomes mute again. During the conversation between Masaki and Tex, extreme close-ups and close-ups of the two characters are used intensively. Flashbacks of Masaki's memory and close-ups of others in the cafe are also inserted (Figure 8). Zooming into Tex's close-up over Masaki's off-screen monologue allows the viewer to feel Tex is listening to Masaki and thinking about it. Sounds also add an emotional tone: a percussion sound becomes louder along with Masaki's monologue and suddenly stops and Masaki's quiet sobs remain; Tex's voice still sounds artificial (it is an old robot) but it stammers as if it is becoming emotional too. In this

conversation scene, dialogue, images and sounds come together to dramatize Masaki's and Tex's emotion.

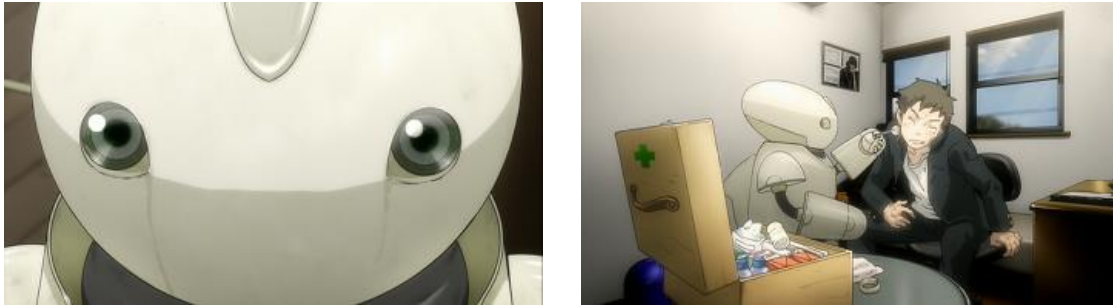


Figure 8 Tex is listening to Masaki's words (left); a flashback of Masaki's memory with Tex (right). Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

After Tex speaks to Masaki for the first time in many years, some change occurs in Masaki too. Masaki does now understand Tex's difficulties, though he is still very frustrated by Tex's persistent obedience to his father's order. Rikuo speaks to Masaki: "It might be impossible now, but someday it [Masaki's robot] will talk, for sure...I've seen so many things here...There are a lot of problems, each time it's distressing...but I feel like the direction is right...It's the same for you, Masaki...I am sure [things will change someday]" (01:36:50-01:37:27).

In other words, Rikuo believes that the current situation will change. He sees seeds of new possibilities in the café. His statement also reflects his new realization of what a person is. For Rikuo, Tex is a person too, and this further underscores Rikuo's own transformation. When Rikuo talks, his voice is heard off-screen when the camera switches from Rikuo's image to Masaki and Tex, before showing the faces of each café regular in close-up and medium close-up. At the end of his monologue the image shifts again to Rikuo and shows him in a group of other café regulars from an eye-level angle, with the line-of-sight directed at Masaki and Tex in the off-screen space (Figure 9 left). Sammy is also listening to Rikuo's words in tears at the back of the café. The combination of off-screen speech and images of each character creates the atmosphere that everyone in the café shares Rikuo's thought of imagining an alternative. After some change occurs in Masaki's mind, Masaki's response to Rikuo – "You might be right" – affirms the possibilities for new human-android relationships too. Extreme close-up shots of Masaki's mouth (Figure 9 right), flashback images of what Masaki saw in the café, and a long silence dramatize Masaki's change in his attitudes towards androids and the existing social norms. Now Masaki agrees with Rikuo's resistance against the current dominant discourse. Others in the café also share this view and this feeling is expressed through the individual close-ups.



Figure 9 Rikuo and café regulars imagine the possibilities of new human-android relationships (left); Masaki agrees with Rikuo (right). Screen capture from *Time of Eve*.

The form of resistance in *Time of Eve* is an ongoing process of self-reflection. Rikuo and other individuals in the café rethink dominant social norms from the situation at a distance – in the utopian enclave. They get confused both inside and the outside of the enclave, and challenge the norms or what is thought to be normal, natural or universal in society, rather than merely making a distinction between the normal and the abnormal. *Time of Eve* presents some aspects of Foucault’s notion of resistance in an accessible and empirical way through the eyes of Rikuo. For Foucault, resistance ought to challenge the subjectivity of the individual: “Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are” (Foucault 1982, 785). In the anime, the house rule and the self-reflection of each character are forms of resistance that challenge the existing identities of human beings or robots, or who and what they have been told they are. The anime does not depict concrete emancipation as an end-point or goal, but rather portrays a ceaseless struggle of resistance. In this sense, the animation challenges the conditions of emancipation discussed by Marx and Habermas, i.e. an ideal stage of unalienated human beings or the universal goal of an ideal speech situation for all humanity. As discussed in Chapter 1, Marx’s socialism aims to free all human beings, the proletariat, in particular from the domination of modern capitalist society. In Habermas’s thought, an ideal speech situation, a central component of his theory of communicative action, refers to “the conditions for free and transparent communication”, the achievement of a perfect discussion (Edgar 2006, 65–67). Earlier, Habermas seems to claim that we can reach the meaning of truth by a rational consensus in reference to an ideal speech situation. As Habermas notes, “It [the consensus theory of truth] can break out of the circular movement of argument only if we assume that in every discourse we are mutually required to presuppose an ideal speech situation” (Habermas 2002, 97).

Time of Eve does not rule out attempts to imagine possible alternatives, or deny that there is hope in the constant struggle. Yet importantly, what hope is or what the good life is for the individual is an open question in the anime. For café owner Nagi, the café Time of Eve is a space of becoming, rather than being as such. When Nagi describes how she sees the café, she says, “This café exists through everyone’s minds. I just want to see it through... how far can this circle grow?”

(01:25:49-01:25:57) Nagi's words suggest that the café is an open space for new possibilities. This utopian enclave and the things that emerge there come about through everyone's imagination, and the alternatives are defined, practiced and invented by individuals. This is a collective work. Nagi's vision for hope would resonate with Foucault's thought on the good.

What is good, is something that comes through innovation. The good does not exist, like that, in an atemporal sky, with people who would be like the Astrologers of the Good, whose job is to determine what is the favorable nature of the stars. The good is defined by us, it is practiced, it is invented. And this is a collective work. (Foucault 1988c, 13)

4.5. Conclusion: The Utopian Enclave as a Locus of Resistance

This chapter analyzed the anime *Time of Eve* and examined how the anime illustrates a utopian enclave that generates alternative political thinking. It also explored the Foucauldian notions of power, domination and resistance through the visual narrative. I argued that the unique café Time of Eve functions as a utopian enclave which is differentiated spatially and socially from society and this differentiation allows the people in the enclave, the protagonist Rikuo, his android Sammy and the café regulars to critically reflect on their everyday practices. Through his unique experience in the café, Rikuo starts questioning the prevailing anti-android discourse which permeates everyday conversation, mass media, laws and various social norms in society, and imagines a new form of human-android relationships. The café becomes both a locus and the very process of resistance against the prevailing discourse.

Exercises of power and the process of domination take various forms in the anime including laws, discourse, knowledge production, and the creation of particular types of disciplined individuals. Laws such as Three Laws of Robotics are effective in the fictional world and the law legitimates an absolute human-android hierarchy. Anti-robot discourse is everywhere in society from the TV to the street. Discourse also forms new knowledge about the psychological illness of android-holics and produces another discourse that identifies android-holics as a social problem. Once android-holics are labeled as abnormal and become a social problem, individuals start talking about it, checking themselves and one another for signs of abnormality, and eventually creating self-disciplined individuals. My analysis suggests that the various forms of domination found in Time of Eve illustrate some aspects of the Foucauldian notion of power and domination in a lively manner.

Although domination in the anime seems to be unbreakable and prevalent throughout society, the café Time of Eve becomes an important locus of resistance. In the utopian enclave, people are differentiated from the rest of society spatially and socially, and this differentiation allows them to generate critical reflection and alternative thinking. The anime carefully depicts the differentiation of the inside from the outside of the café, and how Rikuo and café regulars come up with new ways of thinking through the eyes of Rikuo. Rikuo's change in his attitude to androids first occurs during conversations with regulars in the café, then expands to the world outside the café. The anime depicts in detail the contrast between the inside and outside of the utopian enclave, the emotions of Rikuo and the other characters, and the changes they go through with various visual and acoustic techniques. Those techniques include the distance of shots, camera angles, and lighting; zooming, the choice of speech styles, and voice-acting; as well as the sound effects and soundtrack. Typical anime techniques such as close-ups with off-screen dialogue or monologue, still images with zooming, and rapid editing techniques such as flashbacks are effectively used to depict characters' emotions. In the climax, the anime presents a hope for change and the alternative imagination of the human-android relationship which Rikuo and café regulars share in the utopian enclave. Questioning the subjectivity of the individuals is a starting point and resistance is a ceaseless process of struggle, rather than an end-point of emancipation as discussed by Marx or Habermas. This animation does not present any concrete emancipation, end-points, or goals, but it rather presents various attempts and ceaseless struggles to enact the possible alternatives and hopes that emerge in the utopian enclave; what good means is left as an open question in this context, rather than being planned by the authorities or set out by philosophers such as Marx or Habermas.

5. SECURITY, EMANCIPATION AND DOMINATION IN *PSYCHO-PASS*

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the animated TV series *Psycho-Pass* (2012-2013), and explores the ways in which this anime illustrates interrelated aspects of security, emancipation and domination in an advanced surveillance society. Together with Chapter 4, this chapter is concerned with the ability of anime to reflect and illustrate philosophy. I use *emancipation as security* as an entry-point into this critical investigation. The term ‘security’ refers to a condition or a feeling of being free from danger or threat at the level of individuals, societies, states, and the international community. In political theory, there are two conflicting views on security and power: the first is security as emancipation; and the second is security as domination. According to International Relations theorist Ken Booth, the theory and practice of security should focus on the emancipation of human individuals because “emancipation, not power or order, produce true security” (Booth 1991, 319). Certain presuppositions about the nature of security rest on this understanding of individual and collective emancipation, that is, *security* is defined in opposition to power or domination. In contrast to this, Michel Foucault (2007) expresses a different view of what is at stake in practice of security, and its relation to broader questions of power and order. According to Foucault, the mechanisms of power are closely intertwined with technologies of security. The analysis of this chapter shows how *Psycho-Pass* illustrates Foucault’s notion of security as governmentality in digital surveillance and provides a counterexample to Booth’s argument of security as emancipation.

Psycho-Pass is directed by Shiotani Naoyoshi and produced by Production I.G. Film director Motohiro Katsuyuki is also involved in the production as executive director. The story is set in a Japan of the future, where new technologies are available to measure and monitor people’s mental conditions, personalities and inclinations to antisocial behaviors. The criteria of the so-called *Psycho-Pass* are widely used in society to measure people’s mental health, just like various other criteria such as blood pressure or cholesterol levels to check people’s physical health in our present. The government has established a powerful mental healthcare system, the *Sibyl System*, to record and monitor all citizens’ Psycho-Pass. The system also calculates the *Crime Coefficient*, which gives the probability that a citizen is likely to commit crimes. If one’s Crime Coefficient is above a

normal level, one becomes a potential criminal and will be arrested by the police or sent to correction facilities as if he or she had actually committed a crime. Thanks to the system, society has become safer because the government can prevent crimes by detecting what will happen in the future, enabling police to stop the criminal before they commit a crime. In this society, citizens are subject to the Sibyl System but, at the same time, they enjoy security and stability through the system.

The story is about a group of police officers investigating a series of crimes. The protagonist Tsunemori Akane is a new police officer called Inspector at the Public Safety Bureau. Her job is to arrest criminals and would-be criminals with her team including Enforcers and other experts. Both Inspectors and Enforcers use a special weapon called the *Dominator*. The Dominator is a type of weapon carried by the police for shooting criminals and potential criminals. The Dominator is directly connected to the Sibyl System and the system judges whether a person is a (potential) criminal or not, and whether they should be eliminated or not. Inspectors and Enforcers follow the system's judgment during their duties. In short, *Psycho-Pass* explores the belief that crime can be prevented before it happens, a scenario similar to Philip K. Dick's ([1956] 2000) short story (and the subsequent film directed by Steven Spielberg) *Minority Report* (2002). Script writer Urabuchi Gen notes that he wants to create Philip K. Dick's world in anime (Sudo 2012b; Psycho-Pass Production Committee 2013, 144). The anime demonstrates the ways in which surveillance becomes a biopolitical security and power technology, and it showcases the regulatory measures that transform it into a technology of certainty.

Psycho-Pass exposes us to the world of digital surveillance, allowing us to critically see the problematic and better feel the consequences of security. As Peter Marks (2005, 222) rightly argues, works of fiction such as novels and films “have long provided vivid, provocative and critically informed accounts of surveillance practices and trends,” providing “stimulating points of reference for surveillance scholars.” Indeed, surveillance has frequently been explored in popular culture especially in the science fiction genre. On the one hand, “the surveillant imaginary finds its way into novels, films, song lyrics and other media but, on the other hand, surveillance is itself influenced by popular culture, as the media can shape our attitudes and actions towards surveillance” (Kammerer 2012, 99).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The recent NHK documentary *The Next World* (2015) provides excellent examples of how the technologies, practices and popular imaginary of surveillance are integrated into constructing aspects of social reality in Japan. Interestingly, some of the content and visual images of the program are very similar to the anime *Psycho-Pass* (Oricon Style 2015). The documentary has five episodes in total, with each episode divided into two sections: the first part being an ordinary documentary on cutting edge technologies available in 2015 (artificial intelligence, human enhancement technologies, virtual reality etc.), while the second part is science

This chapter draws attention to a range of security mechanisms manifested in *Psycho-Pass*, and examines the politics and implications of their use in a fictional context. The *Psycho-Pass* illustrates how practices of security are actually an instrument of power, discipline, government, and above all, domination as discussed by Foucault, rather than being emancipatory. Moreover, the anime deals with the question of how people live against the background of digital surveillance and how they negotiate it.

This chapter also argues that the notion of emancipation as security needs to be critically reconsidered and reexamined. In what follows, I begin by considering Booth's critical approach which seeks to equate the notion of emancipation with security. I then explore the ways in which Foucault conceptualizes security as being parallel to governmentality. Afterwards, I examine how various modes of power within the notion of governmentality are manifested in *Psycho-Pass*. I conclude that emancipation tends inevitably to produce new forms of domination.

5.2. Emancipation as Security and its Problematics

Locating the agenda of security studies within a broader tradition of Critical Theory, Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones criticize the traditional approach to security that focuses entirely on war and military threats to the state. They make the link between security and an Enlightenment-influenced notion of emancipation, proposing an alternative critical approach, in which security is studied in relation to human emancipation. Challenging the dominant definition of security as 'the threat, use and control of military force' in security studies, they propose that the security of human individuals is the most important object of study. In one of his most influential essays, entitled "Security and Emancipation" (1991), Booth redefines the concept of security and equates it with the emancipation of human individuals.

fiction drama set in 2045 which envisions how our life could change dramatically in thirty years. Episode 1 "To Singularity and Beyond" first features the evolution of AI and available technologies, which can predict many things including crime, consumer trends such as forecasting future hit songs or the best partners on a dating site. Then in the drama, a future society in which the protagonist Kiyoto lives is very similar to a rationalized world of *Psycho-Pass*: AI is everywhere around him; he has an AI personal assistant like Akane in *Psycho-Pass*; various technologies (e.g. toothbrush, bicycle, and other wearable devices) keep him updated about his health, risks and probabilities of future events, and guide him accordingly. There is no way to pretend that he knows nothing or cheat someone. In addition, the image design of AI is blue-green, which is almost identical to the color motif of *Psycho-Pass*.

Security means the absence of threats. Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security. (Booth 1991, 319)

For Booth, emancipation is the key to *true security*. He acknowledges that war and military threats to the state are certainly two of those constraints on individual security but they are not the only ones.⁵¹ In his view, security studies should not restrict its scope of study to the level of state security, but should extend its focus to the various other insecurities preventing human individuals from pursuing the projects they have freely chosen. Thus threats to human individuals such as political freedom, food supply, and environmental degradation are important security matters on top of violence and conflict within and beyond the state.⁵² Booth and Wyn Jones identify five security sectors: military, environmental, economic, political and societal (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2010, 23). Wyn Jones (1999) further develops Booth's point of view and stresses the importance of a critical approach and immanent critique for transforming society in a more secure and emancipated direction.

Moreover, Booth and Wyn Jones do not conceive of emancipation as a static condition, a fixed goal for true security practice; they see emancipation instead as "a process rather than an end point, a direction rather than a destination" (Wyn Jones 1999, 77). For Wyn Jones, emancipation takes the form of "concrete utopias" – the pursuit of which is a ceaseless process that involves identifying particular insecurities experienced by human individuals and groups in a given context, rather than setting out fixed blueprints for an ideal society. "Even if a more emancipated order is brought into

⁵¹ Concerns about security may exist at an individual or collective level but the distinction between individual and collective (i.e. societal and national) security is in fact not as complete as it may seem. For instance, security checks at the airport, the introduction of biometric identity documents, and the proliferation of CCTV may all be proposed in the name of national security. Yet, these practices are also invoked in relation to security and insecurity at the personal level. Moreover, the theoretical differentiation of internal and external threats is no longer viable. For instance, crime and criminality have traditionally been categorized as domestic security but now they cannot be separated from international security.

⁵² Moreover, as Booth (1991) notes, the state-centric approach is problematic and unhelpful because it cannot explain people's insecurity when the state itself becomes major security threats to its own people, rather than the other state.

existence, the process of emancipation remains incomplete. There is always room for improvement, there is always unfinished business in the task of emancipation” (ibid., 78). In short, for Booth and his followers, emancipation is a precondition of security; emancipation and security are two of a kind.

The critical approach to security taken by Booth and Wyn Jones has extended and deepened debates among the security studies scholars over what security is, and in the meantime attracted much criticism of their distinctive understanding of security as emancipation. At base, Booth’s definition of emancipation refers to the universal liberation of individual human beings, which is deeply rooted in the particular European philosophical traditions such as the Enlightenment and Marxism. Some critics including Hayward Alker (2005, 189) remind us of the danger of a positive and progressive connotation within the idea of emancipation that can become hegemonic. Imperialism is an example of a practice once regarded as emancipatory and justified accordingly.⁵³ Moreover, while Booth’s argument aims at the way in which true security can only exist when emancipation has been achieved (and the equivalence of emancipation and security), in practice security has become the dominant justification for the growth in modern surveillance, which increases constraints on the free choices of individuals.

Surveillance is ostensibly a key mechanism for contending with threats of any kind, either imminently or in the future. For instance, it has been central to the construction of global warming, environmental degradation, nuclear accidents, terrorism, (im)migration, natural disasters, and resource scarcity as threats in recent years. A system of mass surveillance – identification, monitoring, tracking, and control – is said to be vital in achieving security, that is, the freedom to live free from constraints or fear, either with reference to traditional conceptions of security (i.e. societal or state security) or to non-traditional ones (e.g. human or environmental security). In other words, safety – the state of being secure or at least feeling secure – is a key to the good life. Accordingly, a wide range of knowledge and technologies has been developed and applied to achieve people’s wellbeing. The task allocated to security apparatuses is to predict the probable risks and prevent or mitigate them. Yet the apparatuses of security, and in particular those monitoring human subjects, are at the same time inevitably involved in practices of micropolicing, spying, or interrogating individuals perceived as threatening, dangerous, or abnormal. These

⁵³ Other critics point out the linkage between security and emancipation in Booth’s conception is problematic since it becomes impossible to consider the struggles for emancipation outside of the logic of security. Claudia Aradau (2004) argues that security and emancipation should be separated from rather than equated with one another. Aradau suggests that if emancipation is conceived as the struggle for the political equality of human individuals, it is more helpful to understand this in terms of democratic politics, equality and fairness rather than security (ibid., 401).

subjects include enemies, criminals, beggars, floating populations, and so forth. In addition to human subjects, other nonhuman subjects (e.g. ongoing changes in environment, disease, veterinary, foodchain surveillance and so forth) are also part of the apparatuses of security.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the qualities of threat, danger, and abnormality are all socially constituted in accordance with one's self-identity.⁵⁴ David Campbell (1992, 2), for instance, contends that nothing is a threat in itself; rather, it depends on how one identifies things "through an interpretation of their various dimensions of dangerousness." According to Campbell, it is not danger itself that directly constitutes a threat towards an agent (e.g. an individual or an state), given that there are numerous risks that might cause physical harm and death in the world in our everyday life (e.g. driving a car in the street). Yet, not all risks are equally perceived. The degree of actual threat depends on how the actors identify themselves. As Campbell notes, "Danger is not an objective condition. It is not a thing that exists independently of those to whom it may become a threat" (ibid., 1). This is why Campbell regards danger as an "effect of interpretation" (ibid., 2). It "bears no essential, necessary, or unproblematic relation to the action or even from which it is said to derive" (ibid.). In this sense, security or threats to security are the product of one's self-identity, and if identity is so crucial to what constitutes danger for an agent, we need to look further into the construction of that identity in order to understand the actions of agents when it comes to their security.

Identity, from a poststructuralist point of view, is "an inescapable dimension of being" (ibid., 9), yet this understanding does not suggest that identity is naturally given or fixed. Rather, identity is neither naturally given nor fixed but exists in the way people perform. Judith Butler (1988) therefore perceives identities as being performative. A simplified example is how gender identity has been constructed over time. Gender is not something that is inherent to a certain sex, but rather something that society has constructed over time in discourse, and in power relations. Hence, gender is not fixed but subject to change. In other words, gender identity is "a regulated process of repetition" (Campbell 1992, 10).

Moreover, identity is constituted through difference, where difference is present by looking at identities. The sense of difference and the existence of others with different identities create a strong conception of threat in a group with a defined identity. This can range from small-scale local threat perception to the perception of threat on a global level. With different scales come different stakes, prompting specific measures to counter the threats and re-establish a sense of safety in performing one's identity.

⁵⁴ Arnold Wolfers (1962, 150) points to two faces of the security: one in an objective and the other in a subjective sense. Security in an objective sense refers to "the absence of threats to acquired values," and in a subjective sense, to "the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (ibid.).

Furthermore, if identities are performative, they require actions of an agent to maintain and reproduce its superficially stable identity. Facing danger provides a perfect opportunity for this. Security issues are intimately related to the politics of identity and difference. The discourse of danger and threat is fundamental to an agent's identity. This discourse helps agents to constantly define who they are and what values they should preserve in comparison to others. "It is the objectification of the self through the representation of danger that Foreign Policy helps to achieve" (Campbell 1992, 79). These perspectives on states' foreign policies make it possible to see that states are not as stable as they might seem, but rather they are "unavoidably paradoxical entities," and do not possess any kind of "prediscursive" identity (ibid., 11). As they do not have a fixed identity, the dangers they face are also not fixed, but dependent on how their identity is constructed at that point. Security in this respect is a dynamic, rather than a solid, stable concept. As there are varieties of identities, there are as many threats to be identified. Each identity thus struggles with other identities to define its own existence. The struggle for identity and security does not only involve with the use of physical violence, but also the production of knowledge, practices of dividing, and government of the self.⁵⁵ Moreover, since the idea of security is not as stable as it might be, it is important to examine the process of meaning making and to ask what kind of practices and discourses construct a particular aspect of security and insecurity. The meanings of security and insecurity depend on who is identified as the others, and what is recognized as danger at both individual and collective levels.

