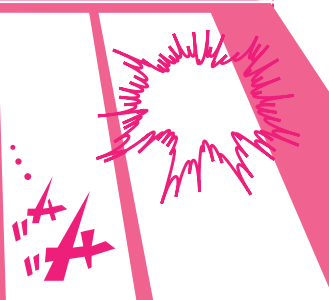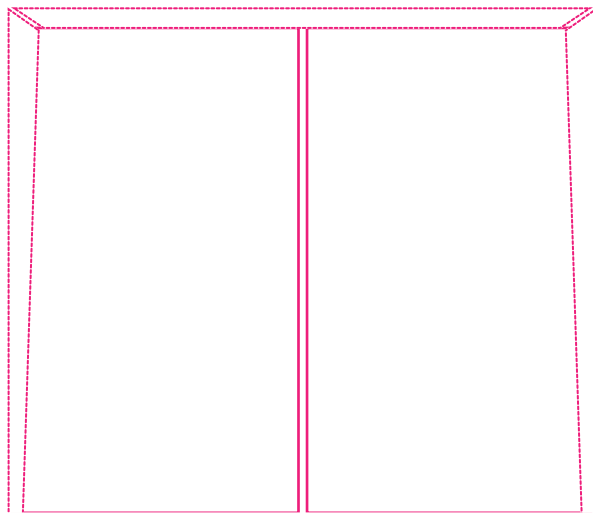# MANGA COMICS MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

Cultural Sharing and Local Communities

日本のマンガミュージアム

あらたな文化共有と地域社会

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Preface

Manga, Exhibitions, Museums

In 2009, two significant projects related to manga were carried out in European museums: 'Manga: Professor Munakata's British Museum Adventure[1]' at the British Museum in London, and 'Cartoons: The Louvre Invites Comic-Strip Art[2]' at the Musée du Louvre in Paris. While the former concentrated on the new work of Hoshino Yukinobu set in the British Museum, the latter invited five comic artists to create artwork using the Louvre as their primary setting, among which one of them was Araki Hirohiko, a Japanese manga artist popular for his series *JoJo no Kimyō na Bōken* (*JoJo's Bizarre Adventure*). Indeed, exhibiting manga is one of the hot topics for museums in Europe today. Not only does it challenge the established exhibiting method in museums, it also raises questions on the distinction between so called 'high' culture and 'low' culture, an agenda somewhat untouched but tacitly understood inside the museums walls.

In Japan, the trend of holding manga exhibitions in museums and department stores had already become prominent by around 2000, but it was perhaps not until 2008 that contemporary artists and their works had begun to be featured; the touring of 'Inoue Takehiko: The Last Manga Exhibition[3]' had been so successful that it inspired both publishers and contemporary manga artists to become involved in museum business. In recent years, exhibitions featuring Araki Hirohiko, Otomo Katsuhiro[4] and Oda Eiichiro[5] have especially attracted attention.

1   5 November 2009 to 3 January 2010.
2   22 January 2009 to 13 April 2009.
3   24 May 2008 to 6 July 2008 at The Ueno Royal Museum (Tokyo); 11 April 2009 to 14 June 2009 at the Contemporary Art Museum Kumamoto; 2 Jan 2010 to 14 March 2010 at the Suntory Museum Tempozan (Osaka); 3 May 2010 to 13 June 2010 at the Sendai Mediatheque.
4   A Japanese manga artist best known for his work, *Akira*.
5   A Japanese manga artist best known for his work, *One Piece*.

Manga Museums in Japan

However, another manga and museum related feature in Japan should be noted here; that of the Manga Museums, which are constructed for collecting, preserving and exhibiting uniquely manga related materials. Throughout the country, fifty to sixty institutions that can be said to fall under this category have been established, mainly as a community cultural center of the cities they reside in. The oldest having been opened in 1966, and two or three of them constructed as early as the 70s and 80s, the majority of them were constructed after 1990. To be more precise, there are two peak periods in which they began to crop up; first around the mid-90s and the second at the beginning of the 2000s.

After Tezuka's death in 1989, there were discussions among related people on how to inherit his works as well as the manga culture of postwar Japan, leading to the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum in Takarazuka city, which opened in 1994 and is a pioneer in this field. Some other cities followed the idea of Takarazuka in making a manga related cultural institution crowning artists that come from their cities. The second boom is apparently related to the expectation towards Cool Japan. Most of them tend to be constructed for the purpose of regional promotion and to achieve positive economic effect form 'soft power' contents.

However, while the Japanese government's campaigning of Cool Japan and Japanese popular culture as 'soft power' have contributed greatly to the recent popularity of manga in and outside Japan, manga has since long been a medium deeply integrated in the Japanese people's everyday lives; not only kids and teenagers at school, but also grown-ups read them in the commuting train. It is one of the most common and popular media among people. And it is from this point of view that we have carried out our projects focusing on some manga related cultural institutions.

Leaving aside the boom, we know little about how these manga museums and exhibitions are actually doing, and how they are being consumed by the visitors. In fact,

when we consider the fact that manga is a mundane everyday object we see everywhere, one must raise the question of why is it necessary to have them inside museums. There is also the question of how manga is actually represented inside the museum. Because manga takes the format of a book, which one needs to open and consume personally, exhibiting them in public spaces is a challenging task.

Moreover, most of these institutions are suffering in terms of visitor number and financial cuts, but it seems that what should really be discussed in order to improve the situation remains untouched.

Manga Museums and Their Audiences

Our team has conducted audience research, in the form of visitor surveys, in order to examine the manga consumption of audiences within the manga museums. This project was carried out with several objectives in mind.

- To understand what the actual visitors are doing, hence understanding what consumption of manga involves.
- To see the scope of what the 'manga experience' truly is.
- To think about manga related cultural institutions beyond the argument of Cool Japan and regional promotion.
- To further the discussion of manga audience beyond the usual otaku culture argument.

From 2009 to 2012, we have conducted audience research on three sites: the Kyoto International Manga Museum (September, 2009), the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum (August-September, 2011), and the Hiroshima Manga City Library (September, 2011). Here, three very different types of institutions were chosen in order to examine closely what the combination of manga (its characteristic as medium) and museum space would bring forth. Using methods combined with tracking and timing, sojourn time survey, questionnaire survey and staff interviews, and by comparing the three surveys across institutions, we have tried to understand how manga is represented in different types of institutions, and ultimately how that has affected the visitors' behavior and their method of manga consumption.

Akatsuka Fujio Memoriall Hall

JOJO Exhibition Posters in Roppongi Hills Second Floor, Tokyo

Mizuki Shigeru Road in Tottori Prefecture. The statue of a famous character Nezumi Otoko (Mouse Man) in Mizuki manga

With the survey in Kyoto International Manga Museum as the starting point of discussion, the three papers compare the results while elaborating on different topics as necessary. For example, while the survey at the Kyoto International Manga Museum analyzes in detail the use of space by visitors inside museums and their way of consuming manga, the survey at the Hiroshima Manga City Library sheds light on how the library space promotes or

demotes a certain way of reading (or consuming) manga within the space. In the survey at the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum, we focused on the relation of manga museums and regional promotion by further developing the discussion of the visitors' behavior patterns observed inside the museum.

You will find that each paper highlights the intertwined relation of manga, museums and their visitors, that are hardly noticed or discussed among these institutions. It is our belief that contributing to manga culture is essential for such institutions to be sustainable.

Visitor Survey at the Kyoto International Manga Museum:

Considering Museums and Popular Culture

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Translated by Cathy SELL

I. Scope of the study

What can be born of the blend between popular culture and museums? Since the 1990s, beginning with anime and manga, films and music, we have come see an upsurge of the phenomenon in which popular culture finds itself within the museum context. Originally popular culture was regarded as a privately consumed media, or a communal hobby. In Japan in particular, it has been treated as such and movements towards a public forum have always been met with opposition. Moreover, the strength of the public museum's role or indeed *raison d'être* as an educational institution has led to a long hesitation over substantial dealings with popular culture (with an exception of private small-scale museums with hobby collectibles). However at present these arenas are certainly coming closer within reach; and this is bringing forth a new meaning for both popular culture and for museums.

To take the Kyoto International Manga Museum as a case in point (see photos 1-4), it is housed in a repurposed building of a former school and thereby attracts many visitors. In addition to local residents, it draws in a large number of tourists for its local Kyoto character. Also in reflection of the rising interest in Japanese manga from abroad, international visitors to the museum account for over 10 percent of all patrons. Over 300,000 manga are held in the museum's collection, with 50,000 volumes of manga shelved on the 'Wall of Manga' covering every available wall space, from which visitors can select manga to read within the building. Furthermore, as the museum holds several exhibitions throughout the year as well as lectures and symposiums by artists and researchers, it exhibits and introduces manga culture from various perspectives.

What comes of having manga, which are usually consumed quite privately, within the very public space of the museum? How is it received by visitors to the museum? What do the visitors do in the museum? There are the things we wish to examine in the paper.

II. Survey Outline

As an example case of a popular culture museum, the Kyoto International Manga Museum (henceforth MM) was selected for a visitor survey. In order to fully understand the visitors' utilization of the space, a tracking survey was undertaken observing visitors throughout the building.

A tracking survey involves tracing the visitors' path of movement in order to examine their navigation of the museum space. It is a traditional visitor survey technique used by museums.[1] The observer draws the route taken by

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1 Tracking surveys were first used in museums by psychologist Arthur Melton and his colleagues in the 1930s. (Melton. *Problems of Installation in Museums of Art*. American Association of Museums, 1935.) Visitor surveys began to be implemented in Japan in the 1960s, tracking surveys at that time were carried out by academics such as Ishida Seiichi and Shiina Noritaka in the National Museum of Nature and Science, in Tokyo.

Photo.1: Kyoto International Manga Museum exterior

Photo.2: Visitors absorbed in reading manga inside. Readers commonly also sit on the floor and stairs.

Photo.3: Special exhibition *The DNA of "Sunday" & "Magazine": Fifty Years of Shonen Manga Magazines*

Photo.4: The 'children's library' an ideal space for idle relaxation while reading manga

visitors onto a floor plan of the target area by hand, and uses symbols to denote places where the subject has stopped and their direction of gaze. Further points of interest are recorded in memorandum.[2] It is an extremely effective method which allows understanding of visitors'

behaviour within the building and their utilization of the space, and can shed a spotlight on detailed movement and unconscious actions which cannot be captured using interviews or questionnaires.[3] (On the other hand, tracking surveys cannot measure the subject's thoughts.)

An important feature of this is that the target area was the entire building. Generally, the scope of most tracking surveys is limited to a single gallery and only records the visitors' behaviour within the one exhibition. This is because the surveys are conducted in order to judge the merits and demerits of a particular exhibition. Conducting facility-wide surveys would also involve excessive labor and stress. However taking into account the purpose of the present study it was essential to observe visitors' behaviour throughout the entire building.

The survey was carried out as a joint project of the four researchers Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa, and Ito, the latter being a research staff member of the museum and full cooperation was obtained from the museum.[4] A pilot study was conducted between the 18th to the 19th of October 2009 by the researchers, followed by a briefing to the observers on Friday the 13th of November. Then the survey was carried out over a one week period from Saturday the 14th

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('Hakubutsukan ni okeru kanran kōdō seseki' *Hakubutsukan Kenkyu* 37(2), 1964. pp6-11.) However, visitor surveys in Japanese institutions remained scarce until the 1980s, within which there were not many tracking surveys performed. They were reportedly carried out in modest scale by researchers of architectural planning and design systems (for example Nomura Tota, Tsuboyama Yukio, Terasawa Tsutomu, etc.) and exhibition production companies in the 1990. Incidentally, with the 1920s-30s shift towards a more methodological fieldwork approach in the cultural and social sciences such as Japanese sociology and folklore studies etc. scholars of the *kōgengaku* (study of modern social phenomena) group, including Kon Wajiro and Yoshida Kenkichi, conducted studies in which they shadowed townspeople and recorded their actions, illustrating that this method is applicable across fields.

2   It is worth pointing out that nowadays tracking people's movements without permission may be questionable from a privacy viewpoint. This is something which must be judged on an individual museum basis, but for the present survey subjects were not specifically informed of observation in an attempt to preserve uninfluenced behaviour. It is the position of the researchers and institution that privacy of the visitors has not been infringed upon as no identifying characteristics of individuals have been recorded. Furthermore, notification of the survey was posted on a pillar in the entranceway to MM and the survey was undertaking with utmost care to ensure that the subjects were unaware of being observed. Additionally, in cases where the subject became aware of observation, the surveyors were instructed to immediately stop the survey at that point, and calmly explain the research actions to the visitor; however no such cases were reported.

3   For further reference to related and other survey methods, see Hein (1998) or Murata (2003).

4   Carried out in 2009 with the support of Jin-ai University internal collaborative research funding.

	Data no.	Stay length	Arrival	Departure	Category	Age	Gender
Shortest	#54	0.15	10:30	10:45	M	50-55	Male
Longest	#50	7.35	10:15	17:55	L	30-35	Female
Average stay length:		1.53	Average data based on 61 of the 68 cases observed.				

to Sunday the 22nd of November, aligned to start with the opening of the special exhibition *The DNA of "Sunday" & "Magazine" : Fifty Years of Shonen Manga Magazines*.[5] The survey period encompassed both weekdays and the weekend. On each day the observers who carried out the survey[6] (a total of six people) were broken into three groups for data collection. A total of 68 visitors were observed.[7] As can be understood from the fact that an even number of 100 tracking studies could not be reached in spite of having had three teams collect data over a week long period, there was a high number visitors who stayed for a long period of time within the museum. (See table.1)

III. Survey Results

Several patterns emerged under analysis of the survey data. Firstly, that museum visitor behaviour patterns can be divided into categories; that of 'library' (L) and 'museum' (M) type visitors. The former pattern is demonstrated by visitors who principally spend their time in the museum reading manga, recognizing MM as a library. Whereas the latter display a pattern of recognizing MM as a museum, treating the 50,000 volume 'Wall of Manga' as well as the building itself, and of course the gallery spaces as an exhibition. For example, figure 1 illustrates a typical L type pattern. The visitor traverses the bookcase area near the entrance, reads manga without moving any further into the building and then leaves. In contrast figure 2 is a typical M type pattern of behaviour. It illustrates a path in which the visitor constantly moves around the building without spending a long time in any particular place, during which

they entered the special exhibition and spent roughly 30 minutes looking it over.

These categories were consistent with the image commonly held by museum staff of visitors to the museum. That is, they recognize that there are two types of visitors, those who come to view the museum exhibits and those who come to read manga.

Additionally, the data uncovered the fact that the L and M type of visitors are not completely separate, as there is a set of visitors who display both behavioural patterns, which will be described as the 'complex' (C) category (see figure 3). C type visitors were often observed coming to the library as a group, or accompany other visitors and waiting for them. During their time engaging in M mode, they will often shift momentarily into L mode and then return to M mode.

The above three types were to some extent unsurprising. However what the data from the study has made clear is that there are patterns of behaviour other than M, L and C.

For example, the visitor whose path is outlined in figure 4. This visitor moved several times between inside the building, and the outside ground,[8] displaying a path different to that of the M, L and C patterns. Furthermore, the visitor barely reads manga out in the ground, instead spending her time playing with her mobile phone, with her calendar book open. In short, the purpose in her visit was in of itself spending time in the MM space.

Next, the case observed in figure 5 is an example of a visitor who spent one's time in the childrens' library. But he did not read manga there. He spends his time lying down, reading picture books and watching the television that was showing anime.

These kinds of visitors cannot be assigned to any of the categories M, L or C. That is, the data tells us that there are visitors who use the library in ways that cannot be explained by these three patterns. In this paper, we will refer to the behaviour pattern of these visitors as "park" (P)

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5 Held from the 10th October – 20th December, 2009.

6 Part-time employed staff members who were university students and graduate students (primarily from universities within Kyoto) and who had knowledge of social research.

7 However observers lost sight mid-survey of 4 males among the 32 total males surveyed, and 3 females among the 36 total females surveyed. Also it should be noted that in accordance with the purpose of this survey to observe as large as possible an amount of behaviour patterns, sampling based on any conditions for non-selection was not carried out, therefore this data is not quantitative. Furthermore, classifying attributes were not obtained from the subjects directly (rather, solely through observation) and therefore are for reference purposed only.

