James loves Severus, but only in Japan. Harry Potter in Japanese and English-language fanwork

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J.K. Rowling's wildly popular Harry Potter (1997-2007) novels have sparked an avalanche of fanwork both in Japan and on the English-speaking Internet -shelves and shelves of dôjinshi in Japan, countless pieces of fan fiction online. However, a reader unfamiliar with the boy wizard might be forgiven for assuming that the "fanfics" and dôjinshi in question are based on two different sets of novels altogether. Take fan stories that feature Severus Snape and James Potter, two young men who hate each other with a vengeance in the original books. In fanfic the two do indeed interact mostly through insults and violence. In dôjinshi, however, James Potter spends the better part of nearly every story using every trick in the book to convince the surly Severus Snape into entering a romantic relationship with him -usually with success.

Suppose we wished to find out why Japanese Harry Potter fans write apparently outlandish interpretations of these two characters. How would we go about that? Western academia has a considerable head start in the area of fan studies; in Japan, the discipline barely registers. The non-Japanese scholar wishing to study Japanese fans with the help of methodologies developed in Western fan studies, however, immediately runs into a thick brick wall. There is a near-total lack of detailed factual data (as opposed to general observations) about the behavior of Japanese fans, let alone data that is accessible to those without a high-level command of Japanese. If a non-Japanese scholar knows that Japanese fans produce things but has no idea to what degree the content of their creations resembles the contents of the Western fanworks which they are more familiar with, does it even make sense to try and apply the framework of Western fan studies to Japanese fan communities?

For regardless of the obvious similarities between Japanese fans and their English-speaking counterparts, there are many eye-catching differences in the way these groups behave. Take the example of fanwork, creative works in which fans take the characters of a favorite source work and make them enact countless other scenarios. Japanese fans express themselves through numerous media, for example online short stories (shôsetsu), costumes, games, or figurines. The dominant medium of creative fan expression in Japan -dominant in terms of visibility and notoriety at the very least- are dôjinshi, the homemade fan comics sold by the hundreds of thousands online, in specialized shops, and

at dedicated sales events such as Comic Market.[1] Fan comics exist in "Western" fandom as well, but the dominant medium there is without a doubt fanfic, (short) stories distributed for free online.

Even a casual reading of fanfics and dôjinshi based on the Harry Potter (HP from this point on) series leaves one with the distinct impression that there are profound differences in the way Japanese and non-Japanese fans interpret a source text. Are these differences real? How can they be explained? Perhaps most importantly, how can we compare the contents of dôjinshi and fanfics in a meaningful way, without getting bogged down in cumbersome literary analysis that may well be too culturally specific to yield useful, practical results, ? Research on the dôjinshi phenomenon has been scant in the Japan and even rarer outside of it. Even Western studies that deal with fan fiction, while far more numerous than fanwork studies in Japan, tend to focus not on the fanfics themselves but on the community of fan writers and readers who create and interpret the stories.[2] Japanese fan interpretation of non-Japanese source works such as HP inside Japan has never been studied at all.

A thorough analysis of the content of these dôjinshi and subsequent comparison with the content of English-language fanfics would clearly be difficult, but extremely valuable for the nascent field of fan studies within Japanese studies. Attempting to explain out of the blue why dôjinshika write and draw what they write and draw would be a very imprecise science at best. However, it should be perfectly possible to look at what Western fanfic writers do with HP, and then look at what dôjinshika are doing differently -and ask ourselves why. This paper is an attempt at developing a methodology for such research. It includes a short tryout of that methodology, which I conducted to test whether there are indeed significant differences between the content of Japanese dôjinshi and English-language fanfics.

General narrative tendencies in dôjinshi and fanfics

Good introductions to Japanese and Western fan media have been written by others[3], so I will skip the basics of dôjinshi and fanfics. We will content ourselves here with a brief juxtaposition of the general narrative properties of dôjinshi and fanfics, which are remarkably similar at first glance.