This way of understanding is profoundly contrary to Booth's original proposal (2007, 112) – emancipation as "a philosophical anchorage for knowledge, a theory of progress for society, and a practice of resistance against oppression." Indeed, emancipation in Booth's understanding is committed to a belief that a *progressive* transformation of social reality can be made through the *theory* and *practice* of security. He conceives security "as *the means* and emancipation *and as the end*." (Booth 2007, 115 emphasis in the original). Thus, security is "a process of emancipation" (Booth 1991, 322). From the critics' view however, the idea of security is highly problematic.

⁵⁵ Foucault (1983) argues that there are three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects. The first mode is to give them the status of science. The second mode is called "dividing practices" (mad versus sane, sick versus healthy, criminals versus the good boys). The third is the way that a human being turns him/herself into a subject (208–209).

5.3. Security as Governmentality

As shown in the previous section, the desire for security has become a crucial part of modern everyday life. The next key question is how individual and collective security can be achieved. Scholars have paid great attention to the development and standardisation of techniques, policies, and organizations that provide security for people within and outside borders. Among others, the scholarly literature on security studies and surveillance studies⁵⁶ has provided the basis of understanding the apparatus of security. The literature identifies a wide range of strategies and technologies which are adopted to avoid, prevent, or manage the dangers posed by multifold threats, or the feeling of threats, so as to achieve individual, societal, state, or trans-states security. Biometric technologies at airports, video surveillance in train stations, tracking devices including GPS (Global Positioning System), RFID (Radio Frequency Identification), drone system and so forth are some of those examples of modern surveillance technologies.

Surveillance, as David Lyon (2001, 2) defines it, is “any collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purposes of influencing or managing those whose data have been garnered.” Surveillance from this perspective has two faces: *care* and *control* (Lyon 2001). In Toni Weller’s (2012, 61) words: it is “practices of warfare and welfare.” Surveillance is both for people’s wellbeing and the control of populations as human resources. Indeed, modern surveillance technologies (e.g. CCTVs, RFID chips, credit cards, biometric passports, and identity cards) have played an ever more indispensable role in security practices. Governments also extend the scope of surveillance through assorted ‘e-government’ initiatives, involving scrutiny of individuals, groups and environments through the new technologies. Gathering and processing the data, police and governmental officers incorporate various ways to visualize, track and target *the enemy* whatever they are defined. The same is true in international security. States, either democratic or autocratic, all collect data on their own citizens and foreigners for the sake of *security*.

Moreover, police forces have increasingly been sharing information and exchanging ideas on best practice across the world in order to counter ‘new threats’ such as terrorism, fundamentalism and organized crimes. There are cross-border flows of data and persons. These security practices are globalized in cooperative schemes, wherein extensive and intensive databases are collected, analyzed and shared globally. Consequently, we are gradually moving toward a uniform world surveillance society with surveillance technologies integrated into all aspects of our everyday lives.

⁵⁶ Surveillance studies intersect with many fields such as philosophy, sociology, criminology, social psychology, political science, law, architecture/planning, history, and so forth. For an overview and recent developments of the studies, see Lyon (2007); Ball, Haggerty, and Lyon (2012).

Nevertheless, surveillance also raises a series of questions about security and governance on the one hand, and civil liberties and privacy on the other. For instance, what are the implications of the spread of databases and their interconnection? Is our privacy at risk?

These questions have drawn increased public and academic attention recently. As Lyon (2001, 7) notes, “the applications of technology to risk management in the social sphere may themselves be read as a risk,” leading to violations of privacy and liberty. Likewise, Foucault also identifies the problematic of *caring*, in which life (e.g. body, health, sexuality, etc) is the focal subject for governing individuals and the population in modern society.

Foucault’s concept of *governmentality* is useful for understanding the rationalities of surveillance presented in *Psycho-Pass* and the way that the social control functions. Governmentality, in the broadest sense, is defined as the “political technology of population management” (Ceyhan 2012, 38). In one of his interviews, Foucault states that

We must distinguish the relationships of power as strategic games between liberties ... and the states of domination ... And between the two ... you have governmental technologies ... (Foucault in Hindess 1996, 99)

Foucault in his later work identifies three types of power relations, namely: between *liberties*, *domination* and *government*. The first type is power relations between *liberties*, and it is “the total structure of actions bearing on the actions of individuals who are free; that is, whose own behaviour is not wholly determined by physical constraints” (Hindess 1996, 99–100). Power in this sense is manifested in the instruments, techniques and procedures taken by the people who have their choices. The aim of power is to influence what their choices might be.

The second type, *domination*, concerns “those asymmetrical relationships of power in which subordinated persons have little room to manoeuvre because their margin of liberty is extremely limited by the effects of power” (ibid., 102). According to Hindess, Foucault recognizes that power relations often have a different structure, and domination is one type of power relations. Thus, even those who dominate would have a better chance to impose their will to the others, their power is never one-sided (ibid.).

Regarding *government*, Foucault gives the term a very broad meaning and defines it as “the conduct of conduct,”⁵⁷ that is, “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon 1991, 2). To *conduct* is at the same time to *lead* others, and a way of behaving within a more and less open field of possibilities (Foucault 1983, 220–221). To govern is therefore to regulate the conduct of the self and of others, structuring the possible field of their

⁵⁷ Foucault (1983, 220) argues that the term conduct is one of the best aids to specify power relations.

actions. It refers to the ways in which one governs oneself, one's wife, husband, children, as well as the government of an institution. Foucault (1983, 221) states that

Government did not refer only to political structures or to management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick.

Furthermore, there is continuity between government of oneself, of the family, and of the state. The task of the government is to establish continuity,⁵⁸ in both an upward and downward direction. Upward: a person who wishes to govern the state well must first learn how to govern him/herself. Downward: when a state is well run, the head of the family will know how to look after his family, his goods, which means that individuals will, in turn, behave as they should.

Consequently, the term government refers not only to the government of institutions but also the government of *individuals* and its associated *things*. The object over which government exercised is therefore a “complex composed of men [*sic*] and things” (Foucault 1991, 93). This complex can be best illustrated in his example of governing a ship.

What does it mean to govern a ship? It means clearly to take charge of the sailors, but also of the boat and its cargo; to take care of a ship means also to reckon with winds, rocks and storms; and it consists in that activity of establishing a relation between the sailors ... and the ship ... and the cargo ... and all those eventualities like winds, rocks, storms and so on. (*ibid.*, 93-94)

It is in this respect that Foucault's notion of government departs from the Machiavellian notion of power, or juridical sovereignty, wherein the prince's sovereignty is merely exercised over his or her own territories, and the subjects who inhabit those territories. Governmentality, in contrast, is exercised over individuals and in their relations with numerous other things (e.g. wealth, resources, territories, customs, ways of thinking and acting, life and death etc.) (*ibid.*, 93). In other words,

⁵⁸ At the heart of this continuity is the government of the family, termed economy. And the key issue in the establishment of government is to introduce economy into the practice of politics. Consequently, as Foucault (1991, 92) notes, “to govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his good.”

government is concerned with managing the population of the state and the institutions, organizations and processes that the population encompasses.

In addition, and contrary to a Machiavellian notion of sovereignty as external and singular, Foucault thinks that practices of government are multiple and internal to society. According to Foucault, the Machiavellian prince acquires his principality by inheritance or conquest, but in any case the prince remains external (Foucault 1991, 89–90). Yet the practices of government, Foucault argues, are multiple and concern many kinds of people including the head of a family, the teacher of a child, etc. More importantly, they are internal to the state and society. Foucault notes that “We find ... a plurality of forms government and their immanence to the state: the multiplicity and immanence of these activities distinguishes them radically from the transcendent singularity of Machiavelli’s prince” (ibid., 91)

Foucault accordingly sees governmentality as a modern form of power explicitly in opposition to the Machiavellian idea of sovereignty, as we have also seen in Chapter 1. Machiavellianism is concerned with maintaining security through the figure of sovereignty, and the object of government is to maintain the sovereign’s rule over its territory and subjects of the state. Yet, according to Foucault, this type of rule is too fragile because it is too external to society. The practices of government should instead be immanent to society itself, and exercised over individuals and things, promoting the wealth and wellbeing of the population, and regulating the milieu (the term Foucault uses to depict the space of security) within the field of population. The *conduct of conduct* is undertaken by various institutions and practices across different social fields. Government through state institutions or apparatus is just one aspect of the strategies of governmentality.

The term *security*, or rather apparatuses of security in Foucault’s understanding, is “exercised on an entire population of individuals for managing their life, health, psychology and behaviors. It refers to different meanings according to whether it is exercised in terms of series of mobile elements and events, or in terms of a milieu as the space in which circulation occurs” (Ceyhan 2012, 39–40). Governmentality in this context refers to a regulation that can only be carried out through, and is indeed dependent on the freedom of each individual. A good form of governance requires certain sorts of individual freedom. Security allows certain ‘things’ to happen, ensuring that every individual is able to participate productively in the market. In this sense, security retains freedom as an imperative means for the operation of power.

Hence, from the Foucaudian point of view, emancipation from danger, threat and fear in modern society paradoxically leads to governmentality – to the regulation and control of populations. For instance, the authorities, either democratic or autocratic, argue that they provide their citizens with security while invoking it to lead their populations to become useful human resources. Governmentality “has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge,

and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument” (Foucault 2007, 108). In other words, while Booth sets up emancipation in opposition to power, Foucault sees emancipation as a tool and effect of the operations of power. There exists an irony that in trying to liberate a *subject* from domination, one is actually subjecting the *subject* to power relations, converting the *subject* into one who is *subjected*, and who should free themselves in certain ways.

5.4. Power and the Apparatus of Security in *Psycho-Pass*

This conception of governmentality provides a very useful tool to think of various forms of security (e.g. disciplinary and normalising power) and techniques (e.g. panopticism and confession). In this section I identify and analyze various surveillance and security regimes shown in *Psycho-Pass* to contemplate the question of what effects surveillance and security systems have on power and freedom.

5.4.1. Govern through Security

Foucault’s notion of governmentality is manifested vividly in the visual narrative of *Psycho-Pass*. In *Psycho-Pass*, people believe that the mass surveillance society built on the system is just, and a good society should maximize people’s security and wellbeing. Any risk or uncertainty should be minimized hence potential criminals are seen as dangers before they actually commit a crime. They are detected, relocated or sometimes removed entirely for the sake of maintaining public security. Paralleling Foucault’s idea of governmentality, security in the anime is exercised on an entire population in order to manage their life, mental and physical health, and behavior. Advanced technologies and knowledge of people’s behavior become constitutive of a security apparatus. In particular, risk management and pre-emption are very important for the maintenance of security and social order. The precautionary approach to security is enforced by technologies of the *Sibyl System* and the *Dominator*.

The *Sibyl System* is a mass surveillance and welfare system that monitors people’s mental conditions by collecting, analyzing and processing personal data in everyday life. The system evaluates immediate and future risks to social order and takes a precautionary approach to remove potential threats from society in advance. Sibyl identifies who is normal or abnormal, who is a potential criminal or not, and who is an immediate or future threat to society. The street scanners monitor people’s *Psycho-Pass*. The Psycho-Pass is an instant visual representation of mental

conditions of individuals by colors that indicates a person's stress levels. The more a person is stressed or mentally ill, the more their Psycho-Pass color will be opaque.

The *Crime Coefficient* is another set of standards processed through the Sibyl System's huge psychological database to measure the probability that a person will commit crimes. An individual's Psycho-Pass color and Crime Coefficient is examined during routine check-up and counselling. If the figure is higher than a normal level of 100, the person is judged as a latent criminal (*senzai-han*), and the police will arrest the person, relocate him/her to the isolation facilities or eliminate him/her. At the individual level, people carry an instant tester to check their Psycho-Pass and have counselling sessions or medication to maintain their mental condition within the normal levels. Individuals are also subject to regular health checks in institutions such as schools, work places, and hospitals. All data are recorded and processed by the Sibyl System. As a welfare system, Sibyl also judges the most appropriate career and life plan for every citizen so that one does not have to agonize over these issues anymore.

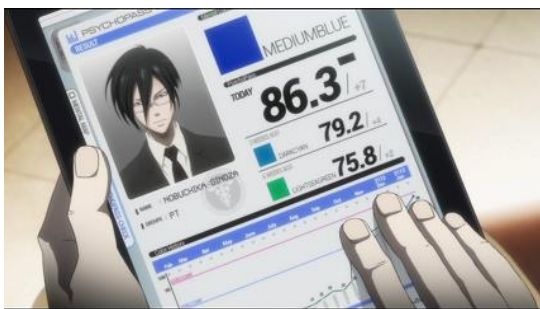


Figure 10 Visualized Psycho-Pass. Screen capture from Episode 13, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

The *Dominator* is a type of special weapon carried by enlisted police authorities to shoot criminals, including potential criminals, and threats to the other members of society based on the Criminal Coefficient of the target. Potential criminals are detected, captured and sent to isolation facilities before they actually commit a crime, and serious crimes and violence have decreased dramatically as a result. Citizens are asked to trust the whole advanced system of knowledge as perfect but citizens can know little about the system. The Dominator instructs the user on how to handle the suspect and latent criminal. If the Crime Coefficient value exceeds a normal level, The Dominator, not the user, decides the operation mode: paralyze the target, or kill them.⁵⁹ The Dominator

⁵⁹ The Dominator has three operation modes: Non-Lethal Paralyzer, Lethal Eliminator and Destroy Decomposer. Non-Lethal Paralyzer is used to capture latent criminals to bring them into custody, while with Lethal Eliminator and Destroy Decomposer the police can kill latent criminals as immediate danger even before they actually commit violence. Although the last two modes both indicate the immediate removal of the target, there are different degrees of violence between the two and the differences are visually presented.

functions as an iconic symbol of knowledge and security in the narrative and is visually very powerful too. Once the user holds it, it always emanates a strong blue light. It also gives precise instructions to the user, calculating danger and prescribing appropriate response modes such as paralysis or destruction of the target.

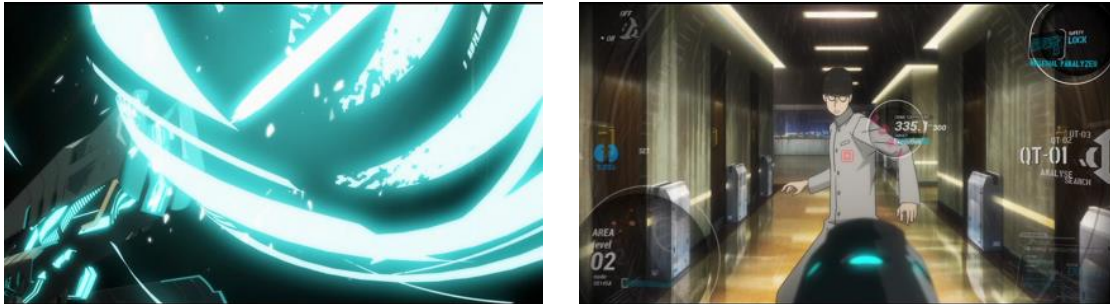


Figure 11 The Dominator. Screen capture from Episode 1 (left) and Episode 5 (right), *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

Using the Dominator – with its accumulation of scientific knowledge on human psychology and criminology – the police can capture or eliminate people in the name of security. The Dominator could justify police violence as a preemptive measure as the future becomes predictable and inevitable. In other words, it is Sibyl and the Dominator that evaluates the risk and authorizes the user to exercise power. The police authorities, however, are not fully in charge of it. It is the Dominator itself and the Sibyl System behind the weapon that judges whether a person is normal or abnormal, potentially criminal or not, or to be eliminated or not. When the user aims the Dominator at a target, it instantly reads the target’s Psycho-Pass and sends the data to the Sibyl system. The system judges how to deal with the target and Dominator gives instructions to the user.

Although there is little detailed depiction of how the Sibyl System and Dominator actually function, the majority of the population relies on the system and naturalizes various surveillance technologies operating in *Psycho-Pass*. People strongly believe that the system can improve security and social order as well as their future prospects by removing any uncertainty, fear and threats from their life. They believe that “the world has realized a stable prosperity and achieved the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people” (00:03:34-00:03:39, Episode 13). The system and technologies are normalized throughout society and it is hard for people to imagine life without the system. Such a life is unthinkable and seen as dystopian: it is characterized as uncertain, unstable, and disordered. For example, in the last episode, when the protagonist Akane finds that Sybil functions as an apparatus of authoritarian control rather than a just welfare system, she still decides to remain in the system, admitting that “it’s true that the current society cannot hold without Sibyl” (00:14:58-00:15:01, Episode 22).

Both Executive Director Motohiro and Scriptwriter Urobuchi clearly note that there is an ambivalent relationship between utopian and dystopian visions in *Psycho-Pass*, and they do not

want to depict the world of *Psycho-Pass* as a simple dystopia. As Urabuchi notes “*Psycho-Pass* is not about the critique of controlled society, but rather about the world where people are saved by the control and become happy. Such a world, however, does create distortions and that’s why the traditional detectives come in” (Sudo 2012b, my translation). Similarly, Motohiro explains that *Psycho-Pass* is “the world where people are totally subject to/controlled by numbers and yet the control is not stressful but rather utopian. It is a detective story set in such a society” (Sudo 2012a, my translation). According to Motohiro, the world of *Psycho-Pass* is “a highly-advanced future Japanese society combining features resembling Google with Disneyland” (Psycho-Pass Production Committee 2013, 141, my translation). As the Sibyl System manages the population thoroughly, this future Japan is a perfectly clean and secure space where people neither have to worry about their life nor bother to make their own choices anymore because the system sorts out for them. Importantly, uncertainty and insecurity are considered as a risk in this world; the majority of people believe that mass surveillance brings security and care, while any corner without a surveillance system is depicted as a dangerous space in which care is absent, rather than as a space free from control.

The visual style of *Psycho-Pass* reflects a close relationship between security and visibility, a link that is highlighted by stunning backgrounds throughout the series. The night-time scenes and the neon-lit cityscape appear very often throughout the series, creating a sense of insecurity and anxiety. In an interview in the anime convention Sakura-Con held in Seattle in 2013, Director Shiotani openly admits the visual style of *Psycho-Pass* is influenced by popular science fictional films in the 1980s and 1990s including *Blade Runner* (1982), *Minority Report* (2002), *Gattaca* (1997) and *Brazil* (1985) (Lamb 2013).⁶⁰ These films are inspired by film noir, a type of American thriller film in the 1940s and 1950s, and are sometimes called *neo-noir* or just *noir*.⁶¹ Cinematography of film noir often “emphasizes the impression of night-time photography with high-contrast lighting, occasional low-key lighting, deep shadows and oblique angles to create a sense of dread and anxiety” (Hayward 2013, 149–150). Films inspired by earlier noir works do not always use classic visual techniques but they “contain the same alienation, pessimism, moral ambivalence, and disorientation” (Conard 2009, 2).

⁶⁰ The interview recording is available in the bonus track in *Psycho-Pass Complete Series Collection* (2014).

⁶¹ For instance, *Film Noir Reader* (Silver and Ursini 1996) covers a number of essays that range over noir from mid-1950s to the TV series *Miami Voice* (Yerkovich 1984) in the 1980s. While, Naremore analyzes the classic films in the 1940s to *L.A. Confidential* (Hanson 1997) as film noir (Naremore 1998). *The Philosophy of Neo-Noir* covers “any films coming after the classic noir period that contains noir themes and the noir sensibility” including more recent films such as *Memento* (Nolan 2000) and *The Man Who Wasn’t There* (Coen and Coen 2001) (Conard 2009).

Psycho-Pass uses the cinematography of noir extensively. For example, the opening shot is very reminiscent of *Blade Runner* and the *Ghost in the Shell* series.⁶² A helicopter approaches a glittering city and the camera zooms in (Figure 12 left). Gigantic media screens of geisha girls are shot at a low angle, making the screen even larger (Figure 12 right). Highways and skyscrapers are shot at a high angle. Swift camera movements such as zooming in and panning present the city as glamorous.



Figure 12 Cityscape in noir style. Screen capture from Episode 1, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

A noir visual style efficiently creates a sense of darkness and anxiety and also depicts the relationship between insecurity and invisibility in crime scenes in *Psycho-Pass*. A number of crime scenes take place in space outside the Sibyl network and the Psycho-Pass scanners, in locations that include ruined districts, an off-line drone factory, a ruined subway line, and an abandoned boiler room on campus. These crime scenes depict insecurity in the absence of mass surveillance.

For example in Episode 1, when a group of police chases a latent criminal, most of the scenes are shot in the dark. The incident happened in a ruined urban area on a rainy night. Classic low-key lighting is used as characters' faces are often obscured by darkness. Lights are flickering in the ruined building. The bright neon signs are occasionally inserted between the shots and contrast with the darkness. The visual effects of darkness create a sense of insecurity and anxiety in the crime scene.

⁶² Napier (2005) suggests that Oshii Mamoru's 1995 film *Ghost in the Shell* owes to *Blade Runner* or William Gibson's cyberpunk novel *Neuromancer* (1984) in terms of noir style cinematography, as well as the central theme exploring the relations between soul, body and technology. This influence is found in *Ghost in the Shell* animation series produced by Production I.G including *Ghost in the Shell: Stand Alone Complex* (Kamiyama 2002) and *Ghost in the Shell: Arise* series (Kise and Murata 2013).

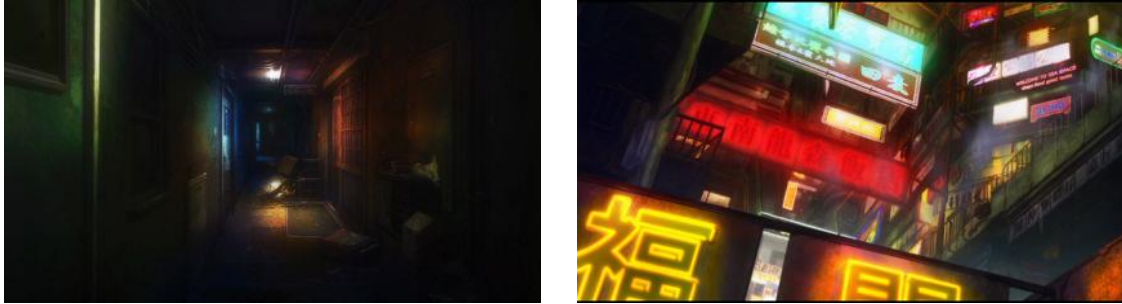


Figure 13 Crime scene in the dark. Screen capture from Episode 1, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

Apart from the aforementioned noir-inspired cinematography, *Psycho-Pass* builds a sense of darkness through various visual choices from the color of the sky to the design of the characters. Indeed, Executive Director Motohiro chooses monotone as a motif for the entire series and Director Shiotani visualizes the motif accordingly (Psycho-Pass Committee 2013, 101). For example, clear blue skies and daytime scenes hardly appear in the *Psycho-Pass* world. According to Shiotani, a majority of scenes are intentionally set at night, in the evening or before dawn. When the sky appears in the scene, it is often cloudy or has a darker tone (Psycho-Pass Committee 2013, 100).

Manga artist Amano Akira provides character design concepts along with the monotone motif. All main characters in the police except Karanomori Shion wear black suits and have dark hair (i.e. black or brown and not red, blue, green etc.). This is relatively rare in anime character designs because anime and manga tends to individualize characters with immediate visual elements including distinctive clothing and hair.⁶³ Director Shiotani explains these specific visual choices: “for *Psycho-Pass*, we want the world first. The characters are almost being played by the world. We don’t use colors that stand out too much. Everything was a part of the world we tried to create” (Lamb 2013).