8 The museum has converted the old playground area of the school into a courtyard coved with artificial grass, into which visitors are allowed to take books from the 'Wall of Manga' outside of the building to read.
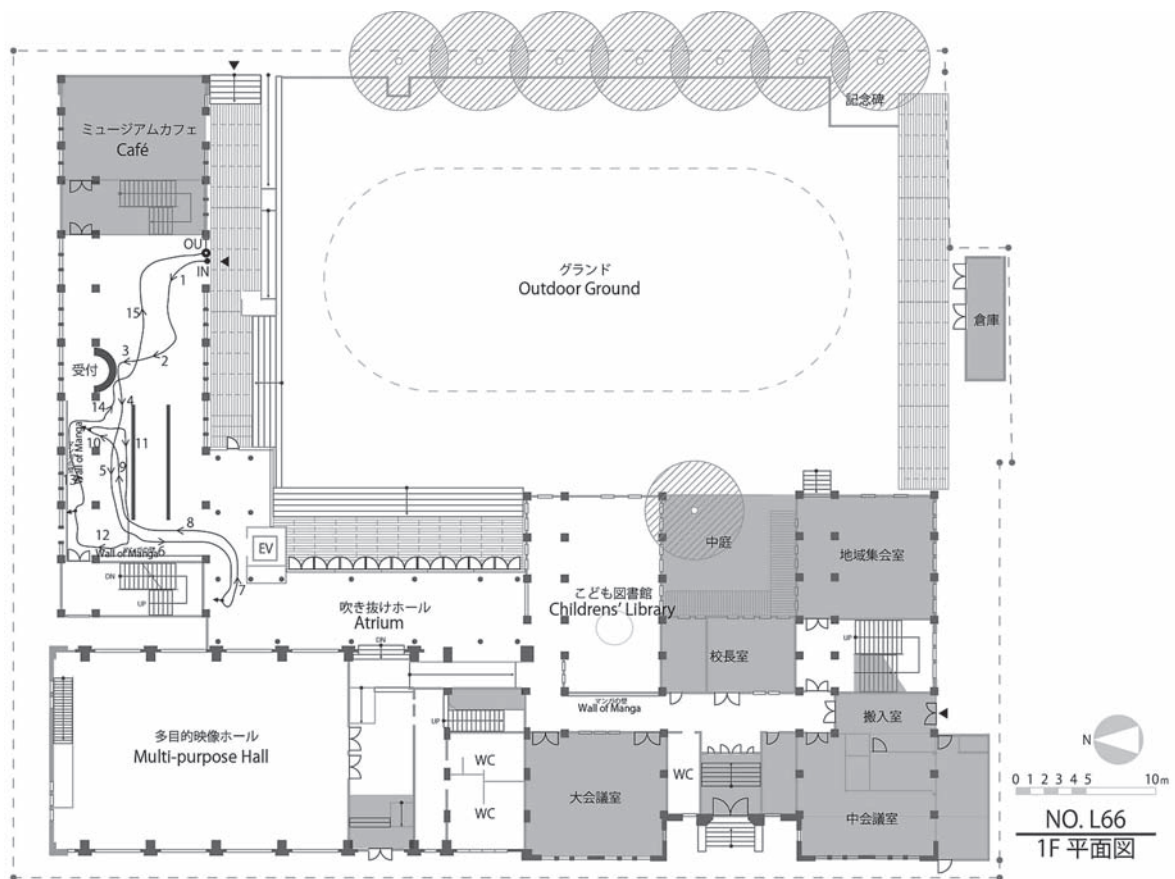
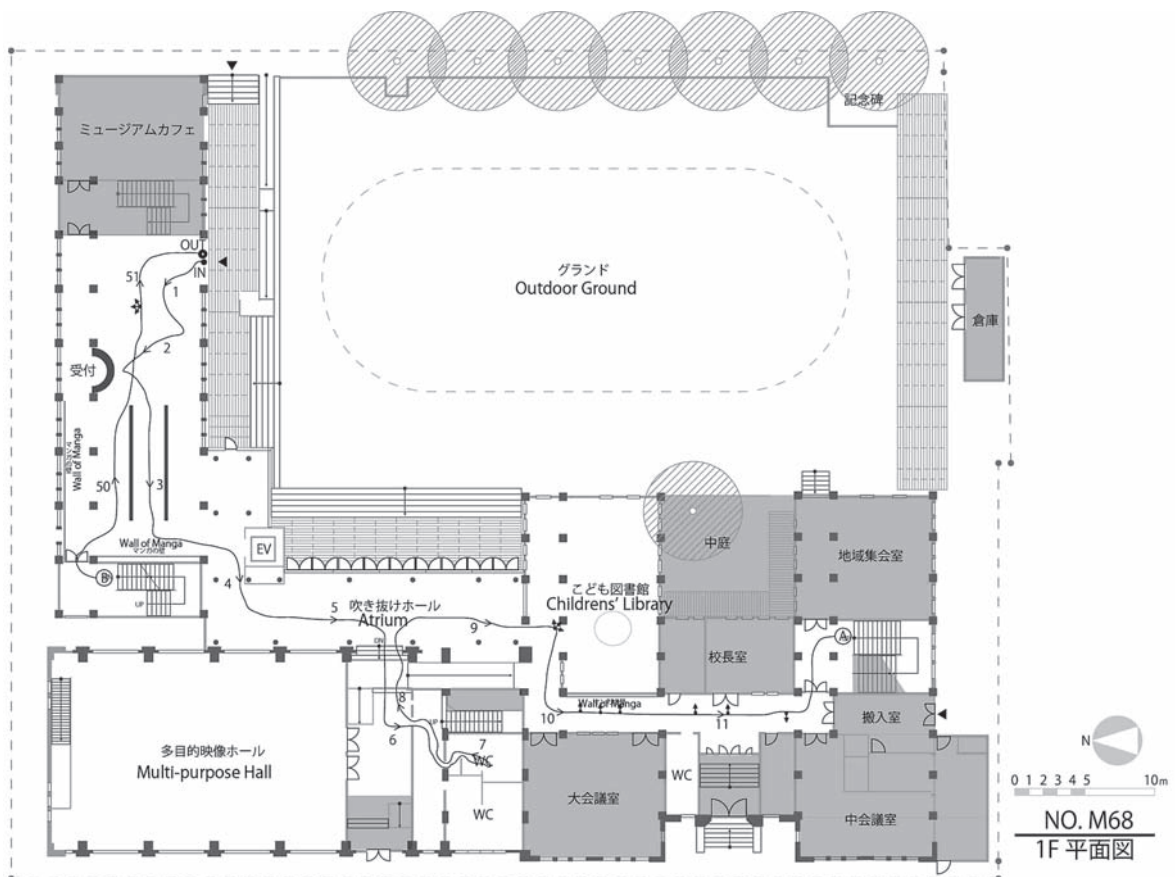Figure.1: A typical example of an L type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 66)

Figure.2-1: A typical example of an M type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 68, first floor path)
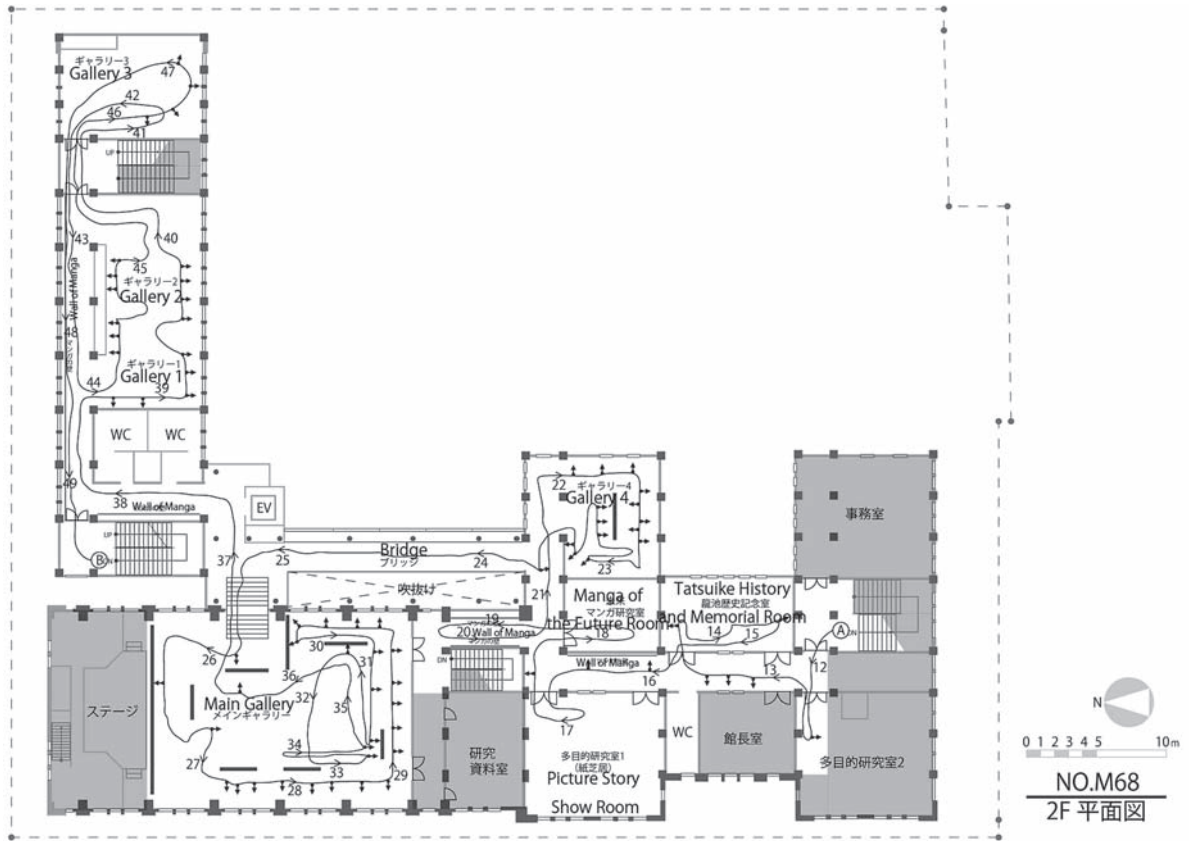
Figure.2-2: A typical example of an M type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 68, second floor path)
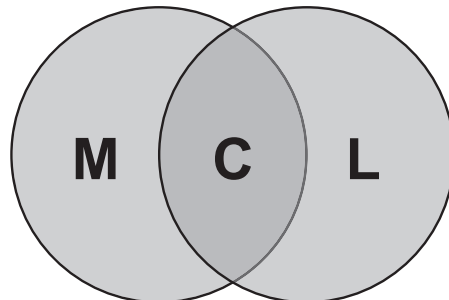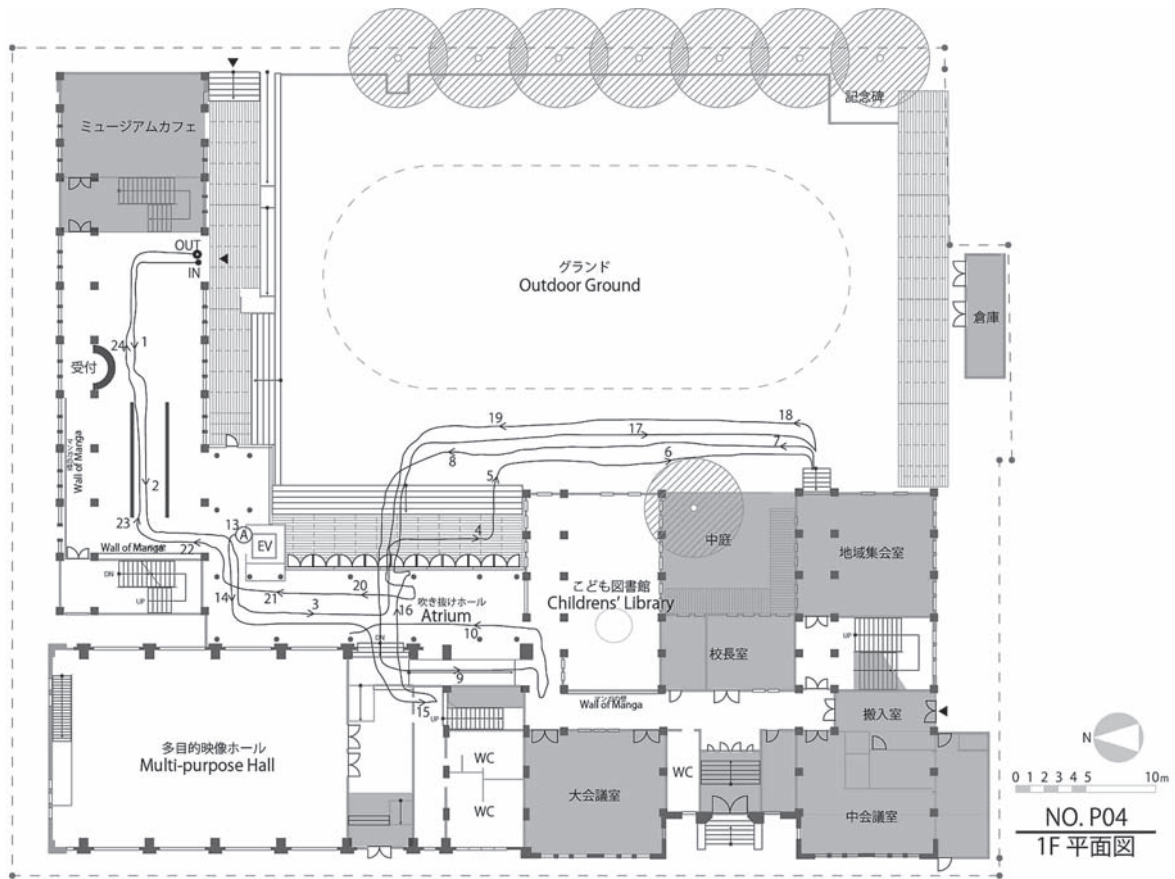

Figure.3: The relationships of M, L, and C

Figure.4-1: An example of a P type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 04, first floor path)
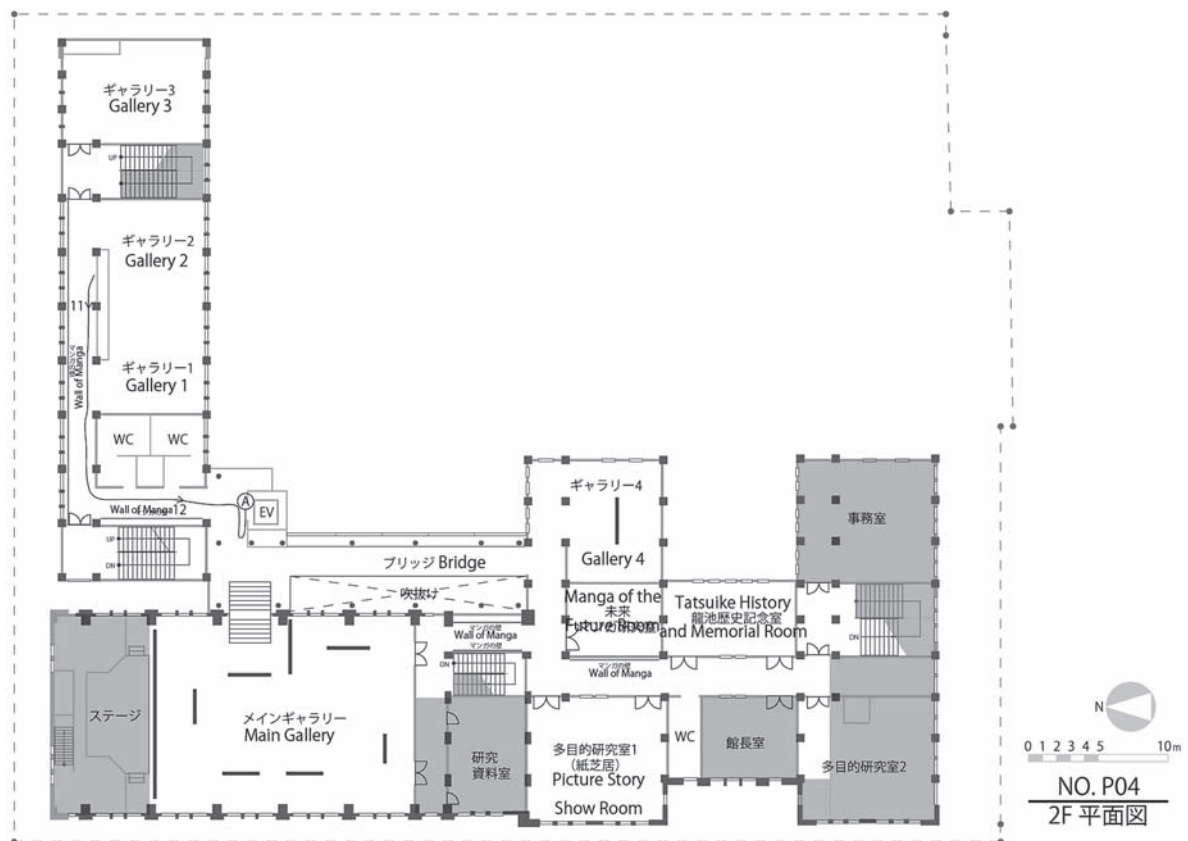

