【翻　訳】

Media History and the Historical Sociology of Media in Japan, 1990s-2010s. (English version)

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Abstract

This study discusses research methods for handling historical data[1] within the field of media studies in Japan. The study starts by discussing trends in the research genre known as media history and then notes its characteristics. After referring to media history research in sociology, the present study introduces my methodological practice in research. This paper is an English translation of a paper that appeared in the Journal of Mass Communication Studies (No. 93, 2018, Japan Society for Studies in Journalism and Mass Communication, JAPAN, https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1390845713012507776).

1. Historical media research

It was only in the 1990s that 'media history' came to be used as a collective name for research spanning newspaper history, broadcasting history, mass communications history and so on. For example, the Media History Research Association was formed in March 1992 'to promote historical research and interaction among researchers in the fields of media, journalism, mass communications, and communications';[2] the Mass Media Business History Research Association, launched in the spring of 1991, ultimately produced a three-volume work on media events (Tsuganesawa 1996, Tsuganesawa & Ariyama 1998, Tsuganesawa 2002). Subsequently, the 20th Century Media Research Association was established in July 2001 based on the trend of 'an increasing number of people interested in the media and media history not only through the lenses of communication, sociology, and psychology but also in adjacent regions, such as political science, economics, history of ideology, and history studies'.[3]

In the late 1990s, textbooks focusing on the history of media were published as well. For example, Shunya Yoshimi and Shin Mizukoshi, who have a sociological background, raised issues with the evolutionary historical narratives used to accelerate technological development, writing that 'rather than ascribing media dynamics in society to surface movements of five or ten years, we must apprehend them

within units of a century or more (Yoshimi & Mizukoshi, 1997: 3-4)'. From the Western history perspective, Takumi Sato has criticised the Genesis-esque history of communications going back to the Lascaux caves, writing about the 'formative history of modern society' from the late 19th century onward with a focus on reproduction and electrical technologies (Sato 1998: vi). This way, sociology has focused on a longer series of descriptions, while Western history has focused on a shorter series of descriptions, with media history eventually focusing on the period from the late 19th century to the present.

Teruo Ariyama has summarised the state of 1990s as 'bringing history into media studies and media studies into history studies', calling on media history to 'rethink the basic current practices of media which have become self-evident, no longer taking the obvious for granted' (Ariyama 2004: 23). In the mid-2000s, the Journal of Mass Communication Studies published a special edition on 'Rethinking Media History Studies Methods' (Vol. 67, 2005) and included a review paper entitled 'The History of Media: Research Trends and Future Prospects' (Iizuka 2007) thereafter (Vol. 70, 2007). The present paper is based on two review articles written in the late 1990s (Tsuchiya 1996, Igawa 1996) and summarises media history studies through the 2000s as 'the work of reconfiguring the past activities of what we now call "media" and the phenomena and effects thereof, with hints from living people and existing documents' (Iizuka 2007). Media history researchers from the 2000s have been identified as including those with backgrounds in history (research on historical materials in the form of newspapers and magazines) as well as sociology and political science (media studies using historical data) (Sato 2009: 35).

As research groups became active, media history was introduced into university education, and the shape of the research genre came into view. Since the system reorganisation toward a focus on graduate schools, young researchers have come to produce a lot of articles in the Journal of Mass Communication Studies, Studies on Publishing (1970-), Media History (1994-), Intelligence (2002-) and the Kyoto Journal of Media History (2015-) among others. From the 2000s and into the 2010s, media history has claimed a position among media studies and is no longer a minority field within the discipline.

2. Characteristics of media history

What, then, are the present characteristics of media history? With the my research into advertising history as an example, let us confirm the characteristics that are currently common to media history.

Individual historical studies on advertising (histories of agencies and industry organisations, history of advertising expression, etc.) began to be treated collectively in the 1970s (Uchikawa 1976). In addition to this systematic, comprehensive history, advertising research aimed at exploring economic history, popular history and social history began to appear in the 1980s (Yamamoto 1984, Yamamoto and Tsuganesawa 1986). Thereafter, as the testimony and records of WWII began to emerge, analyses thereof within advertising research emerged in the late 1990s (Namba 1998).

Notable here is the difference in accessible historical materials up through the 1990s and from the 2000s onwards. Focusing on this point, the following is an overview of three characteristics of advertising history from the 2000s onwards: (1) reading through back numbers, (2) oral history and (3) the construction of digital archives.