⁶³ For example, Poitras (2001, 60–62) notes that “a character’s hair is one way of making him or her instantly recognizable” and the variety of hair in anime and manga ranging from hair color, style to movement or “hair action.” We can also see the importance of distinctive visual elements of costume and hair in anime and manga characters through the fan cultural practice of cosplay referring to dressing and performing of favorite anime, manga or videogame characters.



Figure 14 Characters in black (left to right: Karanomori Shion, Kagari Shūsei, Kunizuka Yayoi, Kōgami Shinya, Tsunemori Akane, Ginoza Nobuchika, Masaoka Tomomi). Screen capture from the ending title sequence of *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

The example of highly advanced hologram technology also indicates the close relationship between the visual representation of space, security, and order. Hologram technology is prevalent in people's everyday lives in *Psycho-pass*: the cityscape is projected by hologram in order to improve or maintain preferred scenery; people can choose and change the interior of their living space instantly; they also have access to an unlimited wardrobe using a wearable hologram; the police officers question people in a cute-looking hologram on the street in order not to scare people. Hologram technology is used to protect and control citizens in both public and private space. The omnipresence of hologram technology in public space also indicates the presence of order and security everywhere. In other words, if holograms are absent or disordered in any part of the city, this indicates insecurity and a lack of control. Some of the aforementioned crime scenes (e.g. ruined districts and a ruined subway line) are areas holograms do not reach, and they are accordingly depicted as dark, rusty and insecure places.

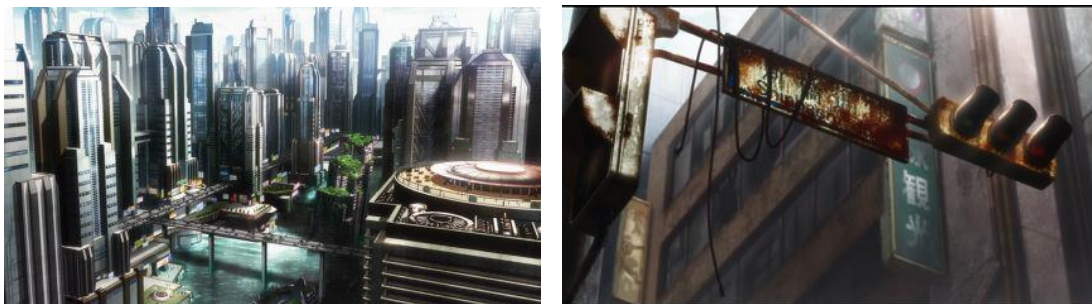


Figure 15 Cityscape with and without hologram (left: orderly city; right: ruined district). Screen capture from Episode 2 (left) and Episode 10 (right) *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

Psycho-pass depicts distorted space and a sense of insecurity effectively. In Episode 5, when Inspector Akane and her colleagues Enforcer Kōgami and Masaoka close in on the murderer Midō, Midō cracks the interior hologram of a hotel room where he hides to escape from the police. The entire space is distorted: the wall, furniture, floors are all twisted; color changes and the image, together with uneasy music, makes the police and the audience feel dizzy. Uncanny visual effects and uneasy music create a sense of insecurity and uncertainty.

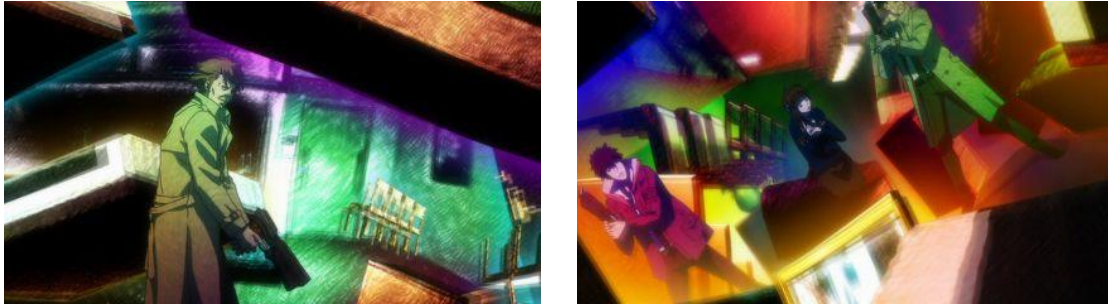


Figure 16 Hologram hacking and distorted space. Screen capture from Episode 5, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

In summary, security is achieved through various measures in *Psycho-Pass*: the maintenance and treatment of individual mental health, both at the individual and collective levels (the Psycho-Pass standard is widely used for self-monitoring, as well as constant monitoring in public space); the elimination of would-be criminals from public space; the ordered cityscape using hologram technology. Violence is hardly seen on the street. Streets are safer and crime is reduced. The legal system becomes simpler, and police and armed forces are reduced. Security based on advanced mass surveillance technologies is, at the same time, a modern form of domination enhanced by knowledge/power.

5.4.2. Disciplinary Power

The Psycho-Pass is one of the major standards for measuring an individual's state of mind and people's Psycho-Passes are checked everywhere. In public space, advanced Psycho-Pass scanners, similar to CCTV cameras, are installed in every corner of the city, observing not only people's behavior but also monitoring their mental conditions with an automated face recognition system. This mass surveillance system is similar to Foucault's account of disciplinary power and the example of Bentham's panopticon as we have seen in Chapter 1.

In *Psycho-Pass*, disciplinary power is significant in the life of latent criminals in the isolation facility. A good example is Enforcer Kunizuka Yayoi. Yayoi used to be a Sibyl-authorized musician.

When she becomes deeply involved in music, her Psycho-Pass becomes worse and she is sent to an isolation facility to recover her Psycho-Pass. In the isolation facility, latent criminals are locked up in a padded-cell, monitored all the time, and take medication to recover their Psycho-Pass. The screens are everywhere and they show latest Psycho-Pass. When their Psycho-Pass gets worse, sedating gas is automatically activated and they have to take further psychiatric medication. However, the facility allows latent criminals the freedom to freely remain in their private room under surveillance. As long as they make an effort to keep their Psycho-Pass stable, they are free from further overtly coercive forms of violence such as sedating gas. Discipline is normalized for latent criminals, who become docile subjects of disciplinary power through these practices.



Figure 17 The latent criminal Yayoi in the padded cell. Screen capture from Episode 12, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

Control is therefore achieved not through direct oppression but through more invisible and routinized forms of subjection. The effect of power is to normalize and eliminate all social abnormalities and to produce useful individuals through altering their bodies and minds. In this way, power functions to discipline the individual prisoner to be more ordered, obedient, useful, and efficient. It normalizes and modifies them as “good” citizens.

5.4.3. Knowledge and Security

In *Psycho-Pass*, power produces a large quantity of advanced knowledge about people’s psychology, biology and criminal tendencies, as well as the techniques to manage and regulate people’s behavior. Knowledge is accumulated and applied to control the population through various technologies, including the Sibyl System and the Dominator. *Psycho-Pass* thus illustrates the Foucauldian themes of intrinsic links between knowledge and power and the repetitive application of knowledge as an instrument of power.

In *Psycho-Pass* knowledge and security are closely interrelated. Knowledge about the human body, health, psychology and behavior has been highly developed and applied to manage

populations and their health. In *Psycho-Pass* knowledge is built up to improve people's health and wellbeing, as well as to achieve security by sorting populations. Various standards are set to measure people's mental conditions and those that prevail throughout society. A whole series of knowledge systems has been developed, focusing on the identification, the tracking and the surveillance of individuals considered dangerous for the population's health and wellbeing. In other words, knowledge produces disciplined bodies and minds through the social practices of wellbeing and security, and it reinforces exercises of power. It is important to see how citizens as well as individual police officers believe in this knowledge, and as a consequence willingly take part in social practices of power.

For example, the head of the Public Safety Bureau Kasei tells Inspector Ginoza how the system should work when Ginoza reports the flaws of the Sybil System and the Dominator. "For a system, rather than functioning perfectly, it's more important that people continue to trust that it is perfect. Thanks to that belief in the system and sense of security, Sibyl brings blessings to people even now" (00:05:04-00:05:17, Episode 13). Kasei continues

You guys are at the lowest level of the system. And people recognize and understand the system only through the lowest level. Hence, the system's credibility is judged by seeing how properly and strictly the lowest level end is functioning. If you guys doubt the Dominator, it could eventually cause all the citizens to doubt this society's order. Do you understand? (00:07:39-00:08:06, Episode 13)

Kasei's voiceover narration accompanies the images of cityscape from various angles and the noise of the city, before the noise suddenly stops and the viewpoint switches to a close-up shot of Kasei. The images and sounds indicate what the consequences would be if the citizens found the system could malfunction. Ginoza agreed with resubmission of the report afterwards.

In summary, knowledge, security and power are closely interrelated in *Psycho-Pass*. Various forms of knowledge and various techniques (e.g. the Sibyl, Dominator and psychological measures) have been developed to improve people's wellbeing and security, and applied to an entire population through various social practices. The government makes the security and wellbeing of individuals their priority, and the Sybil System and the Dominator become a symbol of progress and prosperity. This progress, however, cannot be separated from exercises of power and control. Based on scientific knowledge, total surveillance over the population is depicted as a necessary step to improve the wellbeing and security of the individuals. The government justifies violence against potential criminals as pre-emptive measures to combat emerging threats to the health and security of individuals. Although the system is not perfect, it is important for both the authorities and people to believe that the system could identify future threats and improve security.

5.4.4. Biopower

The operation of biopower – power over life – is significant in *Psycho-Pass*. Technologies to manage populations are highly advanced and personalized. People regard the Sibyl System as a comprehensive public welfare system that provides completely for people’s physical and mental health care, and manages their career based on detailed analysis of their personal data. The majority of people accept the judgments and assessments of the Sibyl System since they believe it offers what is best for them. People are encouraged to maintain a healthy body and mind – in other words, to maintain a good Psycho-Pass for their wellbeing – and this becomes their priority. For example, so-called “mental beauty” indicates a person with a clear Psycho-Pass like Akane and it becomes a new standard of beauty in the fictional world. Her friends call her a natural-born mental beauty and envy her because she does not need much “stress care,” just like someone who has a beautiful body shape without much effort to exercises or control their diet. People check their Psycho-Pass regularly and take supplements to maintain their mental health. If their stress increases, they get psychological care, medication and therapies to improve their mental state. People also constantly receive information about themselves and their environment via various devices including a holographic personal assistant.



Figure 18 Akane’s personal assistant Candy. Screen capture from Episode 2, *Psycho-Pass* television animation series.

Akane, for instance, starts her day with her holographic personal assistant who checks her health and gives her advice on maintaining a good mental condition. It says “Good morning! ... Ms. Akane Tsunemori’s Psycho-Pass colour this morning is powder blue! Have a wonderful day with that healthy mind of yours” (00:00:22-00:00:33, Episode 2). The assistant tells Akane today’s weather and schedule, and asks her what her room preference is. People decorate space with their hologram to maintain good mental health. The assistant tells Akane how many calories she ate yesterday, and the recommended amount for today’s breakfast. It also gives a forecast on the anticipated group stress in the city, just like a weather forecast, and recommends taking a supplement to prevent mental contamination.

Routine mental checks and care are normalized to modify individuals to be more ordered, efficient and productive. Routine practices shape individuals into subjects as well. People believe that the advanced system and technologies provide them with the best choice for maintaining wellbeing and realizing their potential. The choice is already made for them and it is hard to imagine better ways of maintaining their life than the choice made by the existing system. Indeed, people believe that the system can emancipate them from various uncertainties, fears and risks. Interestingly, free will takes on negative connotations in this world, as it refers to uncertainty and risk for the majority of people. It is, moreover, worth noting that how cute appearance of the assistant Candy could function to disguise exercises of bio-power in everyday life.⁶⁴ Candy is designed as an adorable creature both visually and acoustically. It looks like a pink fluffy jellyfish, speaking in a cheerful, friendly and childish manner. However, the power relation between Akane and her assistant Candy is more complex. What Candy actually does is not only to act as Akane's personal companion, but also to control Akane's physical and mental condition to make her healthier. Interactions between Akane and Candy, however, look like a form of care rather than exercises of power and control. Customized checks and care look fine-tuned without a generating a sense of repressive control.

In summary, we can find various exercises of biopower in *Psycho-Pass*. Advanced knowledge, technologies and techniques shape new ideas of health and beauty, and encourage people to meet new standards to become more healthy and beautiful, in other words shaping particular kinds of individual bodies and minds. Moreover, the various exercises of power even add a personal touch in the fictional world, as cute personal assistants are caring, not controlling.

5.5. Conclusion: Security is Governmentality

Analyzing the anime *Psycho-Pass*, this chapter examined how the concepts of security, emancipation and domination are interrelated. For Booth, the emancipation of human individuals is a way to true security, while Foucault argues that security as developed in modern society is a form of domination called governmentality – a new way to manage populations through knowledge and

⁶⁴ In her insightful essay "Cuties in Japan" (1995) Sharon Kinsella analyzes cute or *kawaii* consumer culture in contemporary Japan. In the analysis of fancy goods industry of *kawaii* cartoon characters, Kinsella points out how cuteness (e.g. small, soft, round, loveable style) is performative: it functions to mask the dirty image of the goods or services such as gambling and sex industry in some cases. "Cute style gives goods a warm, cheer-me-up atmosphere. What capitalist production processes de-personalise, the good cute design re-personalise" (Kinsella 1995, 228).

techniques applied to people's behavior to secure their health and productivity. My analysis demonstrates how *Psycho-Pass* illustrates the Foucauldian notion of governmentality, and performs a thought experiment that challenges Booth's argument and confirms Foucault's notion of security as governmentality by showing the ways in which different exercises of power (i.e. disciplinary power, knowledge and biopower) operate to secure people's wellbeing. The Sibyl System and scientific knowledge about people's psychology (i.e. Psycho-Pass, and Crime Coefficient) are applied to human individuals through everyday practices, and people internalize these standards to maintain a healthy body and mind. Security – a form of emancipation in Booth's view – is achieved through the control of populations and mass surveillance in *Psycho-Pass*. In other words, *Psycho-Pass* confirms Foucault's idea of power in digital surveillance society through the visual narrative. Modern forms of knowledge, rationality, and subjectivity seem to be given and natural for human wellbeing, but are in fact constructed in relations of power and domination. *Psycho-Pass* could be seen as a metaphor that exaggerates the effects of power as a tool of convenience in order to caution that everything is dangerous. Whenever we think we obtain freedom and security, we have in fact entered into another form of control. The political struggle for power, domination and repression, therefore, is continued indefinitely.

6. ALIENATION AND EMANCIPATION IN *NEON GENESIS EVANGELION*

6.1. Introduction

The previous two chapters demonstrated how anime illustrates existing philosophical ideas and inspires the viewer to further understanding. The next two chapters look at how anime philosophizes, that is, how anime makes original contributions to philosophy through expressing innovative of philosophical ideas through thought experiments. This chapter examines the nexus of alienation and emancipation through an analysis of the animated TV series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (Anno [1995-1996] 2006). Alienation has been a major intellectual concern among social theorists, political theorists and sociologists. Scholars have investigated how human suffering and self-estrangement emerge among particular individuals in relation to the social structures of modern society. Reflecting on different alienation theories developed in sociology, Yuill (2011, 104) notes that there are two main definitions of the concept in the sociological literature: “the emphasis of the degradation of human species-being under capitalism” as advanced by Marxist-oriented sociologists and “the more eclectic descriptive position” as proposed by Melvin Seeman (1959) and other empirically oriented sociologists. Classical studies by Karl Marx and Marxian scholars focus on the alienated experiences of workers in the workplace in relation to social and economic structures, while later scholars such as Seeman examine experiences of alienation in a wider range of social settings: not only in the workplace but also at home, at school or in other social settings.

In the Marxian understanding of alienation, it is important to understand the social phenomenon of alienation in relation to the broader social and economic structure of capitalism. Thus, for Marxist-oriented scholars, de-alienation or emancipation of alienated workers must involve changing the social structure and creating an alternative social system to capitalism. They do not discuss other types of alienation that are not directly linked to economic production, such as experiences of marginalization related to age, gender, race and ethnicity. For Seeman and other more empirically oriented sociologists, by contrast, alienation in the workplace remains an important research interest even as they have broadened the study of alienation in modern society to other social settings. As their primary focus is the identification of broad patterns in human behavior at both individual and social levels however, they rarely discuss these patterns in relation

to larger socio-economic structures. Although these two approaches have different foci, they have at least one thing in common: they agree that alienation is something negative and a problem for both individuals and society. In other words, alienation is a problem for individuals and their relationship to others and is best avoided.

In the field of utopian and science fiction literature, by contrast, the experience of alienation has a useful diagnostic function; it is a necessary condition for recognition of social problems that may be hidden at various levels in social systems, social norms, social values, common sense and so forth. Utopian and science fiction literature often depicts the alienation of protagonists as a narrative device to touch readers and viewers emotions and give them a different perspective from which to view society – a perspective that may lead them to critically reflect on their naturalised everyday life. *Evangelion* is an interesting case through which to rethink existing understandings of alienation as social malaise and individual trouble. The alienated feelings of the main characters are a central theme throughout the series, and the anime illustrates familiar aspects of alienation discussed by social and political theorists. Yet, at the same time, *Evangelion* also presents an alternative dimension of alienation, discussed by some utopian and science fiction literary scholars but hardly broached by social and political theorists.

Evangelion is widely considered one of the most popular anime in Japan.⁶⁵ Directed by Anno Hideaki, produced by Gainax and Tatsunoko Productions, the original anime ran on Japanese television from 1995 to 1996 for a span of twenty-six episodes, concluding shortly afterwards with two feature films: *Neon Genesis Evangelion: Death and Rebirth* (1997) and *Neon Genesis Evangelion: The End of Evangelion* (1997). Since then, there have been three additional film adaptations of the original, *Evangelion: 1.0 You Are (Not) Alone* (2007) and *Evangelion: 2.0 You Can (Not) Advance* (2009), *Evangelion: 3.0 You Can (Not) Redo* (2012), with one additional release planned to complete the *Rebuild of Evangelion* tetralogy. In addition to the various anime adaptations, *Evangelion* has become a franchise that stretches across various media, including comics, novels and video games.

Evangelion is set in the year 2015, fifteen years after a catastrophic event known as the *Second Impact* has wiped out the majority of the Earth's population. In the present, the remnants of humanity have come under attack from enigmatic alien creatures known as *Angels*, whose goal is to initiate a new apocalypse, or a *Third Impact*. In response, mankind creates the *Evangelions* (or EVAs), biomechanical giants that possess similar abilities to the Angels, and which are piloted by

⁶⁵ *Evangelion* won first place in the Top 100 animations category as a part of a Top 100 of Japan Media Art event in 2006, marking the tenth anniversary of the Japan Media Art Festival organized by Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs 2006).

fourteen-year-old teenagers with a special affinity for the EVAs known as the *Children*. Under the command of the secret military organization NERV, the Children must combat the Angels.

The protagonist of *Evangelion* is an EVA pilot, Ikari Shinji, who is the son of NERV Commander Ikari Gendō, as well as scientist Ikari Yui who helped to develop the EVAs and died in an accident when Shinji was three. Shinji's fellow pilots, the genetically-engineered First Child Ayanami Rei along with Second Child and bratty genius Sōryū Asuka Langley also play significant roles in the series. They, among many other characters, have experienced deep psychological traumas that overwhelm their lives. Problems of emotional isolation and crises of the self are key themes throughout the series.

This chapter examines the idea of alienation and the possibility of de-alienation or emancipation through an analysis of *Evangelion*. This then leads to the following questions: how is alienation conceptualized in *Evangelion*? How does its role compare to the role it plays in Marxist and critical theory, where it is conceptualized as an experience to be transcended through emancipation? Does overcoming alienation equate to obtaining emancipation? If not, what does emancipation mean for the protagonist?

The chapter first briefly reviews different definitions of alienation discussed in political and social theories as well as the science fiction literature. It then analyzes how the anime *Evangelion* illustrates some aspects of existing ideas of alienation, and Seeman's (1959) meanings of alienation in particular. I will then subject the plot of the anime to a counter-factual thought experiment in order to examine whether different situations would change the underlying logic of alienation. I argue that different situations would have no impact on Shinji's alienated feeling, other than deepening it. The last section of the chapter examines the possibility of de-alienation depicted in the last episode of the anime, that is Shinji's imagination of an alternative world and an alternative self. I argue that Shinji escapes from his alienation through imagining an alternative world, and imagination could be understood as a form of emancipation. In conclusion, I suggest that *Evangelion* both illustrates the philosophical concept of alienation and also performs a thought experiment demonstrating both the possibility and limits of de-alienation and emancipation. I argue that Shinji's imaginative world could be seen as a form of de-alienation or emancipation.

6.2. Alienation in Social, Political and Literary Theory

Alienation is one of the central concepts in modern social and political theory, as well as in sociology and psychology. The term refers to "the condition of separation or estrangement" (D. Miller et al. 1987, 6). When it comes to modern social and political theory, Karl Marx has developed the most influential account of alienation.

For Marx, alienation is central to the critique of modern capitalism. Marx deployed his analysis of alienation in capitalist production in *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (Marx [1844] 2000c) and later developed them in more detail in *The Capital* (Marx [1862-1866]1990). As we have seen in Chapter 1, analyzing the situation of wagedworkers in the historical context of modern society, Marx observes that alienation occurs for them in four interrelated senses in capitalist society: workers' alienation from the product of their labor, from the act of production, from their fellow humans, and from their *species-being*.

While Marx developed his idea of alienation from his sociological discussion of the political economy of capitalism, later scholars tried to study alienation in a wider social context. Among them, Max Weber reframed Marx's observation of the wagedworker's alienation in modern society as an omnipresent consequence of the phenomenon of rationalisation as experienced by individuals. Studying the nature of various forms of domination, Weber considered *rational discipline* as the most irresistible among the various types of power that lessen the importance of individual action. "Its quality as the communal action of a mass organization conditions the specific effects of such uniformity...What is decisive for discipline is that the obedience of a plurality of men [*sic*] is rationally uniform" (Weber 1991, 253).

In *Max Weber and Karl Marx* (1993), Löwith studied the relationship between Marx's concept of alienation and Weber's notion of rationalisation in modern society and discusses some affinities between them. Löwith (1993, 95) notes

Marx traced this fundamental and universal self alienation of man [*sic*] in modern, political, social and economic structures – that is in the same 'order' that we encountered in Weber as the inescapable destiny of rationalization – in all its aspects: in its economic, political and directly social forms.

For Weber, wagedworkers' separation from the means of production is merely a part of a universal trend of rationalisation in modern society. "The modern soldier is equally 'separated' from the means of violence; the scientist from the means of enquiry, and the civil servant from the means of administration" (Weber 1991, 50).

Other scholars focus on the more social-psychological aspect of alienation. Among them, American sociologist Melvin Seeman (1959) identifies five alternative meanings as components of alienation, namely *powerlessness*, *meaninglessness*, *normlessness*, *isolation*, and *self-estrangement*.⁶⁶ *Powerlessness* refers to a feeling that one cannot influence the socio-political

⁶⁶ Seeman revised these five categories of alienation in his later work (1972; 1975; 1983) and presented six varieties of alienation by dividing *isolation* in two: *cultural estrangement* and *social isolation*. *Cultural*

events in which one interacts. *Meaninglessness* makes reference to a sense of uncertainty about what one ought to believe. Here, Seeman gives an example of the post-war German situation – what Adorno described as meaningless – wherein the individual in post-war Germany could not choose with confidence any of the alternative explanations of the disasters of the epoch (Seeman 1959, 786). *Normlessness*, derived from Durkheim’s description of *anomie*, alludes to a condition in which socially unapproved means are required to achieve important goals.⁶⁷ *Isolation* is a feeling of estrangement from goals and beliefs that are highly valued in the society. *Self-estrangement* is a feeling that an individual cannot find rewarding activities that engage him or her. Seeman points out that self-estrangement postulates some ideal human condition from which the individual is estranged (Seeman 1959, 790). Seeman’s account opens up further investigations on various forms of alienation found in the relation between humans and technology, and among different social groups in modern societies.