Figure.4-2: An example of a P type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 04, second floor path)
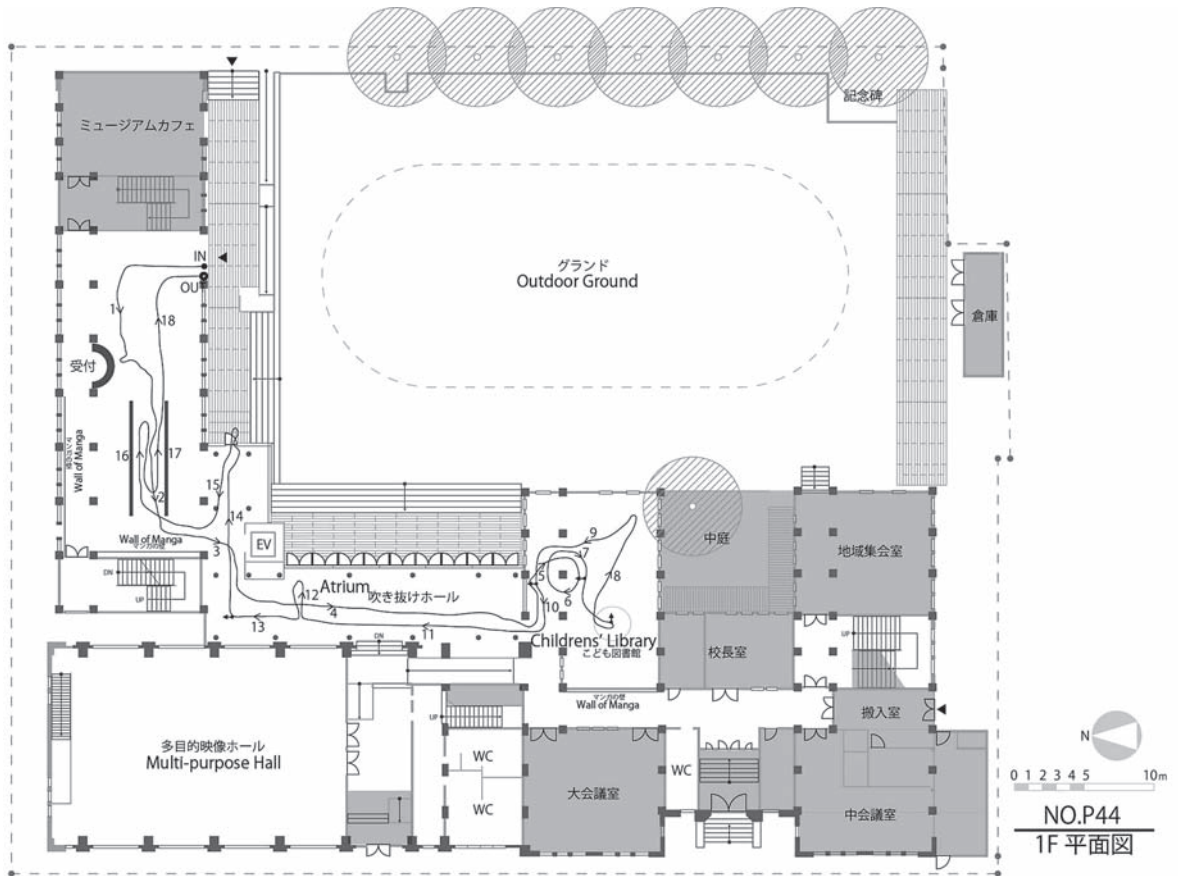
Figure.5: An example of a P type visitor's movement path. (Tracking data 44)
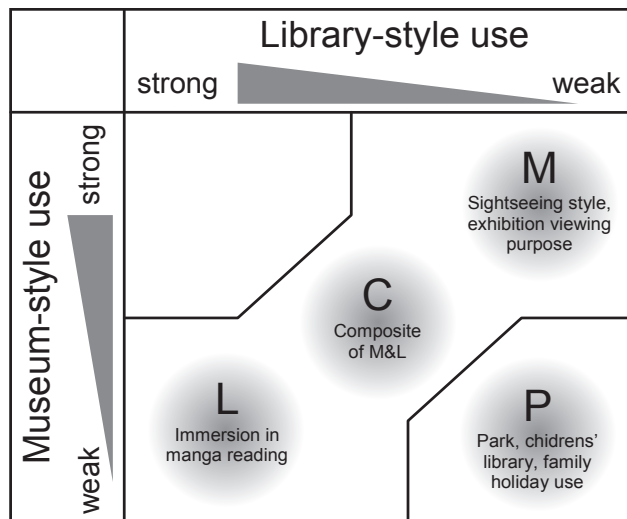

Figure.6: Relationship map of the 4 categories, M, L, C, and P. The category P is located on the weaker end of both the museum use and library use axes.
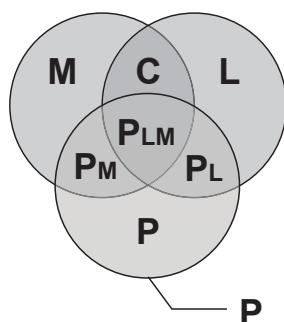
Figure.7: The relationships of M, L, C, and P. The category P may exist within M, C, and L, and yet it also explains cases which cannot be classified by them.

Table.2: Statistical data for M, L, C, and P.

L (Library)	21						
	Foreigners	Group visitors*	Special exhibition visitors	13yrs & above	16	Male	9
	0	8	0	12yrs & below	5	Female	12
M (Museum)	22						
	Foreigners	Group visitors*	Special exhibition visitors	13yrs & above	22	Male	10
	9	16	9	12yrs & below	0	Female	12
P (Holiday/Park)	12						
	Foreigners	Group visitors*	Special exhibition visitors	13yrs & above	6	Male	8
	0	9	0	12yrs & below	6	Female	4
C (Complex)	13						
	Foreigners	Group visitors*	Special exhibition visitors	13yrs & above	13	Male	6
	0	9	3	12yrs & below	0	Female	7
Total	68						
Breakdown	Foreigners	Group visitors	Special exhibition visitors	13yrs & above	57	Male	33
	9	42	12	12yrs & below	11	Female	35

*More than two people.

type as they behave as though they are in a public park. There are a relatively large amount of visitors that fit into the P category, making apparent a diverse range of behavioural patterns. (See figures 6 and 7, and table 2)

In truth, the P category could not exist without the M and L category. M and L 'compete' for the same ground, mutually-energizing one another, and yet simultaneously suppressing one another. Meanwhile this space is rounded out by P. This form of conflict, as will be discussed is caused by a combination of the following three factors: The spatial contradictions of MM's architecture; the complexity of MM's founding principles; and the characteristics of 'the manga experience.'

IV. The Spatial Contradictions of MM's Architecture

The main building of the former Tatsuike Elementary School was built in 1929, and was then added to in 1937 with a northern annexe. Presently MM takes up both of these buildings. Having been a school, the site also has an outdoor playground area for the physical health of children. Accordingly, the two separate architectural spaces of the school buildings and the external ground form the anterior of MM. (Refer to figures 8, 9, and 10)

Thus the site is characteristic for its architectural reclamation of the building taking the former elementary school as a base pattern into a museum. Usually, museum design stresses the importance of interior space and architectural allowance for visitor movement between and within spaces. It was hence essential for MM to be refurbished as such. A new connection was built between the main building and northern annexe via an atrium, modified to form a tangent point that also provides the only access to the outdoor ground, this in turn created a focus on the internal architectural space. Next the flow of movement was addressed with an elevator installed in the atrium and a connecting bridge added between the buildings on the

second floor, thereby improving the available movement paths across the two architectural spaces horizontally and vertically, as well as internally and externally.

On top of improving movement accessibility, the atrium forms a central access point for visitor paths. In addition to providing access to the original main building and northern annexe the installation of the elevator has added a method of vertical movement and has become an important visitor path option. The atrium also connects the original school gymnasium and outdoor ground, and some spacious restroom facilities. However in spite of the atrium's design having been constructed to guarantee its central access function, there are simultaneous architectural features acting in contradiction of that purpose.

Let us consider the contradictory nature of MM's internal visitor routes. The west side of the atrium is a passage between the buildings which in its original state would certainly have been the principal path that students would have taken into school. Here, a small staircase (W) remains that betrays the logical movement path through the atrium, although this puzzling space does add to the vertical and horizontal movement possibilities of the building. Another inconsistency is MM's highlighted 'Wall of Manga'. While the original intent of the atrium was to act as a conduit passage, every wall surface is covered in shelving, transforming the area into a space that invites visitors to stop and read.

The next contradiction against the central movement function of the atrium relates to the staircases, of which MM has four in total. The staircase in the main building (S) is the largest, with arches, ornamental embellishments on the central pillar and a triptych of sash windows. The space feels aesthetically complete in and of itself. The next size of staircase is the two on either end of the northern annexe (E and N) covered in intricate chequered tiles. Of which the staircase at the eastern end (E) is brightly lit through south-facing windows, while the other (N) is not so well lit. Lastly, the small staircase in the nook of the atrium (W) is insular to the building, and without windows it gives the impression of being an auxiliary staircase. The staircases seem aesthetically disjointed from the central space of the atrium with varied architecture among themselves. The cause of this variation stems from the different construction times between the main building and northern annexe. The main building was constructed in 1929 and was built with a lingering, heavily stylistic architectural atmosphere. Contrastively, the 1937 constructed northern annexe has a more functional design

without ornamentation. And so in spite of the atrium claiming the central space with its modern architecture, its function is inverted by the spatial syntax hierarchy of passages and staircases in the historical buildings.

The current way in which the buildings are utilized is also of interest. The grey toned areas on figures 8 to 10 are closed off from the visiting public, which limits the museum space in the historical, architecturally impressive main building to a small area, with more weight given to the northern annexe. The small public area within the main building gives it the atmosphere of a corner space; one could even say it creates an unbalanced utilisation of space. Additionally, the main building entrance onto Ryogae Street which was used in the time of the elementary school is not used by MM, instead a new entrance has been created along Karasuma Street shifting the incoming flow of visitors across to the east end of the northern annexe. This has created a sudden reversal between the main building and the northern annexe, and in essence has repositioned the main building behind the ground. With the main building turned into a corner space, the resulting complicated building structure has also created infrequently used areas within the building.

In addition to the aforementioned hierarchy of the staircases based on architectural design, not all of them proceed from the first floor all the way up to the third. Furthermore there is an artificial restraint requiring visitors to return to the central area creating a dead-end path within in the building. In short, the irregularity of the staircases' connection between the floors has resulted in a complicated 'labyrinth' spatial arrangement.

To summarise the two main points, firstly, the detached construction of the two former school buildings and the external space of the playground form an architectural predecessor of MM's structural space. The refurbishments of MM have incorporated and integrated the two former school buildings both horizontally and vertically, while simultaneously reorganising the spatial configuration of visitor traffic flow into a central conduit via the atrium.

Nevertheless, second to this, while under the present spatial construction the atrium serves a central function, this is reversed by an existing hierarchy in the architectural construction of the historical buildings' staircases and corridors. With these elements alongside the current way that the building space is being utilised, the unbalance in frequency of use between the area made available to visitors and the richness of the architectural space has
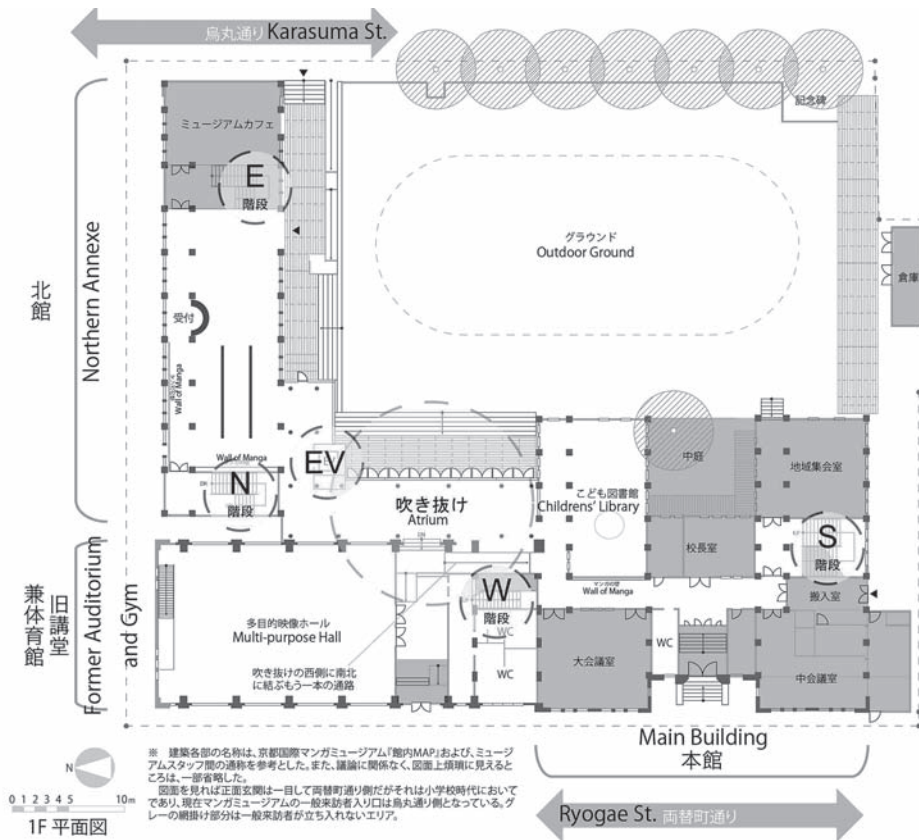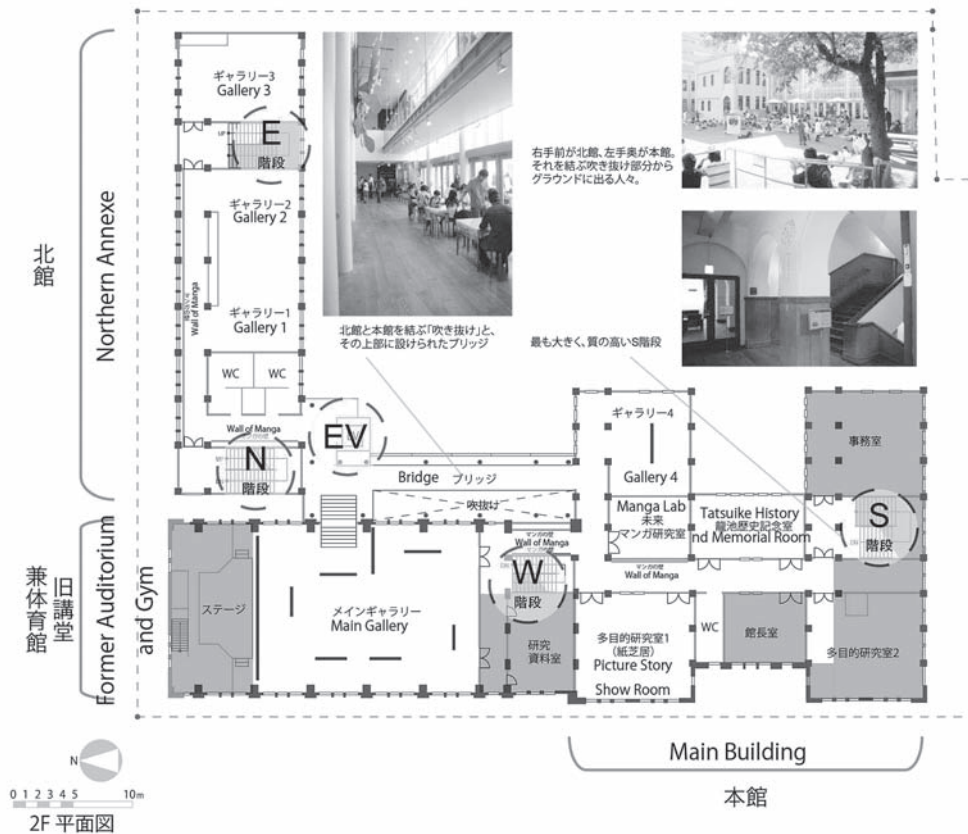
Figure.8: 1F floor plan.
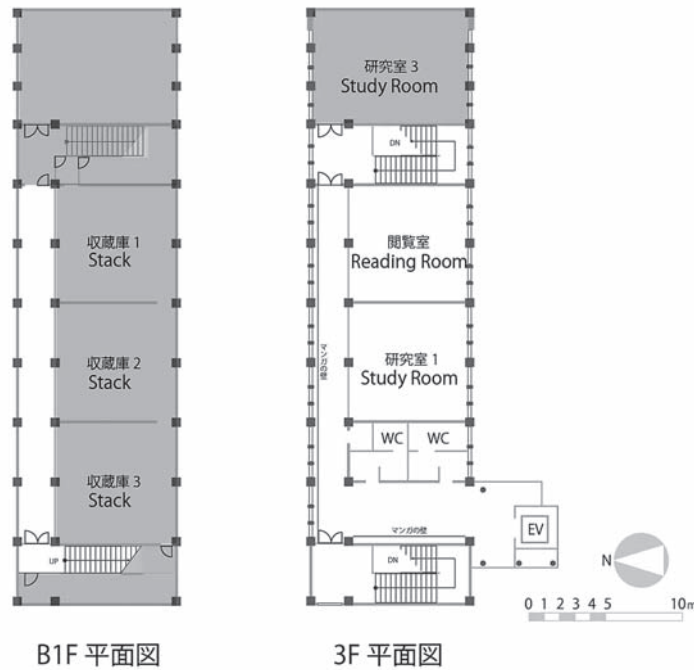

Figure.9: 2F floor plan.

研究室 3
Study Room

閲覧室
Reading Room

研究室 1
Study Room

WC WC

EV

N

0 1 2 3 4 5   10m

収蔵庫 1
Stack

収蔵庫 2
Stack

収蔵庫 3
Stack

B1F 平面図   3F 平面図

Figure.10: Basement and 3F floor plan.

created a 'labyrinth' for visitors, leading to inversion and confusion. Perhaps an exquisite balance between order and the labyrinth is being produced here.

This has also had a large hand in the evolution of the P category visitor behaviour. When viewing MM as a museum, one's path becomes interrupted at points limiting their movements; yet when viewed as a library, it rather facilitates path movements too much, and immobility of space is not given priority. Accordingly through the limitation and constraints on both functions, the formation of category P can be observed.

V. The Complexity of MM's Founding Principles

Having said all this, visitor behaviour is not determined by the physical components of a building alone. It is important to consider the organizational structure of the Kyoto International Manga Museum, of how the utilization of the building was intended and how that is related to the visitors who we have described using the P category.

MM was intended from its inception as a comprehensive facility incorporating the dual functions of library and museum. This double-layered role is not unrelated to the fact that the material they deal with is manga. From the beginning the manga museum was

conceived as a facility to collect, manage and organize manga for the purpose of providing primary source material for manga research. Importantly, at this time the concept of 'manga as a primary resource' was not assumed to include original artwork, but rather manga as mass produced media, namely that is, manga magazines and *tankōbon* (collected volumes) were the envisaged contents of the museum's collection. In European comics related institutions, the collection of 'comics' that are accumulated, preserved, and classified fundamentally consist of original artworks. Consequently, visitors to the museum from European countries feel that something is out of place upon encountering the volumes of manga lined up on display as 'museum material' in MM. However, Japanese visitors do not especially hold a sense of discomfort in regards to the mass-printed medium of manga being on placed on display in a museum, or treated as museum material. The relevant background behind this is the difference in social position attached to manga between cultures.

Additionally, MM (as akin to the Centre Pompidou in France for example) differs from most normal facilities of its type as it performs various parallel functions. The functions of both museum and library co-exist in the same space. In other words, the founding principles of MM attempt to accommodate both the museum-style freedom of movement, as well as library-style stationary practices, and in actuality this has resulted in limited facilitation for

movement and stationary behaviour.