Studies conducted on the basis of reading magazine back numbers include Inoue Yuko's *The Propaganda War: Wartime Graphic Magazines* (Inoue 2009) and Takeuchi Yukie's *The Birth of Modern Advertising* (Takeuchi 2011). Common to these is the discovery of new historical materials and the stance that thorough reading thereof should fill the gaps in existing research. Inoue and Takeuchi try to compensate for the lagging extant research, limited to analyses of *FRONT* or *NIPPON*, by reading through back numbers (wartime illustrated periodicals, such as the *Asahi Graph Overseas Edition*, *Taiyo*, *SAKURA* and *Java Baru*, in Inoue's case, and collected works and industry periodicals, such as *Collected Modern Commercial Art, Advertising World* and *Mita Advertising Review*, in Takeuchi's case). Much media history research takes this approach, focusing its analyses on the reader collective and the primacy placed on the liberal arts (Sakamoto 2008, Namba 2011, Takeuchi, Sato, & Inagaki 2014, Osawa 2015, Ishida 2015, Sato 2015, Nagao 2016, Nagamine 2017, Shindo 2017, Fukuma 2017).

Research using oral history includes Tsuchiya Reiko's *The Advertisers Who Moved Showa* (Tsuchiya 2015), whose work takes up the mantle of Shibuya Shigemitsu's *Showa Advertising Testimony Passed On* (Shibuya 1978) and Yamamoto Taketoshi et al.'s *Advertising History Via Testimony* (Nikkei Advertising Research Institute 2001). Tsuchiya identifies the issue of 'the behind-the-scenes figures moving at the client's order', meaning that those associated with advertising tend to leave little trace in the historical record. Tsuchiya interviewed retirees from the 'major advertising agencies' (Mannensha, Hakuhodo and Dentsu), which supported the four mass communications media during Japan's period of high economic growth, compiling the results in a survey report and a book (Tsuchiya 2015). Media history has also included oral history of this kind conducted with journalists and broadcasters;

however, researchers have noted that this practice tends to lead to an analysis that is limited to the senders of media alone (Igawa 2018, Hamada 2018, Kashima 2018, Ariyama 2018).

With regard to the construction of digital archives, we have Yamada Shoji's *Commercials as Culture* (Yamada 2007) and Kono Kohei and Namba Koji's *The Archaeology of Television Commercials* (Kono & Namba 2010). Common to these are the preservation and dissemination of video materials, using these materials in seeking to move beyond existing research. Databases have been created by Yamada et al. (All Japan Radio and Television Commercial Confederation ACC Award works; 1961-1997, 4412 videos) and Kono et al. (TCJ/Television Corporation of Japan warehoused items; 1954-1968, 9096 videos), attempting to surpass the 'view of the history of television commercials based on masterpieces' through joint research (Kono 2010). While conventional research on commercials was forced to rely on the scarce videos remaining with broadcasting stations, the construction of digital archives, in a process spanning the gamut of steps, from the extraction of videos through to enabling public access to the database, has transformed research on television commercials into a vast collaborative research project. Similar archiving is taking place for broadcast programmes and regional videos, with current issues, including how they are to be used and sustainably managed (Niwa 2009, Ishida 2009, Harada & Ishii 2013, Ito 2014, Harada & Mizushima 2018, Kobayashi 2018).

As described, the characteristics of media history from the 2000s onwards are considered as follows: (1) reading through back numbers, (2) oral history and (3) construction of digital archives. Common to all of these is improved access to historical materials. The background to each of these points, respectively, is as follows: (1) materials related to WWII coming onto the market and entering the collections of libraries from the 1990s onwards after their original owners died; (2) media personnel involved in postwar reconstruction retiring in the 2000s and making themselves available for interviews; and (3) changes in corporate and industry organisation practices, such that, distinct from corporate and industry histories, universities and museums came to consider the media industry and individual collections cultural resources (Ishida, Murata, & Yamanaka 2013). In addition, the networks formed by the information search systems of libraries and used-book stores have enabled confirmation to some extent of an overall view of geographically scattered materials. Further, newspapers have created article databases and magazines and have published reproduction issues, making most of these materials available in university libraries. Thus, the increase in historical research in media in the 2000s appears to be due to improved access to historical materials of this kind.

3. The historical sociology of media

Historical research in media has been conducted in sociology as well as in media history. According to Akihiro Kitada, the late 1990s 'sociological research on media history was generally led by technological constructionism, in opposition to the strawman of technological determinism'. Technological determinism here refers to Marshall McLuhan's theory, which underwent a reappraisal with the appearance of the Internet; its opponent here is social constructionism of technology, which depicts 'the relations of media and society (differing from the structure proposed by information society theory, in which 'the media changes society') within the combination of practices arising from objects, the conflicting significances surrounding them, and the intellectual sociological context, as suited to the individuality of the object' (Kitada 2012). Pioneering examples of this kind of research include analyses of the invention process of the bicycle and the incandescent light bulb, with this approach being referred to as the 'technological history of media' in the late 1980s, including studies of various media, such as radio, television, film and telephone (Yoshimi 2004).