Seeman attempts to make the philosophical concept of alienation operational in the field of sociology and his theory utilizes diverse sources in an eclectic manner – drawing from Marxian traditions including Marx’s notion of alienation, the works of T.W. Adorno and Karl Mannheim, Durkheim’s idea of *anomie*, Weber’s iron cage, and the work of psychologist Julian Rotter. Although his eclectic conception of alienation has been influential and widely adopted by other sociologists, his theory has been criticized too. For example, Harvey et al. (1983) examine the ways in which Seeman used philosophical and sociological literatures on alienation and formulated his theory from them. According to Harvey et al., Seeman seriously misinterpreted his classical sources, particularly the Marxian theory of alienation and the dialectical method that is its essence, replacing it with a positivist psychological method. In their view, Seeman’s theory of alienation bears little resemblance to the Marxian literature which Seeman utilized in his 1959 article but succeeds merely in “translating ‘fuzzy’ sociological concepts into ‘real’ psychological parameters” and “replacing sociological definitions of alienation with psychological ones” (Harvey et al. 1983, 44). Or in Yuill’s more moderate expression, the methodological difference between the Marxian theorists and Seeman come down to “whether one sought to explore the sociological causes of alienation with reference to certain social and historical structures, or whether one wished to chart the psychological experiences of alienation as played out in the subjectivities of individual workers,” and there is no need to separate these spheres of study (Yuill 2011, 106).

From the aforementioned conceptions of alienation in social and political theory, we can see that alienation has never been a unitary concept. Different social and political theorists such as

estrangement refers to “the individual’s rejection of commonly held values in society (or subsector) vs commitment to the going group standard,” while *social isolation* means “the sense of exclusion or rejection vs social acceptance” (Seeman 1975, 93–94).

⁶⁷ For the discussion about alienation and *anomie*, see, for example, Lukes (1967).

Marx, Durkheim, Weber and many others have offered different perspectives on alienation. Yet at the same time, these theorists do share some understanding. Yuill nicely summarizes such an orientation in four ways:

(1) [Alienation] refers to some form of situation that should not be; (2) loss of self or relationships with others is experienced; (3) something that is profoundly important to being both a social and a private individual is frustrated and deformed; and (4) the root causes of these maladies is to be found in the individual's relationship with wider social and historical process. (Yuill 2011, 105)

As we can see from this summary, alienation appears to have a negative connotation as if it is something to be overcome: it is a situation of "loss," "should not be," or some kind of "frustration or deformation" in one's social life and these situations are "maladies."

Nevertheless, in another strand, the field of science fiction literature, the idea of alienation or estrangement is rather positive, or at least not that negative. As we have seen in Chapter 3, Literary critic Darko Suvin (1979) notably defines science fiction as "the literature of cognitive estrangement," deriving this concept from German dramatist Bertolt Brecht's concept of the *Verfremdungseffekt* (in English, alienation-effect or estrangement-effect). For Suvin, estrangement is a crucial moment to shake one's perception that things (customs, thought processes, etc.) are always a certain way and that nothing can be done to change them. The effect brings the reader to realize that the setting of the *text* differs from that of *reality*. For Brecht, Suvin and their advocates such as Fredric Jameson, the purpose of alienation effect/cognitive estrangement is essentially political. It aims to reveal that what has been taken to be eternal or natural is merely historical and therefore changeable (Jameson 1998b, 47).

Viewed from this perspective, it is therefore not surprising that many modern utopian and science fiction literary works and films created in the twentieth century contain alienated protagonists. For instance, in *We* ([1920] 2007), the classic dystopian novel by Russian writer Yevgeny Zamyatin, an astronautic engineer D-503 lives in the totalized future nation One State. D-503 is a rationalized and submissive citizen, but after he falls in love with a girl named I-330 he begins to imagine an alternative world and gradually involves himself in rebel activities against the state. In Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* ([1932] 2007), Bernard Marx lives into a future state where a strict caste system operates under a highly advanced system of eugenics. Having been born in the highest caste Alfa but having the appearance of the lowest caste Gamma, Bernard's position in between the two extremes results in his sense of estrangement. George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Orwell [1949] 2000) depicts a future nation under high surveillance, controlled by the Party and its leader, *Big Brother*. Civil servant Winston Smith often daydreams and begins to keep a

secret diary where he writes down his doubts concerning the Party. Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed* ([1974] 2003), set on two different planets, Anarres and Urras, is centered on scientist Shevek's alienated experience on both planets. In the Wachowski brother's *Matrix* film trilogy (1999; 2003a; 2003b), protagonist Neo/Thomas Anderson's alienated experience from his everyday social experience as a hacker is a starting point from which he feels the otherworldly cognitive sense of other realities. All of the protagonists in these works are ordinary alienated future citizens, and their experiences prompt us to think about our realities differently.

In summary, the idea of alienation is one of the central themes in both the fields of social and political theory as well as in utopian and science fiction literature. Alienation has a negative connotation in social and political theory and it has been described as a situation to overcome. By contrast, in science fiction literature, alienation is not always negative in the narrative but rather an important situation to generate an alternative perspective or trigger social change. The following sections analyze *Evangelion* and explore the notion of alienation and emancipation.

6.3. Alienation in *Evangelion*

Alienation is one of the central themes throughout *Evangelion*. This section examines the ways in which *Evangelion* illustrates Seeman's (1959) five meanings of alienation (i.e. *powerlessness*, *meaninglessness*, *normlessness*, *isolation*, *self-estrangement*) and also shows how the anime reveals the limitation of Seeman's understanding of alienation. In order to do so, I focus on the alienation of the protagonist Ikari Shinji, as well as the separation experienced by all of the main characters.

Who or what exactly is Shinji separated from? What are the outcomes of this condition of separation? As one episode title suggests, Shinji suffers from "Hedgehog's Dilemma," or a fear of getting too close to others for fear of being hurt. Shinji is separated from his family (his father in particular, whom Shinji believes to have abandoned him), his friends and the social world, and has difficulty interacting with others to form interpersonal relationships. In addition, Shinji suffers from low self-esteem and has difficulty constructing his self-identity, which also acts as another main theme of the series.⁶⁸ Knowing the nature of Shinji's separation, we must ask if Shinji can overcome the condition of alienation.

One part of Shinji's sense of estrangement stems from his low self-esteem, relating to his feeling of *powerlessness*, the first aspect of Seeman's alienation. In *Evangelion*, Shinji constantly feels that he cannot build social relationships with others or influence his social situation, and for

⁶⁸ For a discussion on the issues on human identity and reality in *Evangelion* and the anime *Serial Experiments Lain* (1998), see Napier (2007).

Shinji, one of the ways to overcome his 'powerlessness' is to pilot his EVA and to combat the Angels. This choice is not voluntary, however. His personality is introverted and passive, and he prefers on some level to let others make the decisions for him, especially if he can find a small degree of happiness in doing so. Just following his father, NERV Commander Ikari Gendō's order, Shinji joins NERV to be a pilot of EVA. He often feels that he is a coward and keeps saying "I mustn't run away."

Commitment to this socially high-valued goal (i.e. fighting the Angels) is therefore crucial for Shinji to feel valued and to gain power. Yet Shinji's attempt does not fully succeed in overcoming his sense of powerlessness. Although he appears to play a crucial role as an EVA pilot in the battles against the Angels, he is, at the same time, merely a constituent part of the greater institution that is NERV and thus under its control. He must obey NERV's command and if he does not follow it, NERV takes over control of his EVA. For instance, in episode eighteen, when Shinji refuses Gendo's command, the commander activates the auto-pilot system and Shinji cannot do anything on his EVA. In other words, Shinji is separated from the means of violence and is powerless, which is similar to the alienated situation of modern soldiers in Weber's sense. Weber extended Marx's notion of powerlessness experienced by wageworkers to people in modern society (e.g. soldiers, scientists, civil servants etc.) and considered alienation as a universal trend in modernity (Gerth and Mills in Weber 1991, 50).

The clear social goal of *resistance against the Angels* may help to ease the second aspect, *meaninglessness*, a sense of uncertainty about what one ought to believe. At a glance, Shinji's mission appears straightforward. The presence of the Other (Angels) is crucial to constructing the Self (humans/EVAs) and to legitimise 'resistance against the Angels' as a social goal. Yet, in terms of the other aspects of alienation (normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement), this belief creates more problems than solutions for Shinji.

Indeed, the later parts of *Evangelion* (from episode thirteen to twenty-four) begin to question the binary distinction between humans/EVAs and Angels-as-aliens, as well as the legitimacy of humanity's resistance against them. For instance, an Angel in the form of a computer virus hacks into the NERV network and infiltrates its supercomputers (episode thirteen); an Angel infects EVA-03 and transforms it into another Angel (episode eighteen); Shinji's EVA-01 eats an Angel and absorbs its energy (episode nineteen). Once the borders between the humans and the Angels, between the EVAs and the Angels, or between the Self and the Other become obscured, the fight against the Angels is no longer a clear-cut goal since to specify the enemy itself is a problem.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Science fiction literary critic Kotani Mari (1997, 32–40) discusses the issue of the Other with relation to the transformation of Angels. Borrowing the concept of *abjection* developed by feminist theorist Julia Kristeva, Kotani explains that the transformation of Angels results in Shinji's increasing terror and devastated

The transformation of the Angels results in Shinji experiencing the third aspect of alienation, *normlessness*. That is, Shinji must use illegitimate means to defeat the Angels. In episode eighteen, the rogue, Angel-infected EVA-03 defeats Rei's EVA-00 and Asuka's EVA-02, leaving Shinji and his EVA-01 as the only force left to defend humanity. Shinji's father Gendō orders Shinji to destroy the Angel/EVA-03, which Shinji refuses, unwilling to kill the human being trapped inside. In response, Gendō activates EVA-01's autopilot system, the *Dummy Plug*, which mercilessly attacks and destroys the Angel/EVA, severely injuring the pilot in the process. Throughout the battle, Shinji feels a strong sense of *normlessness* since he would have to use illegitimate means (i.e. sacrificing the life of his peer) to achieve the collective goal of defeating the Angels. After this battle, he is far more devastated, especially when he realizes that the "nameless" human being is his classmate Suzuhara Tōji, one of the few people he had managed to befriend.

The fourth aspect of alienation, *isolation*, is also found in the contradictory binary between humans (the Self) and Angels (the Other). Here, Shinji feels a sense of estrangement from the collective goal of society (vanquishing the Angels). In episode twenty-four, Shinji meets a new EVA pilot, Nagisa Kaworu. Over the course of the episode, the two become friends, establishing a relationship closer than any Shinji had previously experienced. Later, when it is revealed that Kaworu is in fact an Angel in human form and Shinji must fight him, he faces the dilemma of whether or not to kill Kaworu. Here, his inner struggle is represented with a static image of Shinji's EVA-01 holding Kaworu in its massive hand, accompanied by a grand Beethoven symphony (Figure 20). Altogether, the scene lasts approximately sixty seconds and, along with the music, leads the viewers to anticipate Shinji's hesitation over crushing the life out of the human/Angel. In the end, Shinji follows through and kills Kaworu, repeating the situation with Tōji in a more intense fashion, and is devastated once again by the loss. For Shinji, whose experiences have led to the Other being comprised of not just the Angels but also fellow human beings, the fact that Kaworu is both has a complex effect on him. Shinji follows the social goal of defeating the Angel Kaworu, but rather than easing his "isolation" the act deepens it further.

psychological condition. Abjection refers to the psychic origins and mechanism of disgust "when the subject experiences a frightening loss of distinction between themselves and objects/others" (Tyler 2009, 79). In Kotani's account, Shinji is increasingly terrified by Angels because he cannot draw clear boundaries between EVA (the Self) and Angels (the Other) to maintain a stable sense of self anymore. Kotani further argues that the more one pursues the inquiry of the Self, the more one must step into the terrain of the Other within, resulting in the obfuscation of the boundaries between the Self and the Other (e.g. between Angels and EVAs, between humans and aliens).



Figure 20 Shinji's inner struggle: to kill or not to kill Kaworu. Screen capture from Episode 24, *Evangelion* television animation series.



Figure 19 Imaginary dialogues in a train carriage during sunset represent Shinji's internal argument. Screen capture from Episode 19, *Evangelion* television animation series.

The scene with Kaworu is not the only instance where visual technique plays a major role in conveying a sense of fear and loneliness. Frequently, the anime represents Shinji's inner struggle through the utilization of abstract or visually ambiguous spaces. One prominent recurring example involves imaginary dialogues held in an empty train carriage, either between Shinji and other main characters or between Shinji and a younger version of himself. Here, the combination of the perpetual sunset with its symbolic orange color motif and the sounds of the train and railway crossing in the background signify an unreal situation. The dialogues — internal arguments in which he repeatedly asks himself the same questions — depict Shinji's self-condemnation.

Consider the final aspect of Seeman's alienation, *self-estrangement*. Seeman (1959, 789–790) characterizes it as a feeling that an individual cannot find rewarding activities which engage him or her. According to Seeman, self-estrangement is different from the other four meanings (powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation) since the four meanings often overlap and it is difficult to specify what exactly the subject is alienated from. Seeman explains that self-estrangement is distinctive in that it postulates some ideal human condition from which the individual is estranged, an account partly based on Marx's account of modern alienated labor as a loss of species-being. To be self-alienated means a loss of intrinsically meaningful activity and to become less than what one might ideally be. Some ideal human condition, the discrepancy between ideal self-image and actual self-image, is a constant issue for Shinji and the other main characters throughout *Evangelion*.

The last two episodes (twenty-five and twenty-six) deal with Shinji and the other main characters' reasons for existence and their self-rewarding activity in a very complex manner, making use of the aforementioned techniques of abstraction and ambiguity to a greater degree than

any episodes prior to them. The final episode portrays a surprising shift to an alternative universe, a world in which Shinji is not an EVA pilot. This setting is perhaps an ideal world where he, as his ideal self, can interact with others without a sense of alienation. This ideal world eschews the portrayal of Shinji's internal struggle through various visual and acoustic techniques used earlier (e.g. static images with voiceover, abstract images, imaginary dialogues held in a train carriage) in favor of an environment without those inner conflicts.

In relation to the second feature, the appeal to nature, the endless psychic struggles for identity, self-fulfilment and self-identification among the main characters is one of the aspects of *Evangelion* most frequently explored by scholars.⁷⁰ As discussed above, piloting the EVA is crucial for Shinji to overcome his sense of powerlessness and meaninglessness. This also acts to correct his sense of self-estrangement and to fulfil his reason for existence. Episodes twenty-five and twenty-six use continuous montages of black and white images, the contents of which range from the EVA to actual photographs of piles of garbage. During these scenes, Shinji, Asuka, and Rei, portrayed solely through their voices, repeatedly ask themselves about their reasons for existing. Shinji in particular says, "No, I am worthless. I have nothing to be proud of... By piloting the EVA, I can be me...I had nothing before I started piloting the EVA" (00:05:36-00:05:52, Episode 26). He continues, "I'm allowed to be here, because I pilot the EVA...I have nothing, nothing at all" (00:05:53-00:06:505, Episode 26). This static scene leads viewers to focus on Shinji's (as well as Asuka's and Rei's) motives for piloting the EVA. For Shinji, being an EVA pilot is crucial to defining himself, and is also a way to approach his ideal self.

Episode twenty-six in particular extensively employs static abstract images and montage in combination with voiceovers to represent Shinji's fluid reality and his crisis in self-identification. Here, Shinji's existential crisis is presented in one symbolic scene in which Shinji's face is filled with the faces of other characters.⁷¹

⁷⁰ For example, as Napier (2007, 110) notes, "What makes *Evangelion* truly groundbreaking are the characters' psychic struggle." Also see Routt (2000) and Lamarre (2009).

⁷¹ Lamarre (2009) discusses this scene in relation to Shinji's existential crisis and a technical crisis of animation. "The animation reminds us that this crisis is not just about a subjective point of view. Rather the animation gives us an exploded view of the psyche." (ibid., 183)



Figure 21 Shinji's existential crisis. Screen capture from Episode 26, *Evangelion* television animation series.

The techniques of limited animation combine with the use of voiceover work effectively in representing the sense of self-estrangement. Indeed, some scholars see *Evangelion* as a prominent example of the expressive potentials of still images in animation. Routt (2000, 41) notes that “The series continually uses stills of Shinji and his surroundings to direct attention to his state of mind and to his memories, constantly reminding viewers that what is going on inside his head warrants our attention – and in this way predicting its own psychological denouement.” Lamarre (2009, 183) argues that “the techniques of limited animation,” such as the usage of still images, which is central in Anno's work, “function as something other than cheap or hasty approximations of full animation.”

Evangelion implies that alienation is not merely a condition to be overcome but also a momentum to generate an opportunity for alternatives to the current world; in other words, to bring forth alienation-effect/cognitive estrangement. For example, Shinji's alienation, and in particular his feeling of normlessness and isolation, reveals contradictory elements of the binary distinction between the Self and the Other and the highly-valued social goal of resisting the Angels. This situation also gives him an opportunity to reconsider whether the collective goal or belief, and the ideas behind it, are legitimate or not. The border between humans (the Self) and Angels-as-aliens (the Other) and the clear social goal of defeating the Angels, both of which Shinji assumes to be natural, are actually historical constructs and therefore subject to change. His alienated experience may bring some change to his perception to the current situation. Indeed, in this respect, Shinji's alienation has a political function as utopian and science fiction literature suggest. The anime presents Shinji's inner struggle through its narrative and the use of various audio-visual techniques. Yet, the story remains conventional and the change does not happen at all. While Shinji has a number of dilemmas and struggles to meet the collective goal, in the end, he still conforms to the social goal.

In summary, by analyzing *Evangelion* in terms of Seeman's five aspects of alienation, Shinji tries to overcome his alienation by participating in the collective human resistance against the alien Angels, yet his attempt reveals contradictory elements of alienation. His attempt seems to ease his sense of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement, but at the same time also deepens other aspects of alienation, namely normlessness and isolation. By piloting the EVA, Shinji becomes a part of a highly valued social goal in the form of resistance while also working to ease

his sense of estrangement. Yet, this attempt is problematic for his trajectory of self-identification and pursuit of individuality. Furthermore, the human resistance against the Angels highlights other issues of defining the Self, self-identification and subjectivity. Shinji's normlessness and isolation reveal that the aliens that the humans fight against are not aliens as such.

The *Evangelion* anime also portrays Shinji's alienation and his inner struggles through the effective use of images and sounds. Among these techniques are the use of still images in the form of montage and abstract visuals, which act as very powerful expressions of Shinji's sense of alienation. The repetitively inserted scenes of imaginary/unreal moments with vivid color also depict Shinji's psychic struggle and his loneliness.

6.4. Thought Experiment: Examining the Potential for De-Alienation

So far, I have discussed the concept of alienation and the possibilities for overcoming it in this anime. This section considers the possibility for Shinji's de-alienation and emancipation. I will subject the plot of the anime to a counter-factual thought experiment in order to examine whether a different situation would change the underlying logic of alienation. Considering alternative scenarios for the anime *Evangelion*, I discuss questions such as: could Shinji escape from his alienation? If yes, what sort of de-alienation would he achieve? If not, what is emancipation for Shinji?

If we suppose that Shinji can escape from his sense of alienation through piloting the EVA, then overcoming alienation is equal to emancipation. Recall the earlier discussion of the five aspects of alienation. If he does not have these alienated feelings (i.e. powerlessness, meaningless, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement), Shinji should be free from his sense of alienation. Let us imagine an alternative scenario with a more determined Shinji. Think about his decision to pilot the EVA again and suppose this mission is a top priority and unquestionable. To pilot the EVA is equal to conforming to the highly valued social goal of 'fighting the Angels.' Shinji can identify himself as the Self through the practice of fighting against the Angels, or in other words, that of defining the Others. Here, the presence of warfare and the enemy functions as a dividing practice to group humans separately from the Angels. For Shinji, joining the war has a double function: to participate in construction of the collective identity as humans, and at the same time, to secure his own existence. This practice closely relates to the nature of the political. As Carl Schmitt (2007, 26) suggests, just as we distinguish between good and evil in the realm of morality, between beautiful and ugly in aesthetics or between profitable and unprofitable in economics, making a distinction between friend and enemy is the basis of the political. In Schmitt's words, the enemy is

[The] other, the stranger; and it is sufficient for his nature that he is, in a specially intense way, existentially something different and alien, so that in the extreme case conflicts with him are possible. These can neither be decided by a previously determined general norm nor by the judgment of a disinterested and therefore neutral third party. (Schmitt 2007, 27)

Political philosopher Susan Buck-Morss (2002, 8–9) draws on Schmitt's to suggest that "*defining the enemy is the act that brings the collective into being*" (emphasis in the original). The existence of the Other is therefore a necessary condition for that of the Self.

In the current case, the war against the Angels is the act that brings the collective humans into being in a similar manner. This collective action also affects Shinji's psychological status. Shinji's decision to join the battle and pilot the EVA would give him an opportunity to join the collective, which makes him gain power and feel valued. Through these practices, his feeling of powerlessness would be corrected. Shinji's practices would also render for him a clear social goal, and therefore his sense of meaninglessness will be resolved. If he strongly believes in the collective goal of 'resistance against the Angels' and regards it as a top priority, then he would feel no distress over sacrificing the life of his peer, because the sacrifice is still worthwhile, a preferred consequence over saving his peer without killing the enemy Angel. In this situation, he is no longer normless. Any action to achieve a priority goal will be accepted by others in society. If he were to truly commit to the collective goal and make a clear binary distinction between humans and aliens, then Shinji would not need to hesitate over killing Kaworu or any other transfigured Angels since they are just alien invaders after all. He would not feel a sense of isolation when he kills Kaworu anymore. Lastly, if he were to regard his mission of piloting the EVA as an engaging and rewarding activity, he would not feel self-estrangement at all. We might therefore ask, would Shinji be emancipated from his alienation in this alternative scenario?

I would say no, because it seems that his strong commitment to the war against Angels is not much more than consent to a dominant discourse of 'the fight against the Angels/enemy is just' or 'Angels is the Other' for the sake of securing or constructing the collective human identity as the Self. Piloting the EVA became a form of consent to social hegemony. Indeed, an epistemological shift in the later part of the anime shows the contradictory nature of defining the Self, and of Shinji's and other characters' horror. Over the course of the story, the more they encounter various forms of the Angels, the more they feel that the Self (i.e. humans, EVAs) is becoming alien, or that the Other (the Angels) is not so alien after all. The boundary between the Self and the Other (i.e. between humans or EVAs and Angels) or between friend and enemy becomes blurred, resulting in Shinji's psychic conflict. We are no longer convinced of the fixed border between the Self and the Other, which was the very premise of the collective goal of 'fighting against Angels.'

Apart from my earlier discussion of episodes eighteen and twenty-four, which deal with the Angels in various advanced forms, episode sixteen provides another example that shows the unsettled border between the EVA and the Angels. In this episode, Shinji's EVA-01 is absorbed into a bizarre Angel which possesses a gigantic sphere as a shadow, and is trapped within it. While NERV immediately launches the EVA-01 salvage mission, the exact nature of the Angel remains a mystery to them. As EVA-01's life support system runs out, Shinji falls unconscious and experiences hallucinations of his mother. Suddenly, the trapped EVA-01 violently tears the Angel apart and emerges from within it. The EVA becomes savage in a way that no one has seen before. Witnesses and anime viewers are no longer sure if this monster is EVA, the Angel or something else.