Both dôjinshi and fanfic are characterized first and foremost by a great variety in subject matter. Tolerance towards the -sometimes wildly eccentric- tastes of other fans is often held up as one of the chief values of both the Japanese dôjinkai (the fan community involved in creating and buying dôjinshi) and English-speaking online fandom by members of the respective communities. Both dôjinshi and fanfic exist in numerous genres, though in both media, the large majority of fanworks seem to be romantic, pornographic, or humorous in nature. Both dôjinshi and fanfic have important genres dealing with male/male relationships written by and for women -"yaoi" and "slash". Central to both *yaoi* and slash is the couple depicted in the dôjinshi/fanfic, two characters who in the large majority of cases will not be romantically involved with each other in the original work on which the fanwork is based. Fans often produce work about one couple exclusively, engaging in heated debates with fans of other pairs about which couples are more soundly supported by (circumstantial) evidence in the "canon"[4] of the source work, or simply work best together regardless of any evidence. This concept is called "kappuringu" ("coupling") in the dôjinkai and "pairings" or "ships" (from "relationship") in Western fandom. Terminology often differs from fandom to fandom both in Japan and in the West; in HP fandom, the term "ship" is most often used, a convention we will follow here. The samples used in this paper will be of a yaoi/slash variety, since we will focus on the depiction of one single male-male kappuringu/ship from HP fandom.

Dôjinshi can be anywhere from twenty to a hundred pages in length, though more than fifty pages appears to be uncommon. Narratives that continue through several dôjinshi are even rarer. Fanfics can range in length from a hundred words (a "drabble") to series of online novels, and although

there are many shorter than longer fanfics, stories of more than ten thousand words are very common. This means that, in general, dôjinshi narratives will probably be less complex than fanfic narratives. I have chosen short fanfics as samples for the test described at the end of this paper, in order to limit the difference in narrative complexity with the sample dôjinshi. I have also limited myself to English-language fanfic samples because that language is the most commonly used in online HP fandom. This online fan community which communicates in English is very difficult, if not impossible, to demarcate along national lines -unlike the part of HP fandom that produces Japanese dôjinshi, which is probably almost exclusively Japanese.

Why a semiotic approach? The "open text" as a framework for cross-cultural content analysis of fanwork

Although the last few years have seen increasing amount of research into fanfic and the community of fanfic writers, most of these analyses have involved either attempts at interpreting one or several pieces of fanfic by examining their literary qualities, or -more often- sociological inquiries into the motivations of fanfic writers and the behavior of the various fandoms they belong to. I believe that a content analysis of fanfics and dôjinshi would benefit from a semiotic approach to data collection and analysis, because such an approach would have three distinct advantages. Other methodologies often used in fanfic analysis have limitations with regards to cross-cultural research that semiotics can overcome. A semiotic approach would also enable us to collect a large and comparatively objective set of data about the actual content of dôjinshi, the kind of which simply does not exist at this point (certainly not in English). Finally, I propose that fanwork can be construed as a natural "next step" in semiotician Umberto Eco's theory of the "open work" and that, for this reason, Eco's framework is uniquely suited to the interpretation of both dôjinshi and fanfics.

Drawbacks of other methodologies

When describing their approach to fanfic research, Hellekson and Busse state that "Rather than privileging a particular interpretation as accurate, we have learned from fandom that alternative and competing reading can and must coexist. We thus use fannish practice as a model for academic practice."[5] For research into dôjinshi, I believe it would be particularly useful -and doable- to align the methodology used with the nature of the data examined.

Researchers have often made claims about fanfic while offering a handful of real-world examples[6], sometimes neglecting to mention other examples that do not "fit". Although a knowledgeable researcher might be able to gauge whether any single dôjinshi is representative enough of all dôjinshi to be used as "evidence" of a certain theory, it would be impossible for all but a select few readers of the resulting scholarly work to judge the veracity of that claim. Most readers would have no access to the source material to begin with, given that individual dôjinshi cost money, are difficult or even illegal to obtain outside Japan, and are virtually always written in Japanese. This would render the researcher's interpretation of dôjinshi prescriptive by default. Cutting off debate with the large majority of readers in this fashion, particularly while in-depth study of Japanese fanwork is still in its infancy, would considerably diminish the usability of results.

Qualitative content analysis of the literary aspects of a text, another method used in fanfic research, has its own drawbacks in regards to the cross-cultural research we wish to conduct. The method invariably involves cultural preconceptions, making it ill-suited to the simultaneous analysis of two data sets drawn from popular texts created in very different cultural traditions. Also, a literary critique of individual dôjinshi would be very time-consuming and allow for only a few samples. A

systematic cataloging of easily and objectively verifiable elements from dôjinshi content, using the (relatively) culturally unbiased method of semiotics[7], would yield more interesting data at this point in dôjinshi research.