Elsewhere, Friedrich Kittler developed technological determinism in a form different from that of McLuhan's. Focusing on the traces left in gramophones, film and typewriters, he describes the discourse networks enabling human 'subjectivities' such as minds, interiorities and personalities, through the discourse analysis conceived of and subsequently hindered by Foucault (Kittler 1986). Where McLuhan considered media an extension of humanity, Kittler felt that the 'writing systems' of preserving, transmitting and processing information were creating humanity. Here media history and discourse analysis meet; according to Kitada, Kittler 'raises a meta-discourse analytical problem', which queries Foucault's stance, that 'modern Western discourse history could be written through the pursuit of the transforming relations of language and objects', itself (Kitada 2006). Therefore, according to Kittler's stance, there are cases where a reversion to the past would become inevitable, even at some point creating a vast historical text 'from the Big Bang to the Internet' (Hörisch 2001).

Sociological research also includes studies collecting historical data from media. According to Manabu Akagawa, 'within historical sociology as well, research focusing on gender and sexuality has made great use of content analysis methods from 1990 onward' (Akagawa 2005). Content analysis here refers to selecting the representative mass media of a given period, choosing a survey period and target and

analysing the chronological changes through categorising articles and images (Ochiai 1990, Muta 1990). However, according to Akagawa, this kind of content analysis through sampling tends to impose a sociological explanation (the patriarchy, nationalism, etc.) on the data. Akagawa came, thus, to adopt a policy of 'collecting all the discourse in a given space and time', advocating for 'discursive historical sociology', which presents explanations based on the clash of multiple discourses and their inner factors, distinct from content analysis and its external imposition of explanatory variables. Akagawa's analytical topics in relation to discourse included 'what kind of variations there are', 'how they are distributed over the contemporary discourse space' and 'how this distribution of discourse has changed historically (temporally)' (Akagawa 2005). While discursive historical sociology differs from the discourse analysis proposed by Foucault, sociological research frequently analyses chronological changes based on collecting as much historical data as possible from media in this manner (Nihei 2011, Makino 2012, Yamamoto 2012, Sato 2013, Makino 2016).

Distinguishing between the objects and the methods, sociological research in media history and technological deterministic media history analyse 'writings about media', while sociological research collecting historical data from media analyses 'writings in media'. The difference is whether they focus on the transmission format of media or limit the analysis to the signifying content of media. In addition, while social constructionist media history and media technology history pay heed to various external factors, media history focused on discourse and the historical sociology of media discourse derive their explanations from internal relations within discourse to the greatest extent possible. This difference can be explained in terms of inquiring into the bounds of existentiality (Seinsverbundenheit) versus focusing on the autonomous development of discourse.

This way, media history and sociology have been combined in various ways, many of which focus on the chronological changes in modern society. In historical sociological studies from the 2000s, the marked presence of reference to the 'birth' of something may be derived from the belief that by analysing these chronological changes, it would be possible to clarify the 'processes of forgetting' or 'possibilities of what could have been', as well as the sense in that regard of a freshness distinct from conventional history studies. According to Ryuichi Narita, this difference between history studies and historical sociology is visible in the difference between 'positivist history studies' and 'social history (history studies based on the linguistic turn)' (Narita 2005).

This was the perspective presented to me as a graduate student in the 2000s.

Media history was no longer a minority within media studies. As its three characteristics ((1) reading through back numbers, (2) oral history and (3) the construction of digital archives) became visible, three methodologies appeared as well: (4) social constructionist media history, (5) discourse analysis + media history and (6) media discourse historical sociology.

I selected from this list a combination of (1) and (6), collecting as much historical material on advertising and design as possible and explaining through discourse variations and distribution how the professional principles of media personnel in the form of advertising creators changed over time (Kashima 2014). This was followed by collecting as much historical material on Olympic emblems as possible and explaining thereby the relationships between designers and advertisers concerning the Olympics (Kashima 2017). Below is a description of the specific materials collected and how they were collated.

