THE EMERGENCE OF THE ANIME MEDIA MIX:
CHARACTER COMMUNICATION AND SERIAL CONSUMPTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

As media culture is increasingly becoming the motor of the economy in late capitalism, as communication is becoming the model of labor, and as the consumption of media is becoming a form of production unto itself, exploring the interaction of media forms and consuming subjects has become more urgent a task than ever.[1] This dissertation undertakes a study of the production of consumption in the context of the media-commodity system developed in and around Japanese animation or *anime*. Through account that traces the material and cultural specificities of *anime* and its surrounding media forms, this dissertation aims to understand the mechanisms by which consumption operates within late capitalism, particularly in the Japanese context but also in the wider, global media sphere. The objective here is to develop an analysis that begins with the historically situated and materially particular and moves toward wider theoretical analyses of contemporary social and media transformations. There are several components to this analysis that I propose to outline in this Introduction.

First, focusing on the moment of the emergence of *anime*, this dissertation analyzes the ways this media form was from the first a trans-media form; a medium that allowed for the communication between multiple media types to take place. Starting with a study of the stylistic specificities of this particular medium, this dissertation points out the ways these specificities allow for the communication across media and object types, and analyzes the particularities of the objects and forms of consumption that the trans-media environment produces. *Anime* gave rise to a system of consumption that emphasizes the movement across media and commodity types. Where this account differs from important recent works that emphasize the relation between *anime* and consumption, such as Anne Allison's *Millennial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* or Azuma Hiroki's *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* (The Animalizing Postmodern), is in its historical specificity and its theoretical problematics.[2] While both writers situate the problem of *anime* within the framework of the postmodern, Azuma's conception of the latter is a thoroughly cultural understanding of the postmodern that ignores questions of how the consumption patters he discusses support configurations of power. While Allison does link her discussion of *anime* and its surrounding media to questions of capitalism, her analysis tends to read the *anime* metaphorically, with an emphasis on metamorphosis standing in for transformations in labor.[3]

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[1] On the role of culture as a determinant in late capitalism, see in particular the work of Fredric Jameson in *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991) and in *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998* (London: Verso, 1998). For other Marxist perspectives that situate culture as a new “externality” which is key to both capitalist production and accumulation, see André Gorz, *L'immatériel: Connaisance, valeur et capital* (Paris: Galilée, 2003) and Yann Moulier Boutang, *Le Capitalisme Cognitif: La Nouvelle Grande Transformation* (Paris: Editions Amsterdam, 2007). These authors emphasize that whereas the former externalities of capital were natural resources, the contemporary mode of accumulation relies on culture itself for both production (communication and community as the well-springs of “immaterial labor”) and consumption. Jonathan Beller's *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006) and Adam Arvidsson's *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006) both emphasize the way the consumption of media – the very act of looking at media texts, or what Beller calls the “attention economy” – functions immediately and directly towards the production of value for capital.

Here, following the work of Thomas Lamarre in his consideration of the immaterial labor of fans in his essay, "Otaku Movement," and the recent re-conceptualization of consumption as a form of labor or value-adding activity by Maurizio Lazzarato and Adam Ardvisson, the relation between *anime* and new forms of consumption-based capitalism will be read not metaphorically but through the prism of the transformations in the media environment and modes of consumption that the *anime* system brings with it.[4]

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[2] Anne Allison, *Millenial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Azuma Hiroki, *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2001).

[3] See especially her discussion of *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers* in Allison, *Millenial Monsters*, Chapter 4. Her discussion of the Pokemon phenomenon is quite excellent, however, and goes beyond a metaphoric relation between capitalism and aesthetics.

Second, as a corrective to the widely varying periodizations for the emergence of a character-based form of consumption that both Allison and Azuma describe, I offer a genealogy of the *anime* media environment that points to shifts and transformations in consumption patterns and media relations that took place around the emergence of *anime* in 1963. My focus on the emergence of *anime*, and on an exemplary text, the foundational series of Japanese television animation, *Tetsuwan Atomu* – Mighty Atom, or Astro Boy in the US – offers first and foremost a better sense of the "when" of the emergence of character-based media. But it also, and equally importantly, offers us the opportunity to look more concretely at what historical transformations in the media environment accompanied this emergence; what tensions and convergences of forces produced this system known as *anime*; and what were and are its aesthetic and commercial characteristics. This is not to say that there have not been changes in the *anime* system since the time of its emergence in the early 1960s. There most certainly have been. Nor is it to say that the effects of what I am calling the *anime* system – in order to highlight the systematic relations created between media types – have been uniform. The *anime* system has produced as many commercial failures as it has successes, and my description of *anime* and its surrounding media in the terms of a "system" should not to taken to mean that its effectivity is complete or total in any sense. Nonetheless the description of anime as a system is important for the ways it underlines the constituent relations between anime and its surrounding media and commodities.

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[4] Thomas Lamarre, "Otaku Movement," in *Japan After Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, ed. Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Maurizio Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme* (Paris: Les Empecheurs de Penser en Rond, 2004); Adam Arvidsson, *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006).

Moreover, the extent of the transformations in the *anime* system from the 1960s to this day, and the varying nature of the reception of *anime* over the years can best be measured against a historical, theoretical, and indeed systemic understanding of an earlier era of *anime* media. Offering the basis for an understanding of *anime* then and now is one of the aims of this dissertation.