An additional advantage of semiotics compared to literary theory is that semiotics is comfortable with the analysis of visual as well as textual signs, invaluable when dealing with a largely visual medium such as dôjinshi.

Generating qualitative data for analysis

Semiotics concerns itself with the properties of signs and their interpretation. Umberto Eco characterizes the sign as "...a communicative channel for the indefinite, open to constantly shifting responses and interpretative stances"[8], and states that a sign has no intrinsic meaning. It is infused with meaning by those who interpret it in accordance with their own limited knowledge and historical and cultural backgrounds. Signs and symbols, of course, do not exist in cultural voids; they may be the most changeable aspects of a culture, but nevertheless have their roots in underlying values that are of great interest in any cross-cultural research.[9] It makes sense that Japanese and non-Japanese fans who read the exact same source material, for instance the HP novels, pick up the signs they discern in that source material and interpret them according to their differing backgrounds, leading to verifiable differences in the fanwork they create. If we wish to find out in what way Japanese fan narratives are different from their Western counterparts and offer possible explanations for these differences, we first need to establish what signs dôjinshika and fanfic writers use.

In 1960s Lithuanian semiotician A.J. Greimas developed a practical method of semiotic analysis applicable to any narrative, from novels and comics to newspaper articles. Greimas contended that the underlying meanings and implications of a particular text can be uncovered through analysis of its recurring themes and elements.[10] The Greimas method results in rather clinical data sets ready for interpretation -counts of word occurrences, juxtapositions of opposite terms, and so forth. These are the "signs" we are looking for: elements that fulfill the exact same function in both sets of narratives, elements whose similarity or lack thereof we can establish at a glance, without bringing our own culturally specific preconceptions into play. Comparing such data charts drawn from dôjinshi and fanfics allows us to at least base our (inevitably subjective) interpretation of the differences between dôjinshi and fanfic on somewhat objective sets of data. These data charts have the additional advantage of being easy to share in full with readers, particularly online.

The Greimas method is also scalable, allowing for the creation of data sets of any kind of depth and complexity without sacrificing its fundamental accuracy and objectivity. Since our goal is to collect data on specific elements of a large number of samples rather than analyze every single word in a limited number of narratives, we can simply do away with the more time-consuming modules that are part of the Greimas method.

Fanwork as a continuation of Eco's "open work"

How we interpret these objective data is a different matter, but one particular semiotic theory can offer us a good example of how to best approach dôjinshi and fanfics. Semiotician Umberto Eco has theorized at length upon the "open work" -a kind of artwork where the author requires his or her audience to participate actively in the completion of the work, instead of prescribing the way it should to be interpreted. Such an "open work" consist not of signs that have multiple readings as prescribed by the creator, but of signs that can be combined and interpreted in a sheer endless amount of ways without the creator's involvement. The creator demands that the reader/listener/viewer construct his own interpretation according to his own intelligence, knowledge and preconceptions, and engage in

debate about the merits of each individual interpretation.[11]

Eco described this “open work” in fairly abstract terms[12], and the concept retains a whiff of the Utopian even today, in the age of open access, open source, open learning, indeed, open “everything”. Actual open works as Eco saw them are still very much in the minority compared to traditional works that are considered closed by their author, such as the HP novels. The source works on which most fan texts are based are not open works at all. However, fanwork changes the nature of the closed source works by virtue of its mere existence. The HP series is not an open work in itself, but it is treated as such by dôjinshika, fanfic writers, and readers who create a “fantext” around the original books -an ever-growing “universe” encompassing all fanwork and fan conversation surrounding a particular source work. It may not be an exaggeration to say that fantext not only bears a strong resemblance to an open work; it is, in fact, a new stage in the development of the open work. In Eco's scheme, the creator of a work is still responsible for characterizing his own work as “open”. In the case of fantext, responsibility -and choice- is taken from the hands of the original creator entirely: fans will not hesitate to add their own interpretations to the universe of the source text, whether the original creator wants them to or not. Fanwork is the open work in practice instead of in theory.

