

Resistance to the Japanese State through Popular Culture

Topic: Determine the nature of State authority in Japan and explore resistance or acceptance of the system via a legitimate form of popular culture.

The nature of State authority in Japan is a well-versed topic of contemporary Japanese society by scholars both within and outside Japan. However, what has not been studied to such a degree is the public consensus of this system and ways in which they can be seen as combating or accepting current model of development. By legitimising Japanese animation as a form of popular culture appropriate for investigating public sentiment of the political situation in Japan, it is hoped that a degree of resistance or acceptance of the Japanese State can be ascertained. While unconventional, it offers an interesting angle from which one can examine the dynamism of Japanese society today.

Defining the model or nature of State authority is essential to ensure that a well-directed analysis of popular culture and its themes are to be realised. It is proposed that the Japanese State and its authority can be defined in terms of its priorities or its model of development over the past 50 years since the end of Allied Occupation. Arnason, when talking of the Japanese path to modernity, observes that despite the application of Western models of modernity and (important to the understanding of the contemporary Japanese State) democracy, Japan remained a society where a fundamental authoritarian link existed between the State and its people (Arnason 1988: 236). This observation is important to keep in mind when discussing the nature of the Japanese State. While this isn't to say Japan falls into the category of its pre-war authoritarianism, its conduct since occupation reveals a somewhat hypocritical definition of 'democracy'. Scholars have questioned the Japanese notion of democracy with its prevailing one-party rule by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Pye argues that it is only recently that the Japanese notion of democracy has only started to develop a true democracy (versus soft-authoritarianism) with the Recruitment scandal of 1989 (Pye 1997: 213-229). By viewing practices and policy post-war, an 'image' of the modern Japanese State can be used to determine popular opinion on the way Japan's politicians have run their country.

Perhaps the most prominent way of examining Japanese politics in motion is to observe its policy, model of development and the inner workings of the system, as already alluded to above. As far as policy is concerned, the country has remained politically rigid. Regarding interior policy, the official stance on censorship is an excellent place to begin, particularly as the policies in question directly relate to the content in popular culture. Schodt, who has written extensively on the *manga* (Japanese comics) industry in Japan, brings up an interesting case study on the Japanese laws regarding obscenity in the Japanese media. He determines that artists have played a game of "cat and mouse" with the authorities for decades since the freedom of the press was instituted in 1946 by the constitution drafted by the American forces occupying Japan post-war (Schodt 1996: 54-57). This indicates not only a vague system of law (1996: 53) but heavy-handed government censorship. He further reads into commentary about the obscenity debate in manga¹ as revealing a public desire for a decline in heavy-handed censorship, a shift that had begun in the early 1980s (1996: 53).

What this look at censorship intends to do is to determine several aspects of the Japanese government. Firstly, it serves to determine how the Japanese notion of democracy, in this case evident by the institution of freedom of the press post-war, follows its own path. Heavy censorship exists across the board and not just in manga; published material, both books, newspapers and magazines, are all subject to government intervention. Hence, the government takes an active role in directing the 'freedom' of published material. Secondly, it also exhibits the fragility or vagueness (according to Schodt) of the Japanese structure of law. Third, it examines how government intervention is omnipresent in Japan, in this case and as a general rule (Hadar 1998: 60). This interpretation, on behalf of the government, is important to consider, especially in consideration of the next topic that will serve to outline the Japanese model of development: the *doken kokka* or the construction state.

Critics of Japan who have written since the economic bubble burst in the late 1980s/early 1990s have pointed towards the corruption of the political system as being an important aspect of the character of the modern Japanese State. In fact, literature on the topic of

government-level Japanese corruption has only become a recent area of study (Reed 1996: 395), in light of how long corruption has been a part of the model of development. While not an official part of the model, McCormack's analysis on what he terms the 'construction state' traces its development back to the 1970s, where it was perfected by Tanaka Kakuei, who in turn was succeeded by Takeshita Noboru and Kanemaru Shin (McCormack, 1996: 34). According to McCormack, the system of awarding public works contracts to selected construction companies secured a steady flow of money into the LDP for "electoral and other political costs, both central and local" (1996: 34-35). The size and operation of the system, which secures political power and the distribution of profit, operates as a welfare system of sorts (1996: 33), in place of a well-instituted program that would actually promote the well-being of society. In fact, the construction industry, in 2001, was estimated to employ seven million people at a cost of ¥40 - ¥50 trillion per annum (2001: 11). The scale of such investment is problematic in itself, made worse by the consensus that market considerations and social need are generally the least likely reasons to motivate development (1996: 35).