Figure 22 Savage EVA-01 emerges from the Angel with sphere. Screen capture from Episode 16, *Evangelion* television animation series.

Visually, close ups and extreme close ups are extensively used to present EVA-01. The destructive scene consists of many different shots with close ups and extreme close ups and gives viewers a sense of tension while also presenting the on-lookers' fear.⁷² Massive amounts of blood spurt from the sphere, and EVA-01 emerges from it. Shots of frightened witnesses, EVA pilots Asuka, Rei, head scientist Ritsuko, Captain Misato and others in NERV, are inserted between the shots of the Angel and EVA-01. Semiotically, the symbolic red color motif is significant and it makes viewers associate the scene with something bloody or savage. Notice that the body of the emergent EVA-01 is not its usual purple and yellow but is stained entirely red. Acoustically, the combination of ferocious roaring, sounds of breaking and tearing, sounds of liquid rushing forth and symphonic music dominate the scene and present a massive scale of destruction. The monstrous roar is particularly significant since the sound implies, for the first time in the series, that EVA-01 is an

⁷² For example, Monaco (2009) discusses how montage or editing can be a powerful tool to create a sense of reality and present psychological complexity by using Hitchcock's famous shower murder sequence in *Psycho* (1960). Hitchcock fuses psychological tension into seventy separate shots in less than a minute of the scene's time span (Monaco 2009, 194–197).

organic being as opposed to a machine.⁷³ Images and sounds depict the monstrous EVA-01 and main characters' fear over the unforeseen runaway of EVA-01. Witnessing the transformation of EVA, the exact nature of the EVA becomes uncertain.

It seems that no strategy so far works to overcome Shinji's alienation. We have seen that fighting against the Angels by piloting the EVA does not ease Shinji's sense of alienation but rather deepens it due to the fundamental problem of defining the Other. Shinji and other characters find that the Angels are not so alien after all. Moreover, the fact that the EVAs are replications of the first Angel using the most advanced science and technology implies the EVAs' otherness and their existence as something more than weapons. Now I will return to the original question: what is emancipation or de-alienation for Shinji, if he cannot overcome his alienation by piloting the EVA? How does the anime philosophize? How does the anime bring an innovative aspect of the idea of emancipation? The last part of the final episode provides a possible form of emancipation as Shinji's imagination. The anime responds to these questions by showing that Shinji's de-alienation is achieved through his imagination. That is, *imagination is emancipation*. The first half of this section presents a philosophical inquiry of the Self, the Other and freedom. Shinji and other characters ask interrelated epistemological questions. Abstract images and simple written texts are accompanied with Shinji's voiceover monologue, or dialogues between Shinji and a younger version of himself, or between Shinji and other characters. The following example illustrates the question of what is freedom.



Figure 23 Simple and abstract images with texts depict Shinji's inquiry of freedom. Screen capture from Episode 26, *Evangelion* television animation series.

Visually, this imaginary dialogue scene consists of very simple images with minimum colors, similar in style to earlier episodes. Some images appear to be pen drawings and others are painted in watercolors. The large blank spaces may indicate a sense of freedom, nothingness, or insecurity.

⁷³ Another significant example of EVA's organic features appears in episode nineteen. During the battle between EVA-01 and the Angel, EVA-01 eats the Angel's corpse and absorbs its energy. Again, witnesses are terrified by the brutal spectacle.

Along with these simple abstract images, written texts such as “That is freedom,” “Why?” and “My image of me?” are inserted in-between and accompany the philosophical inquiry. Acoustically, calming classical music in the background leads viewers to focus on the voiceover dialogues among Shinji, a younger Shinji, and the main characters. Over the course of these dialogues, Shinji realizes that he shapes himself by seeing others and recognizing differences between himself and others. If others do not exist, then he himself does not exist. He says, “Right, I’m me. But it’s also certain that the other people shape my mind as well!” (00:14:20-00:14:27, Episode 26). This eureka moment brings him to an alternative universe in the second half in full color. In this alternative world, another scenario is possible. When Shinji wakes up in the morning, he is neither alienated nor an EVA pilot anymore. If we understand this world as his imagination, and that it reflects Shinji’s unalienated self, we can see that imagination becomes a way for Shinji to emancipate himself from his sense of alienation. This alternative universe can be seen as his ideal world that reflects on his ideal self in relation to my earlier discussions about self-estrangement. This universe may reflect Shinji’s imagined ideal self in his imaginary world.

Perhaps, as long as he has this imagination, Shinji can live with his alienated situation in the world where he is an EVA pilot. Interestingly, viewers later find Shinji holding a play script in his hand and saying “I get it, this is also a possible world. One possibility that’s in me. The me right now is not exactly who I am. All sorts of ‘me’s are possible. That’s right. A me that’s not an EVA pilot is possible too” (00:18:50-00:19:03, Episode 26). This suggests that Shinji in one world is merely one of many possibilities. This scene follows the surprising ending, in which Shinji, surrounded by his family, friends and colleagues, announces “I am me, I want to be myself. I want to continue living the world.” At that moment, everyone claps and congratulates him. Shinji thanks everyone and the story ends with the final words, “Congratulations to the children” (00:20:55-00:21:45, Episode 26). The happy ending of the TV anime series is one ending, but as the series clearly suggests, “it is only one of many possible endings” (Napier 2007, 115).

6.5. Conclusion: Imagination as Emancipation

This chapter began by analyzing how the science fiction anime *Neon Genesis Evangelion* illustrates some familiar aspects of alienation discussed by social and political theorists, before proceeding to argue that *Evangelion* can offer an innovative understanding of the concept of alienation through a counter-factual thought experiment discussing the possibility and limits of protagonist Shinji’s de-alienation.

In the analysis, I first explored how anime similarly depicts five meanings as suggested by sociologist Melvin Seeman (i.e. powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, self-

estrangement) and discussed the possibility of Shinji's escape from his alienated feeling. Over the course of the story, Shinji tries to overcome his alienation by participating in warfare against the Angels, thereby conforming to accepted social norms. Yet, the analysis suggested that Shinji's strategy does not relieve his alienation, but rather only succeeds in deepening it. I argued that Shinji's strategy of conforming to the socially highly-valued goal of fighting against the Angels does not lead Shinji to escape from his alienation and instead merely causes another form of domination (or assimilation) to the prevailing discourse of *aliens as the Other*. Participating in the warfare against the Angels appears to ease protagonist Shinji's alienation, yet he cannot escape from it, because the more he conforms to the battles against the Angels to gain self-esteem, the more he encounters the contradictions involved in treating the Angels as enemies. The transformation of the Angels in the later episodes challenges the binary distinction of the Self and the Other and exacerbates the psychological struggles and fears of Shinji and the main characters. The analysis showed how the anime effectively depicts various aspects of Shinji's alienation and his inner struggles.

In the final section, I examined an innovative aspect of alienation depicted in the anime through a counter-factual thought experiment. I explored another possibility for Shinji's de-alienation by focusing on an alternative universe depicted in the final episode. I suggested that Shinji's imagination became a form of emancipation for him. This imaginary world eschews the portrayal of Shinji's overwhelming psychic struggles earlier. I argued that this alternative universe, which is Shinji's imaginary world, has the potential to free Shinji from his alienated situation. In other words, imagination could be an emancipatory capacity that enables Shinji to escape from alienation.

7. TRANSHUMANITY AND HYBRIDITY IN *APPLESEED*

7.1. Introduction

With rapid developments in the technologies available for human enhancement, there has been not only a desire for expanding current human capacities but also a certain amount of fear about such possibilities. Scholars have debated the opportunities and risks of human enhancement, but advancements in different fields such as genetics, nanotechnology, and robotics mean that a more sophisticated debate on human enhancement is urgently required.⁷⁴ One contributor has been the philosopher Nicholas Ager, who argues against what he calls the *radical enhancement* or the augmentation and transformation of the intellectual and physical capacities of human beings well beyond that of ours today. In his book *Humanity's End: Why We Should Reject Radical Enhancement* (2010), Ager puts forward an argument of *species-relativism* on the premise that human beings as a biological species share certain experiences and ways of existing, which may not be valued by the members of another species, such as *radically enhanced beings* or posthumans.⁷⁵ Ager writes that “radical enhancement involves improving significant human attributes and abilities to levels that greatly exceed what is currently possible for human beings” (ibid., 1). He rejects this

⁷⁴ Ongoing debates in the field of bioethics, a subfield of applied ethics, have engaged not only with philosophical traditions but also with biological and medical sciences, computer science, law, history, sociology, anthropology and so forth. Bioethics address two basic questions: “what should individuals and human communities do, permit, tolerate, or prohibit in biology, particularly affecting existing and future human beings, and how decisions should be made to determine what conduct is mandatory, permissible, tolerable, or prohibited” (Lock, Last, and Lucas 2006). Multidisciplinary institutes and organizations such as the Future of Humanity Institute at the University of Oxford led by Nick Bostrom and Humanity+ are very influential to the current debate.

⁷⁵ *Posthuman* (noun) is defined as *transhuman* or “someone whose body or mind has been transformed (e.g. by cyborgization or genetic engineering) so greatly that they are no longer considered human, especially one who now possessed greater abilities than normal humans.” (Prucher 2009, 248). Ager (2010, 17) also uses this term to refer to *radically enhanced beings* who are “not only significantly better than us in various ways, they are different from us – so different, in fact, that they do not deserve to be called human.”

level of enhancement because it “alienates us from experiences that give meaning to our lives,” essentially bringing about an end to humanity (Ager 2010, 179).

This chapter offers another example of how anime philosophizes by performing a thought experiment. Analyzing Aramaki Shinji’s animated film *Appleseed* ([2004] 2005), this chapter shows how *Appleseed* challenges Nicholas Ager’s argument of species-relativism and functions as a counterexample. Ager restricts the nature of human beings in a certain ways on the premise that humanity is a static, homogeneous category but *Appleseed* shows the contradictions of this through intriguing questions about what makes human beings *human* that arise from the visual narrative. As human beings have new experiences and gain new values with the development of new technologies, do the characteristics of humanity remain the same as they were before? What happens if posthumans do share experiences and values with humans? Is it still plausible to distinguish humans from posthumans as different species? The later section demonstrates that *Appleseed* not only shows the limitations of Ager’s philosophical argument, but also offers a political strategy that envisages hybridity as a form of emancipation from human essentialism.

7.2. Ager’s Species-Relativism and its Problematics

In order to begin a series of philosophical discussions on radical enhancement, Ager (2010, 19) sets a rather simple biological definition of humanity as “members of the biological species *Homo sapiens*.” Drawing from biologist Ernst Mayr’s definition, he sees a biological species as “a group of populations whose members are capable of interbreeding successfully and are reproductively isolated from other groups” (ibid.). Appealing to nature, Ager treats human nature as “constituted by the large cluster of traits by which one human recognizes another creature as an appropriate mate either for him or herself, or for a sibling or child” (ibid., 20). He argues that those traits are crucial to distinguish humans from other groups including radically enhanced beings or posthumans.

Ager argues for an idea of species-relativism on the premise that “certain experiences and ways of existing properly valued by members of one species may lack value for the members of another species” (ibid., 12). He believes that once various radical enhancement technologies are available and applied to human individuals, they will become much smarter, stronger and live longer to the extent that this new group of people may no longer share the same experiences and values as those of humans. Those experiences and values include aesthetic and emotional sensitivities, love, pleasure, fear, pain, suffering and death. Ager thinks that some of these human experiences and values are closely tied to the limits of human beings and are valuable because they consequently create “psychological commonalities that make humanity as a single biological

species” (ibid., 15). He thinks that a significant difference between humans and posthumans (or, in his terms, the unenhanced and the radically enhanced beings) is likely to turn the two groups into different species, eventually creating reproductive barriers between them and the barriers would endanger the continuity of humanity as a biological species. In other words, Ager’s major objection to radical enhancement is that there is no evidence that radically enhanced people would share any of our human experiences or values. In his darker scenario, radically enhanced beings will not interbreed with the unenhanced; unenhanced parents may have difficulty recognizing their radically enhanced children as their offspring. Ager sees as the potential cost of radical enhancement the very existence of humanity itself and calls for its rejection as a necessary precautionary approach. Ager’s arguments, based on a species-relativist view, have some challenges to answer. I would like to raise two points: one is his problematic focus on biology alone, and the other is the denial of the possibility of hybridity between the unenhanced and the enhanced beings.

Using a biological definition of humanity as members of a biological species, Ager argues for species-relativism – some human experiences and ways of existing properly valued by humanity may lack value for the member of other species such as transhumans – and on this basis proposes that we should reject the level of enhancement which would create transhumans. This implies that there are some values that are specific to human species, and that they exist independently of social, cultural and historical grounds.

Indeed, Ager (2010, 13) argues that species-relativism is better than cultural relativism because the importance of a boundary between species is greater than that of boundary between cultures, and that species-relativism can also avoid the long-lasting nature-nurture debate.⁷⁶ Thus, Ager does not deal with the diversity of experiences that human individuals would count as valuable, meaningful and pleasurable as a result of the social and cultural backgrounds of individual human beings. And yet is humanity as a species so homogeneous that our experiences and values are static? Moreover, could we so clearly distinguish biological/scientific notions of species from cultural and social ones when discussing morality and value?

As Robert Young (1995) suggests, scientific, social, and cultural debates on race and species were highly interconnected in Victorian colonial discourses on racial theories and associated moral issues around hybridity. In his book *Colonial Desire*, Young illustrates how different categorizations of humans such in terms of species, race, and type in biological racial theories were displaced into social theories and used throughout the nineteenth century to construct various socio-racial discourses that included views about morality.

⁷⁶ The *nature-nurture debate* refers to “the controversy over the relative importance of heredity (nature) and environment (nurture) in the causation of human behaviour” (J. Scott 2014).

Young offers a genealogy of the term *hybridity* from nineteenth century colonial discourse of racial theory, incorporating fields from linguistics to the cultural criticism of postcolonial studies. He discusses how the question of whether or not human beings were a single species became one of the central issues in the anthropological, cultural and scientific debates among the Victorian extreme right in the nineteenth century. Young (1995) argues that hybridity was a key concept in these debates, and although there were various different discussions around the issues, the term was employed in discourses that identified different races with different species (ibid., 10). The categorization and separation of races was naturalized and created an immutable boundary between the colonizer and the colonized (typically white Europeans and the racial Others). This separation was based on a biological analogy, with different races supposedly unable to intermingle and sexually reproduce with each other. Under this assumption of race, theories of polygenism claim that humans are several different species. This kind of view is found in slave-owner Edward Long's influential book *History of Jamaica* (1774) and later gained widespread currency in scientific fields (Young 1995, 150–151). These claims deny the possibility of racial hybridity or inter-mixing between races. Yet at the same time, intermingling did exist and was observed widely in South and Central America, with some scholars including ethnologist J.C. Prichard arguing for human beings as a single species (ibid., 10-11). Others, including Josiah Nott and George Gliddon in their racial theory developed its relation to Egyptian cultural artifacts, French surgeon and anthropologist Pierre Paul Broca, British naturalist Charles Darwin in his later writing, and British philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer, argued for a single species with different types that could be distinguished in various ways, such as *proximate* and *distance* types (ibid., 11-19). Young notes that

The question is whether the old essentializing categories of cultural identity, or of race, were really so essentialized, or have been retrospectively constructed as more fixed than they were. When we look at the texts of racial theory, we find that they are in fact contradictory, disruptive and already deconstructed. Hybridity here is a key term in that wherever it emerges it suggests that impossibility of essentialism. (ibid., 27)

Young's close analysis of the Victorian texts and their context reveals such a contradiction. For example, in the chapter "Culture and the History of Difference" Young illustrates how the writings of leading intellectuals including John Locke, Adam Smith, J.S. Mill, and E.B. Tylor, have significantly constructed ideas of civilization and culture under the discourse of the Enlightenment and modernity. Young points out that among these works, Arnold's influential work *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) not only operated at a conceptual level to construct an idea of Englishness centered around civilization, high culture and modernity but was also influential at the material and institutional levels: examples include the foundation of a compulsory national education system, the

construction of cultural and educational institutions such as public museums, private universities, public schools and so on (Young 1995, 51–52). Indeed, as Young reminds us, “race has always been culturally constructed. Culture has always been racially constructed” (ibid., 54).

Thus considering Young’s study, it would be questionable to discuss morality and values purely based on a scientific or biological definition of species. Ager’s species-relativist approach for discussing morality and values based on biological and philosophical grounds would be problematic because moral values are not entirely free from social and cultural aspects.

Ager clearly distinguishes his stance of species-relativism from *speciesism* over issues of morality. Speciesism is broadly defined as a belief in the superiority of one species, typically humans, over all other species such as nonhuman animals. It often accompanies an assumption that the interest of one species justifies indifference to the lives, dignity, rights or needs of all others.

The term *speciesism* was coined by British psychologist Richard Ryder in the 1970s and widely discussed by critics and scholars including the moral philosopher Peter Singer (Buchanan 2010a). In Singer’s (1990, 6) words, speciesism is “a prejudice or attitude of bias in favor of the interests of members of one’s own species and against those of members of other species.” Based on the utilitarian school of moral philosophy, Singer writes that “*The principle of the equality of human beings is not a description of an alleged actual equality among humans: it is a prescription of how we would treat human beings*” (ibid., 5, emphasis in the original). Comparing speciesism with racism and sexism, Singer further argues that “the basic principle of equality” – the principle of equal consideration of interests – “must be extended to all beings, black or white, masculine or feminine, human or nonhuman [nonhuman animals]” (ibid.).

All these beliefs (i.e. speciesism, racism and sexism) allege inherent difference between groups of peoples or species and often claim one group’s intrinsic superiority over other groups, devaluating their characteristics and capacities. According to Ager (2010), species-relativism neither claims such moral significance nor alleges the superiority of humanity over other species. However, there are two things common between speciesism and species-relativism.

Firstly, both beliefs are premised on an immutable boundary between humans and nonhumans (i.e. nonhuman animals, posthumans), categorizing and separating different species and treating humanity as a single homogenous group. Secondly, and related to the first point, both speciesists and species-relativists do not discuss much about the possibilities of hybridity of humans and they are reluctant to make changes to human characteristics and capacities. According to Ager, psychological factors would influence biological characteristics and capacities. Although Ager does not discuss other factors, most obviously social and cultural ones, these aspects and experiences may also interact with psychological and biological factors and lead to some value judgment.

So what happens if humans and posthumans could share some experiences and values? If posthumans are designed to do so, or if humans are influenced by posthumans, would the common

experiences and values not create something not authentically human or posthuman? Because of this new ground, it would be very difficult to claim which experiences and values belong exclusively to the human species. Moreover, even if species-relativists insist that some experiences and values are exclusively human ones, there is no evidence that the radically enhanced beings or posthumans would not share any of our human experiences and values especially if the two groups have cultural, social or psychological commonalities.

In order to consider these questions, it is worth examining *Appleseed*'s visual narrative closely, because *Appleseed* deals with these questions in very sophisticated and lively ways. The next section analyzes *Appleseed* and shows how the anime performs a thought experiment as a counterexample to species-relativism. I argue that *Appleseed* allows the viewers to question Ager's argument and the human essentialism it rests on, and shows that the philosophical argument does not hold up and must be rejected.

7.3. Thought Experiment: Comparing Two Visions of Posthuman Society

Appleseed is a science fictional animation from 2004, based on Shirow Masamune's manga, and directed by Aramaki Shinji.⁷⁷ *Appleseed* is an interesting case with which to rethink Ager's species-relativism, and his essentialistic understanding of human beings, because it deals with issues such as the possibilities of shared value among human and posthuman citizens and posthuman subjectivity. In the story, the concept of citizenship is extended to posthumans and all citizens are expected to respect and share human-centered moral values.

Set in the twenty-second century in the aftermath of a global war, human scientists and engineers have built a utopian city named *Olympus*. There, scientists developed a genetically-engineered species called the *bioroid* using the best genes of humans, and this new species comprises half of the population. Bioroids are designed to create a peaceful society and their capacities are radically modified for this purpose. For example, bioroids are less emotional in order to prevent conflicts among humans; they have much shorter lifespans; and they do not have reproductive capabilities so that they do not become a threat to humans. Their every behavior is strictly monitored by the central artificial intelligence (AI) called *Gaia*. Due to these restricted

⁷⁷ *Appleseed* has been adapted into animation several times: OVA *Appleseed* (Katayama 1988), Aramaki Shinji's three feature films, *Appleseed* (2004), *Appleseed Ex Machina* (2007), and *Appleseed Alpha* (2014), and a thirteen-episode series *Appleseed XIII* (Hamana 2011).

features, bioroids are strictly distinguished from humans. Some believe that bioroids are a threat to humans, whereas others believe that humans themselves are becoming a threat to the harmonious society in which they live.

Appleseed offers two visions of future society, namely *anthropocentrism* (i.e. the human-centered view) and an attempt to transcend anthropocentrism. Over the course of story, the protagonist rejects essentialism (both human essentialism and posthuman essentialism) and envisages an alternative to human-centered society. The following section looks at these two visions through the various aspects of the visual narrative.

7.3.1. Vision 1: Anthropocentrism and its Limitations

The city Olympus is an anthropocentric human-posthuman society. The technology and social and political arrangements in the city are all designed to give priority to humans. Although anthropocentrism sounds similar to speciesist views, there is no critical tone in the narrative in *Appleseed* at the beginning. The construction of Olympus is seen as the last hope for humanity to survive after the apocalypse, and *Appleseed* depicts Olympus as a solution to prevent humans from self-destructive wars by having them live alongside posthuman bioroids. Like some classic utopian narratives, *Appleseed* juxtaposes two different spaces, in this case the bloody battlefield and the newly constructed city, and uses the viewpoint of a visitor to Utopia, Deunan and her navigator, Hitomi to illustrate a huge gap between these spaces. Deunan is the protagonist and a highly skilled human soldier, while Hitomi is a bioroid who works for the Olympus government and her job is to recruit elite soldiers from other places.

The opening scene shows Deunan first engaging in an intense battle against unknown enemies, and then follows it up with her capture and transport to the utopian Olympus. This creates a significant visual contrast between two different spaces in the opening scenes. Using 3-D computer generated imagery (3-D CGI) and motion capture technology⁷⁸ *Appleseed* offers the viewer a series of dynamic action scenes in photorealistic three-dimensional spaces. It gives the viewer the experience of moving around in these spaces, yet the use of anime-like rendering and shading for the human characters provides a startling contrast.

⁷⁸ Motion capture is defined as follows: “In digital film and video, a means of recording an actor's movements and facial expressions so that they can be mapped onto a computer-generated character. An actor performs in the role of the character while wearing a leotard covered in motion detecting sensors” (Chandler and Munday 2011).

This heterogeneity of image styles – the combination of a photorealistic background with more graphical, flatter, black-ink outlined characters – is perhaps nothing new. This hybrid style can be found in earlier cel animation works by Disney and Toei Animation already and many other contemporary works today. The arrival of digital technologies in the 1990s had a great impact on animation production both in Hollywood and Japan, but many Japanese animation works maintain visual styles of 2-D cel animation-like characters such as relative flatness, stylized shading and black-ink outlines, and integrate these characters into 3-D imagery space, using enhanced digital technologies more than their Hollywood counterparts.⁷⁹ Indeed, this kind of heterogeneity of image styles has become one of the most prominent characteristics of Japanese animation today. As Steinberg (2012b, 4) notes, “contemporary Japanese animation is best characterized as a hybrid form that includes both cel-style and 3-D animation. Indeed, the hybrid use of animation technologies and styles itself became a subject of reflection in anime from 2000s.” Tsugata (2011b) also suggests that recent animation technologies have been developed to look for a way to reduce or resolve a sense of gap or discomfort when cel-style 2-D characters act in 3-D CGI spaces.