Where the architectural features of MM and its founding principles intersect, the meaning of the space becomes increasing vague, making it easier for the P behaviour category to emerge.

VI. 'The Manga Experience'

The emergence of the P category of behaviour must also be discussed in relation to what we call the 'manga experience'.

We must not assume that reading a manga in the library is equivalent to reading it elsewhere. The way in which we read manga in a library (perhaps sitting correctly in a chair) is only a part of, or one particular way of consuming manga. After all, reading manga is associated with occasionally talking to others, eating sweets, and lazing idly about. In light of this, manga is fundamentally an experience that cannot truly be defined by the verb 'read,' and in turn, an experience such as this can be seen as the driving force behind the emergence of the behaviour patterns represented by P.

To further consider the nature of such 'manga experience' outside the 'reading', it helps to look at the behaviour of visitor groups that come to the museum. Because of our survey method, the observer targeted and followed only one individual even when they arrive in groups; thus ultimately the interpersonal relationship between the individuals within the group was not recorded. However the way in which many groups, such a families etc, drift apart and reunite during their museum visit may be considered an important component of their utilization of MM's space, and thus provides us with a variety of 'manga experiences'. For example, when a group becomes gradually separated inside the museum they tend to display a L pattern behaviour. Contrastively, in observances of M behaviour patterns there is a tendency towards group cohesion, and they stick together throughout their visit.

Those who have never visited MM frequently misconceive the institution as an enormous 'manga café (*manga kissa*).' This conception is formed on the premise that manga is a personal media, to be read by oneself without any interaction with the others. Certainly, the typical L type visitor concentrates on reading, completely entering into their own personal world. Users who read while listening to music on headphones can be seen frequently throughout the building, appearing to affect a transformation of MM's public space into their own private space. Thus we do actually see a similar behaviour with those in a manga café.

Conversely, one can argue that the attitude which the group visitors to MM hold towards manga differs from that of manga cafés (which affords library-style reading). For example rather than assiduously reading manga like the persons described above, users who visit in groups are often seen flipping through books, standing in front of the shelves as they talk together, engaging with life and sharing manga with each other – often employing the term 'nostalgic' to exalt a certain type of affinity. In fact, this kind of behaviour is what reading manga involves all along.

Further study for identifying group visitors to the museum (including people without interest in manga, who accompany family members) is needed in order to understand more about the existence of P behaviour patterns.

VII. Future Prospects

While we have presented the view that the P pattern of visitor behaviour is unique to MM in this paper, it might be suggested that the whole argument can comfortably be explained with the notion of 'forum', a concept coined by Duncan Cameron.[9] It represents the idea that museums are not a 'sanctuary' for the intellectual class to view and appreciate objects, but rather a space to engage visitors in proactive dialogue and learning. However P differs from the 'forum' which premises a 'museum'. As we have seen thus far, P emerges where both M(museum-oriented) and L(library-oriented) coexist and compete for the same space. This phenomenon cannot be explained as an extension of museum theory alone. Accordingly, when considering where MM should head for as a cultural institution, what to do with P becomes the key. There will be a need for comparison to visitors of other museums that deal with manga such as the Kawasaki City Museum, Osamu Tezuka Museum, and the Ghibli Museum, and so forth.[10]

The present survey has taken the example of the

9   Cameron, Duncan F. 'The Museum, a Temple or the Forum?' Curator vol. 14(1), 1971, pp11-24

10 In April of 2010 the interior of MM underwent large-scale renovations. The present study took place before these renovations; therefore an analysis of the museum comprising an evaluation of the renewed space is needed, and is recommended as a topic of future research.

Kyoto International Manga Museum to conduct a foundation study examining the nature of the relationship between popular culture and museums. In order to deepen this question in the future, further attention is required toward popular culture's place of origin. And we must continue to question what the public/private nature of popular culture refers to, and in what way and with whom popular culture is shared.

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Visitor Survey at the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum:
Do Manga Museums Really Promote Regional Development

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I. Scope of the study

What sort of meaning do community cultural centers that deal with manga hold for regional areas and society at large? Since the 1990s a number of manga related institutions have been built with the chief purpose of bringing about the revitalization of regional cities, wards, towns and villages. In the background, there was often the expectation towards 'soft power', especially the beneficial economic result which can be acquired through the manga connection by an influx of people and money to the region. There was a rapid increase in facilities of this type, before and after the year 2000, including the Ishinomori Mangattan Museum (Miyagi Prefecture, Ishinomaki City, 2001), Mizuki Shigeru Memorial Museum (Tottori Prefecture, Sakaiminato City, 2003) and Gosho Aoyama Manga Factory (Tottori Prefecture, Tohaku-gun Hokuei-cho, 2007)[1].

In this paper, the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum, a thematic museum in Takarazuka City which specializes on the works of Tezuka will be taken as a pioneering example of this kind of manga facility. In order to discuss the role and function that the museum performs in regards to the local region and community, a detailed analysis of exactly how manga as their raw material is dealt within this kind of institution, and of how these are received by the visitors to the museum, is essential. Our discussion will be based on the results of a visitor survey which was undertaken on-site at the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum.

The Takarazuka City Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum in South Hyogo Prefecture (hereafter Tezuka Museum) opened in 1994. After Tezuka's death in 1989 various institutions had expressed interest in making bids for a memorial museum, but Tezuka Production Co. Ltd (hereafter Tezuka Pro) in accordance with the will of the bereaved family, decided to establish a facility in the city of Takarazuka where Tezuka had lived for 20 years, backed by the city council as well as public opinion from the townspeople. Construction planning advanced comparatively smoothly and from the outset a location beside the amusement park Tezuka Family Land was chosen in the hope of effecting synergy.

City officials are directly involved with the museum administration: they do not appoint any designated administrators externally. The museum is currently managed by 6 city officials (including full-time and part-time staff), the reception and cleaning staff are outsourced, and all exhibition planning and production is conducted by Tezuka Pro. Additionally the museum shop and café are also managed and operated by Tezuka Pro. The Tezuka Museum as an organisation of the city comes under the Culture Industry Section of the Tourism Planning

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1   There were actually two peak periods in which municipal manga related cultural institutions began to crop up, around the mid-90s and at the beginning of the 2000s. It was during the latter boom that there was a real expectation of achieving positive economic effect from 'soft power' contents.

Division[2], and while originally envisioned as a social educational facility, the museum has moreover come to be situated as a facility which aims to increase positive economic effect though its function as a tourist attraction.

In light of these expectations from the city, how is 'regional promotion' developed within the Tezuka Museum? On their opening year the museum was off to a good start with over 500,000 visitors recorded, however the following year this figure had halved and it has continued to decline since then[3]. The museum was redesigned in 2003, but with Tezuka Family Land closing down the same year, no great effect was seen on the museum attendance figures. As the Tezuka Museum operates financially through a combination of the admission fee and city funds, a decline in visitors means an increased cost to the city. As the city increased its contribution of funds, voices questioning the meaning of the museum's existence have begun to appear.

Thus, as with many manga related cultural institutions built for the revitalization of regional cities, wards, towns and villages, the Tezuka Museum too has been expected to contribute to the revitalization of the region. Also like many of these other institutions it has found itself in severe operational circumstances.

This paper will equally consider such operational circumstances of the Tezuka Museum, as well as viewpoints sourced from museum staff interviews, while presenting an analysis of visitors' survey data. That said, the purpose here is not to discuss or offer proposals towards measures of regional revitalisation, but rather to question the concept of whether the creation of a manga themed community cultural center can lead to regional revitalisation so easily. In most cases discussions regarding the management of regional cultural centers focus purely on promotion and the question of how to attract tourists. However, the posing of such a question begs inclusion of the viewpoint that manga related cultural institutions are responsible on how they deal with manga as culture. Without upfront questioning of what kind of effects or challenges that the museum is presented with in practice by dealing with manga, manga related cultural institutions cannot be instigated as the trigger for regional revitalisation. Through this paper, we would like to consider what is needed to plan a sustainable manga related cultural institution.

The research team's purpose in undertaking the visitors' survey has been to consider the relationship between community cultural centers and popular culture (with manga as a representative example), and the survey has been carried out in the Kyoto International Manga Museum in 2009, as well as the Takarazuka City Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum and the Hiroshima City Manga Library in 2011. This paper focuses the discussion on the Tezuka Museum with appropriate reference to results obtained from the survey of the Kyoto International Manga Museum.

▌ II. Survey Outline

The Tezuka Museum is situated in the direction of the Takarazuka Grand Theater at the end of 'Flower Avenue' (Hana-no-michi) about 7 to 8 minutes walk from both the Japan Rail and Hankyu railway stations. It occupies a site of 860 square meters, with an internal floor space of 1395 square meters. The building itself, constructed with reinforced concrete, is a level rectangle which spans 40 meters east to west, and 10 meters north to south. It has two floors above ground (ground/1st floor, and 2nd floor) and two basement floors.

According to the museum's pamphlet it was built in the image of an old European castle. In particular, the vicinity of the entrance is a reproduction of the royal palace in *Ribon no Kishi* (*Princess Knight*), evoking the image of a town straight out of a Takarazuka operatic theatre performance. The path leading up to the entrance has a monument of the Phoenix from Tezuka's opus *Hi no Tori* (*Pheonix*), and is lined with Hollywood style cement tiles imprinted with mock hand and foot prints from the characters of Tezuka's manga, in a trail that invites visitors towards the building entrance.

Inside the building, the first floor (ground level) is occupied by a permanent exhibition on the life of Tezuka and a small cinema 'Atom Vision', the second floor is reserved for the temporary exhibition space and other

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2   The Sangyōbunka-bu Takaranomachi sōzōshitsu kankōkikaku-ka Tezuka Osamu kinenkan. Generally, Museum administration is linked with social education administration under the Board of Education, or the Social Education Division etc. It is unique that the Tezuka Museum is administered by the Tourism Planning Division. The Kyoto International Manga Museum collaboratively managed by the Kyoto City and Kyoto Seika University (Kyoto Prefecture, Kyoto City, opened in 2006), was originally opened under the Board of Education, but management was transferred to the Industry Tourism Division in 2009.

3   Takarazuka City Municipal Industry Vitality Division International Industry Office 'Heisei purojekuto Tezuka Osamu kinenkan o kaku tosite Takarazuka no kasseika' [Takarazuka Revitalisation with the Heisei-era Project Tezuka Osamu Museum as its core]. *Hito to kokudo* 21, 22(2), Kokudo keikaku kyōkai, pp.43-45, 2007.

Photo 1: The museum exterior view.

Photo 2: The museum entrance hall.

Photo 3: 1st floor permanent exhibition.

Photo 4: 2nd floor temporary exhibition entrance.

Photo 5: 2nd floor of the museum.

Photo 6: The Animation Workshop in the basement floor.

facilities (museum shop, café, 'Information/Animation Monitors[4],' 'Osamu Tezuka Library[5]'), and on the first basement floor is the 'Animation Workshop.' The permanent exhibition displays sketch books, school report cards, and other related materials from Tezuka's childhood, as well as manga manuscripts and actual editions of manga published during his life, all exhibited in science fiction style capsules. These capsules are a reproduction of the stasis pods that Tezuka drew in *Hi no Tori*. The temporary exhibition on the second floor changes three times a year. During the period in which the present survey was conducted, the exhibition 'Osamu moet moso – Feat.Noizi Ito' was being held which will be mentioned in detail below. The basement level 'Animation Workshop' is a

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4 Computer terminals on which users can play games, watch Tezuka's anime, and search for information about Tezuka. The terminals, which are visible in photo 5, are particularly popular with children.

5 An area covered in bookshelves containing Tezuka's manga, also furnished with tables and chairs. The library is at the very back of the second floor behind the 'Information/Animation Monitors' in photo 5.

hands-on workshop area where visitors can create illustrations on computer, or hand draw animation. Additionally, figurines and pictures of the characters from Tezuka's works are scattered throughout the building.

The survey aimed at two objectives: to analyse the concept under which the museum operates and has been designed, and to observe how the visitors interact with the physical interior space as the result of such designing. A tracking survey and a survey of sojourn time were conducted within the museum in order to record how long the visitors stayed inside the museum, and how they actually spent their time there. Additionally, staff interviews were conducted in order to grasp the museum's management concept.

A tracking survey involves tracing the visitors' path of movement in order to examine their navigation of the museum space. It is a traditional survey technique used by museums. The observer draws the route taken by each visitor onto floor plans of the target area by hand, and uses symbols to denote places where the subject has stopped and their direction of gaze. Further points of interest are recorded in memorandum. It is an extremely effective method which allows understanding of visitors' behaviour within the building and their utilization of the space. On the other hand, this method cannot accurately measure physical attribute data such as the age of visitors, or be used to clearly collect the thoughts of the surveyed subjects.

The tracking survey undertaken in this study is the continuation of a cross-institutional survey. Thus it was necessary to track the visitors throughout the entire building, as we had already done with the previous survey at the Kyoto International Manga Museum. Generally, in the Museum Studies field, the target area of the tracking surveys conducted in museums is limited to one exhibition or one room, and only records the visitor movements observed within that single gallery space. However the admission ticket to the Tezuka Museum allows visitors to move freely throughout the entire building, and the rooms of the museum are connected via the staircase in the entrance hall rather than being independent of one another. The museum visitor experience is related to this entirety, and therefore tracking of the visitors' paths throughout the entire building was essential.

The survey was undertaken as a collaborative research project by the four researchers Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa and Ito with full cooperation of the museum. Pilots of the sojourn time survey and tracking survey were conducted on Monday the 2nd, and Tuesday the 3rd of May 2011, the second of these being a public holiday. Interviews with the museum staff were also conducted at this time[6]. On Tuesday the 30th of August, 2011 an induction session for the part-time survey staff was held, and the tracking was carried out over a total of five days during the period of the special exhibition 'Osamu moet moso – Feat.Noizi Ito' from Thursday the 1st to Monday the 5th of September 2011[7], as well as on Friday the 14th of October, therefore encompassing weekdays as well as a weekend. Each day of observation, the survey team of 6 people operated in 3 teams, collecting data on-site in the museum gallery spaces. The sojourn time survey was undertaken on Friday the 14th of October.

III. Survey Results

Visitor statistics for the period of the survey are shown on table 1. In regards to age distribution, the percentage of children and students only add up to about 10% of visitors. In spite of being a social education facility for youths, relatively few children visit the museum. The sojourn time survey conducted on the 14th of October recorded the length of stay of 138 visitors consisting of approximately 93%[8] of the total visitors for that day of 147. The average length of all sojourns recorded was 1 hour 8 minutes. The longest sojourn was 3 hours 17 minutes, by a girl in her teens (10-20 years). The shortest sojourn was 13 minutes, by a man in his sixties[9]. (Figure.1)

The above mentioned age distribution is reflected in the data from the 53 collected tracking survey cases. High-school students and below are low in numbers. (Table.2) The most highly represented group in the survey data is young to middle-age adults in their 20s to 50s. The gender ratio was mostly even, and this proportion was backed up by the gender ratio data from the visitor sojourn time survey on the 14th of October. Incidentally, less than 1% of the surveyed visitors were non-Japanese.

The average length of stay of the tracking subjects

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6   Associate Manager of the museum Yumiko Matsumoto, as well as Museum Director Takeshi Maekawa.

7   On Saturday the 3rd of September the survey was temporarily suspended due to bad weather caused by a typhoon. The 14th of October was added to the survey schedule in substitute of this.

8   While the intent was to survey the sojourn time of all visitors there were cases in which visitors declined participation or could not be surveyed, which accounts for less than 7% of total visitors on the day.

9   Age categories of visitors in the survey are an estimation by the surveyors.

was 1 hour 15 minutes. The longest stay recorded was by a girl around 10 years old, of 3 hours 40 minutes. The shortest stay, of 9 minutes was by a boy of around 15 years old. As confirmed by the sojourn time survey data this degree of statistical scattering can be considered routine for the museum.

The results of the tracking survey discern a typical visitor path within the building, in which visitors first view the 1st floor permanent exhibition[10], then take the staircase to the 2nd floor and view the temporary exhibition, and then stop by the other facilities such as the shop, library, and café, before taking the elevator down to the basement. Figure 2 shows the archetypical path of a visitor who might view the museum as faithfully as is hypothesised by the museum. The next pattern of behaviour to have emerged from the data is due to a problem in the building

architecture. After viewing the permanent exhibition, the visitor takes the elevator to the 2nd floor rather than the stairs, arriving at the 'exit' to the temporary exhibition and then views it in reverse of the intended curatorial path. This movement path was often exhibited by people who would find stairs troublesome, such as elderly visitors and those who require wheelchair access. While there was a diverse range of movement paths which have yet to be examined in detail, we will now present a discussion of these two major patterns.