The basic characteristics of Eco's open work are astoundingly similar to the principles that govern the production of fanwork (as opposed to 'closed' commercial work). Fandoms worldwide are characterized by a high tolerance towards differing interpretations -to each his own favorite characters, his own favored kappuringu/ship, his own sexual kinks and preferred interpretation of the “canon” of the original work. Although groups within any particular fandom occasionally squabble over whose interpretation of the source work has the most merit, the right of other fans to write their own interpretations is never contested. The source work is viewed as a limitless field of possibilities with no “fixed” meanings, a collection of hints that can be picked up or discarded at will. The HP books make it abundantly clear that James Potter and Severus Snape hated one another every single moment of their acquaintance, but that does not keep dôjinshika from drawing stories in which the two are madly in love.

Eco characterizes the open work as a “work in movement”[13], ever-developing and ever-changing once it has left the hands of its creator. Hellekson and Busse describe any piece of fanfic as a “work in progress” by definition.[14] The entire fantext is a “work in progress”: fans read, comment, write, read what others have written and run with that in opposite directions, comment again, and so on. Even fans who do not create fanwork themselves get involved in discussions, adding to the fantext. This ties in with the seminal importance attached by Eco to readerly participation and responsibility, which he considers more important than any intrinsic properties of a work.[15] As a matter of fact, since we want to examine how dôjinshika and fanfic writers act as readers and interpretors of a particular source text, reader response (across cultures in this case) is of significant concern to us.

The list of similarities goes on; fanwork and open work seem a match made in heaven. Nevertheless, the idea of fanwork as a real-world embodiment of abstract open work theory does not seem to have caught on either in fan studies or in semiotics. Fan studies would have much to gain by associating fanwork with a theoretical concept that is not only useful but also well-established, building bridges to academics involved in so-called “serious” literary and cultural research -many of whom could do with an introduction to the openness of fandom practices. While Eco stated that ”...any work of art, even if it is not passed on to the addressee in an unfinished state, demands a free, inventive response” (Eco 1989), emphasizing that readers must work to actively interpret “closed works” as well, he obviously did not envision any readerly reaction quite so active and so transforming of a closed source text as large-scale fanwork creation. Peter Bondanella, writing in 2005, still calls it “paradoxical” that closed texts are sometimes read by readers at levels not intended by the author.[16]

What practical use is an identification of fanwork as open work to us? How can this influence

our interpretation of fanwork for the better? Perhaps most importantly, by reminding us to take dôjinshi and fanfic in the spirit they were intended. Getting to the bottom of what dôjinshi contain is unlikely to lead us to a more profound understanding of Japanese culture. Interpretation of data sets should not be undertaken with the aim of discovering structuralist "codes" but rather with the aim of "understanding, on the basis of some previous decoding, the general sense of a vast portion of discourse".[17] Debate -with oneself and with others- is more important than the outcome: to Hellekson and Busse's statement that "fan and academic discourses can contain mutually exclusive readings"[18], I would like to add that they must contain mutually exclusive readings. Rather than treat alternative interpretations as attempts to disprove on our own ideas, we should consider them complimentary to what we -with our limited knowledge and our own individual background- were able to envision. Fanwork and the open work are embodiments of the concept that non-mutually exclusive possibilities can exist and have a right to exist.

Testing the hypothesis and methodology

In this short test as well as in further research, we will focus on dôjinshi and fanfics based on the Harry Potter series of novels and feature films, which is of interest to us as a source work for several reasons. HP is one of the few non-Japanese source works that have made a significant splash in the dôjinkai -at present, no non-Japanese source work is accorded more shelf space in dôjinshi shops in Japan.[19] On the English-speaking Internet, the fandom is easily one of the most popular in existence. These enormous amounts of dôjinshi and fanfics present an extremely varied array of fan interpretations of the source text, which should make for interesting data in an analysis on a larger scale than this test. HP fandom is also one of the most intensively researched in existence, being the subject of several books and numerous articles.

The goal of this test is merely to confirm first impressions suggesting that there are significant differences between the content of fanfics and that of dôjinshi dealing with the exact same subject matter, and to test the methodology I wish to use in wider research.