4. The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators

The topics raised by *The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators* (Kashima 2014) are as follows. Advertising creators in modern Japan have undergone a series of changing narratives, regardless of whether they were commercial artists (distinct from artists) before WWII, reporting technicians with the state as their client during the war, or art directors and graphic designers working with companies in the postwar era. Their professional principles have also fluctuated in unique ways; they are neither modern individuals, such as artists, nor quite individuals within modern organisations, such as corporate employees. However, previous research has been content with explaining advertising creators through the display of their most famous works and has never focused on these 'changing narratives' or 'fluctuations'. By re-examining how the plausibility of this body of research was established, the book sought to clarify how we ourselves have understood advertising and design. [4]

To this end, *The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators* collected as much historical material as possible on advertising and design. Specifically, the material included scholarly works, exhibition catalogues, technical manuals, educational works, essays, interviews, history books, testimonies, critiques, collected works, autobiographies, complete works, lecture records, career guides, diaries, industry journals, magazine articles and newspaper articles although the difficulty of acquiring videos of television programmes and commercials put them out of reach. Regarding reporting technicians and art directors, the book made use of the

collection of Takeji Imaizumi, a central figure in activities relating to discourse in this context (281 books in Japanese and 136 in Western languages; 191 magazines in Japanese and 99 in Western languages), including historical materials (25 volumes of diaries from 1924 to 1947, 19 scrapbooks, 39 posters, 80 envelopes of notes and drafts). The search process involved thorough reading of secondary sources to begin with, followed by investigating the primary sources referred to therein. Many of the primary sources were not held by any library or archive, requiring work to begin with their collection, during which various previously unexamined phenomena came to light and awareness of the topics described above took shape.[5]

How, then, were these materials collated? I chose, in *The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators*, to focus on the relations between primary and secondary sources. More precisely, the phenomenon of the professional conception of the advertising creator was described with reference to primary sources, through which the extent of variations in the description of the secondary sources in relation to that phenomenon (the way advertising creators had been historicised) was identified. This methodology, called 'intraphenomenal description' in the book, was used to question how the plausibility of the secondary sources, including previous research, had been established, and to clarify how we ourselves had understood advertising and design. The methodology of this intraphenomenal description was conceived based on Kozai Toyoko's *Circulated Bodies,* which discusses the relationship between the 'object' of the human body, donated for use or for its organs, and the 'language' attached thereto (Kouzai 2007).

This methodology was arrived at because of the need for attention to the relationship between previous research and the subject of analysis. In the case of *The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators*, advertising creators as a professional conception constituted an analysis subject never previously researched. Therefore, simply referring to previous research on the prewar commercial artists, the wartime reporting technicians, or the postwar art directors and graphic designers was likely to end up as no more than a list of case studies. Thus, the author decided to dislocate previous research from these examples and rewrite the chronological changes in professional principles based on primary sources, thus identifying what and how the secondary sources, including previous research, handled the subject.

This kind of disassembly and re-composition might be unnecessary in the case of ample previous research, when the range and manner of discussion of historical materials are settled to some extent, the validity of new surveys and analyses can be judged on the basis of relations with previous research. However, when previous research is insufficient or when analysing a subject transverse to previous research,

the variations and distribution styles of research become themselves subjects for exploration. That is to say, important hints can be found in the way previous studies questioned the subjects of analysis and the answers they came up with in themselves. Based on this stance, the methodology adopted for *The Historical Sociology of Advertising Creators* was that of intraphenomenal description, focusing on the relations between primary and secondary sources.

5. Olympic Design Marketing

Olympic Design Marketing (Kashima 2017) addressed its subject matter from the following stance. The Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic emblems were announced on July 24, 2015, and subsequently withdrawn on September 1. Two issues were raised regarding the emblems: whether they were plagiarised and whether the competition to decide on the winning designs had been fixed. However, these issues relating to the emblems were only ever considered partially, either as an issue of intellectual property or as an example of Internet virality, with no clarification of why these questions arose in the first place. In this regard, *Olympic Design Marketing* attempts to link 'plagiarism' to the history of design and 'fixed selection' to the history of advertising, examining the relationships between these topics to clarify the process leading to the issues with the emblems.

To that end, in *Olympic Design Marketing,* I collected as much historical material as possible on Olympic logos and emblems, essentially everything that had been publicly released, including specialist texts, explanatory works and illustrated books for the general public; memoirs by people involved with the Games; books written by whistle-blowers; reports from each Games; material on the IOC (International Olympic Committee), JOC (Japan Olympic Committee) and OCOG (Games Organising Committees); design and advertising industry journals; relevant newspaper articles; documents for sponsors; online records and social media posts. The archives of the Japan Sport Association were also useful in confirming meeting minutes, periodicals and other material regarding the 1940 Tokyo Games and Sapporo Winter Games, the 1964 Tokyo Games, the 1972 Sapporo Winter Games, the 1988 proposal for Nagoya, the 1998 Nagano Winter Games and the 2016 and 2020 proposals for Tokyo. Because direct interviews with Games-related personnel on the emblem problem and new emblem selection were difficult, confirmation of the factual content was requested from the editors-in-chief of industry journals for design and advertising and from lawyers specialising in creative commons with regard to technical descriptions of intellectual property.