This leads to the crux of raising the point about the construction state as part of state authority in Japan. It exemplifies the problems of the system, whereby politicians work for their own desire for power and profit in a system designed to exert authority over the public. The power structures enforce a system that is conservative, authoritarian and one that places a strong emphasis on internal over-development. Further, its impact lies beyond the political realm, argued to have a major effect on the physical and moral environment on Japan, as well as tarnishing the realm of Japanese politics (McCormack 1996: 34). This is where the study of popular culture comes in, to determine how the public has responded to this system and the wide-spread stagnation that has occurred because of it².

It's important to understand why Japanese animation (anime), and popular culture as a whole, works as in intimate look into the workings and opinions of Japanese society. In this case, the purpose of the study is to observe if there is a legitimate response to the nature of the Japanese State and its authority in anime. Firstly, it is important to set the boundaries for a definition of popular culture and to determine if anime fulfils the requirements. Powers argues that the purpose of studying popular culture is to explore

"the relationship between the high and popular arts, the impact of the media of communications on the artist and the audience and the problematic experience of popular aesthetic." (Powers 1989: viii)

Further, Martinez argues that legitimate popular culture is a "culture of the masses", one frequently held to be of little merit in academic study (Martinez 1998: 3). This can in many ways be seen as true; as trends and fashions change, so does popular culture. Mass consumption of material varies according to what is new, what is marketed well and what society is consuming. However, the dynamics this changing pace reveals are ideas about social issues. Further, it is argued that "the materials produced by a society are capable of having symbolic value", leaving the interpretation of such up to the scholar (1998: 3). This forms the basis of studying popular culture. What remains to be seen is if Japanese animation has the capacity to carry a message worthy of such interpretation.

Anime, a close relative to its derivative cousin *manga* (Harbison & Ressler 1999: 94), is an integral part of Japanese popular culture, to the extent that it's argued to be a staple among contemporary Japanese youth (Napier 2001: 7). Its demographic reaches beyond the typical Western interpretation of cartoons as children's entertainment (though this trend has been balked over the years by a select number of Western productions). Its encompassing of genres appealing to children, teenagers, young adults and parents (2001: 7) puts it in a position where influence and rhetoric can range from simplistic children's stories, such as *Pocket Monsters* or *Ojamajo Doremi*, to intellectual works, such as *Serial Experiments Lain*. In fact, it is claimed that over the last decade or so, anime has become an "intellectually challenging art form" (2001: 4), conforming to the belief that animation in itself is "a more sophisticated and flexible medium than live-action film" (Wells 1998: 6). Therefore, it isn't surprising to determine that anime, in many ways, "is the ideal vehicle for expressing the hopes and nightmares of our uneasy contemporary world" (Napier 2001: 11). What Napier is pointing out in this instance is that the medium is more than qualified to function as a mode of

expression that allows insight into not only the cultural workings of a society³, but into public opinion on social issues. This brings the analysis full circle, successfully arguing that the investigation of public acceptance or resistance to the authority of the Japanese State is possible within the medium of Japanese animation.