The opening scene is a good example of how the different visual styles combine with the dynamic of photo-realistic backgrounds. Like a number of 3-D computer generated animation films such as *Final Fantasy VII: Advent Children* (2005), *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence* (2004), and *The Sky Crawlers* (2008), *Appleseed* also introduces “a moving synthetic image” to create lively movements and visual qualities with 3-D CGI and gives the viewer “an experience of moving around the simulated three-dimensional space – something one can’t do with a painting” (Manovich 1997, 6) as if the viewer is fighting in the battlefield or approaching a city with an aircraft. The moving mechanic devices, weapons and aircraft are shot from various different angles with a mobile “camera,” giving the viewer a sense of simulated realism in the battle. Slow-motion scenes, which are very difficult to draw in traditional cel animation, are used effectively to portray Deunan’s actions. An upbeat soundtrack accompanies the visual images, giving rise to a feeling of excitement and tension in these battle scenes. There are entire scenes depicted in the dark, but effective use of lighting creates a sense of depth.

I am not claiming that traditional 2D cel animation cannot create such movement. Indeed, there are a number of beautiful scenes produced in earlier animations in 2D such as flying scenes in *Castle in the Sky* (1986), bike scenes in *Akira* (1988), or flying scenes in the more recent animated

⁷⁹ As digital technologies have become available in animation productions since the 1990s, major Hollywood animation studios such as Pixar and Dreamworks have explored the quality and creative diversity of 3-D CGI in their works such as Pixar’s *Toy Story* (1995), *A Bug’s Life* (1998), and Dreamworks’ *ANTZ* (1998). *Toy Story 2* (1999) has increased the visual sophistication of computer-generated environments, especially in terms of the human characters (Kerlow 2004, 26).

TV series *Eureka Seven* (2005), among others. However, the 3-D CGI in *Appleseed* offers a different kind of visual quality for capturing a sense of motion and achieving dynamic movement through the character's actions and perspective from the moving vehicle.

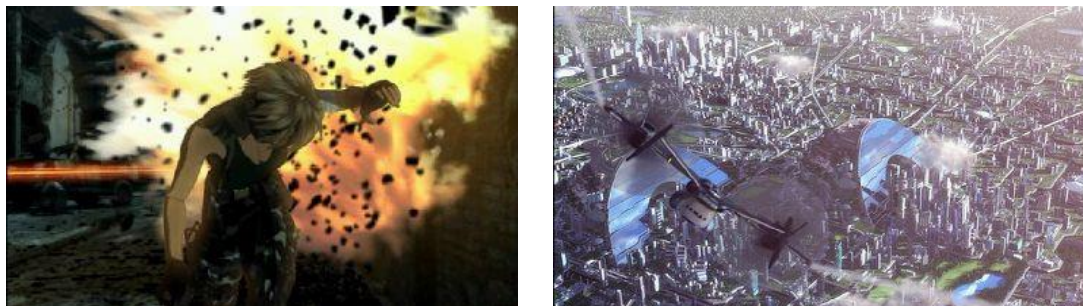


Figure 24 Two spaces: battlefield (left) and Olympus (right). Screen capture from *Appleseed*.

Following the battle scenes, the aircraft brings Deunan to the city of Olympus. The glimmering city appears through the clouds accompanied by upbeat music. The aircraft gradually approaches the city with a dynamic bird's eye view, where a futuristic cityscape is shot from various angles and gives a viewer a sense of seeing the city from the air. Again, effective camera angles showcase the dynamics of the city. As CG director Ohtsuka Yasuhiro notes, "We [animators] also needed to pay attention to the background. Since the camera could move freely in three dimensions, which is one of the great advantages of 3D, we were able to work amazing details into the background artwork" (*The Birth of 3D Live Anime* 2005, 00:10:13–00:10:30).

When Deunan arrives at Olympus the following day, the navigator Hitomi shows her around and gives a brief history of the city. Deunan is amazed at the new world that she is witnessing and says, "Considering where I was yesterday, it looks like an illusion" (00:22:38). The background and scenery offers an effective visual contrast between the two different spaces: the battlefield and the utopian city.

Although all *Appleseed* series of manga and animation mention the global war and Olympus in the opening, it is *Appleseed* ([2004] 2005) that most vividly and visually presents the contrast of two different spaces – the ruins and the utopian city – compared to the other *Appleseed* series.

Shirow Masamune's Original manga ([1985-1989] 2001) explains the global war in the opening page and illustrates the ruin with a two-page spread. In the following page Deunan is cooking dinner and waiting for her cyborg lover Briareos to come back, which brings a comic element to the setting.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Although my analysis in this chapter focuses on the difference in species, not that in gender, I would like to point out Deunan's role is gendered – a women preparing dinner and waiting for her lover to come home – in this apparently comic scene.

The opening scene of 1988 OVA begins with Olympus and later also explains more about the war, the construction of the utopian city and its citizen bioroids, in comparison with the manga's use of written text. It says

In the aftermath of World War 3 a group known as General Management Control Office formed in order to rebuild and unify the ruined world. They constructed an experimental model city; it was named Olympus. The new city was a sanctuary for surviving humanity. It was also home to a new sub species – half human, half robot beings called bioroids. The bioroids were responsible for all aspects of administration. This experimental city was meant to finally represent all of mankind's utopian dreams, dreams which underestimated the eternal human desire for absolute freedom. A freedom which for some was still to be gained, at any price... (Katayama 1988, 00:01:07–00:01:31)

Later it again shifts to Olympus and there is no immediate visual contrast between two different spaces as we have seen in *Appleseed*.

The opening scene of the animated series *Appleseed XIII* (2011) begins with the conversation between Deunan and Briareos in the abundant ruins. Deunan wonders how long they are going to fight the war and what she will do once she finds their paradise. She says that she will work at a bar or restaurant or marry someone. Then the scene shifts to Olympus. Following the original Manga, both 1988 OVA and the 2011 series have more comical scenes between Deunan and her lover Briareos. The 2004 film, however, maintains a more serious tone through the entire film.

Hitomi explains to Deunan that the political system of Olympus is a kind of parliamentary democracy with high-tech public participation through the central AI system *Gaia*. There are three governmental bodies consisting of the representatives of both humans and bioroids, and at the same time Gaia monitors their governance. Those three parties are the Legislature led by bioroid Prime Minister Athena Areios; the Olympus Regular Army led by human General Uranus; and the Council of the Elders, who are also human. There are endless tensions between these parties: the Legislature and its special force ESWAT is expanding powers over Olympus while the head of the Olympus regular army General Uranus is hostile to Prime Minister Athena and bioroids. All members of the Council of Elders are human beings, but they strongly support bioroids gaining further power in the government.

In terms of social and moral codes, other members of society including posthumans such as bioroids and cyborg are supposed to respect and share human-centered ideals and moral values. A concept of citizenship is extended to posthumans in Olympus. Posthumans' political and moral equality are respected to some extent. Bioroids are designed to be empathetic beings as posthuman

citizens of Olympus. Hitomi also explains to Deunan “We [bioroids] may be pedigree material, but we don’t rule Olympus. We’re facilitators of a peaceful and stable society” (00:23:20). As Ueno Toshiya (1998) comments, “it is a paradox that bioroids pursue the ideals associated with humanity and citizenship more profoundly than humans” (87, my translation).

This extended notion of citizenship is similar to sociologist James J. Hughes’s broader notion of future citizenship as a basis of harmonious human-posthuman social system or what he calls *democratic transhumanism* in his book *Citizen Cyborg* (2004). Hughes attempts to go beyond a biologically bound notion of humanity and he argues that a broader notion of citizenship becomes a moral common ground among members of democratic transhumanist society.

Hughes proposes several ways to create a harmonious human-posthuman society and to minimize the threat of a “human-posthuman schism.” One of these measures is for society to ensure that posthumans are created on the basis of empathy for humanity and morality and to forbid any enhancements to the people who refuse to conform to the basic empathetic and moral code. Hughes (2004, 256) quotes Spider-Man’s words on becoming a posthuman, “with great power comes great responsibility.” This empathetic condition is very similar to the measures taken in Olympus.

Ager (2010) is not very persuaded about Hughes’s precautionary measures because he believes that once the cognitive enhancements are realized, there is no guarantee that posthumans will not modify their morality. According to Ager’s argument, posthumans will generate their own moral truth and social moral codes which may be different from those of humans (ibid., 160-171).

Like Ager’s skeptical response to democratic transhumanism and his concerns about potentially threatening alternative moral codes of posthumanism, Olympus takes a similar precautionary approach to bioroids. As another anthropocentric condition for the design of posthumans, the reproductive capacities of bioroids are highly restricted to ensure that humans remain humans as a biological species.

To sum up, through both the narrative and the vivid contrast between the two spaces, namely the battlefield and the utopian city of Olympus, *Appleseed* illustrates in a simple and immediate way the possibilities for change with new technology and intelligence. The construction of a utopian city is only possible with the creation of posthumans. Yet at the same time, the narrative also tells us about the problems and limitations of this anthropocentric utopia.

Despite various measures to create a peaceful society, there are inevitably power struggles between different groups, most notably among human essentialists, known as the Olympus Regular army; posthuman essentialists, known as the Council of the Elders; and advocates of harmonious human-post-human society, known as the Legislature. The city stands on vulnerable ground but manages to maintain a balance of power. From the very beginning, *Appleseed* depicts the contrast between humane posthumans and dehumanized humans, and between bioroids and humans. In fact,

Appleseed depicts the contradictory boundary between humans and bioroids in Olympus from the beginning of the story in various ways, from character design to narrative.

In character design, it is difficult to distinguish bioroids from humans, especially in the case of the main characters of the film, bioroid Hitomi and protagonist human Deunan. Both characters are created in a same way, using 3-D CGI with motion capture, along with toon shading⁸¹ to create a cel animation-like texture. Motion and facial capture technologies are used to achieve lifelike actions, motions and facial expressions of the characters, whereas toon shading is used to give more familiar cel animation-like texture to the audience.

As discussed earlier, *Appleseed* uses a hybrid form of both cel-style and 3-D animation. According to the producer Sori, it was both a major concern and a challenge to create attractive computer-generated human characters, which the audience could emotionally engage with. Toon shading, he argues, is an effective way to achieve such effects. Sori notes that

[In] the process of making *Appleseed*, discovering how the audience could empathize with the characters was the key. And it was very challenging. In order to tackle it we decided to use a ‘toon shading’, to give the artwork the look of cel animation. This would help the audience feel closer to the characters and be drawn into the story itself. That’s the type of CG we wanted to create. (*The Birth of 3D Live Anime* 2005, 00:06:58–00:08:06)

Director Aramaki also notes how he and his team chose this kind of cel animation-like texture for the characters to avoid a sense of uncanny.

I wanted to have characters that one would feel comfortable with and so the style you see in the movie is the one that we settled on, so to speak, in this process. I felt that this was a type of approach that Japanese animation was still familiar with and would not feel too foreign or uncomfortable with. I guess that's the big reason why we chose this style. (Rucka 2005)

Both Sori and Aramaki admit that creating attractive characters is the key to successful story telling in *Appleseed*. In other words, whether a character is attractive or not has an important role to play in persuading and appealing to the audience. Interestingly, it is not only animation creators who see a

⁸¹ Toon shading is a type of rendering technique in computer graphics to make objects resemble cartoon or cel animation with outlines and flat shading.

close relationship between character's attractiveness and its persuasive function; but some scientists and philosophers make similar arguments.

According to computer scientists Ho and MacDorman (2010) attractiveness is one of the important qualities to develop successful humanoids in robotics as well as human characters in computer generated imagery. A hypothetical study in 1970 by Japanese roboticist Mori Masahiro had already indicated a nonlinear relation between the character's degree of human-likeness and the emotional reaction of the human perceivers and explored the concept of the *uncanny valley*. Ho and MacDorman take this work as a starting point for further empirical investigation into the quality of uncanniness. They conduct an experiment showing video clips of various robots and animations including scenes from animated films *Final Fantasy: The Spirits Within* (2001) *The Incredibles* (2004) and *The Polar Express* (2004) to over three hundred participants and asked them to apply ratings from twenty-odd scales to each video clips and images: machinelike to humanlike, unfriendly to friendly and so on. Their study suggests that there are significant correlations among the four qualities: attractiveness, eeriness, humanness and warmth.

Philosopher Noël Carroll (1998a) also suggests that attractiveness could even influence decisions of moral consequence. Carroll argues that rhetoric often plays an important role in cases where mass-art narratives such as films purvey ideology. Carroll points out one of Aristotle's rhetorical strategies – establishing a good character – can also be applied to narrative films to secure a speaker's point of view.

Interestingly, *Appleseed* emphasizes more humane characteristics of posthumans, whereas some humans, especially essentialists, are depicted as less attractive or cruel people. For instance, the bioroids Hitomi and her friend Yoshitsune are drawn in a more friendly and attractive style closer to the protagonist Deunan. Voice acting also plays an important role in building human-like characters of bioroids. Other bioroids such as Prime Minister Athena and her subordinate Nike are government officials and drawn in a sober way. The designs of Athena and Nike are not particularly friendly or attractive but this may be due to their status as government officials, as the story does not tell which stance – supporting the coexistence of humans and posthumans or posthuman essentialism – Athena exactly advocates until the latter part of the story. Whereas the characters in the two essentialist camps such as members' of Regular Army (human essentialist) and the Elders (posthuman essentialist) make an immediately less attractive impression on the audience. They appear rude, cold and in some cases extremely elderly.⁸²

⁸² Almost all of the less attractive characters happen to be male and this may give the impression of gendered character design. There are, however, more attractive male characters such as Hitomi's boyfriend Yoshitsune or less attractive female characters such as Athena.



Figure 25 Attractive characters (Deunan, Hitomi and Yoshitsun, top from left to right) and less attractive characters (General Uranus and the Elders, bottom from left to right). Screen capture from Disc 2 bonus track Character Gallery, *Appleseed*.

In addition to character design, *Appleseed* depicts humanized bioroids through both narratives and visual images. For example, a conversation scene between Deunan and Hitomi at the bar depicts Hitomi as a normal girl, rather than a different species (00:38:50-00:40:44). Hitomi's voice and gestures are very natural and gentle. Hitomi asks some personal questions to Deunan, about her family and boyfriend over a cocktail. Hitomi expresses her curiosity about love and asks Deunan, "Tell me, what's love like? What's it like to love someone?" Close-ups of Hitomi with zoom-in are followed by Deunan's close-up. Hitomi's behavior is just like that of a human girl, with emotion, and the close-up and zoom-in shots highlight this aspect of her. Hitomi also says "But it [love] somehow intrigues me. It's one thing I envy in humans." Deunan sends Hitomi a half-smile. During their conversation, a man grabs the chest of another man in the bar, shouting "How dare you speak to a human that way!". Hitomi, watching the scene, says to Deunan, "A Regular Army officer. Why do humans anger so easily?" This short scene also contrasts a humanized bioroid (Hitomi) with a savage human (a Regular Army officer).

The less attractive human characters, such as the essentialists, merely express anger and hatred, whereas the more attractive characters express other emotions such as love, happiness and surprise. Deunan is the most emotional one. In fact, Deunan is generated by the performance of three actresses: Akimoto Tsubasa provides actions; Miwa Asumi provides motions; Kobayashi Ai provides facial expressions and voice, respectively. Animators organize the digitalized data and create the life-like character Deunan (*The Birth of 3D Live Anime* 2005). Deunan expresses not only anger and disgust but also happiness, sadness, fear and surprise throughout the film. Deunan's

affections for her lover Briareos (a cyborg), her mother (human) and her friend Hitomi (bioroid) – both humans and posthumans – become salient in the latter part of the film.

The contrast between inhumane humans and humane bioroids blurs an absolute boundary between human and posthuman. Moreover, the narrative and the above-mentioned visual choices about character design lead the audience to engage more emotionally with attractive characters (e.g. Deunan and Hitomi) than less-attractive characters (e.g. General Uranus and the Elders). Attractive characters are likely to persuade the audience to question that boundary and the concept of essentialism.

Over the course of the story, two conspiracies endanger the coexistence of humans and bioroids in Olympus. One is a terrorist attack against bioroids led by the Regular Army; the other is an attempt by the other faction, the Elders, to extinguish humans using a virus. Both essentialist groups attempt to persuade Deunan not to disrupt their plans but Deunan rejects them each time. Through these episodes, we can see Deunan's firm determination to reject any essentialist views. She rejects both General Uranus's request to hand over *Appleseed* data to him and the Elders when they attempt to spread the virus to humans. One day, unknown assailants attack the bioroids' extension facilities and destroy the next generation of bioroids. The authorities regard this attack as the worst kind of anti-bioroid terrorism. This incident has a severe impact on the existing bioroids in Olympus. Their lives are in danger too since these bioroids require maintenance in order to extend their lives. Responding to this incident, the Olympus government holds an emergency meeting and decides to restore the reproduction capabilities of bioroids. General Uranus, the head of the Olympus Regular Army strongly opposes this decision.

Following the Prime Minister's order, Deunan, Briareos and other ESWAT members launch an important mission to search for Appleseed, the hidden data that can restore the bioroids' reproductive functions. The only clue is an old disc in Deunan's hand. As the investigation into Appleseed continues, Deunan appears to be a key figure in relation to the Appleseed data. All bioroids have the gene of her father, Carl Knute. It was her mother, Doctor Gilliam who created the bioroids and she gave the data over to Deunan just before her death twenty years earlier.

When Deunan and others arrive at the old building where the first generation of bioroids are created, they witness the restored three-dimensional image record of Dr. Gilliam's last moment on site. A symbolic scene is inserted, where a young Deunan makes a promise her mother, Dr. Gilliam, to protect the Appleseed data. Softer lighting and gentle piano music creates a different tone to suggest that this is perhaps one of Deunan's memories. In softer lightening, the brightness of their green eyes and the blue pendant with the Appleseed data stand out. The motif of their green eyes also visually depicts the bond between Deunan and her mother. When her mother says to young Deunan "Protect Appleseed, Deunan", the close-up of Dr. Gilliam's face switches to the close-up of the young Deunan and zooms into Deunan's green eyes and fades out. This scene links to the next

close-up shot of present-day Deunan fading in. Here, gentle piano music also functions as sound bridge and both the visual motif and music indicate the link between Deunan and her mother, and between them and the lives of the bioroids. This scene shifts to the last moment of Dr. Gilliam's life, when she is shot dead. Deunan is very emotional when she witnesses it. She sheds tears and cannot help shouting "Don't shoot her!" and rushes to her mother. Close-ups of Deunan are inserted between the shots of soldiers and her mother. The scenes are shot in slow motion without music. The only sound is Deunan's footstep. When her mother falls over, dramatic music starts, accompanied by Deunan's sobbing.

When General Uranus finds that the Appleseed data is in Deunan's hand, he requests that she give it to him. Uranus tries to persuade Deunan that bioroids will enslave human beings and that he will terminate the lives of the bioroids for the sake of the humans. Conversations between Uranus and Deunan are shot in medium-close-up then switch to a long-shot of soldiers pointing guns at Deunan. When she rejects Uranus's request, saying "Perhaps you're right. But one thing I know for sure, bioroids don't kill bioroids" (01:09:50-01:10:03), the shot switches to close-up of Deunan pointing a gun at the soldiers, and then to close-up of Uranus. The shots of humans (the soldiers, Uranus and Deunan) pointing guns at each other makes a link with Deunan's words "bioroids don't kill bioroids" and contrasts human brutality and bioroid mercy through both their verbal and physical expressions.



Figure 26 Deunan rejects human essentialism, Deunan (left), Uranus (right). Screen capture from *Appleseed*.

This short scene highlights the inhumanity of the humans and Deunan's rejection of human essentialists. Later, Deunan hands over Appleseed to Athena, a bioroid who supports coexistence of humans and posthumans. The recovery of reproductive capacities of the bioroids with Appleseed data would bring about new possibilities for the bioroids' continued existence as a species.

Although Deunan saves the bioroids from an extinction crisis, there is also the other conspiracy by the Elders to wipe out the humans. In one scene, the Elders reveal their plan to spread a virus to humans to sterilize them, and justify their plan to extinguish the entire human race gradually. The Elders try to persuade Deunan "It's too late. Mankind will surely destroy the planet. We have lost our right to Eden" (01:30:19-01:30:26). Deunan responds to the Elders "Eden may not

await us, but we will struggle onward and decide our future by ourselves” (01:30:36-01:30:43). By zooming into a close-up shot of Deunan and the use of dramatic music, this scene is given an emotional tone in its depiction of Deunan’s anger towards the Elders. Again, Deunan expresses her firm determination to reject essentialism – this time, posthuman-essentialism.



Figure 27 Deunan rejects posthuman essentialism, Deunan (left), The Elders (right). Screen capture from *Appleseed*.

Following this scene, Deunan, Briareos and other ESWAT members set off to stop the Elders’ plan. The latter part of the film is dominated by a series of dynamic fighting scenes involving Deunan, taking place against a set of the runaway mobile fortresses heading for the virus tank. The background, mechanics and weapons are shot from various angles, with scenes of massive explosions accompanied by dramatic music. At last, Deunan manages to stop the mobile fortress attacks and the crisis ends.

In these two episodes full of conspiracies, essentialists of one side try to destroy the other, whereas other bioroids and the protagonist Deunan fight against essentialists to save both species. Deunan and the bioroids reject the essentialist view and seek possible alternatives.

In summary, by focusing on various aspects of anthropocentric utopian society and its fractures, *Appleseed* challenges various forms of essentialism using its medium – from the narrative to character design, and other visual and acoustic features. The analysis of the above section suggests that anthropocentric utopia in *Appleseed* is similar to a fictional world based on Ager’s species-relativism, premised on human essentialism, while the visual narrative of *Appleseed* provides a powerful counterexample to Ager’s argument.

The contrast between the battlefield and the newly constructed utopia as seen through the eyes of Deunan gives us a powerful vision of a human-centered future society. Yet over the course of story, we also find the fractures and limitations of such a human-centered vision of future society. Deunan’s rejection of any form of essentialism is potentially a place from which to reconsider these kinds of social arrangements. Such arguments, as depicted through the visual narrative of *Appleseed*, can be helpful in reflecting on Ager’s species-relativist view, which presupposes distinctive human experiences and values as something unique to humanity.

Species-relativism is to some extent based on human essentialism, as it assumes that some essential or fundamental aspects of experience and/or value are biologically inherent to human beings. Although Ager denies the speciesist view which claims that human interest is the most important one when compared with that of all other species, he argues that current experiences and ways of existence for human beings are special and valuable to human beings and that we should maintain them to remain human. For this reason Ager rejects radical enhancement. In other words, Ager's species-relativist view denies any possibility of new experience and new ways in which human beings might exist with radical enhancement. Species-relativists reject radical enhancement to create posthuman beings from the beginning and see this rejection as a precautionary approach. They are less optimistic about the survival of current experiences and values shared by humans once radically enhanced beings become superior to current humans. However, even though species-relativists insist that some experiences and values are exclusively human ones, *Appleseed* suggests that there is no evidence that posthumans would not share any human experiences and values. Instead, shared experiences and values may create something not authentically belonging solely to humans or posthumans.