For that reason, I limited the number of samples, choosing from a larger pool of samples four dôjinshi and six fanfics featuring the characters of James Potter and Severus Snape[20] that seemed representative of the general tone of the fanworks available to me at the time (see endnote for bibliographic information[21]). I used an extremely simplified version of the Greimas scheme, comparing only a few dozen narrative elements of interest. Below I list these narrative elements, summarize the resulting data, and offer a short first assessment -possible explanations, remarks, and ideas for further inquiry. I continue to add new insights to the test's web page and hope that others will join the conversation by offering their own ideas about the possible implications of these data. In order to reach as many knowledgeable individuals as possible, I have made the full data set available on my research blog and on its less academically tinted mirrors on LiveJournal (a blogging service home to many academics and HP fans) and InsaneJournal (a similar service also popular among HP fans).[22]

- Ship (based on anecdotal evidence)

  Data: The ship/kappuringu of James Potter and Severus Snape appears to be relatively common in dôjinshi, while it occurs only very infrequently (a "rarepair") in fanfic.

  In HP canon, the idea of this pair of characters being in a romantic relationship is unthinkable. Are fanfic writers less inclined than dôjinshika to tackle a kappuringu/ship they know is a

flagrant violation of HP canon? Are there more of these "strange" kappuringu/ships in dôjinshi than in fanfic?

- Dominant/submissive partner

  Data: A constant in all fanfics and dôjinshi is that James is the dominant and Snape the submissive partner.[23]

  In canon, James and his friends bully Snape while they attend school, casting Snape as a victim during his acquaintance with James. However, as an adult Snape becomes a powerful figure of authority and is cast as the dominant partner in many fanfics featuring him in another "ship". Anecdotal evidence suggest that in dôjinshi, he continues to be cast as the submissive partner as an adult, far more often than in fanfic. Are dominant-submissive roles in dôjinshi really that much stricter than in fanfic (once submissive, always submissive)?

- Narrator

  Data: James is narrator in all dôjinshi, with Snape taking over in only a few scenes. Snape is narrator in all fanfics while James narrates only a handful of times there.

  There is little canon information about James, who died a decade before the chronological starting point of the HP series. Do dôjinshika feel more comfortable than fanfic writers in fleshing out a minor character that is almost a blank sheet? Why do they consistently prefer this narrator over Snape, a character with a distinctive voice in canon?

- Initial relationship

  Data: James and Snape start out from some form of enmity in five out of six fanfics, while all four dôjinshi have them start out on neutral or friendly terms.

  Four out of six fanfics begin with mention of a scene from canon, reminding readers of the bad blood between the characters. None of the dôjinshi start out by referencing a canon element (though one does in the middle of the story). Do dôjinshi use fewer elements from canon such as key incidents or locations in order to situate characters? Why?

- Outcome of relationship

  Data: Three out of four dôjinshi end with Snape and James in a (budding) relationship. A fourth dôjinshi depicts them apart but still acting in a protective manner towards one another. None of the six fanfics have a happy ending. In one fanfic, Snape loves James, but both die; in two fanfics, they terminate a purely sexual relationship; three fanfics end with James forcing Snape into non-consensual sex and thus deepening the hatred between them.

  Only one fanfic even makes mention of "love", while three out of four dôjinshi do. Are dôjinshi writers more keen to write relationships involving affection, in spite of the fact that such sentiments have no basis whatsoever in canon?

- Presence of canon love interest

  Data: In the dôjinshi examined, the canon girlfriend/later wife of James Potter, Lily, is simply nonexistent while James happily woos Snape. In the fanfics, she plays a significant (off-screen) role in five out of six fanfics, always in a context of James being involved with her or choosing her over Snape.

  Do dôjinshika ignore Lily because they see little value in sticking close to canon, or because women almost never feature in yaoi stories? Most of the characters Snape is paired with in fanwork have canon love interests. Do all of these women simply disappear in dôjinshi?[24]

- Sexual acts

  Data: Three out of four dôjinshi feature no more than some kissing and groping, while five out of six fanfics show explicit scenes involving penetration

  These dôjinshi do not confirm the medium's general reputation for sexual explicitness. Other *HP* dôjinshi I have perused seem, mostly, equally lacking in explicit scenes. Is this characteristic of this particular kappuringu, of HP dôjinshi in general, or of women-authored dôjinshi?