To examine this, a number of titles will be examined on a case-by-case basis to determine their opinion on the issue of the nature of the Japanese State. The titles in question are *Akira* (1988), *Patlabor* (1990), *Pom Poko* (1994) and *Ghost in the Shell* (1995). All of these titles, in one way or another, deal with the Japanese model of development, or the authority of the structure of the Japanese State. Some titles directly address the contemporary system, such as *Pom Poko*, while others deal with it more metaphorically. All the titles listed bar one are set in Japan, maintaining their relevance to the study. The exception to the rule is *Ghost in the Shell*, which was deliberately set in Hong Kong to give a more “exotic” feel to it by the director Oshii Mamoru, who adapted Shirō Masamune’s original *manga* (which was set in Japan), for theatrical release (Clements & McCarthy 2001: 141). The other trends amongst these titles are that, with the exception of *Pom Poko*, they are all regarded as science-fiction films. While there are numerous titles that could be used to read into for political opinion⁴, the titles in question have been widely analysed in a way that reflects their political message. Finally, the titles chosen have been created during what has been an age of uncertainty in Japan, following the collapse of the bubble economy and the Asian financial crisis in 1997. It is argued that by following productions during these years, criticism or acceptance of the system will be reflective of the changing situation. While there is an absence of more recent material in this study, such as *Jin Roh* or the 2001 film *Metropolis* (featuring Otomo Katsuhiro’s screenplay and based on Tezuka’s *manga*), it is contended that the material examined will provide adequate insight into public opinion on the nature of Japanese political authority.

Akira is an excellent starting point, as far as examining political criticism within Japanese animation is concerned. The theatrical release of *Akira* was written and directed by Otomo Katsuhiro, the author of the original *manga*. This differs from numerous adaptations from *manga* to anime where directors and writers only consult with the original authors, which have caused conflict between authors of the anime and *manga*, such as Takeuchi Naoko’s *Bishōjo Senshi Sailor Moon* and Toriyama Akira’s *Dragon Ball Z* (Clements & McCarthy 2001: 101-102). Hence, in theory the adaptation of Otomo’s *manga* to film stands as being able to deliver what he believes to be the most poignant themes of his original work, tracing resistance from the liberal *manga* market⁵ to the more conservative theatrical audience.

Akira is defined as an apocalyptic work set in a Japan of the future, depicting a society on the collapse, over-developed and run by corrupt and strong authoritarian government. Napier argues that because the film deals with apocalyptic mode (as does Anno’s *Neon Genesis Evangelion*), it is in a position to explore the problems of contemporary society (Napier 2001: 198). She identifies a number of themes in *Akira* that discusses the subject matter in question. The apocalyptic mode essentially deals with and explicitly criticises the depicted society and an implicitly warns about the direction of contemporary development; further, the reasons for the depicted future society are often (but not always) related to human transgression, the misuse of technology, caused by the destruction of traditional social values (2001: 198). It is important to bear this in mind when examining *Akira* because the movie uses this mode to convey its message, through its imagery, characters and its inherent play upon specific periods of contemporary Japanese development.

The world depicted in *Akira* uses its characters and imagery to depict certain opinions of Japanese society as a whole. While criticism of social structures, family values and teen angst are all part of its narrative, its political commentary is also quite rich. The Japan run under the government (a combination of traditional politicians with a strong military arm) is a world of “disorder and chaos” (Napier 2001: 205). What is interesting about this is the way the government operates and how it is reflective of the actual structure of the Japanese State as examined earlier. The ruling heads of Tokyo are arrogant and work to cover-up their mistakes just as much as they repeat them. This is most evident with the utilisation of the protagonist Tetsuo as a military tool, despite the fact that the very same process enacted on another child is alluded to have created the destruction of Tokyo. In post-modern discourse, Standish identifies Tetsuo and *Akira*, the mythical child, as being metaphorical nuclear weapons

(Standish 1998: 63), important as it signifies the lust for power and control in the Japanese State. Otomo's depiction of key politicians are of corrupt individuals, most evident in the scene when one of the politicians escapes from his besieged office. His suitcase is crammed with papers, while he leaves his remaining documents burning in his fireplace, suggests widespread corruption among Tokyo's political elite. This image, as already explored, is not entirely far from the truth, as the real Japanese government has been wrought with corruption for decades.

Supporting this view that *Akira* carries a definite political message, events throughout the movie continue to resonate with the modern (i.e. post-Meiji) Japanese history. Standish identifies four historical signifiers that "are juxtaposed to underscore the corruption and degeneration of contemporary Japanese society" (Standish 1998: 63). The Colonel signifies the Japanese State during the *kurai tani* period, the opening credits signify the dropping of the atomic bomb (1998: 63). The third signifier relates to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the staging of the final battle in the Yoyogi stadium while the student riots and public protest in the film are reflective of the demonstrations in the 1960s over the US-Japan Security Treaty (1998: 63). Hence, it is clear that Otomo's science fiction epic has clear reflections in the present, not only by its capacity to explore this issue as an apocalyptic film, but because of the clear resonances between the film and the defined model of Japanese development and the authority of its state.