Appleseed also presents an alternative vision that transcends anthropocentrism and relativist understandings of human beings. The next section discusses an alternative political strategy of hybridity as a path to human emancipation.

7.3.2. Vision 2: Beyond Anthropocentrism and the Potential of Hybridity

Surviving the extinction crises of both species, bioroids and humans come together to seek new possibilities for constructing a new society. This step allows them the ability to go beyond anthropocentrism and opens up the possibility for new forms of social arrangement. There is a symbolic scene after the final battle is over. The main characters Deunan (human), Briareos (cyborg), Hitomi and Yoshitsune (bioloids) get together and share their joy in the ruin. Briareos talks to Deunan "It's left to us, it's all up to us" (01:40:23-01:40:28). Along with Briareos's words, a close-up shot of him is stitched to Deunan's close-up and she nods an affirmative, before a gradual zoom-out takes the viewer into a long-shot of the characters as a group. Accompanied by dramatic music, this gives a metaphorical meaning: Olympus is left to both humans and posthumans, and it is all up to them.

In the sequence that follows, an alternative view appears more clearly in Deunan's voiceover narration. She says, "It's not as if anything's changed. Perhaps the sins of man [*sic*] will only deepen. But I will continue the struggle. For our children, the true new race" (01:40:55-01:41:17). In this passage, the imagery and background music remain minimal. With long shots and very slow

camera movements, the images gradually shift from the ruins to the remaining skyscrapers in Olympus covered in a ray of sunshine. This visual and acoustic choice leads the audience to focus on Deunan's voiceover narration. I interpret Deunan's mention of "the true new race" as a new situation and a hybrid between human and posthuman. *Hybridity* means the intermingling of different species to produce new species. Here, an idea of hybridity is useful for thinking about alternative views that go beyond the anthropocentrism and the essentialistic idea of human beings, because the idea of hybridity is closely related to the question of whether human beings are a single species or not, which is central to our discussion on species-relativism. I argue that hybridity precisely points out the limits of relativism and essentialism centering on both anthropocentrism in *Appleseed* and species-relativism in Ager's philosophical argument, and provides an alternative political strategy that goes beyond such arguments.



Figure 28 Remained skyscrapers in Olympus: the struggle, the new race and hybridity. Screen capture from *Appleseed*.

Hybrid is originally a term from biology that refers to "the offspring of a mating in which the parents differ in at least one characteristic. The term is usually used for offspring of widely different parents, e.g. different varieties or species" (Martin and Hine 2008). Cultural critics and postcolonial theorists have been rethinking the notion of cultural hybridity since the 1980s. In some of their claims, discussing hybridity becomes a key strategy to challenge cultural essentialism and question assumptions that culture is a fixed and homogeneous entity.

There is a parallel between the visual narrative of *Appleseed* and the arguments made by postcolonial theorists against cultural essentialism. Although these two arguments deal with different categories – species in *Appleseed* and culture in postcolonial theory – they both challenge an existing understanding of these categories. *Appleseed* challenges the prevailing discourse of human being as unique species by depicting a blurred species boundary between humans and posthumans; while postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha argue against a fixed or essentialist

account of racial, cultural and national identity by emphasizing the interdependence of the colonizer and the colonized and how heterogeneous cultural forms result from linguistic, political, cultural, ethnic intermixing.

Appleseed depicts the contradictions and limitations of a standpoint that projects a fixed, homogeneous nature for human beings as species though character design in the narrative. In the very last scene, Deunan decides to continue the struggle for the true new race beyond existing species categories of human or bioroid. In this context, the true new race or hybrid is neither pure human nor is posthuman, but something in-between, something new. Hybridity here is not to emphasize the origins of two different species, humans and posthumans, but rather to anticipate the emergence of something new. Hybridity is also about denying the purity or authenticity of humanity and instead acknowledging the hybrid nature of humanity.

This idea of hybridity has the political potential to transcend human essentialism. Moreover, embracing the hybrid nature of humanity and posthumanity steers us away from the problematic binarism that has until now framed our notions of humanity, or what Ager (2010, 19) terms “the members of biological species *Homo sapiens*.” In this context, the species-relativist belief that valued experiences that are relative to different species becomes questionable. The belief functions to restrict humans by forcing them to remain human in a specific sense, denies the possibility of creating shared values between so-called different species, and denies the possibility of hybridity or a new race.

Similarly, at the level of culture, and particularly in terms of colonialism, Bhabha (2004) stresses the interdependence of the colonizer and the colonized and denies a claim for any essentiality of cultural identities and cultural relativism. In his account, colonization is not simply a matter of the colonizer’s imposition and control over the colonized and hierarchical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. Neither the colonizer nor the colonized possesses a homogenous cultural identity. He argues that all cultural identity is produced in what he calls the *Third Space of enunciation*, which denies the homogeneous nature of culture and its representation and reproduction. Bhabha argues that “hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or ‘purity’ of cultures are untenable” and all cultural systems are constructed in hybrid forms, in this Third Space (ibid., 55). Bhabha defines the Third Space as follows.

The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People. (Bhabha 2004, 54)

By acknowledging the Third Space, we can “ensure that meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew” (ibid., 55). In other words, one cannot claim purity or authenticity in relation to race, culture or nation. A fixed or essentialist account of racial, cultural or national identity is unsustainable. Bhabha highlights the political significance of such an intermingled space which “displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom” (Rutherford 1990, 211).

Although *Appleseed* does not discuss colonialism, and Bhabha’s writings do not deal with transhumanism, both works critically engage with issues of difference and boundaries in politics, and challenge us to rethink those issues. Moreover, both works present alternative understandings of species or culture based on hybridity rather than a multi-specism/multiculturalism or a species-relativism/cultural relativism based on the diversity of different species or cultures.

Bhabha explicitly challenges the liberal tradition of philosophical relativism – “the idea that cultures are diverse and that in some sense the diversity of culture is a good and positive thing and ought to be encouraged” – along with the endorsement of cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Rutherford 1990, 207-208). For Bhabha, cultural diversity and “multiculturalism represented an attempt both to respond to and to control the dynamic process of the articulation of cultural difference, administering a *consensus* based on a norm that propagates cultural diversity” (ibid., 208-209). Thus, he strictly makes a distinction between cultural difference and cultural diversity and points out the inadequacy of cultural diversity and the liberal relativist view behind it. For him, cultural difference is something *incommensurable*. In Bhabha’s words, “cultures are only constituted in relation to that...otherness internal to their own symbol-forming activity which makes them decentred structures – through that displacement or liminality opens up the possibility of articulating *different*, even incommensurable cultural practices and priorities”(ibid., 210-211 emphasis in the original).

Some may argue that human cultures and species exist on different levels. Indeed, Ager (2010) clearly distinguishes his species-relativist view from cultural-relativism – a view about morality that claims that moral judgments are relative to a culture. “The fact that the boundaries between different species are more significant than those between different human cultures makes species-relativism a more plausible view than cultural relativism” (Ager, 2010 13). Yet differences between species may not always be as significant as one thinks, as with the nineteenth century racial theories studied by Young. What if the boundary between species were blurred? Indeed, *Appleseed* provides a useful source with which to think about this issue of boundaries in a very accessible and immediate way. As the analysis of this chapter showed, the visual narrative of *Appleseed* depicts the contradictions and problems of relativist philosophical arguments based on a fixed idea of the

human species. If we consider an idea of hybridity between species in the fictional world of *Appleseed*, Ager's stance on the tradition of philosophical relativism is unsustainable.

7.4. Conclusion: Hybridity as Emancipation

Through the visual and narrative analysis of *Appleseed* I examined how the anime performs a thought experiment providing a counterexample to Nicolas Ager's species-relativist view based on a homogenous conception of human beings. My analysis suggested that *Appleseed* effectively shows the questionable nature of the boundary between human and posthuman, and highlights the contradictions around such a boundary. It also discussed how ideas of hybridity challenge essentialism and Ager's species-relativist view, and become a political strategy for thinking beyond the existing idea of human beings as a fixed and homogeneous species category. Human species is perhaps not the static homogeneous category that species-relativists imagine it to be, but rather a hybrid and fluid identity constituted in an endless process of struggle and negotiation. The summary of the analysis is threefold.

Firstly, the visual contrast between two spaces – the ruin and the utopian city – presents the change brought by new technologies and a new species, bioroids. 3D CGI is effectively used to highlight different spaces. At the same time, the narrative, however, also illustrates remaining problems in such an anthropocentric utopian city, namely the endless conflicts between different parties and the contradictions behind their beliefs.

Secondly, the character designs and narrative also illustrate the boundary between different species and also the contradictions of such a boundary. Attractive characters – the human and bioroid protagonists Deunan and Hitomi – are designed in identical ways with combinations of motion and facial capture technologies and toon shading, and these attractive characters play an important role in persuading the viewer to question essentialism.

Thirdly, the climax of the film offers an alternative vision that replaces Olympus's anthropocentric approach to society. Deunan rejects any form of essentialism over the course of the story and addresses her determination to struggle for "the true new race." This new situation raises the possibility of hybridity between humans and posthumans and some kind of social and political change. The last scene with Deunan's voiceover narration indicates some hope in Olympus or some sense of emancipation from the existing order, yet it is a very ambiguous utopian project. Indeed, the true new race emerging from human-posthuman hybrids opens up new possibilities to think beyond essentialism and this could be a form of emancipation. In this sense, hybridity is an effective approach to think beyond human essentialism. *Appleseed*, however, does not provide a

concrete vision of political strategies for emancipation. Perhaps there is no such a thing as eternal emancipation but rather endless struggles and negotiation to bring about a new situation. It reminds us that human experiences and human ways of existing are also not something original or authentic but are rather open to endless negotiation and translation for change, and we can never find an essence within the internal self. In other words, the boundaries between different cultures and species do exist but they are not something that simply exists out there in a fixed and clearly defined way, but rather contingently in a ceaseless process of change.

CONCLUSION

Emancipation in the Modern History of Political Thought and its Problematics

One of the most pressing yet often neglected problems among political theorists is that of method. Political theorists have hardly asked the question of *how* and *why* in their studies. They often examine philosophical canons and thoroughly discuss the meaning of particular political ideas such as power, emancipation, or domination, and yet they seem less concerned with the nature of their sources. They hardly address questions of how they decide to examine one set of texts as relevant intellectual sources for their inquiries rather than others; why do they solely focus on the European canon of modern social and political thought while neglecting non-European thought; should they care about the non-textual materials that are omnipresent in contemporary society as additional media of political thought?

This thesis addressed these problems in the study of political thought, and began with two basic goals focusing on Japanese animation as an example of non-European and non-textual forms of political expression. The first goal was to explore how anime serve as a philosophical inspiration for political thought in thinking through the philosophical idea of emancipation. The second is to propose new aspects of the idea of emancipation through analysis of the selected anime. As the analyses have demonstrated, science fiction anime engage in two kinds of philosophical exercises: *illustration* and *innovation*. That is, anime illustrate existing philosophical ideas in tangible way; and create original, novel arguments through thought experiments. The analysis of *Time of Eve* and *Psycho-Pass* shows anime illustrate existing ideas of power, domination and resistance discussed by Fredric Jameson or Michel Foucault in lively and accessible ways. The analysis of *Evangelion* and *Appleseed*, however, demonstrates how anime can illuminate new aspects of the concept of emancipation by developing thought experiments that challenge existing understandings of the theme proposed by philosophers, social and political theorists. In *Evangelion*, the emancipation of an individual is to imagine an alternative self; while emancipation in *Appleseed* involves rejecting essentialist ideas about species such as humans or posthumans and thinking about hybridity. As I argued throughout the thesis, anime is a valid source for political theorists exploring pressing political ideas, as it illuminates familiar philosophical concepts in new ways. Since anime is one among a number of social and cultural practices that mediates political thinking in our time,

political theorists should include those materials as part of their studies rather than dismissing them as having nothing to do with their scholarship. In short, I have argued for anime's validity as a medium of political thought, and demonstrated how we could analyze anime for this purpose.

Since my concern is with questions of the idea of emancipation and research methods in political theory, the first two chapters of this thesis were devoted to examining the existing literature on emancipation in political thought and the materials and methods that leading political theorists use in order to clarify the contributions and limitations of the discipline, and to make room for alternative sources of political thought such as anime.

As we saw in Chapter 1, the idea of emancipation has generated one of the most sophisticated discussions in political theory, shaped by Karl Marx, the Frankfurt School, and poststructuralists such as Michel Foucault. There are two contested views on the idea of emancipation: emancipation as progress and the antonym of domination on the one hand, and emancipation as a process that exists in a dialectic relation to domination on the other. As for the former, Marx and Habermas maintained a strong belief in Enlightenment thought, that is, ideals of progressive transformation based on reason and rationality as a force of human emancipation, and the abstract universal idea of human beings. For Marx, emancipation involves the transformation of the socio-economic structure of capitalism into communism. In the new historical stage, human beings will recover their species-being or the common essence which makes their life as human beings distinct from that of animals. Marx considered human emancipation to be closely related to reason and rational thinking as these faculties are part of the common human essence expressed through labor. For Habermas, by contrast, emancipation of human beings is not about historical changes in the socio-economic structure, but rather about the creation of the communicative autonomy of all participants in an *ideal speech situation*. In this communicative autonomy, all members of society can discuss how to create and develop the idea of the good society for all regardless of class, ethnicity, gender or any other forms of inequality. Habermas considered that all human beings with linguistic and communicative capacities inherently have sufficient reason and rationality to achieve mutual consensus. Thus, for Habermas, human emancipation is already embedded in communication and human beings are able to achieve this goal through linguistic communication.

As for the others, philosophers such as Adorno, Horkheimer and Foucault are very suspicious about ideas of emancipation based on Enlightenment thought. They focused on the dark side of Enlightenment thought and the ways in which the idea of emancipation and human knowledge based on reason and rationality – the means of emancipation – have been closely related to power and domination in the history of modern Europe. They discussed how the development of modern technology and knowledge about nature and human beings are inevitably involved in power and power relations. For them, knowledge derived from reason and rationality was not necessarily associated with a positive and progressive movement towards emancipation. Rather, domination

and emancipation exist in a dialectical relationship because emancipation tends to produce new forms of domination. Indeed, these European thinkers provided radical critiques of Enlightenment thought wedded to the ideas of human emancipation and progressive transformation that have been so influential in modern European societies.

The modern history of the idea of emancipation, in the orbit of Marx and various responses to him by later theorists including poststructuralists, represents a serious and sophisticated debate. There are nevertheless several potential limitations, if not problems, with regard to the materials and methodologies found in these works. That is to say: the field is predominantly European and textual. It is simply true that this brief history of emancipation is solely based on modern European history, yet it presents itself as part of *the* (universal) history of ideas, rather than a modern European history of ideas. There is a clear absence of non-European thought. Moreover, with some exceptions, these scholars restrict themselves to analysis of text-based materials, rather than non-textual forms of political expression. Indeed, one wonders how we could assume we are discussing universal human emancipation if we are so exclusively studying canonical texts written by European thinkers. These texts by Marxists, critical theorists and poststructuralists in Europe are important and valuable, as the attention given to them in political and social theory around the world testifies, but it does not mean that these texts are the only valid source of materials for the study of political ideas or that there is no other way to imagine political alternatives.

It is worth noting that Adorno, Horkheimer and Foucault did include unconventional source materials for philosophy and political theory beyond philosophical treatises, and have shed new light on the conventional understanding of political ideas. Adorno and Horkheimer traced Enlightenment thinking through not only European philosophy, but also social and cultural criticism including art, literature, film and anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States. Adorno and Horkheimer's main concern in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* ([1944] 1997) is to investigate the nature of Enlightenment thinking in Western civilization. They examined how the idea of enlightenment has been deeply rooted in history, culture and actual life in Europe and the United States, and hence they didn't examine any non-Western materials. As for Foucault, apart from the examination of a wide range of historical texts including academic texts of the human sciences, he pays great attention to various social practices – the modern institutions of Europe such as prisons, hospitals, and schools (as well as neglected bodies of texts such as various documents produced by those institutions) in his genealogical works. By investigating the relation between power and knowledge, his work shows the ways in which the “truth” had been contingently shaped through discourse over centuries in modern Europe. To some extent, the originality and innovation in the work of Adorno, Horkheimer, and Foucault would be grounded on their unconventional approaches and sources in traditional philosophy. Distancing oneself from conventional sources of knowledge such as academic philosophical texts, exploring unconventional materials and critically reflecting on

philosophy could bring insights to the field of political thought. Nevertheless, neither Adorno, Horkheimer, nor Foucault looked at non-European or non-American texts as sources in their philosophical inquiries.

Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun have made more systematic studies when considering the problems of traditional mainstream method of philosophy and the possibilities for other approaches to philosophy. Chapter 2 looked at their works because they offer theoretical grounds for studying everyday life as philosophy. Witnessing the dynamic of modern capitalist societies and a series of socialist movements, Gramsci and Tosaka developed the original ideas of the intellectual and everydayness in the 1920s and 1930s. Their sophisticated theories of the intellectual and the everyday provide evidence about the significance of everyday social and cultural practices such as anime as an important locus of philosophy and politics, and the necessity of serious engagement by philosophers with people's everyday life as part of their vocation.

Gramsci and Tosaka criticized traditional intellectuals and academic philosophers, and their approach to knowledge that focuses on studying academic or philosophical texts in an abstract manner. They proposed that traditional intellectuals pay little attention to concrete social and cultural practices, as if they have nothing to do with their intellectual activities. For Gramsci and Tosaka, this is an inappropriate approach to philosophy since the essence of philosophy must be the critique of common sense and people's worldview. They both contend that philosophers must recognize concrete everyday practices as the subject of philosophy, rather than distancing themselves from them. For them, it was those practices that have shaped and reshaped people's common sense and worldview. Thus, everydayness has both a political and philosophical significance.

Gramsci was well aware of the role of culture in politics. For Gramsci everyday social and cultural practices are the object of philosophy as the social hegemony of one group cannot be achieved without consent of other social groups through their everyday life. Gramsci thought that social hegemony is maintained and challenged through everyday practices including people's common sense. Thus, for Gramsci, philosophy must be the philosophy of praxis and the criticism of common sense. Likewise, Tosaka fought against the social hegemony of fascism in his time through social and cultural criticism because people's everyday practices were increasingly occupied by an abstract and idealized idea of the nation and national culture. For Tosaka, philosophy means a materialism that is grounded on the concrete everyday practices of the present, not an idealism based on a metaphysical meaning of practice and abstract reality assumed to exist in a timeless manner.

Importantly, both Gramsci and Tosaka considered that everyday life is dynamic rather than static, and hence there is always a possibility for counter-hegemonic acts and social change. Gramsci and Tosaka envisaged a new common sense and new morals through the criticism of

contemporary everyday life. Taking Gramsci and Tosaka's arguments on the nexus between philosophy and everyday life, we can now see anime – a major cultural force and everyday cultural practice in Japan and beyond – as an important site for philosophical inquiry. Anime is a potential intellectual source for political theorists exploring pressing political ideas.

As part of their intellectual and political projects, Gramsci and Tosaka redefined the idea of intellectuals in modern capitalist society. They thought of intellectuals as a sociological and a moral group that function to shape culture and worldviews in both maintaining and challenging existing forms of social hegemony. The new type of intellectual in rising social groups – organic intellectuals for Gramsci, and journalists for Tosaka – plays an important role in leading other members of society since they are more actively involving in society than traditional intellectuals such as scholars or priests. In Edward Said's (1994) account, Gramsci's organic intellectuals could be anyone who works in the field of knowledge industries connecting either with the production or distribution of knowledge in contemporary society. Organic intellectuals attempt to “gain the consent of potential customers, win approval, marshal consumer or voter opinion” and “constantly struggle to change minds and expand markets” (Said 1994, 4).

Along with Gramsci, Tosaka and Said, I argued that experts in the anime industry such as animation directors, animators, scriptwriters, and anime critics can be understood as organic intellectuals who actively engage in society through their intellectual activities, and try to gain the consent of potential fans and viewers. These experts in the anime industry struggle to change the minds of fans and viewers and expand markets. Much like experts in modern mass journalism, anime experts lead potential viewers to new modes of cultural production and consumption.

Anime as Political Thought: Illustration and Innovation

If we recognize anime as a cultural practice and an intellectual product that shapes and reshapes parts of contemporary society, how could we study anime's political thought? This was my next question. Reviewing the existing methods and approaches available to study political thought and political ideas, both conventional and unconventional, I proposed a *trans-medial approach* to the study of anime and its political expressions found in its narrative and visual aesthetics.

A trans-medial approach combines two existing approaches to study anime's expressive potentials: what I called the *thematic-oriented approach* and the *medium-oriented approach*. These two research orientations both have their strengths and limitations for our current purpose of study. Literary scholars such as Napier (2005) employ the thematic-oriented approach to explore how anime expresses a particular philosophical theme or idea (e.g. identity, gender, technology) through the narrative. This approach allows us to study the philosophical idea in question through anime, but

it is less concerned about anime's visual narrative than the way in which ideas are expressed through its narrative. Media scholars such as Lamarre (2009) take the medium-oriented approach to study anime's medium specificity and anime's relation to other media. This approach allows us to study anime's expressive potentials but it is less concerned about how a particular philosophical idea is depicted through the narrative or in non-visual elements (i.e. dialogues, narration or written texts). I have argued that we should pay attention to both thematic and aesthetic aspects of the animated moving image in order to understand anime's political thought, as these two aspects are closely integrated into anime's visual narrative.

The in-depth analyses in this thesis show how anime offers interesting explorations of aspects of emancipation and related concepts of alienation, domination and resistance which would not be possible through texts, or at least would be difficult to do in the same way as anime does, most simply through telling stories and expressing ideas with images and sounds. The first two analytical chapters show how the science fiction anime illustrate familiar concepts of power, domination and resistance discussed by political theorists, while the next two chapters show how the anime perform a series of thought experiments that challenge existing understandings of philosophical ideas, confirm theories, demonstrate the possibilities for an alternative world, and hence contribute to ongoing philosophical discussions.

The analysis of *Time of Eve* suggests that this anime demonstrates the possibility of political alternatives through the creation of a space, even an imaginary one. Borrowing the term *utopian enclave* from Fredric Jameson (2005), I argued that a unique café in *Time of Eve* functions as a utopian enclave where people can distance themselves from everyday experiences, reflect on existing social norms and values, and potentially develop alternative forms of political thinking. According to Jameson, utopia is a distinctive process of spatial and social differentiation that makes alternative imaginations of society visible and thinkable. Utopian narrative is not merely a representation of an ideal society but a "determinate type of praxis" whose function is a critique of status quo in the existing society (Jameson 2008, 392).

Set in a near future wherein human beings use robots and androids widely in society, *Time of Eve* depicts the absolute hierarchy and control humans maintain over robots, a state of affairs that has become naturalized in society. Yet there is a café called Time of Eve whose house rule prohibits the discrimination between humans and robots. The café become a utopian enclave where the rule differentiates the cafe spatially and socially in terms of human-robot relationships. Customers in the café (both humans and robots) are confused about the new situation at first, but they gradually feel and imagine what alternative human-robot relationships would be like. *Time of Eve* vividly juxtaposes omnipresent discourse about absolute human control over robots and its ineffectiveness in the café through protagonist Rikuo's eyes. Rikuo's changing attitude to androids and his complex emotional reaction first occurs inside the café and later expands outside the café. Rikuo starts to

question existing hierarchical relationships between humans and androids and the prevailing anti-android discourse in society. I argued that the café becomes a locus of resistance for Rikuo and other main characters, and *Time of Eve* presents a form of emancipation that involves ceaseless struggle and the hope for a new human-robot relationship as a political alternative.