- Consent during sex

  Data: In dôjinshi, the sexual activity between the two main characters is obviously consensual in three out of four cases; only one dôjinshi has the two in a sexual situation that involves a hint of dubious consent. In the fanfics there is clear mutual consent in three cases, one case of extremely dubious consent, and two sexual situations that are clearly non-consensual.[25]

  Are there really comparatively few depictions of non-consensual sex in dôjinshi (made by and for women)? Why?

- Adherence to canon (based on anecdotal evidence)

  Data: Dôjinshi deviate far more radically from the canon of the source work than fanfics.

  Fanfic writers tend to be praised for adhering closely to canon.[26] Concern with adhering to an established factual canon seems much less marked in dôjinshi. What is the relationship between dôjinshika and source work authors in Japan? Do dôjinshika actively dislike adhering to canon?

- Appearance of characters

  Data: In all four dôjinshi, both characters are drawn to appear attractive. Five out of six fanfics make some negatively worded reference to Snape's appearance, while no fanfic describes him as good-looking. James is described as handsome in two fanfics, while four do not mention his appearance.

  In the original HP books, James is said to be a handsome young man while Snape is described as physically unattractive. In dôjinshi, Snape acquires all the hallmarks of a bishônen -the androgynous “beautiful boy” figure that has been a staple of Japanese media throughout centuries. His most conspicuous facial feature in canon, an overlarge hooked nose, is nowhere to be seen in dôjinshi. Why do dôjinshika try so hard to prettify Snape?

It seems that there are indeed significant differences in the narrative patterns found in fanfics an dôjinshi. Further research seems warranted in order to unearth more differences, similarities and possibilities. I plan to analyze several hundred dôjinshi and fanfic samples in this manner over the next few years.

Further lines of inquiry

This test has not touched upon two important aspects of dôjinshi narratives that should not be neglected in further research. Do the characteristics of dôjinshi as a storytelling medium exert significant influence on the aspects of the text we analyze here -namely, story content? Would the narratives created by Japanese fans be significantly different if they were presented in a purely textual form like fanfic? It is probably necessary to include as samples representative pieces of shôsetsu, text-

only pieces of online fanfic that closely resemble Western fanfic medium-wise, if only to ascertain that the narratives presented in dôjinshi adequately represented the general tendencies of Japanese-made fanwork.

Also, can differences in visual representation of characters can be detected in fanwork by the two groups? Although the volume of fan comics among Western fanwork is very limited in comparison, there does exist a large volume of "fanart" -single-panel representations of one or more characters. It may be valuable to include fanart in future research, in the same manner as shôsetsu. We could probably obtain the most interesting results by continuing to focus on fanwork about Severus Snape, a character in the fairly exceptional position of being a great fan favorite while being described in canon as undeniably ugly. Given that fans -Japanese and non-Japanese- quite often appear to resent anything visually unappealing marring their narratives, the way they depict Snape's appearance is very telling.

Japanese and English-language HP fandoms exploded separately from one another and continue to operate with very little interaction. HP fandom is one of the most thoroughly scrutinized fan communities in Western academia. Exploring where Japanese HP fandom has taken different roads should give us a great many ideas as to what drives hundreds of thousands of dôjinshi sellers and buyers to venues like Comic Market year after year -or failing that, it will certainly give us something interesting to talk about.

1 Nishimura Mari, Aniparo to yaoi (Anime parody and yaoi) (Tokyo: Ohta Shuppan, 2001).

2 Karen Hellekson and Kristina Busse, Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet (McFarland, 2006), 23.

3 Particularly informative is the introduction to Hellekson and Busse's "Fan Fiction and Fan Communities", "Amateur Manga Subculture and the Otaku Panic" in Sharon Kinsella's Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society (University of Hawaii Press, 2000) and Dan Kanemitsu's "Celebration of Self Expression: an Introduction to Modern Japanese Comic Book Doujinshis", Translative Arts, http://www.translativearts.com/tekri/doujin/celebrate.htm (accessed December 26, 2008).

4 In fandom, the term "canon" is used (both as a noun and as an adjective) to indicate the whole of information contained in the source work, as opposed to "fanon" -fan speculation, pet theories and popular character interpretations that have not been confirmed as correct in the source work or by the source work's author.

5 Hellekson and Busse, "Fan Fiction and Fan Communities", 8.

6 Ibid., 20.

7 Peter Bondanella, Umberto Eco and the Open Text: Semiotics, Fiction, Popular Culture (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66.