The next film to be examined is Oshii Mamoru's 1990 film, *Patlabor*. Set in the year 1999, the film offers a different and far more subtle approach to voicing political opinion. While on the outside the film is merely a detective piece based upon a crazed scientist's apocalyptic whims, the film also has the scope future pieces directed by Oshii were to have. Celements and McCarthy spot in their brief summary the way in which the film uses the plot as a way to examine the extent to which humanity rely on technology (2001: 294). However, more striking than this is the structures and subtleties presented in the film. Reminiscent of the failings and poor foundations of Japanese society discussed by McCormack in his critique of the construction industry (1996: 3-22), the film begins its spoken discourse (and weaves its narrative structure around) two man-made islands in Tokyo Bay, not entirely dissimilar to the man-made Kansai Island in the Osaka Bay. The technological crisis reveals not only the opacity of the Japanese government to the general public as the viewer is given insight into the workings of the political machine. In fact, the man-made island in question can be read as being representative of technology (sophisticated machinery built the island, maintained by an advanced central computer), development (an ambitious, high-cost project) and construction (particularly obvious by the design of the machinery and the construction workers depicted early in the film). Realising this is important, as the 'enemy' of the film shifts from the crazed scientist (who commits suicide at the beginning of the film) to the island itself, where a select group of police officers destroy the building in order to save Japan, and possibly the world, from technological chaos.

The combinations of these events seem reflective of the analysis of the Japanese State. Firstly, the government, as already established, works to protect the interests of its favoured businesses and remains opaque to public knowledge. Secondly, the issue of over-development and the uncertainty of technology are underscored by its fragility. Third, the construction industry is depicted as being the cause the trouble with its latest project being at the centre of controversy, which in turn threatens the populace as a whole. Captain Goto and Detective Matsui's dialogue towards the end of them film also questions the point of the extensive development in Japan. Consequently, while *Patlabor* doesn't directly address the issues in question, it does questions the legitimacy of Japanese development in its own manner.

Studio Ghibli's 1994 film, *Pom Poko*, is an interesting matter to consider. Unlike the other films critiqued, which indirectly or through their imagery voice opinion on the authority of the Japanese State, *Pom Poko* jumps to the heart of the matter, depicting a communal struggle against urban development. *Pom Poko* is not unlike the anime adaption of *Tokyo Babylon*, which also directly depicts the construction industry and its lust for profit (albeit in a much darker manner than *Pom Poko*). Given the general appeal of Studio Ghibli's work (*Sen to Chihiro no Kamikakushi* and *Mononoke Hime* sit in the first and third positions respectively in

the all-time-highest-grossing of any film in the Japanese Box Office⁶), the amount of influence their movies have is phenomenal. What is interesting about *Pom Poko* is that it depicts the grassroots environmentalism in Japan. While this isn't new, as Studio Ghibli co-founder Miyazaki included similar messages in his first film with Takahata in *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (Clements & McCarthy 2001: 270), it is one of the few films to address the issue as directly as *Pom Poko* does. In the film, a group of *tanuki*⁷ find their comfortable life threatened when a construction company begins developing a new area for human living. In protest, they indirectly attempt to intimidate the construction workers by haunting the area; however, there seems to be no end to the capacity of the construction industry to find more workers. The story was apparently inspired by the construction of a suburb in Tama Hills, West of Tokyo (2001: 305).

The importance of *Pom Poko* for this study is that it offers a direct pro-environmentalist a message to an audience that cuts across all age barriers, one that appeals to young children in particular. *Pom Poko* narrative has bite and directly attacks the construction industry, which in turn is a defining aspect of the nature of the Japanese State. While it does not feature the complex make-up of other films analysed, its message is nonetheless important. *Pom Poko* exists as an amusing voice of protest against the continuing calls for Japanese development, hence raising popular public protest with regards to the authoritarian Japanese State.