This data captures visitor movement paths, and above all their behaviour patterns allowing for comparison and categorization. Based on this, 80% of the Tezuka Museum's visitors display the pattern identified by our research project as 'Museum type' (M)[11]. Central to the M type behaviour pattern is the act of 'viewing' the manga in the

Table 1: Number of museum visitors during the survey period (NOT tracking data numbers).

|	Adults		Students		Children		Free entry		Total people
Tue 30 Aug	172	63.2%	10	3.7%	25	9.2%	65	23.9%	272
Wed 31 Aug	109	60.2%	7	3.9%	8	4.4%	57	31.5%	181
Thu 1 Sep	78	72.9%	1	0.9%	1	0.9%	27	25.2%	107
Fri 2 Sep (Typhoon)	52	73.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	26.8%	71
Sat 3 Sep (Typhoon)	128	77.1%	2	1.2%	5	3.0%	31	18.7%	166
Sun 4 Sep	217	71.9%	12	4.0%	21	7.0%	52	17.2%	302
Mon 5 Sep	130	84.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	24	15.6%	154
Fri 14 Oct	122	83.0%	2	1.4%	2	1.4%	21	14.3%	147
Total (8 days)	1008	72.0%	34	2.4%	62	4.4%	296	21.1%	1400
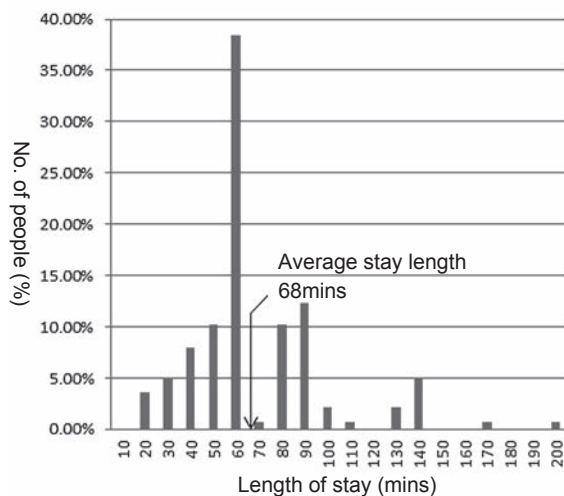
Fig. 1: Sojourn time distribution graph.

Table 2: Tracking survey data, age and gender distribution.

| Age bracket	No.	Gender	No.
Primary school and below	3	M	1
		F	2
High school	5	M	1
		F	4
20s-30s	28	M	15
		F	13
40s-50s	13	M	5
		F	8
60 >	4	M	3
		F	1
Total	53	M	25
		F	28

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10   Upon entering the building, a staircase leading up to the second floor and down to the basement is directly in front of visitors, but the reception staff guide visitors towards the permanent exhibition on their left.

11   This classification is outlined in detail in case study analysis of the Kyoto International Manga Museum survey; for details refer to Murata Mariko, Yamanaka Chie, Tanigawa Ryuichi, and ItoYu 'Visitor Survey at the Kyoto International Manga Museum: Considering Museums and Popular Culture', *Journal of Kyoto Seika University*, vol.37, 2010.
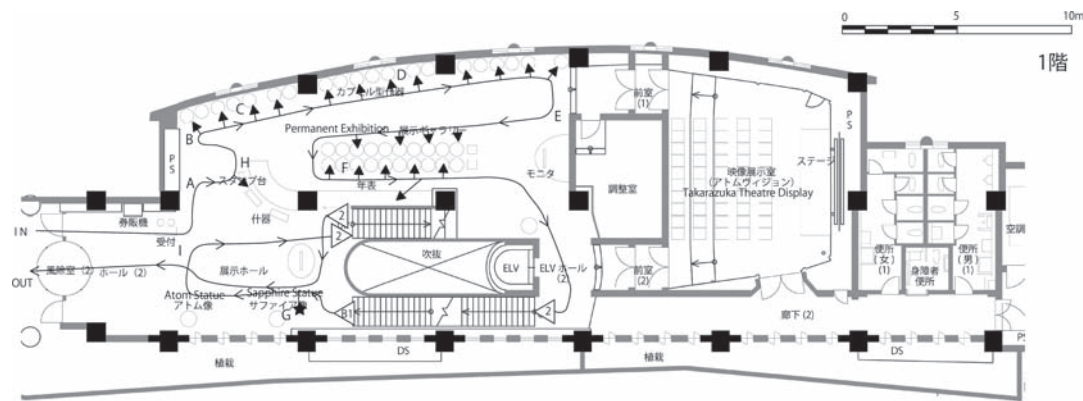
A Collects stamp impression.
B Looks in-depth at image of Tezuka.
C Looks over two displays at once in-depth (each display item for about 30 secs).
D Looks at the Takarazuka theatre display for about 1 min.
E Looks in-depth for 1 min at each.
F Proceeds as if not to look at the chronology then just checks it momentarily, but definitely spends much longer looking at the capsule displays.
G Takes photo of the statue of Sapphire.
H Collects stamp impression.
I Speaks with reception staff.
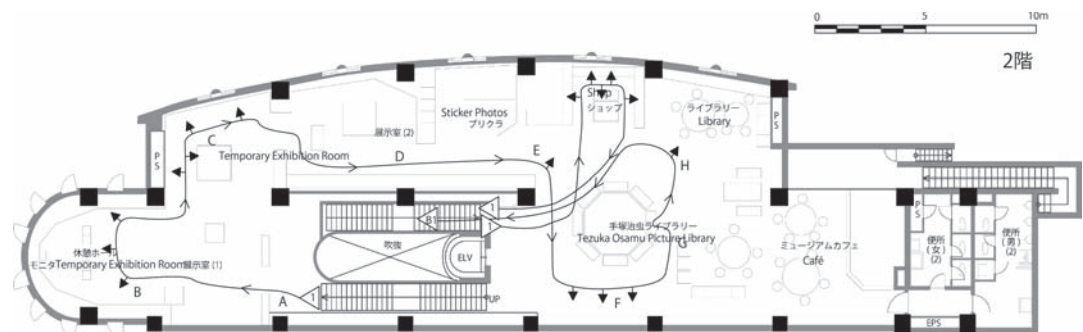
A Reads greeting panel.
B Looks around restlessly without looking in detail at anything in particular.
C Looks in-depth at Tenjin Hidetaka.
D Passes straight through.
E Momentarily browses shop.
F Sporadically views exhibition here.
G Sits momentarily (about 10 secs).
H Looks towards manga without reading.
I Does not look at stairway exhibition.
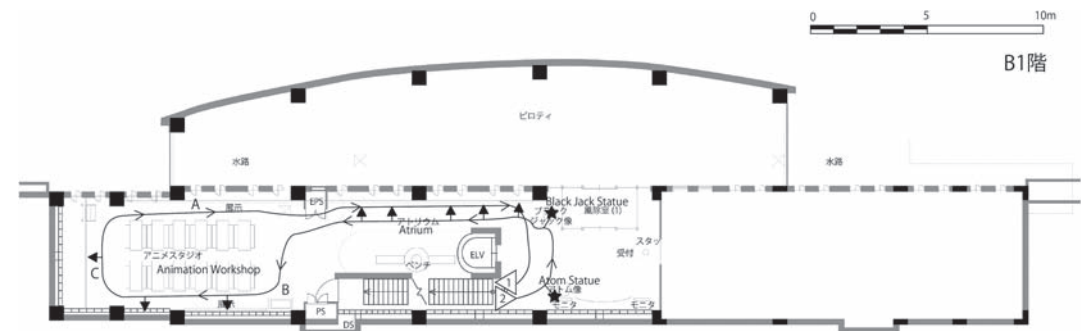
A Passes straight through.
B Listens to Animation Workshop staff, then views exhibition.
C Takes photo of Tezuka.

Fig. 2: Tracking diagram, archetypal data.

museum as exhibition material, while moving throughout the building. Manga, originally a printed and bound medium in book format, is designed to be opened and read, but this does not mean that manga spatially positioned within cultural institutions cannot be received through the exhibition medium. Indeed, while the viewing of manga as exhibition material within cultural institutions is by rights a special method of manga reception, it is practised by many

institutions. Most manga related cultural institutions cater towards both reception methods, with variance to the ways in which each is achieved and the relative importance they are afforded. The visitor behaviour patterns that our cross-institutional study has identified in manga related cultural institutions of Museum type (M) and Library type (L) is directly related to the unique traits of manga related institutions.

Behaviour patterns observed in the present study apart from the Museum type (M) were the Library type (L) in which visitors primarily spend their time reading manga within the building, and the Workshop type (W) in which visitors spend the majority of their time taking part in events, playing games and touching hands-on exhibits. Of the surveyed Tezuka Museum visitors, there were 43 M type visitors, 1 single L type visitor, and 9 W type visitors. (Table.3) The proliferation of M type and scarcity of L type visitors, as well an approximate 20% ratio of W type visitors clearly indicates that the Tezuka Museum has little to no functionality as a library, and performs only a partial interactive experience function, but that it functions as an archetypical museum.

Additionally, as mentioned above, the trends of the tracking data indicate a large proportion of visitors take relatively the same route within the building which suggests that the curator's path has been well set out in advance by the museum. This is in contrast to the Kyoto International Manga Museum, in which there is no one typical pattern of movement[12].

In way of confirmation, let us now examine the differences between the Tezuka Museum and the Kyoto International Manga Museum. The major difference between the two institutions is that while the Kyoto International Manga Museum attracts a great many visitors who display a mixture of both the M and L pattern behaviour, to the point that they cannot definitely be classified as neither[13], 43 out of 53 surveyed visitors in the Tezuka Museum could be easily identified as that of the M type. At the same time, in contrast to the Kyoto International Manga Museum where 30% of the visitors displayed a prominent L pattern, the visitors who can be classified as primarily L type, or even a mixture of M and L types are largely non-existent in the Tezuka Museum (here, the L pattern should be observed at the 'Osamu Tezuka Library,' the 2nd floor reading space in the Tezuka Museum, where visitors can sit down to properly read books). In similarity, both the Tezuka Museum and the Kyoto International Manga Museum attract visitors who display W type behaviour patterns, that is, visitors who do not pay substantial attention to the exhibits, nor do they read manga, but rather take part in workshops, and focus on a hands-on experience.

In summary, this confirms that the Tezuka Museum is above all, a place which prompts its visitors to display

Table 3: Tracking survey behavior pattern data, age and gender distribution.

M	43	13 & over	43	M	23
		12 & under	/	F	20
L	1	13 & over	1	M	/
		12 & under	/	F	1
W	9	13 & over	6	M	2
		12 & under	3	F	7
Total	53	13 & over	50	M	25
		12 & under	3	F	28

museum-like behaviour. However, that does not mean that the Tezuka Museum can be regarded to be the same as a general museum which does not deal with manga.

A characteristic behaviour observed among visitors to the Tezuka Museum was that the same individual would often display different patterns of viewing the first floor permanent exhibition and the second flood temporary exhibition.

Many visitors were recorded viewing the first floor permanent exhibition from start to end to varying degrees, stopping in front of specific exhibits and showing some form of response, whereas in contrast, a significant amount of the visitors would simply pass through the second floor temporary exhibition.

As mentioned above, the permanent exhibition, extremely inline with the objectives of the museum, focuses on the man himself, Osamu Tezuka, and introduces his greatest feats. On the other hand, the temporary exhibition during the period of this research 'Osamu moet moso – Feat.Noizi Ito[14]' was a unique exhibition among the museums temporary exhibitions (Figure.3) which attracted a fan base different to that of traditional manga such as Tezuka's; instead stepping into the territory of the genres known as 'moe-kei[15]' and 'akiba-kei[16].' The exhibition space featured a section displaying reworked illustrations of Tezuka's characters Tetsuwan Atomu (Astro Boy) and Black Jack etc, by moe-kei artists, as well as artwork by

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12   Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa, and Ito ibid.
13   Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa, and Ito ibid.

14   Held from the 24th of October to the 1st of July 2011. The 'Osamu moet moso' series of exhibitions was first held Akihabara in Tokyo in September of 2010, and was a nation-wide collaboration between popular artists and Tezuka productions. The temporary exhibition at the Tezuka Museum featured stars of Moe style illustration, with one section which introduced the original work of Noizi Ito (who was born in Hyogo, the prefecture in which Takarazuka City resides).

15   *Moe-kei*, meaning 'moe style.' The term *moe*, originally derived from the verb 'to bud; to sprout' is a slang term used within the anime, manga and game communities to describe a strong feeling of affection towards something (often a character), and the characteristic of evoking such an emotion.

16   *Akiba-kei*, meaning 'Akihabara style,' refers to the *otaku*, or geek, culture famously prevalent around the Akihabara district of Tokyo.

Fig. 3: Temporary exhibition poster.

Noizi Ito, an artist famous for her character designs for series such as *Suzumiya Haruhi no Yūutsu* (*The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya*). As previously mentioned, the Tezuka Museum's entry ticket allows entry to both the permanent and temporary exhibitions, however on analysis of the visitor traffic flow it becomes apparent that the number of visitors who were eager to see this temporary exhibition was rather low. This in itself, may seem natural based on the regular visitors to the museum, but of particular interest is the fact that conversely, visitors who did display interest in the temporary exhibition were on the whole disinterested in the permanent exhibition and simply passed through the first floor. (Figure.4)

Visitor photography within the museum was also of interest, and is one of its greatest idiosyncrasies. Most Japanese museums (and libraries) do not permit photography, and even in cases where it is permitted, visitors taking photographs are, on the whole, not a common scene. However, during the period of study, at least 1 in 3 people took at least one photo, and in most cases took several photos. The primary subjects of photography were the statues and images of characters that decorate the building. There were also many observations of visitors who had come together taking photos of each other with the characters or in the surrounding

environment. This reflects the most theme park style aspect of cultural institutions that deal with manga.

Finally, we can identify that while the Tezuka Museum deals with manga, and makes manga accessible in the Osamu Tezuka Library, most visitors do not enter the library space. This can be viewed as a very peculiar situation in comparison to the Kyoto International Manga Museum. The spatial arrangement of the Tezuka Museum does not place emphasis on reading manga books there (to be discussed below). When manga are included in museums, the issue of how the manga are displayed (through the exhibition of original artwork, character displays, manga books as they were originally distributed placed for reading, etc.) forms a direct connection as to whether or not, as in this case, the visitors adopt a primarily museum style behaviour pattern.

IV. Discussion

Section three clearly outlined the characteristic behaviour patterns displayed by visitors to the Tezuka Museum. That is, the following four points: 1.) exhibit viewing in accordance with the route established by the curators, 2.) high volume of photography, 3.) difference in the viewing density between the first and second floors, and 4.) low significance placed on the museum library. This section will undertake a deeper consideration of the museum's characteristics based on the relationship between these four points.

How can we interpret the fact that a large number of visitors take the same route in accordance with the curator designed exhibition viewing path? For most people, to view the museum in this manner from start to end, is assumed to be the 'correct' method of museum visiting. As a result, most visitors surveyed can be categorised into the aforementioned Museum type; however, according to the sojourn time data and the behaviour notes made by the observer, there was a relatively large number of cases observed in which visitors simply passed by the exhibits while barely looking at them. Therefore, it can be said that while the museum visitors have appreciation for the 'correct' behaviour in the museum, it can also be said that the museum side also expects this type of behaviour from its visitors. This so called 'correct' museum behaviour refers to both physical and mental conduct such as using polite manners within the building (not speaking in a raised voice, running, or touching the exhibits), following the
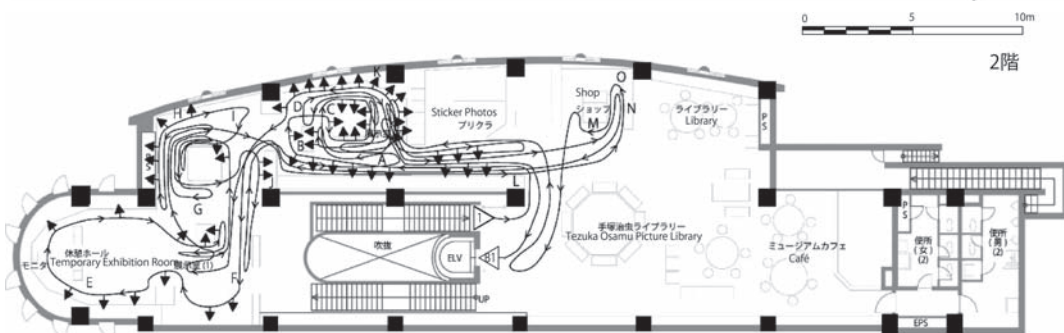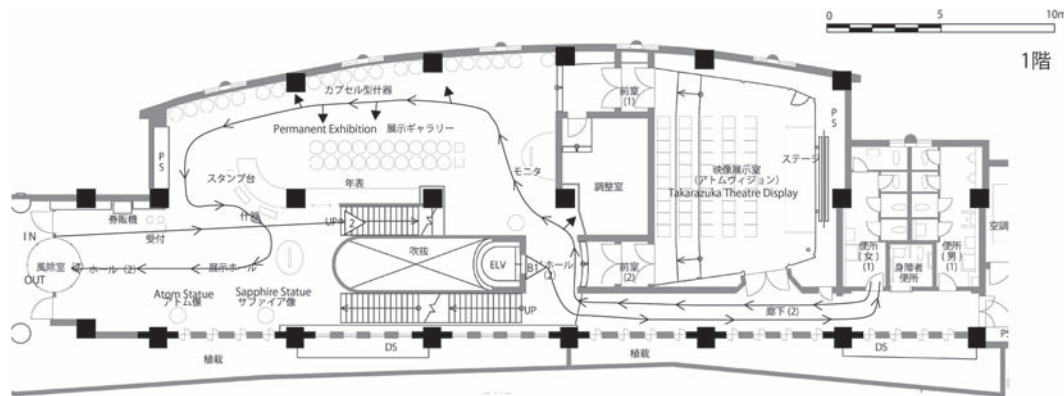
A Looks at each picture in detail. Talks while pointing. "The pencil lines…" "In the novel…" "This expression of Haruhi's is cute."
Looks at bottom picture 3rd from the left for 2-3 mins, as well as top one for 2-3 mins.
Speaks to their partner about the picture.
At first one-sided (Male also talks later)
About the line work and drawing methods.
"Haruhi is really in-group. Only fans get it."

B "When *moe* is overdone it doesn't look *moe* at all", "Do we get something if we do the questionnaire"
Here is seemed as if they would get something.
Followed by regular conversation. 20 mins between A and B.

C Criticises roughness of lines.
Talks about the uniforms illustrated reference book available for purchase at Village Vanguard.
Seems interested in the depiction of uniforms.

D Stands still. "I wonder if they have the 2011 face?"

E "Kamijo Eri pictures look like Yazawa Ai's."