8 Umberto Eco, The Open Work (Harvard University Press, 1989), 9.

9 Geert Hofstede, Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations (Sage Publications, Inc, 2003), 10.

10 Bronwen Martin and Felizitas Ringham, Key Terms in Semiotics (Continuum, 2006), 223.

11 Eco, "The Open Work".

12 Bondanella , "Umberto Eco and the Open Text", 28.

13 Eco, "The Open Work", 14.

14 Hellekson and Busse, "Fan Fiction and Fan Communities", 6.

15 Bondanella , "Umberto Eco and the Open Text", 86.

16 Ibid., 90.

17 Umberto Eco, Theory of Semiotics (Indiana University Press, 1979), 131.

18 Hellekson and Busse, "Fan Fiction and Fan Communities", 8.

19 The only other non-Japanese franchise with a considerable presence in the Japanese dôjinkai is Lord of the Rings, which Harry Potter dwarfs by sheer number of dôjinshi. Although no official data exist about how many dôjinshi are produced based on a certain source work, one can easily get an idea of which titles are popular among dôjinshika by viewing listings in online dôjinshi stores or perusing the shelves of large dôjinshi retailers such as Mandarake, K-Books or Comic Toranoana.

20 Almost any combination of characters from the HP canon is slashed in fanfics and dôjinshi. Some kappuringu/ships show themselves to be extremely popular, while others are touched upon only occasionally. One such a rare kappuringu/ship is that between the two characters of James Potter and Severus Snape, schoolboy enemies in the original books. Since this kappuringu/ship was the first I encountered when I began reading HP dôjinshi, and the one that immediately caught my eye as being depicted differently from in fanfic, I will use dôjinshi and fanfics describing fan interpretations of a hypothetical relationship between these two characters.

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Dôjinshi samples:

Jazberry, Strange Love (2006).

Hizumi Satoko, Inga junkan (The wheel of fortune) (2006).

Peachlips, James/Severus fanbook: GuruGuruGururu (James/Severus fanbook: round and round and round) (2004).

Renai Ôgon Jidai and Kogawa Berry, Only Robe (2004).

Fanfic samples:

Edhelur, "Breaking Me", edhelur, http://edhelur.livejournal.com/69522.html (accessed December 15, 2008).

Hannelore, "Quills", hannelore, http://users.livejournal.com/_hannelore/73138.html (accessed December 15, 2008).

Hedonisticated, "Red, Pink, and White", hpvalensmut, http://community.livejournal.com/hpvalensmut/16472.html (accessed December 15, 2008).

Mooncharm, "Close to Nothing at All", kinda_lush, http://community.livejournal.com/kinda_lush/11484.html

(accessed December 15, 2008).

Nehalenia, “If I Never See His Face”, Next Year In Jerusalem, http://nehalenia.insanejournal.com/7702.html (accessed December 15, 2008).

Quirkie, “Reminders”, quirkie, http://quirkie.livejournal.com/13580.html (accessed December 15, 2008).

22 Nele Noppe, “Full data set for samples in 'James loves Severus, but only in Japan. 'Harry Potter' in Japanese and English-language fanwork”, Fanfic Forensics, http://www.nelenoppe.net/fanficforensics/node/16 (accessed January 5, 2009).

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23 In English-speaking fandom, James Potter tends to be identified as “James” to distinguish him from the more famous Potter, his son Harry. Severus Snape is generally referred to by his last name.

24 In *HP* canon, it eventually became clear that Snape had a love interest of his own -that very same Lily. However, the dôjinshi and fanfics used as samples here were all created before this information was added to the *HP* canon.

25 Fanfics tend to make it quite clear whether a sexual encounter is “dub-con” or “non-con”; fannish etiquette even requires the authors to state in a set of warnings at the top of the fanfic whether the story contains references to non-consensual sex. However, in dôjinshi it is extremely common during sex scenes that “submissive” partners, male or female, utter exclamations such as “stop” or “no” throughout the proceedings, and such lines are not taken to indicate a lack of consent from the submissive partner, making it hard to determine whether a dôjinshi sex scene is “dub-con”.

26 Hellekson and Busse, “Fan Fiction and Fan Communities”, 10.