Oshii Mamoru's 1995 film, *Ghost in the Shell*, is another interesting case. While it hails to typical futuristic sci-fi with its technology-heavy setting, it differs from the other works discussed in two ways. Firstly, the film is set in Hong Kong, which as already established, was to give the film a more 'exotic' feel. However, with the way in which Oshii has directed the film, the skyline itself is not unlike the brooding cityscapes of Otomo's *Akira*. Secondly, it is also the only film discussed here that explores the potential of technology (a key facet of the Japanese model of development) in a positive way (Napier 2001: 105). This is especially interesting considering the way in which Oshii's earlier film *Patlabor* in many ways presented the failings of Japan's technology-heavy development.

The film's exploration of isolation in the developing technopolis, however, only concerns part of the film. The initial stage of the film is directed and written to "underline the vulnerability of all human beings in a world that is increasingly governed by oppressive and incomprehensible outside sources" (2001: 112). In this case we see the typical voice against an oppressive, secretive government whose model has decayed its society. There is a catch in this film's spin on the potential of technology, however. Napier discusses the films "implicit lament for a lost... world of human connection" (2001: 106), found chiefly in the 'empty' depiction of looming skyscrapers in frequent shots, especially those where Kusanagi Motoko, the film's protagonist, stands alone in the foreground. In contrast, the film's finale sees Kusanagi standing alone and empowered, above the previously looming cityscape, as opposed to underneath or consumed by it. Her source for transcendence is a fusion between herself and technology (2001: 112). Consequently, it becomes clear that while *Ghost in the Shell* initially undermines the model of development pursued by the Japanese State, by the end it embraces the possibilities of a technologically developed modern society. The film offers criticism, but ultimately acceptance and lends empowerment to the mode of Japanese development.

As such, from examining public opinion on the nature of Japanese authority through Japanese animation, it becomes clear that there is a mixed feeling of resistance and acceptance of the system. Consequently, there is clear evidence of discontent in Japanese society about its method of modernisation. Indeed, it could be considered that Tanaka's reconstruction of the Japanese archipelago in the 1970s has led to a post-modern *deconstruction* through modern Japanese animation. While the extent of criticism varies considerably across the board, there are themes within that speak of resistance and criticism of the nature of the Japanese State in many animated productions over the last decade or so. However unconventional the process may be, there is clear resistance to the nature of state authority in Japan today via contemporary popular culture.

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End Notes:

- 1: Source: *Asahi Shinbun*, September 4, 1990. No page specified. Translated by and used in Schodt's *Dreamland Japan*, pp. 56-57.
- 2: Source: Bello (1998), <http://www.asiapoint.net/insight/asia/regional/crisis/bello.htm>, Accessed: Feb 2001.
- 3: Some authors suggest learning about Japanese culture to 'understand' anime to a greater degree, indirectly implying a degree of Japanese culture omnipresent throughout the medium (Poitras 2001: 127). This assumption is also confirmed by Napier (2001: 257). Anime has also been referred to as a "chief cultural export" when talking of the anime industry in the West (Newitz 1994: 11).
- 4: Titles such as *Rurouni Kenshin*, a samurai drama, frequently questions the development of the modern Japanese State as early as the early Meiji period. In contrast, some children's anime, such as *Card Captor Sakura*, can be read as promoting the system of education and big business as being positive, light-hearted Japanese institutions.
- 5: Schodt refers to the liberal nature of the *manga* market extensively in *Manga! Manga!* and *Dreamland Japan*, the latter of which discusses censorship in the industry from pp. 49-59. Source for the statement regarding the liberal market (and the return of it in the early 1990s): Schodt 1996: 59.
- 6: Source: Don Groves, Lukas Schwarzacher (2001), 'Japan's "Spirited" levitates \$200 million', *Reuters/Variety* in *Nausicaa.net*, <http://www.nausicaa.net/>, Last Accessed: 19-10-2001.
- 7: Poitras notes that the translation of the term has been problematic over the years among Western viewers (2001: 84-85); Clements & McCarthy offer the translation that *tanuki* translates to Japanese raccoon-dogs (2001: 305).

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