F "Three-eyed One, he's not this cool"

G "I don't like pants fan-service much"

H "I'm surprised Murata Renji is in the exhibition"

I "Mori Chack's work looks a lot like Tezuka's. You know, he started out as a street artist."

J Gazes at picture of Haruhi solidly for about 5mins.
Criticises the way the body is drawn (proportions)
Finished viewing E-J by 4pm.

K Walks around the furnishing several times for 2-3mins, then goes back to look.

L *Mantan* Vol.28 "Cute"

M Is interested in the *Haruhi* manga.

N Choses temporary exhibition goods, then goes back into exhibition room.

O Diligently choses temporary exhibition goods (7-8mins), buys document folders etc.
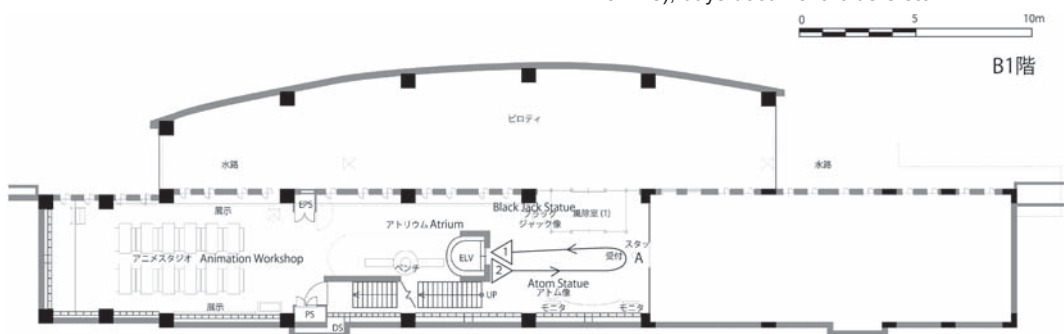
A Hands in quiz rally and receives postcard at reception desk.

Fig. 4: Tracking diagram, archetypal data of temporary exhibition focused visitor.

prescribed route, looking at the museum presented content from start to finish, and therefore absorbing some sort of new information and knowledge from the museum. This is not necessarily consciously recognised by the individual, and the recognition of museums as social educational institutions and spaces for enlightenment is a belief that has gained momentum only in modern times[17].

Another tangible issue of the museum includes the visitors' subjects of photography. The visitor photography

17 For example, Michel Foucault's work on behaviour from *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977=1975, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison*, Gallimard.

of characters embedded throughout the museum are extremely suggestive of behaviour that can be observed at theme parks, and diverge from the 'correct' museum behaviour as discussed above. In spite of the Tezuka Museum having been created with museum style spatial construction, and having encouraged a museum style visitors path, the fact that the building is studded with decorations which engender theme park style behaviour from its visitors has created a environment in which spatial navigation of the museum involves adjusting to or at times confusing layers of a dual corporeality. This is illustrated in that while photography is permitted in the permanent exhibition, visitors only take photograph in spots where a character statue or image has been placed, while on the other hand, influenced by the theme park style atmosphere, visitors commonly chat while viewing the exhibition, and the level of conversation is much greater than can be observed in general museums.

So then, what is the significance of the duality of 'correct' museum behaviour alongside theme park behaviour in the Tezuka Museum?

Worthy of notice, is the aforementioned issue of visitor density between the first and second floors. For a small scale museum such as this to have such disparity in spite of its aim towards a 'correct' museum environment is a peculiarity of the Tezuka Museum which brings forth the question of whether manga exhibitions in particular can be viewed in the way of traditional museum exhibitions.

The first floor permanent exhibition introduces Tezuka in the format of a tribute to the individual, and as a result seeks to present Tezuka as a 'great figure' to visitors through the exhibition materials on display. The temporary exhibitions on the second floor however, display artwork curated with intent to encourage art appreciation as in a fine art museum[18] and therefore has a more traditional museum aesthetic approach in anticipation of eliciting visitor behaviour similar to that of fine art museums. Generally speaking, visitors usually have the literacy to interpret the Tezuka Museum's permanent exhibition style of a historical figure's biographical narrative. This is because this type of narrative is commonplace and familiar to visitors in their daily lives such as in children's literature

and pedagogical materials that feature tales of heroes, and life story documentaries that appear on television. Therefore, whether the well-known figure being depicted is Edison, Picasso, or a manga artist, audience members can be drawn into the narrative with relative ease. But many visitors face a high hurdle in undertaking art museum style behaviour that forms a direct connection between viewer and artwork as is intended by the temporary exhibitions. Additionally, even those who have some art exhibition literacy may still be bewildered by the manga contents of the exhibition; or indeed, many of them may be thusly bewildered precisely because of their literacy, to have to adopt this to manga contents.

Ultimately, if the fact that most visitors exhibit Museum type behaviour is seen to be consistent with the museum's desire to function as a social educational facility, then adopting the so called 'correct' museum viewing method for the manga exhibition sections inadvertently runs the risk of sending a bad message. To put it another way, as the social significance of manga is not generally recognized in the first place, the significance of any message put forth by a manga related social educational facility is after all ambiguous by nature. As a result of this, the message of an institution such as the Tezuka Museum is naturally obfuscated, and so its visitors lack the necessary framework to decode manga related exhibitions. Neither does the museum have the opportunity to tangibly develop such abilities through its exhibitions in the present social situation.

As a result of the aforementioned difference in the level of literacy required between the first and second floor exhibitions combined with the building design which encourages a theme park style disposition toward its contents, visitor behaviour which at first glance appears to come under the Museum type behaviour, is in actuality, consistently ambiguous in nature.

This phenomenon is, as a matter of fact, directly connected to the scarcity of visitors who make use of the museum library pointed out in the survey results discussed above in section three. Where the first floor focuses on Tezuka's personality and life, the second floor exhibition and library are positioned as a junction to promote direct contact with Tezuka's work. The temporary exhibitions are designed to do so through the exhibition of artwork, rather than focusing on Tezuka personally, and the library aims to promote his works through direct access to his printed manga. Nevertheless, museum literacy is necessary to make contact with manga artwork on the second floor, and

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18 Art museums are museums specializing in 'fine art' such as painting, sculpture, installations etc. Characteristically they display original artwork presented with only the bare minimum information that is required, in a white cube (a white straight lined space without ornamentation). Visitors are assumed to be literate in art history and in forming a direct connection with the artwork. In most cases when museums are spoken of as high culture, the speaker is referring to art museums.

the library merely consists of books lined up on shelves in a far corner of the museum. Exhibiting manga within the museum requires more than simply lining up or juxtaposing artwork and books with the expectation that visitors will engage with the works of their own volition.

An exhibition that heightens accessibility to the works of manga themselves rather than focusing on the humanity of the artist is not easy from either a planning or reception point of view. The difficulty of this matter lies in the very format of the book as a bound medium, not to mention its natural characteristic as a print media which is read by oneself. Exhibition of this medium therefore requires new styles of display. In short, the question of what method to employ in exhibiting manga is compounded with the questions: what kind of media is manga *presented* as? And subsequently, how is it *read*?

Along these lines, it becomes apparent that not only is there no established form for manga exhibitions, but that there is also the lingering question of how the medium of manga, which allows its readers a most intimate contact with artwork, is actually read in community cultural centers. Furthermore, there remains no predicate for how to position this manga reading behaviour within cultural institutions such as museums. Certainly manga reading takes place in spaces such as manga cafés and bookstores, but could manga reading in community cultural centers really be comparable to these facilities? A consideration of the position of reading behaviour within museum is required in order to respond to this question, in short, the issue of how regular, daily-encountered manga books are placed in the museum should be considered as of equal rank to the issue of how manga is displayed in exhibitions.

To return to the specific issue of the Tezuka Museum in that visitors have little interest in the library in spite of it being the part of the museum with the most direct connection to Tezuka's manga. This visitor disinterest combined with the apparent lack of thought that the museum itself has given to that part of the building both illustrate that insufficient attention has been directed towards the fact that manga are the actual artifacts of the museum's collection. Naturally this problem is not unique to the Tezuka Museum. The culture to display manga within a greater public context is still at its infancy throughout the country.

In fact, what can be observed from the visitors' behaviour is the fact that there is little evidence of thought or ideology in how manga culture is presented in the museum and in what disposition it is to be decoded by

visitors. Should manga related cultural institution prove itself to be a 'contributing' institution which adds to the enrichment of manga culture, it should provide an enjoyment of manga obtained uniquely by visiting the site. In other words, if they were to utilize the manga for their resource, then some kind of resolve should be carried out for manga culture itself within that process. In order to establish sustainable cultural institutions which have their roots in the local regions, it eventually becomes essential that those institutions aim to make cultural (i.e. not only economic) contributions both in width and depth.

V. Conclusion and Future Prospects

Examination of the survey results suggests that the Tezuka Museum has two purposes, firstly as a social educational facility in the traditional sense, as well as a theme park style institution with the expectation to provide positive economic effect, with varying degrees of effect towards each of these purposes. The expectations placed upon the museum are in part also due to the situation in that while the museum was envisioned as a social educational facility for youths, it is managed not by the Board of Education, but by the Tourism Planning Division. However, the fundamental problem facing the Tezuka Museum is not the contradictory nature of these two purposes, but rather that they have not been sufficiently called into questioned.

The Tezuka Museum's exhibition framework is of depicting Tezuka as an important historical figure, exhibiting original artwork, and seeking to make the visitors view contents through museum-type behaviour as a social educational facility. In order to realise this, the behaviour of the visitors who read museum's building and statues as emitting a theme park message is partially restrained. On the other hand, what exactly is educational about the facility is unclear. Based on this, a situation has developed where it seems difficult to ascertain what the visitors are getting beyond theme park style consumption. This state of affairs is linked to the museum's status as a forerunner for this kind of facility, as an exhibition based museum that dares to exist in an age in which manga is not truly valued as having its own worth. However, now with some years behind them and an increasing amount of similar institutions arising, they are reaching an impasse.

The pursuit of this kind of public institution that deals with manga henceforth should be to create a framework to

address the above mentioned issues through experimentation, trial and error. Thusly, the Tezuka Museum needs to explore solutions in developing the required exhibition methods and facilities to promote transmission and appreciation of Tezuka's works amongst a wide audience. However it is not as though the staff who actually run the museum do not have aims towards a new format that would solve this contradictory nature, as this was mentioned plenty of times in the staff interviews.

Ideally speaking, the original expectations of a manga related community cultural center was for it to be a place that endeavored to develop ways to highlight the unique characteristics of manga through exhibition etc. and contribute to not only manga research but also a revitalisation of manga culture itself. But however much the Tezuka Museum wanted to experiment with ways of showing Tezuka's artwork to the museum visitors, it will still be limited by its many structural and organizational limitations. For one thing, manga are fundamentally different from the typical contents that museums are geared toward in ways that make it difficult to treat them as public goods. Within the present marketplace situation, dealing with commercial goods for which artists' copyright is single-handedly controlled by corporations, forces prioritisation of the wishes of profit orientated production houses and publishers.In the Tezuka Museum, the permanent and temporary exhibitions have both been outsourced to Tezuka Pro; the museum staff, rather than consisting of professional exhibition staff such as curators and museum professionals or researchers specializing in Tezuka and his works, are expected only to manage and operate the contents which the production house has created. In other words, the Tezuka Museum staff members have no authority to manipulate the specific contents of the museum which transmit its message, that is, the social education potentiality of encouraging visitors to explore manga reading, or the elements that affect the tourism policy. In actuality, many municipal manga related cultural institutions share this structural problem.

Even by putting up with this kind of restricted organisational structure, the city and museum hope to make manga the core of economic stimulus for regional promotion. However be that as it may, the profit of one company cannot directly lead to the economic stimulation of a region. Here the significance of bringing manga into the region and creating a regional manga cultural center needs to be fundamentally requestioned.

Cultural facilities built by the city are aimed at cultural contribution, but in actuality regional revitalization though manga related cultural institutions is debated without enough consideration of alternative understandings aside from economic growth of regional development and cultural contribution (here specifically referring to contribution towards manga culture). As a result, there are more cases where economic growth has not been realized through this means than otherwise.

There is a need to requestion what the very term 'regional promotion' is aiming for. Increasing tourists and money to the region is not regional promotion alone. And it is probably that the residents of comparatively affluent commuter towns such as Takarazuka have no particular interest in seeing their town become crowed as a tourist location. To these local residents 'regional promotion' may be a revitalisation of communication between locals with hope toward a service that satisfies intellectual desire to be continually transmitted by the Tezuka Museum.

What is most important for cultural institution is sustainability. Thus, the potential continued existence of manga related cultural institutions can only exist where regional promotion and cultural contribution (contributing to manga culture) as well as the sustainability of culture are mutually related.

In closing we would like to express our sincere gratitude to Associate Manager Matsumoto Yumiko, Director Maekawa Takeshi, and all the staff at the Takarazuka City Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum as well as FukuhiYoshihito of Tezuka Production Co.Ltd. for their generous cooperation.

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Visitor Survey at the Hiroshima City Manga Library:
What It Means to Deal with Manga in Libraries

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I. Scope of the study

In recent years the number of cultural institutions dedicated to manga has been on the rise. Throughout Japan fifty to sixty institutions that can be said to fall under this thematic category have been established, but in reality they deal with manga in various ways. For example, there are 'manga art galleries' which conceptualise manga as an art form, and equate it with original artwork; 'manga museums' which deal with manga related materials as historical artefacts; and 'manga artist memorial halls' which focus on a single artist as a celebrated local figure. Yet it remains true that in most cases manga as a medium takes the format of a book, and so these institutions time and again are conceived of as 'manga libraries.' This paper will consider a manga related cultural institution in discussion of its role as a manga library.[1]

Previous research on the treatment of materials by manga libraries has frequently been approached from an educational perspective. (Ito, 2006) Furthermore, as exemplified by the articles of *Tokushū: Toshokan de manga o teikyō suru ni wa* [Special feature: Offering manga in libraries], published in Issue 269 of *Minna no toshokan* (Toshokan Mondai Kenkyūkai, 1999), hitherto discussions have centered around viewpoints from which to purchase manga, and how best to provide open shelf access to the books.

Specialist libraries that are devoted to collecting manga are rare, and the usual pattern of events has been that manga tend to be introduced as one part of the collection of pre-existing general libraries. Around the year 2000 the rise of Manga Studies as an academic field led to a conscious preservation of manga as a form of academic research material. After the opening of the Kyoto International Manga Museum in 2006, the closing of the International Institute for Children's Literature in 2008, and the opening of Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subcultures in 2009, discussion arose as to the necessity for the archival of manga as a research material, for example, in Issue 192 of *Kindai no toshokan* [Modern Libraries]. (Japan Library Association, Gendai no toshokan henshū iinkai, 2009).

However previous discussions concerning manga and libraries have in general centered on how manga should be considered and dealt with by libraries, and there has been little reference to the reality of how visitors to these 'manga libraries' make use of the institutions. On the other hand, issues related to library visitors have largely remained limited to statistical information such as the number of book loans and visitor attendance numbers, while visitor

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1   Our research on manga related cultural institutions with the dual function of 'museum' and 'library', and of 'museum' and 'memorial hall' is discussed in the following papers: 'Visitor Survey at the Kyoto International Manga Museum: Considering Museums and Popular Culture' (Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa, Ito, 2010); 'What Do People Do in Manga Museums?: Rethinking 'Manga Environment' through Visitor Behaviour' (Yamanaka, Ito, Murata, Tanigawa, 2011); and 'Visitor Survey at the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum: Do Manga Museums Really Promote Regional Development?' (Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa, Ito, 2012).

II. History of the Hiroshima City Manga Library

The Hiroshima City Manga Library (Photo 1 and 2) located in Minami-ku of Hiroshima city, approximately 70 metres above sea level on the peak of Mount Hiji, is a public manga library which is promoted as 'having the predominant feature of contributing towards the development of manga culture through the systematic collection and preservation of manga and manga related materials together with the hosting of various events'. (Hiroshima City Library 2011, 2011:79)

In 1979, in commemoration of Hiroshima City becoming a government ordinance-designated city, planning underwent to turn Mount Hiji into a centre of civic culture as a forest of the arts. In 1980 the master plan of Mount Hiji Art Park was finalised with the Museum of Contemporary Art at its heart. In 1983, as one part of this plan, the predecessor of the Manga Library was opened, Hiroshima City Mount Hiji Park Blue Sky Library. It was not a specialist manga library at the time. However, due to poor patronage the city council put forward the suggestion to 'make Blue Sky Library familiar and fun by incorporating manga and so forth' (Kurui, 1998: 784) Due partly to this suggestion Blue Sky Library was remodelled and reopened in 1997 as Hiroshima City Manga Library. (Kurui, 1998)

As of the 31st of March 2011, the library held 99, 488 volumes in its collection. (Hiroshima City Library 2011) Part of the collection covers manga criticism and manga studies publications, as well as instructional books on how to draw manga, but the majority of publications are manga works such as manga magazines and *tankobon* (collected volumes). The library also holds several newspapers and general magazines in its collection. According to the library staff, in spite of the fact that the library was originally planned to hold 30,000 volumes, it now has three times that amount in its collection and this has become a major challenge in the management of the library.

As a public library, there is no entrance or usage fee, and the manga can be borrowed. There is also provision for books to be taken outside of the library temporarily to be read elsewhere such as under the shade of the trees in Mount Hiji Park.

In the fiscal year of 2010, a total of 453,709 volumes of manga were borrowed from the library[2], and the number of library visitors has remained at about 230,000 to 240,000 people every year without any observable increase or decrease trend. In the fiscal year of 2010 the figure rested at 241,959 people. (Hiroshima City Library 2011) The number of visitors to the Hiroshima City Manga Library is 369 people per square meter, placing it third among the 13 public libraries in Hiroshima City. (Table 1)[3] These statistics certainly indicate that Hiroshima City Manga Library can be considered a 'success' in terms of civil service, and many stakeholders interested in making manga library have been keeping their eye on the library.