The analysis of *Psycho-Pass* examines contested ideas of emancipation, domination, and security in the future digital surveillance society, and shows how the anime illustrates modern forms of security and power discussed by Michel Foucault. I argued that *Psycho-Pass* challenges Ken Booth's (1991) idea of emancipation as a way to true security, and confirms Michel Foucault's (2007) notion of security as domination. For Booth, security is the absence of threats at the level of human individuals, and to free people from a range of constraints that prevent them from pursuing what they would like to do freely. In Booth's conception, security stands in opposition to power or domination. Foucault, by contrast, suggests that security in modern society is an advanced form of control and domination of the population called governmentality. Governmentality is achieved through a range of advanced technologies and knowledge on the basis of political economy to manage people's health and productivity.

Psycho-Pass illustrates in a lively fashion the ways in which the forms of power described by Foucault (i.e. disciplinary power, knowledge and biopower) function to achieve security and social order in digital surveillance society. The Sibyle System and the Psycho-Pass – a mass surveillance system and visualized mental status – become an iconic symbol of governmentality in *Psycho-Pass*. The system monitors people's mental conditions by collecting, analyzing and processing personal data to maintain security. Based on detailed analysis of their personal data including Psycho-Pass, the system also provides the population with personalized physical and mental health care as well as judging the career prospects of every individual. Highly advanced knowledge and technologies of risk management are applied to the entire population. Control is also achieved through people's routine practices. Individuals constantly check their Psycho-Pass and receive regular check-ups, medication or counselling to manage their mental health. Maintaining a good Psycho-Pass becomes a priority for them and people modify their behavior.

The visual narrative of *Psycho-Pass* presents a close relationship between security and visibility. The cinematography of noir creates an effective sense of anxiety and insecurity. The character design in a dark tone matches the atmosphere of the dystopic fictional world. Visually distorted space immediately expresses a sense of insecurity. The hologram technology is extensively used to show how security is connected to visual protection and control of social and private space. A range of visualized technology (i.e. the Psycho-Pass, the Dominator weapon, environment holograms, holographic personal assistants) functions as an immediate reference of security, knowledge and power in the narrative. I argued that the relation between domination and emancipation is dialectical in *Psycho-Pass*. An ideal society without threats and fears – a vision of

emancipation – is achieved through the control of populations through the highly advanced technology and technique of mass surveillance.

The analysis of *Neon Genesis Evangelion* not only illustrates some of the familiar aspects of alienation as theorized by Melvin Seeman (1959) (i.e. powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement) but also addresses the contradictory elements in Seeman's notion of alienation. Protagonist Shinji attempts to ease his sense of powerlessness, meaninglessness and self-estrangement by conforming to the accepted social norms and social values of fighting against the aliens. Yet fighting against the aliens does not ease other aspects of Shinji's alienated feelings of normlessness and isolation, as the aliens are not simply an absolute enemy anymore in the later part of the story. The transformations of the aliens into different forms blur the clear binary distinction between humans and aliens, friend and enemy, and the Self and the Other, which is the basis of the justification to fight them. The anime portrays the alienated feelings of the protagonist and his inner struggles through effective visual narrative techniques such as still images, voiceover narration, montage, abstract visuals, effective use of colors, as well as written texts.

Analyzing the alternative universe in the final episode, I argued that Shinji is possibly emancipated from his sense of alienation through imagination. In the alternative universe, Shinji is neither alienated nor participating in the fight against aliens anymore as we have seen the intense visual effects depicting Shinji's psychic struggles have disappeared in this imaginary world. As long as he is imagining other possibilities, Shinji can cope with his alienated situation in the living world where he has to fight against aliens. In short, imagination is a form of emancipation.

The analysis of *Appleseed* demonstrates how the anime performs a thought experiment challenging a philosophical argument of *species-relativism* proposed by Nicholas Ager (2010) and his fixed and homogenous conception of human beings. Ager argues that human beings share unique experiences and values such as aesthetics and emotional sensitivities that make human beings a single and distinct biological species. Ager proposes that we should reject enhancement technologies that upgrade our current human intellectual and physical capacities because this kind of enhancement will eventually make human beings into another species – posthumans – and bring about an end to humanity.

Set in future society wherein humans and genetically engineered posthumans live together, *Appleseed* depicts the possibility of shared experience and values between humans and posthumans, and the limits of a standpoint that projects a fixed, homogeneous nature for human beings, which is similar to Ager's. I argued that *Appleseed* provides a counterexample to challenge an essentialistic understanding of human beings and an immutable boundary between humans and posthumans. *Appleseed* depicts the contradictory boundary between humans and posthuman bioroids effectively in a variety of ways from character design to narrative. The main posthuman character Hitomi is

attractively created in exactly the same way as protagonist human Deunan. The narrative depicts posthumans as more humane and caring beings than other humans such as essentialists. Presenting the contrast between inhuman humans and humane bioroids, *Appleseed* effectively leads the audience to question the boundary between humans and posthumans, and the social arrangement based on anthropocentrism.

Over the course of the story, protagonist Deunan fights against the essentialists' attempts to destroy either humans or posthumans. Deunan is against a homogeneous understanding of species, which is similar to the premise of Ager's species-relativism. Rejecting both camps of human essentialists and posthuman essentialists, Deunan chooses to continue the struggle for "the true new race" in the climax. I interpreted Deunan's mention of the true new race as a *hybrid* between human and posthuman that can bring a new situation beyond the existing species category of human or posthuman. I argued that this *hybridity* becomes a possible political strategy for going beyond human essentialism as a form of emancipation. *Appleseed's* position here is similar to that of postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha. Bhabha (2004) argues that the originality or purity of race, culture or nation is unsustainable because all cultures are constructed in hybrid form in the space called the *Third Space*. This intermingling space has a political significance since it "displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom" (Rutherford 1990, 211). *Appleseed* provides a useful source with which to consider the issue of difference and the boundary between human and posthumans.

The science fiction anime titles selected for this analysis all clearly convey existing or new aspects of political ideas of emancipation, power, domination and resistance through the narrative combining a wide range of verbal, visual and acoustic elements of moving images. Those visual and acoustic narrative techniques – animated mise-en-scène (character design and background design, motion design, color and line), cinematography (camera angle, camera movement, shot, special effects), editing, and sound – are all integrated into story telling. Those techniques effectively work to depict a series of events, characters, their emotions, their social relations, and the fictional worlds in which the characters live. For example, *Time of Eve* and *Appleseed* depict a hierarchical social relationship between humans and posthumans and its contradictions, not only through dialogues and narrations, but also in the portrayal of humane humans and posthumans (androids and bioroids) and their emotions with visual and acoustic elements such as character design, motion design, voice acting, cinematography, music and so forth. Similarly, *Psycho-Pass* and *Evangelion* depict characters' feelings of anxiety, security, and insecurity not only with dialogues or narrations, but also with image design, particularly background design. Importantly, background design plays a crucial role in anime in depicting both the external and internal worlds of characters. The backgrounds not only depict various settings of the fictional worlds (e.g. place, landscape, and

cityscape) where characters find themselves, but they also embody the characters' emotions. The analysis of Shinji's inner struggles in *Evangelion* is a prominent example of this.

Limitations of the Work and Suggestions for Future Research

This investigation into science fiction anime offers a new source and method for political theorists. In establishing my framework, I have also offered a research method for others interested in studying the visual expression of political ideas in animated moving images. As visual culture has increasingly shaped part of the cultural, social, political and academic landscape in contemporary societies, political theorists must attend the significance of visual culture including anime as an additional form of political expression, and seriously engage with it in order to understand the political thinking and political thought of our time. In presenting my research on science fiction anime and its philosophical expositions, I proposed to analyze the intersection between politics and visual culture by situating science fiction anime's expressive capacities in the context of contemporary political thought. Nevertheless, as a direct consequence of my research questions, methodology, and selection of titles, the study has some limitations, which need to be considered. I hope that these limitations are not detrimental ones but rather serve to encourage others interested in investigating anime's political expressions further. I suggest two possible directions for further research: anime's new aesthetics and anime's visual communication in specific socio-political contexts.

Firstly, it is worth exploring the work of new generations of anime creators, anime aesthetics and the possibilities of alternative expressions in thinking about politics. There are obviously many interesting anime titles that I did not include to limit the scope of this study. Innovative visual styles and narrative strategies have a potential to attract viewers, and perhaps also invite them to rethink their surroundings and imagine alternatives. For example, animation director Yuasa Masaaki employs an extreme hybridity of visual styles mixing photographic, photorealistic, pen drawing, and animetic style and creates distinctive aesthetics. Yuasa's works – *Mind Game* (2004), *Kemonozume* (2006), *Kaiba* (2008), *The Tatami Galaxy* (2010), *Ping Pong* (2014) – are all visually experimental and potentially intellectually provocative. Recent popular animated TV series based on original manga such as *Attack on Titan* (2013) and *JoJo's Bizarre Adventure* series (2012-2013; 2014-2015) use a mixture of traditional anime techniques and manga-inspired techniques, vivid colors and 3D CGI technologies extensively to achieve a series of stunning visual effects. Shinkai Makoto's works – *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002), *The Place Promised in Our Early Days* (2004), *5 Centimeters Per Second* (2007), *Journey to Agatha* (2011), and *The Garden of Words* (2013) – seem to question the centrality of the character and its image design in anime. Shinkai effectively uses the landscape in

depicting the character's emotions in his films (Walker 2009, 8), rather than using the character's image and movement.⁸³ The short animated films series "Japan Anima(tor)'s Exhibition" (*Nihon Animator Mihonichi*) presented by Anno Hideaki's Studio Khara and the leading media company Dwango is an exciting project that seeks to encourage further exchange and innovation in the animation industry in Japan. The series showcases a wide range of high-quality animation, both original works and spin-offs (e.g. Anno's *Evangelion* series, and other manga and novel adaptations), as well as music videos created by both junior and established animators. A new title is available for online streaming each week since its launch in November 2014. As anime is changing through innovations driven by creators and new technologies, an understanding of its expressive potentials and capacities is needed more than ever.

Secondly, it is crucial to study the ways in which anime and popular visual culture become powerful media that are part of the shaping and reshaping of political discourses in Japan and elsewhere. I believe that there is interesting sociological or anthropological work to be done on anime and its relation to political discourse in Japanese society, or other East Asian societies. The primary goal of this study was to examine anime's expressive capacities as a medium of thought to challenge existing mainstream sources of knowledge in the field of political theory, rather than to investigate the political/cultural significance of anime within Japanese society or elsewhere, or the ways in which anime is produced, consumed and interpreted in specific sociocultural contexts. This choice is partly because anime's political/cultural significance in Japanese society has already been studied elsewhere, and because anime is such a rich and sophisticated medium it is possible to explore it in multiple ways across national and disciplinary boundaries. This is not to say that specific sociocultural contexts are important in analyzing anime; on the contrary, it would be very worthwhile to continue this investigation further by tracing anime's cultural significance through a variety of broader social and political discourses in Japan and elsewhere.

Governments, business sectors, media companies, religious groups, artists and fans use anime as a tool to express ideas, attract and persuade the general public and target audience, as well as a visual metaphor in the East Asian context. In 2008, the Japanese government produced a documentary animation *Megumi* (2008) on the abduction of the Japanese nationals by North Korea in 1977; it was subsequently shown in cinemas and through the internet in nine foreign languages (Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, Government of Japan 2008). Media franchises or *media mix* based on military themes with a cute twist have recently been very popular in Japan. Mizushima

⁸³ Walker (2009, 8) suggests that "Landscape, and its relation to the individual, is a recurrent image employed in Shinkai's films, a visual configuration in which this parallelism of contrasting scale is constantly put forward." For further discussion on the landscape in Shinkai's work, see Katō (2009).

Tsutomu's animated TV series *Girls und Panzer* (2012)⁸⁴ and Kadokawa Games' online game franchise *Kantai Collection* (2013)⁸⁵ are one of these examples. The combination of cute girls and the detailed military references to real-life tanks and battleships during World War Two appears to be very bizarre, and one wonders if the recent popular consumption of a fantastical military imagination is merely another hit in the popular *mecha* genre and nothing to do with real politics, or whether it could be part of a larger political discourse of banal militarism that reinforces the Abe administration's advocacy of Japan's remilitarization. In 2013, Hong Kong protestors used *Attack on Titan* (2013), the popular manga and animated TV series, as a metaphor of the threat of Chinese communist state and the mainland Chinese to Hong Kong during the July 1st protest (Garrett 2014). "*Attack on Titan* has been visually, materially, and rhetorically (re)imagined locally as Attack on China in popular online video and in other Hongkonger visual culture products" (ibid., 376). As *Attack on Titan* has been also very popular in Japan, Korea, China and Taiwan, one wonders what sort of political imagination or metaphors this anime generates in multiple locations. Political visions mediated through anime in multiple locations could be also a valuable source in thinking about everyday political thinking and political thought. I hope that this thesis can help others to study the intersection between anime and politics further, and understand alternative political expressions meaningful to many people not only within Japan but also other contemporary societies.

Anime: A Medium of Political Theory

This study examined the intersections between anime and political thought from theoretical, methodological and empirical angles. I have argued that science fiction anime is a useful site for political theorists to interrogate pressing philosophical ideas in a lively way. Anime can serve as an inspiration for philosophical exposition as well as engage with ongoing philosophical discussions through illustrations and thought experiments. Science fiction anime is imaginative fiction set in alternative worlds but what a viewer sees, thinks and feels about anime is real, and would have an impact on their ways of seeing and thinking about their surroundings. As Ursula K. Le Guin (1973,

⁸⁴ The anime depicts an alternative universe where high school girls compete against each other with tanks in a sport called *sensha-dō*. The girls often admire the beauty of tanks with very detailed references to real-life World War Two tanks. The battle scenes are created with sophisticated CGI technologies.

⁸⁵ The online game hit over 2.5 million users since its release in April 2013 (Yasuda 2015). The game anthropomorphizes over a hundred battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers and submarines based on the real warships owned by the Imperial Japanese Navy as cute girls in naval uniforms. Players play the role of captain of the fleets and must build, repair and troop these fleets in order to fight against alien enemies.

43–44) suggests, “Distancing, the pulling back from ‘reality’ in order to see it better, is perhaps the essential gesture of SF. It is by distancing that SF achieve aesthetic joy, tragic tension, and moral cogency.” Indeed, the selected science fiction anime do offer such aesthetic joy, tragic tension and moral cogency by distancing us (as viewers) from the familiar reality. By showing some of anime’s potentials as a medium of political expression, I have tried to include anime as a new intellectual source in studying political thought along with existing European philosophical canons. Yet I am not calling for the token contribution of Japanese anime for the sake of adding an exotic flavor or giving a new look to political theory. If political theory has to be about “the study of actual political thinking (or thought)” as Michael Freeden (2008) argues, and if imagination plays a central role in political thinking, “even the deepest kind of political conformism and any defense of the status quo” (Geuss 2010, x), it is time to look at imagination in everyday culture such as anime as a serious source of political thought in our time. This investigation is a corrective to the common assumption that non-European or non-textual forms of ideas and thoughts have nothing to do with “the common ideological heritage of mankind” (Fukuyama 1989, 9). It is also a corrective to the assumption that the study of popular culture such as anime is a fluffy, frivolous diversion for philosophers and political theorists. If we acknowledge that philosophical ideas and arguments are mediated, formed and challenged in multiple ways in visual culture such as anime, and that anime has been an indispensable part of everyday social and cultural practices to many people in multiple locations, philosophers and political theorists should not exclude anime as a potential source of human knowledge. Viewing anime becomes a fresh opportunity to do philosophy in its own right. Imagining how the characters feel about themselves, their social relations, and their living world, distancing ourselves from the familiar social reality, thinking about alternative social relations and political visions, all these practices become part of philosophical exercises. In other words, anime becomes a medium of intellectual and aesthetic intervention in studying political thought. Challenges to and transformations of the intellectual traditions of political theory are certainly afoot. One of the most exciting developments in the study of political theory in recent years is that academics have started to take alternative approaches and explore new sources across disciplinary, cultural and medial boundaries in their scholarship. Academics’ critical engagement with everyday cultural practices is needed more than ever. I hope this thesis contributes to movement in this direction.

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SAMENVATTING

Animatie is een lang vergeten bron van politiek denken. Het doel van dit proefschrift is om dat recht te zetten, en wel op twee manieren. Allereerst stelt dit proefschrift vanuit zowel theoretisch als empirisch oogpunt dat animatie als een intellectuele bron van politiek denken dient te worden gebruikt naast de filosofische canon. Ten tweede werpt het licht op het politieke belang en het expressieve potentieel van onconventionele bronnen voor politieke theoretici. Dit proefschrift verkent het filosofische concept van emancipatie en breidt het traditionele corpus uit door te putten uit Japanse science fiction animatie (SF animatie), een bron die normaliter geen plaats krijgt in deze filosofische debatten. SF animatie is een onconventionele uitdrukking van politiek denken, die mediaal is in plaats van tekstueel. Hoewel het belang van visuele media, vooral film, recentelijk erkend is door filosofen als een extra bron voor filosofisch onderzoek, blijft het wetenschappelijk domein van politiek denken hoofdzakelijk tekstueel. Daarnaast is het domein ook geo-cultureel. Politiek denken wortelt al lange tijd in sterke Europese tradities, waarbij politieke uitingen in de domeinen van utopische en SF literatuur in het verlengde liggen. Echter, alternatieve politieke denkbeelden uit niet-Europese landen, zoals science fiction uit Japan, worden weinig onderzocht. Door het gebrek aan wetenschappelijk onderzoek naar politieke uitingen in animatie te herkennen, oppert dit proefschrift nieuwe manieren om het concept van emancipatie te begrijpen. Het stelt dat SF tekenfilm een bruikbare plaats is voor politiek theoretici om dringende filosofische ideeën te bevragen, en dat het kan deelnemen aan filosofische discussies die spelen door middel van illustraties en gedachte-experimenten.

De structuur van het proefschrift is als volgt. De eerste drie hoofdstukken vormen een theoretische en methodologische basis voor het proefschrift. Hoofdstuk 1 brengt het landschap van emancipatie in kaart als een domein in het bestaande veld van politicologie, en stelt dat dit domein voornamelijk Europees en tekstueel is. Hoofdstuk 2 bekijkt de werken van Antonio Gramsci en Tosaka Jun. Dit hoofdstuk behandelt de rol van intellectuelen, het concept van het alledaagse en het verband tussen theorie en praktijk, en biedt zo een theoretische basis dat als uitgangspunt kan dienen bij het onderzoeken van animatie – een alledaagse culturele praktijk in Japan en elders – als een belangrijke bron voor filosofisch onderzoek. Hoofdstuk 3 beschouwt de methoden en benaderingen die geschikt zijn voor toepassing bij het analyseren van animatie als een politieke denkmethode. De daaropvolgende vier hoofdstukken zijn case studies die laten zien hoe de geselecteerde SF animatieproducties op twee manieren filosofische oefeningen worden in het

beschouwen van aspecten van emancipatie: *illustratie* en *innovatie*. Dat houdt in dat animatie bestaande ideeën illustreert, en/of originele filosofische argumenten creëert door middel van gedachtenexperimenten. Ieder hoofdstuk beschrijft het tekstuele veld, om vervolgens te demonstreren hoe SF animatie kan bijdragen en bouwen aan ons begrip van een specifiek effect van emancipatie en daaraan gerelateerde concepten door middel van een visuele vertelling. Hoofdstuk 4 onderzoekt hoe de speelfilm *Time of Eve* een illustratie biedt van Fredric Jameson's concept van een *utopische enclave* en de mogelijkheid tot een alternatieve wereld als plaats voor verzet. Hoofdstuk 5 analyseert hoe de TV-serie *Psycho-Pass* een illustratie biedt van de manieren waarop Michel Foucault's concept van macht optreedt om het welzijn van mensen veilig te stellen in een technologisch versterkte gecontroleerde samenleving. Het beargumenteert dat de relatie tussen emancipatie en overheersing dialectisch is. Hoofdstuk 6 analyseert Melvin Seeman's theorie van vervreemding in relatie tot emancipatie in de TV-serie *Neon Genesis Evangelion*. Het potentieel van en hindernissen voor de 'ont-vreemding' (*de-alienation*) en emancipatie van de hoofdpersoon worden ter sprake gebracht door middel van een gedachte-experiment, zodat gesuggereerd wordt dat fantasie emancipatie is. Hoofdstuk 7 laat zien hoe de speelfilm *Appleseed* een gedachte-experiment uitvoert dat het filosofisch argument van Nicholas Ager ter discussie stelt. Het onderzoekt het idee van hybriditeit en het emancipatoire potentieel ervan.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Mari Nakamura is Lecturer in Japanese Language and Culture at the University of Central Lancashire in the UK, since 2016. Mari was born in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan, on 15 September 1975, where she attended Meizen High School in Kurume. From 1994 to 1998, she was an undergraduate student at Fukuoka University, and received her Bachelor of Arts in English in 1998. Between 1996 and 1997 she was an exchange student studying linguistics at the University of Leeds in the UK. From 1998 to 2000, Mari studied Mandarin Chinese at the National Taiwan Normal University Mandarin Training Center in Taiwan. From 2000 to 2003, she was a postgraduate student at the Institute of Linguistics at National Tsing Hua University (NTHU) in Taiwan. During her postgraduate study, she worked as a Japanese instructor at the NTHU Language Center, and as a research assistant at the NTHU Graduate Institute of Philosophy. After receiving her Master of Arts in Linguistics, she lived in Cardiff and Tokyo, and worked in the private sector for three years. Between 2009 and 2010, she worked as a translator at Booking.com in Amsterdam and the Modern East Asia Research Centre at Leiden University. In 2010 she began her PhD at the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies at Leiden University. Mari's doctoral research on science fiction anime and political thought is a part of the VICI-funded 5-year Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) project *Beyond Utopia: New Politics, the Politics of Knowledge, and the Science Fictional Field of Japan*, headed by Prof. dr. Christopher Goto-Jones. During her doctoral study, Mari taught at Leiden University College The Hague and Erasmus University Rotterdam. In 2016, she received the Taiwan fellowship and worked as visiting scholar at the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University in Taiwan. Mari's research interests include animation, political thought, visual culture in East Asia.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Non-European ideas and thoughts do matter as part of “the common ideological heritage of mankind.”
2. Analyzing everyday cultural practices such as anime is a way of doing philosophy, and it should be a valid intellectual, social and political intervention.
3. The work of Antonio Gramsci and Tosaka Jun remains valuable in studying everyday life and its social, political and philosophical implications today. In this vein, anime is an intellectual product and the experts in anime industry are intellectuals.
4. Anime constitutes a visual narrative, and studying anime’s political thought should therefore involve analysis of the ways in which images and sounds work together in anime’s storytelling.
5. Science fiction and film can generate estrangement and criticism by disclosing the unfamiliarity of the familiar to us, and invite us to see our familiar reality critically.
6. Science fiction anime engages in two kinds of philosophical exercises: *illustration* and *innovation*. That is, anime illustrates existing philosophical ideas in tangible ways; and creates original, novel arguments through thought experiments.
7. Imagination, in particular utopian and science fiction imagination, matters to political thinking and political thought.
8. Emancipation is a contested concept, and should not be limited by the definitions of the past.
9. Anime constitutes a visual narrative, and studying the political thought of an animated film such as *Appleseed* as a thought experiment can therefore involve the reassessment of philosophical arguments proposed by philosophers such as Nicholas Ager.