How, then, were these materials collated? *Olympic Design Marketing* focused

on the relationship between 'the way of making and the way of using' the emblems. More precisely, having confirmed the history of the 'making' with design personnel (how designers have been involved with the Olympics) and that of the 'using' with advertisers (how advertising agencies have been involved with the Olympics), the book depicted their various relationships pertaining to the emblem in chronological order. The aim was not to judge whether the emblem was plagiarised or the selection was fixed but rather to identify the context as to why these issues arose in the first place and to clarify the process leading to the issues with the emblems. This methodology was inspired by the sociology of social problems, identifying the process through which a given event came to appear as a social problem (Nakagawa & Akagawa 2013) as a historical examination of whether a different understanding of the events would have been possible.

This methodology was adopted because of the need for attention to the trilateral relationship between designers, advertisers and Olympics personnel. Although Sano Kenjiro[6] and the Organising Committee[7] persistently denied that the emblem had been plagiarised or the selection fixed, the emblem itself was eventually withdrawn. This notably led to a situation wherein there was a refusal to engage with any of the doubts, while also failing to convince the doubters. *Olympic Design Marketing* sought to examine this state of affairs at a structural level, along with the processes leading thereto.

However, previous research on design simply stated how the designers had produced their emblems, on how advertising did likewise and on how advertising agencies had put the emblems to commercial use, referring only to which would be insufficient to elucidate the structure of the issues relating to the emblems. Thus, I chose to dislocate previous research from the Olympics to depict the relationships of designers and advertisers with the Olympics, thereby adopting a methodology of rewriting a bilateral relationship as a trilateral one.

6. The relationship between methodology and analysis subject

In the afore-mentioned, this paper has discussed the trends of the research genre known as media history, confirmed its characteristics and mentioned media-historical research within sociology before introducing the methodologies used in my research.

Upon reflection, the choice of methodology for me was closely linked with the selection of analysis subjects. In the case of professional principles among advertising creators, previous research was diffusive to begin with, and therefore,

adopting the methodology detailed above enhanced the analysis by re-approaching the relationship between primary and secondary sources. In the case of the issues relating to the emblems, the attempt was to clarify a structure that was difficult to examine through previous research alone, and thus, the methodology enhanced the analysis by rewriting a bilateral relationship as a trilateral one. In both cases, the methodology was chosen after selecting the analysis subject and not the other way around.

This methodology was, of course, made possible in the first place by improved access to historical materials. Casual criticism of previous research seems out of place when we imagine the manual work required in an era without copiers or computers. If a different media environment could give rise to new research, we must reread existing research based on the difference in media environments. Addressing previous research in this manner enabled reappraisal of primary and secondary sources and rewriting of a bilateral relationship into a trilateral one.

Given the afore-discussed points, this paper concludes with a confirmation once again of the importance of preventing the reading of historical materials from becoming personalised. As more people gain access to materials and as various approaches to writing become possible, everyone should have more opportunities to confirm what the materials in fact say. I have been able to speak several times at the Historical Data Session Research Association, feels that engaging in further work to share the results of empirical examinations of the historical materials cited by article authors[8] is particularly important in historical research on media from the 2000s onwards.

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[1] This paper refers to the items collected to write about history as "(historical) materials," and the content acquired through their examination (criticism of historical materials) and selection, used for various arguments including historical writing, as "data."

[2] Media History Research Association, "What is the Media History Research Association?" http://www.geocities.jp/media_shi/intro.html

[3] Yamamoto Taketoshi, "Establishing the Institute." http://www.waseda.jp/prj-m20th/profile/index.html

[4] Querying "understanding" in this way owes a great deal of inspiration to ethnomethodology (Maeda, Mizukawa, & Okada 2007) and conceptual analysis (Sakai, Urano, Maeda, & Nakamura 2009).

[5] Each researcher selects their own analysis subjects; accordingly, the same historical material may lead to various kinds of awareness of the issues concerned. Repeating this process has created a wealth of previous research.

[6] The graphic designer who created the withdrawn emblem.

[7] The Organising Committee here refers to the marketing director on loan from Dentsu

(Hidetoshi Maki) and the Committee's director-general (Toshiro Muto).
[8] See the activities of the Historical Data Session Research Association
http://socio-logic.jp/sociology/datasession/