Photo.1: External view of the Hiroshima City Manga Library

Photo.2: Inside the Hiroshima City Manga Library

Table.1: Hiroshima City Library ranking according to visitor numbers in the 2010 fiscal year.

Visitors/Floor space (people per m^2)	
Asa Reading Room	538.9
Asaminami-ku Library	406.9
Manga Library	368.8
Nishi-ku Library	299.0
Naka-ku Libarary	278.8

2   In the 2010 fiscal year the total number of books loaned from across all libraries in Hiroshima City was 5,422,659 volumes; among this, the manga loaned came to 1,183,615 volumes.

3   The library with the highest attendance was Asa Reading Room, a branch office of the Hiroshima City Manga Library. When considering the fact that other libraries in Hiroshima are combined community center facilities which can attract a certain amount of incidental visitors, we can say that manga is a relatively high needs commodity.

experiences and motivations have rarely been addressed.

III. Survey Outline

Our research was conducted in order to consider the issues of what sort of underlying concept is this library operating from, and as a result, how visitors to the library are received within the library space. Both a survey of sojourn time and a tracking survey of the entire building were conducted with an aim to understanding how long visitors stayed in the building and how they spent their time there. Additionally, staff interviews were conducted in order to grasp the management concept and present conditions of the library.

In a tracking survey undertaken for the purpose of determining the flow of visitor traffic, the observers draw the route which visitors followed by hand onto floor plans of the target area. Where the visitors stopped and where they looked was noted down using symbols and other points of interest were taken in memorandum. This is a conventional method used in museum visitor surveys, and although rarely used by libraries we have applied it to our research carried out in other manga related cultural institutions and chose to also employ these techniques for the present study[4].

The tracking survey undertaken in this study is the continuation of a cross-institutional survey including the Kyoto International Manga Museum and the Osamu Tezuka Manga Museum. It was undertaken as a collaborative research project headed by the four authors, Murata, Yamanaka, Tanigawa and Ito, and full cooperation was received from the institutions. University and postgraduate students from Hiroshima City were recruited as surveyors and inducted on Tuesday the 6th of September 2011. The survey ran for the following five days, from Wednesday the 7th to Sunday the 11th, therefore the data collection period encompassed both weekdays and a weekend. The surveyors were broken in to three groups (of a total six people) for data collection. The data does not precisely reflect the population of the library visitors, as we did not intend to do a sampling.

The survey of visitor sojourn times was conducted on Friday the 9th of September. The demographics of the visitors was judged by appearance, both gender (male/female), and age range (elementary school and below, middle school, 20s-30s, 40s-50s, 60yrs and above). These were recorded along with the visitor's time of entrance and exit.

The distribution of the tracked visitors is plotted in graph 1 according to the measured length of their sojourn, with the particulars of gender and age range outlined in tables 2 and 3. When compared against the distribution of visitor sojourn times which is a data of all visitors to the library, it is safe to say that the tracking data reflect general visitor trends to this library. Most visitors spent a comparatively short amount of time in the library, and comprised of young and middle aged generations. Table 2 shows the figures from the average length of stay, as well as the longest and shortest stays recorded during the survey period.
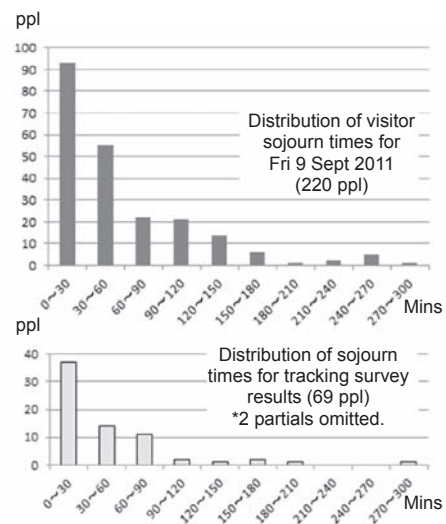
Graph.1: Results of the tracking and sojourn time surveys divided by age brackets.

Table.2: Results of the tracking and sojourn time surveys.

	Tracking survey results	Sojourn time survey results
Survey period	Wed 7-Sun 11 Sept 2011	Fri 9 Sept 2011
Data collected	71 (2 partial surveys)*	220 people
Gender of surveyee	M: 41, F: 30	M: 138, F: 82
C / T / Y / A / S **	9 / 3 / 24 / 27 / 8	9 / 9 / 81 / 73 / 48
Average stay length (excluding partial data*)	44 minutes	58 minutes
Longest stay	4 hrs, 56 mins (Male in his 60s)	4 hrs, 44 mins (Male older than 60s)
Shortest stay	0 mins (Male in his 30s)	2 mins (Male in his 40s-50s)

* Partial data represents cases in which the observer lost sight of the surveyee during tracking.
** C: Elementary school and below, T: High school student, Y: 20s-30s, A: 40s-50s, S: 60s and above.

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4   Tracking surveys are generally conducted in a manner in which the visitors are unaware of being observed, therefore age and other contextual statistics regarding the subjects are unknown, and the researchers cannot collect data on the subjects' thoughts. However, in this case the subjects were informed of the purpose of the survey before tracking was commenced.

Age bracket	Distribution of tracking surveyed visitors			All visitors to the library on 9th September		
	M&F	M	F	M&F	M	F
Elementary school & below (C)	9	5	4	9	4	5
High school student (T)	3	2	1	9	4	5
20s-30s (Y)	24	12	12	81	46	35
40s-50s (A)	27	14	13	73	40	33
60s and above (S)	8	8	0	48	44	4
Totals	71	41	30	220	138	82

IV. Space usage and the characteristics of visitors

The library is housed in a broad two story building in the shape of a folding fan. The majority of the collection is shelved on the second floor and the administration office is on the first floor (ground level). Most of the space on the second floor, including along the walls, is taken up by shelves. Arranged throughout the remaining space are loans and returns counters, newspaper racks and database search terminals etc. In proportion to the number of open access manga and the number of visitors, the library is a confined space (see table 1), and at the time of the survey the floor was often lined up with numerous cardboard boxes full of manga that could not fit on the shelves. There are reading spaces on both the east and west ends of the second floor, and a circular sofa that seats 7 to 8 people in the central area. Additionally, there are seats placed beside shelves and under pillars in consideration of allowing the maximum amount of visitors to be seated in the narrow space available. The reading spaces on either end both have display cabinets in which precious books are on exhibit, introducing a collection of manga according a theme.

Let us now discuss the way in which the space is used in actuality, and the behaviour of the visitors inside the building.

The first characteristic is that the population density within the building is not uniform. The comparatively spacious reading spaces at the east and west ends of the building are sparsely used, rather, the narrow spaces are preferred and therefore become even more constrained through congestion. In particular, the west side reading area is situated at the furthest, most quiet end of the building. With its large tables surrounded by chairs, it is the space most resembling a traditional library. Nevertheless, only 5 of the 62 visitors whose movements in the library were tracked in the present study, set foot in this space, only 3 of whom sat down to read there. These 3 were all males in their 50s-60s who visited the library by themselves. Upon entering the library they headed directly there and sat down, then used it as a base from which they would go to search for manga and then return. From this behaviour we can surmise that the space was a 'regular spot' for the visitors in question. Directly beside them lay the display cabinets of antique manga and other precious materials but none of the surveyed visitors looked over them.

The *fureai* (contact) room (Photo 3) at the eastern end of the building is separated by a glass wall, and functions as an independent reading space; a seated area to read manga volumes and magazine, it houses a table and chairs. Events are also held in this space throughout the year. There is also one of the glass display cabinets to facilitate a small exhibition of manga. Within the surveyed visitors 11 individuals entered the *fureai* room. These 11 visitors were of various ages and both genders, and those who sat at the desk were males of the 50-70 age range. As the newspaper rack is nearby there were also visitors who brought in newspapers to read rather than manga. Among these, there were visitors who came to read only the newspapers, and those who read newspapers, magazines and manga. The younger visitors to this room headed towards the manga magazines shelved at the back of the room, and read whilst standing in front of the shelves or took the magazines out of the room to read elsewhere.

None of the 11 visitors looked at the exhibition display cabinet. The manga library 'defends' the exhibition display in spite of the limited space available by giving it the role of an archive and information (see staff interview

Photo.3: The east end reading space.

in the latter part of this paper), but the result shows that it is rarely given attention by the library visitors.

Both reading spaces at the either end of the second floor had few readers and through-traffic. The users of the room inclined towards middle-aged and older men, thus encompassing an age bracket and gender bias, and they spent a relatively long amount of time in the library compared to other visitors.

In contrast to these two sparsely populated, low traffic areas on either end of the building, the remaining space that lies between them performs various functions.

The circular sofa that stands in the center of the second floor tends to be primarily used by adult females, in contrast to the largely male population of the reading rooms. One cause for this gender bias is that the book cases near the sofa contain series of Harlequin Comics[5], and it is flanked by manga magazines aimed towards adult females. A behaviour pattern was identified in which the visitors made multiple trips between these shelves and the sofa.

Numerous seats were lined up along the inside wall of the fan shaped building (the south wall), as were cardboard boxes containing overflow books from the shelves, overall creating a crowded space. Even the distance between seats, and between the seats and shelves was quite short resulting in the space for people to pass by to be extremely narrow; yet the readers perched there gave no indication of concern. This indicates that reading manga isolates one from all surrounding information and constructs a private space around the reader.

The reason for the high population density in the library is not only that readers are crammed in throughout every nook and cranny of available space, but also that there are visitors who return frequently to the same place. At least ten of the surveyed visitors to the library returned multiple times to the same spot, interspersed with trips walking around the entirety of the central bookshelf area to the point that it became impossible to draw their paths on the map. (See figures 3 and 5) These visitors would flick through the books to decide whether they would read them or not, and whether they would borrow them or not before moving on to the next bookshelf. Their stay in the library was reasonably long. Of these ten cases the shortest stay was 28 minutes and the longest was 756 minutes, the average being 126 minutes. Even excluding the especially

long case of 756 minutes, the average stay of the remaining 9 was 56 minutes long. It can be viewed that for these visitors the library acts as a place that they 'search' for manga to borrow, more than a place for them to 'read' manga.

The average length of stay of the entire surveyed visitors was 44 minutes. However, as seen in graph 1, the visitors stay for only a short time, as over half (53%) of visits recorded were under 30 minutes. These results seem to indicate that many visitors come to the library with the purpose of borrowing and returning manga, rather than reading it on site[6].

Many of the visitors observed either stood reading the manga near the shelves, made round trips between the seats and shelves, or walked among the shelves, occasionally stopping to browse. This explains the crowding in the areas where the shelves and seats were adjoining, in opposition to the expectation of the library that people would read manga while properly seated. In reality the above mentioned behaviour patterns were prevalent; in particular there was a variety of observed reading styles of children reading manga. For example, situations were observed in which readers were told off by staff for piling manga on the floor beside them to sit and read, or for pushing the manga into the walls with both hands as they stood leaning against it to read. Our cross-institutional visitor survey conducted since 2009 across several manga related cultural institutions has clearly indicated that reading manga whilst idly lying down is a characteristic behaviour. However reading manga while sitting on the floor or lying down in the corner is generally not permitted in libraries. The library staff confirmed that children seen acting in this way are cautioned against such behaviour. Additionally, as the building lacks the space to allow notebooks to be spread out for research, exam study or doing school homework is also prohibited.

The result of the spatial conditions is that there is a limited activity choice between borrowing manga to read elsewhere or staying to read manga on site. Based on these conditions the behaviour of visitors to the library can be analysed according to whether or not they read manga on

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5 The Harlequin series of manga are based on romance novels by the Canadian publishing company Harlequin Enterprises. These novels which are distributed throughout 97 countries into 27 different languages have recently also come to be periodically released as manga editions, drawn by Japanese artists.

6 There were also 13 cases of visitors coming to the library for the purpose of searching for manga at the database terminals. Additionally, 30 visitors (approximately half) returned borrowed manga during their visit. This indicates a high possibility that at least half of the visitors to the library are returning customers. There were also visitors who had made self notes, recording which manga and what volumes they had already read. These are heavy users, who make exhaustive and efficient use of the library. They were observed holding their notes in one hand, and checking the manga they intended to borrow against their list.

site and whether or not they borrow manga. These trends have been plotted on figure 1, and will now be discussed.

The most prevalent visitor behaviour noted in this study was to 'borrow without reading (behaviour pattern III)' of which 27 cases were observed. Figure 2 illustrates the path taken by one of these visitors. Their stay within the library was extremely short and their primary aim in visiting the library was simply to return books and make use of the reservation system to borrow books which they had come to collect. Another example path of a visitor who borrowed without reading is illustrated in figure 3. In this case the visitor walked throughout the building in order to select books for borrowing. In examples of this type the visitors spent a comparatively long amount of time in the library and would repetitively stop in front of shelves to open books and confirm their contents. This confirmation of the books contents would for most visitors consist of merely flipping through the book, a far cry from actually 'reading' and there were few visitors among this category who sat down to read the books which they picked out from the shelves. Even in the example illustrated in figure 3, where the visitor stayed in the library for 49 minutes,

they did not sit to read. Visitors who were observed to follow this behaviour pattern were common and were particularly prevalent among women in their 30s-40s.

The next most common pattern was visitors who read without borrowing (I) of which 24 cases were observed. As can be seen in the example illustrated in figure 4 these visitors tend to read by deciding on a place in the library to use as a 'base' and then make numerous trips to and from the shelves from their chosen seat.
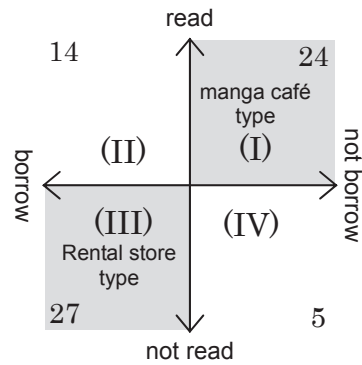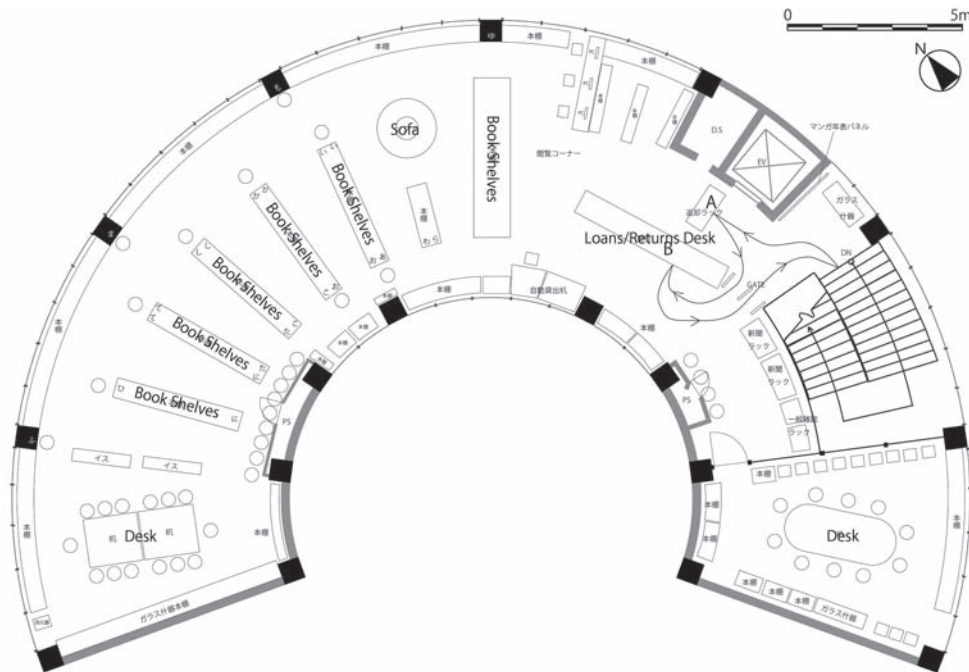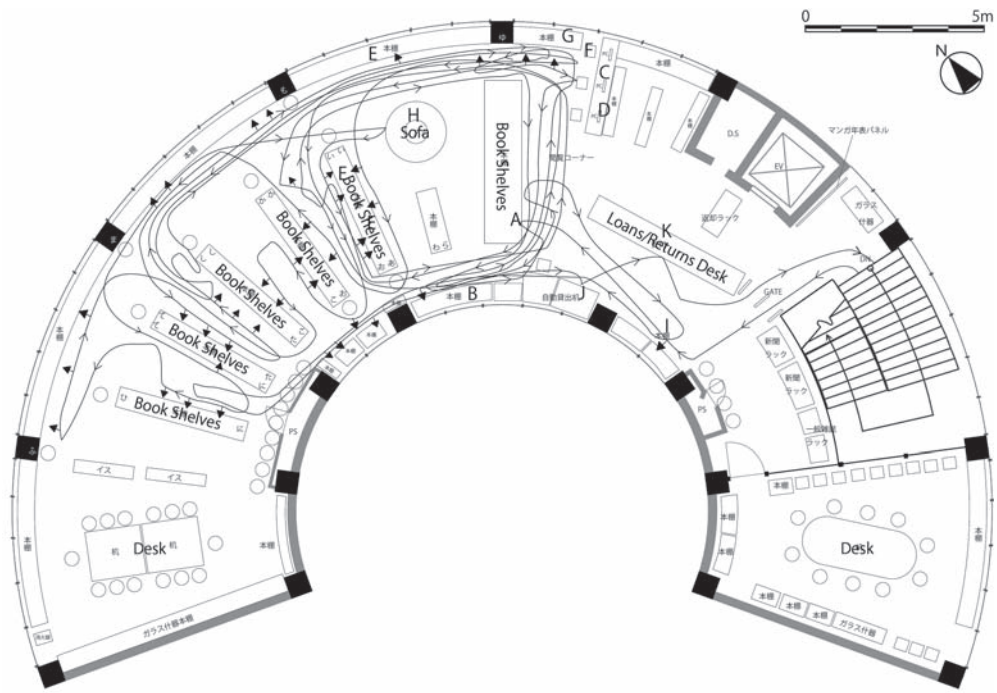

Fig.1: Behaviour types of manga library visitors.

A: Returned books   B: Borrowed 2 reserved books

Fig.2: Visitor pattern 'borrow without reading (III)' [data#1]

A: Leaves child. After 2 places child's book for borrowing in basket, and leaves child again.

B: Meets up with child.

C: Child uses PC, 3 mins apart.

D: PC again.

E: Attempts asking about various in hand materials.

F: Child uses PC.

G: Uses PC alone.

H: 13:20-13:22 sitting, looks at book from basket.

I: Child puts many books (over 10) in basket.

J: Borrows 20 books at self service loans desk.

K: Asks about non-returned books.

Fig.3: Visitor pattern 'borrow without reading (III)' [data#2]
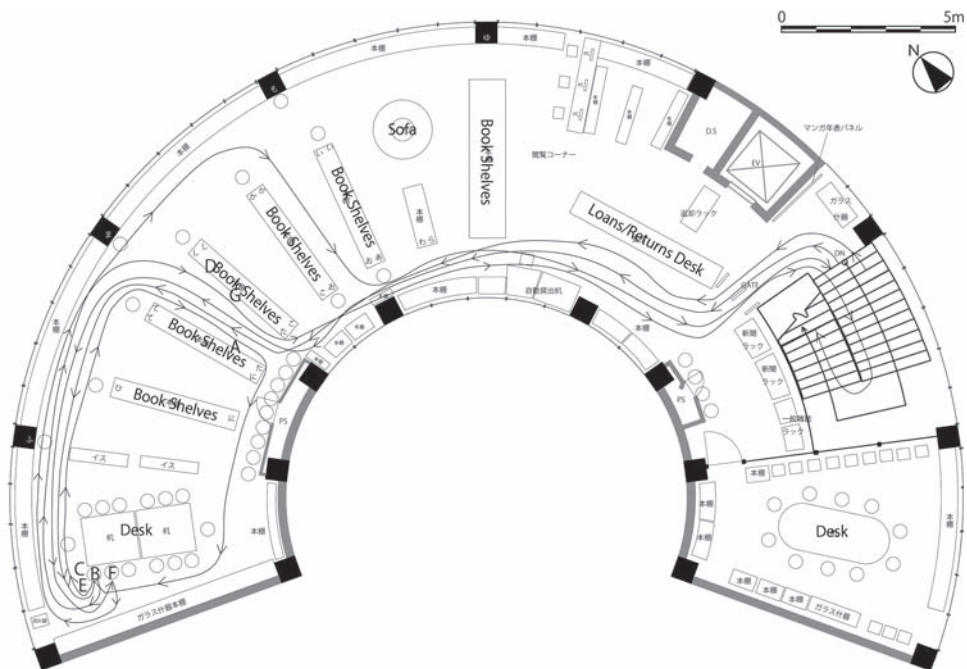
A: Moves directly to 'ta' bookcase and takes 3 volumes of *Kamui-den zenshu*.

B: 10:04 sits and begins to read.

C: 13.03 stands from chair.

D: Returns books. Looks troubled that their space has been taken. 13:05 picks up the next 2 volumes of *Kamui-den* and returns to seat.

E: 13:10 leaves books and goes to use bathroom taking only bag.

F: 13:13 continues reading.

G: 14:57 returns books. They do not fit in the shelf, so leaves them lying on top of other books.

Fig.4: Visitor pattern 'read without borrowing (I)'
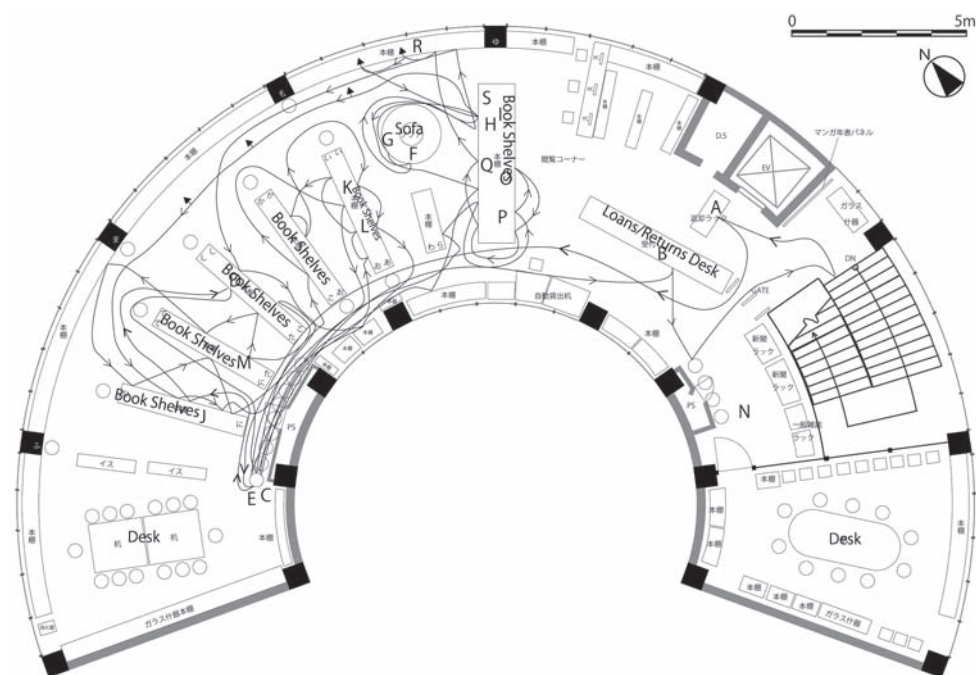
A: Returns 4 books.
B: Picks up 2 reserved books.
C: Leaves belonging on a chair and stands to read.
D: Reads the manga *Hyahoo♪ unifamily*
E: Puts down book.
F: 14:54 sits down.
G: 16:00 stands from chair.

H: Returns manga magazine they have finished reading. Picks up magazine and put it down again. Picks up a different magaine (*Kiss*) and returns to previous location.
I: 16:18 一通り読み終え返却、BLOCK を手に取る
J: Returns books.
K: Picks up manga *Eroika yori ai o komete*.

L: Stands, reading manga.
M: Stands, reading manga by Takahashi Yoko.
N: Checks belongings.
O: Stands, reading manga.
P: Picks up *KIG*.
Q: Stands, reading.
R: Picks up *Matendo no baadeii*.
S: Picks up *BLOCK* and goes to sofa.

Fig.5: Visitor pattern 'read & borrow (II)'

Visitors who both read and borrowed (II), that is, those who would borrow books after reading in the library were comparatively scarce, with only 14 cases observed. In the example given in figure 5, characteristically for this behaviour pattern, the visitor walked all around the room and spent a long time in the library (147mins in this case). This particular visitor made use of the reservation system to request books for borrowing. Then walked around the room again to browse and returned to their 'base' with the books chosen while browsing to read for a short time before returning home with their reserved books.

The least common pattern was visitors who neither read nor borrowed (IV), of which there were 5 in the present study. They did not particularly seem to come to the library with the aim of reading or borrowing manga, and did not appear interested in manga. Visitors exhibiting this kind of behaviour mostly accompanied other people who were visiting the library.

For the purposes of this study we will refer to borrowing without reading pattern of behaviour (III) as 'rental-store types', and the read without borrowing (I)

pattern as 'manga café types.' In our visitors survey of the Hiroshima City Manga Library, these 'rental-store types' and 'manga café types' collectively comprised 70 percent of the data collected.

V. Manga readers and the library

What can be understood from the results of the tracking survey? What kind of manga readers does the Hiroshima City Manga Library attract, and what kind of manga reading and consumption does it promote?

Even within the field of Manga Studies, there are few studies which have attempted to understand the reader from the way that they read manga and their behaviour related to reading. Manga readers are generally considered to be a homogeneous group and that image has rarely been examined. Even in rare cases which the study does talk about the readers, they tend to be categorized as a stereotyped subsection attributed to fans of a particular genre. However, this sort of categorization becomes an

obstacle when trying to discuss beyond the borders of content or genre selection in institutions such as Manga Libraries which cater to various age ranges and hold a variety of genres in their collection.

Let us look into one of the rare studies that has focused on the reading behaviour of manga readers.

Sociologist Ishita Saeko classifies manga readers against two axes; that of manga reading and possession. (Ishita, 2001) (See figure 6) This first axis, manga reading, identifies readers according to a scale in which they display behaviour indicating those who enjoy discussing their opinions and viewpoint of a manga, in contrast to those who primarily treat it as a simple source of information, which she labels 'reading manga with a world view' and 'reading manga as information' respectively. The second axis examines manga consumption. Suggesting an opposing axis related to the purchase and re-reading of manga, as well as how the books are stored, which extends between 'memory, storage, collection, possession' and 'dismissal, disposal, lack of possession.' There is no debate that there is a predominance of readers across all of Ishita's identified categories (I to IV) and it has been acknowledged that behaviour patterns attributed to all four categories may be displayed by a single given reader.

As mentioned in the previous section, the observed behaviour of visitors to the Hiroshima City Manga Library centered around 'rental-store types' and 'manga café types.' In consideration of the number of books loaned and the fact that most visitors showed no interest in the exhibition designed with the potential to enrich the manga reading experience it cannot be said that the manga library has been successful in prompting readers to develop further interest in manga: i.e., an interest towards repeatedly re-reading the same manga, or reading manga criticism books and other manga-related and background

publications. Therefore, most visitors displayed an indication of 'reading manga as information' above 'reading manga with a world view', and 'dismissal' over 'memory.'

The reading behaviour of the visitors to the library is to consume manga in great numbers. To apply Ishita's classifications, the library visitors would be representative of the third category 'reading manga as information, dismissal' (III) and it can be surmised that the Hiroshima City Manga Library is becoming an institution for readers who primarily follow this behaviour pattern. If the library were to become a facility largely dedicated to readers of this reading behaviour then it could exclude readers belonging to the other categories I, II and IV as they may find it difficult to make use of the library.

Naturally, the library staff are unsatisfied with the current situation: 'It is the duty of the public library to present manga as culture. It should be distinguished from a neighbourhood manga rental store, the likes of which might shelve only books which everyone wants to read', claims one library staff.

The library considers certain matters necessary in aid of this situation. One being in regards to the dilemma that libraries cannot help but periodically dispose of books from their collection (the process of 'weeding'). As is the case with all public libraries, the manga library stored unpopular books in a closed stacks system and upon confirmation of their low rotation they were disposed of. In such an event, the staff tries as much as possible to contact manga archival institutions such as the Kyoto International Manga Museum in search of the possibility that the materials could be preserved. In other words, they do make an effort to take actions on the 'memory' and 'possession' scale wherever possible and the initial ideal of the library has also been 'preservation.'

They also seem to take into account the participation of visitors 'reading with a world view.' This can be discerned through the treatment of the display cabinets holding precious books in the library as the staff assert that they are important and people occasionally come to view the materials, not letting the displays be lost even in light of the bookshelf space shortage.

At the same time however, it is precisely these sorts of proprieties which enable the institution to be treated as a library administratively and guarantees its identity as a library, not only for the visitors but also for the staff.

On the other hand, it is also an alternative to expand the concept of the third (III) category of readers who exhibit the 'reading manga as information, dismissal'

Read with a world view

Dismissal, disposal, lack of possession

(II) (I)

(III) (IV)

Memory, storage, collection, possession
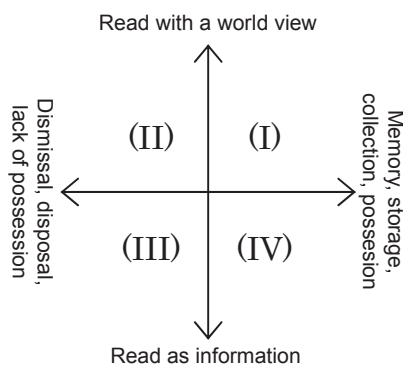
Read as information

Fig.6: Ishita Saeko's manga reader categories (Ishita 2001: p.169), graphed to the same structure as fig.1.

behaviour pattern; such institution could be considered beneficial to conceive a different mindset from that of a traditional library.

According to the results of our tracking survey in the Hiroshima City Manga Library the minority behaviour pattern was of visitors who neither read nor borrowed, and as mentioned previously, these visitors were observed to have come to the library for the purpose of accompanying another visitor. It may be possible to examine this behaviour as an extension of the 'manga experience' so to speak, in which visitors participate in activities such as talking about manga or relaxing in an environment surrounded by manga. However that possibility is unlikely in the case of this institution, as rules befitting a library are upheld, with talking prohibited and misbehaving children cautioned. If libraries are places which allow their visitors to gain access to a wide variety of books, and act as a window to the world of books, perhaps such 'ambiguity' should be taken into account within the library space.

For example the Aritagawa-cho Lifelong Education Center (ALEC) in Aritagawa-cho, Aritagawa-gun of Wakayama prefecture is also a public library that holds a manga collection (or more correctly, is equivalent to a library). Rather than functioning as a library per se, ALEC was established with the primary aim to create a community space with books. The spacious rooms have tables and chairs that visitors can eat and drink at, while chatting with each other and enjoying themselves.[7]

Naturally this kind of 'library' image is necessary in allowing diversification of manga reading behaviour. ALEC boasts a high number of visitors and is gaining popularity. But the driving force of this institution is after all, the behaviour pattern of 'reading manga as information, dismissal' and in this respect can be viewed as no different than the Hiroshima City Manga Library.[8]

On the other hand, changing the institutional direction towards the first category of 'memory, possession' (I) who 'read with a world view' would require a stronger specialist

intention, including a substantial archive and reference functions. This would in turn endanger the carefree atmosphere which allows visitors to encounter manga on a casual level. Additionally, administrative speaking a specialist institution would naturally be evaluated by the city as incapable of contributing to the local community.

In the end, it can be said that the treatment of manga within a 'library' setting will always have the possibility of excluding several of the reading behaviours which are inherent to manga. While manga take the form of a bound printed publication, they are a media format which does not fit into the normal library treatment of books; requiring a re-thinking of how they should be dealt with.

VI. Conclusion and Future Prospects

Based on the high number of visitors, Hiroshima City Manga Library is often cited as a successful example of a manga related cultural institution. In addition, it functions effectively as a space to encourage reading. Even though the physical capacity of the space has been well surpassed by its visitors, this is miraculously solved thanks to manga readers' characteristic ability to mentally create a private space as if surrounded by invisible walls. A situation which causes the librarian and staff voices to fall on deaf ears at times. As indicated by the staff interviews conducted in this study, the institution suffers from various dilemmas typical of a library, one of which appears to be the largely overlooked display cabinets.

In the end it is a question of what exactly the institutional aim is of manga libraries. For example should the aim be to become a specialist information center such as the Yoshihiro Yonezawa Memorial Library of Manga and Subcultures, it would be difficult to allow casual public access. On the other hand should the aim be to function as a space for the carefree consumption of manga by the wider community, it might come under criticism of whether or not it were any different from a manga café or rental store. Either way, surely both styles of institution have merit. Whether an institution can exist somewhere along both vectors is not a problem exclusive to manga libraries; indeed it applies to the very system of libraries and also involves the issue that public awareness secures the continued existence of libraries.

Regarding the way that manga are treated by municipal libraries, it is administratively difficult to do anything beyond providing a service for the community to

7   During the conceptual planning stages for ALEC, Misumi Osamu, the Aritagawa Social Education Division Section Manager and later Director of the ALEC center, visited the Hiroshima City Manga Library. He was surprised by the power of attraction that manga has, and on the other hand also felt the limitations of the 'library' framework. (Interviews with Misumi conducted by Ito, Murata, Yamanaka and Tanigawa on the 15 and 16 of Jan 2012)

8   Although this can only be stated as such when we consider ALEC within the framework outlined in figure 1. If we remember that ALEC was originally established aside from the juncture of 'read/not read', 'borrow/not borrow', the institution may well present broader discussion on manga cultural institutions unlimited to manga libraries.

access manga for free that a large selection of people wish to read. This means that conceptualising a manga library as a public facility is not as easy as it may look.

The issue of manga libraries is however not something that can be solved by questioning the 'library' system. This paper has examined manga libraries from a broader context of how manga is dealt with by cultural institutions. Discussing about manga related cultural institutions of various forms will consequently shed light on the possibilities and future forms of manga libraries.

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Ryuichi Tanigawa, 'Higashi ajia kingendai no toshi to kenchiku［Modern and Contemporary Cities and Buildings in East Asia］', Wada Haruki et.al.（eds.）, *Iwanami Modern and Contemporary History of East Asia series, Bekkan*, Iwanami-shoten, 2011.

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Yu Ito, 'Exported Japan: On Japan's Popular Culture Policy', *In Image of Japan in Europe,* Vytautas Magnus University, 2007.

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Main Works:
Chie Yamanaka, 'Manga, Manhwa and Historical Consciousnes: Trans-national Popular Media and the Narrative De/Construction of Japanese-Korean History', In Richter, Steffi, ed., *Contested Views of a Common Past: Historical Revisionism in Contemporary East Asia.* Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2008.

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Chie Yamanaka, 'Domesticating Manga? National identity in Korean comics culture', In Jaqueline Berndt & Steffi Richter, eds., *Reading Manga: Local and Global Perceptions of Japanese Comics*, Leipzig University Press, 2006.

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Main Works:

Cathy Sell, 'Manga Translation and Interculture', *Mechademia: User Enhanced*, vol.6, pp.93-108, 2011.

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