Third, and following from this point, the analysis of *Atomu* undertaken here will also allow us to make broader theoretical points about the current state of media and the phenomenon that in North America goes by the appellation "media convergence" and in Japan is termed the "media mix."[5] *Anime* is both part of and also responsible for a general shift towards media connectivity. This shift sees a move from the logic of the singular or bounded text to interconnections between media texts and the emergence of what is now known as the "media mix." The "media mix" is a popular and industry term that refers to the practice of releasing interconnected products for a wide range of media "platforms" (animation, comics, video games, theatrical films, soundtracks) and commodity types (cell phone straps, T-shirts, bags, figurines, and so on). It is a state of what we might call the "serial interconnection of media-commodities" – wherein commodities and media types do not stand alone as products, but interrelate and communicate, generally through the existence of a principal character and narrative world.[6] Moreover, through their media mix-ing, the very distinction between media form and commodity form begin to be erased, giving rise to what in this dissertation I term the "media-commodity."

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[5] Henry Jenkins offers an important assessment of media convergence in the North American context in *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). While many works touch on the subject of the media mix and the phenomenon of trans-media connectivity – Azuma's and Allison's being just two of them – a similarly focused study of the media mix has until this point been absent in both Japanese and English. This dissertation aspires to be a corrective to this state, as well as to offer a more theoretically inclined account than Jenkins'.

[6] I should note that my use of the term "communication" is particular in the sense that it does not refer to the common sense meaning of sending and receiving message, but rather refers to the creation of connections between one media or commodity and another. This usage will become clearer in later chapters.

The specificity of the Japanese media sphere is in large part located in the very intensity of the media mix and the environmentalization of the media that it brings.[7] Yet, at the same time, this media mix is not unique to Japan; as I have noted a similar phenomenon exists in North America where it is known by the terms "convergence," or, in the industry context, as "repurposing."[8] *Anime* offers a particularly useful vantage point for thinking the historicity and specificity of this phenomenon in both its Japanese and international manifestations insofar as *anime*, from its inception, was part of a trans-media system that developed serial connections between and across different media types. From the first, *anime* was enveloped by the logic of media connectivity or "seriality" that now characterizes the media mix. Seriality here refers to the connection and articulation of media and media-commodities.[9]

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[7] Japanese media companies have become particularly adept at the creation and management of the media mix. This in turn influences the modality and success of *anime* media as it circulates outside Japan. In a recent interview, Takahashi Hiroshi, president of the premier Japanese animation studio Toei Animation, opined that the recent global success of Japanese animation or *anime* can be explained not only by its particular visual style and strong narrative emphasis, but also because "Japanese animation companies are just the best in the world at getting the media mix right." L. Lewis, "*Anime* attacks: as Disney dithers, Toei takes on the world," *Japan, Inc.* (April 2004), URL (consulted April 2006): http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0NTN/is_54/ai_115408934

[8] Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin define repurposing as "to take a 'property' from one medium and reuse it in another," in *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 45.

[9] One can articulate three levels of media seriality. First is the level of intramedia seriality; seriality within the medium itself. This is particularly true of *manga* or comics and *anime*, both of which operate through the serial, frame-by-frame progression of narratives and movements. The relation between frames in turn, as we will see, provides the basis for a second form of seriality: narrative seriality. The series or the serial are the two major narrative forms of the *anime* media mix system. Serialized in magazines or on television, narratives are told in temporally bounded segments which are continued in the next installment, on a weekly or monthly basis. Finally, the third principal form is trans-media seriality. Here we find connections across media or media-commodity types: between *manga* and *anime*, but also between these media and toys, dolls, snacks, shoes, hats and all such media-commodities that constitute the media ecology of the trans-media *anime* system. It is this third level of trans-media seriality that will form the principal subject of inquiry of this dissertation.

While *anime* did not invent this form of serial interconnectivity, it systematized and deployed it in a way that was unprecedented, and had profound impact on the media sphere in Japan. Moreover, this particular incarnation of the media mix – what I will suggest is in some ways its first incarnation – and its mode of serial interconnection is tied to the specific forms of movement and immobility that are developed within the aesthetic and stylistic qualities of Japanese television animation in its encounter with existing media forms like *manga* (comics) and *kamishibai* (paper theatre). Moreover, despite its importance for the current state of media in Japan, there is surprisingly little theoretical or historical analysis of where this phenomenon came from, or what its implications are for either theories of media or an understanding of the media environment on the whole.[10] This dissertation aims to fill these gaps by pointing to the historical connections between *anime* and the media mix, exploring its particular logic of media seriality, and situating these issues in the context of transformations within capitalism as it shifted from an emphasis on production and consumer durables to an emphasis on the consumption of what has been called "immaterial" or "experiential" or media-commodities.

Fourth, the phenomenon of the media mix offers a particularly good vantage point to reconsider the relations between the material and the immaterial under contemporary capitalism. In recent years the question of the immaterial has received particular emphasis on two fronts. The first is in consumption studies. Ever since Jean Baudrillard's argument that consumption is always the consumption of signs based on the differential relations among signifiers, and Guy Debord's contention that materiality has dissolved under (or become completely obscured by) the force of the immaterial, specular image, the study of consumption has largely been marked by a concern with the immateriality of image-based consumption.[11] While this is changing in the face of the rise what is known as material culture studies, there has yet been an adequate alternative posed to this emphasis on the immaterial within consumption.

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[10] Fredric Schodt's recent book on *Tetsuwan Atomu* provides much useful information for the English language reader on the emergence of *anime*. However it does not connect this to the wider changes in the media environment that it brought about; nor does it consider the theoretical implications of these changes. Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007). Similarly, the work of Tsugata Nobuyuki on the importance of *Tetsuwan Atomu* in the history of *anime* is another informative accounts of this phenomenon. Yet like the Schodt book, Tsugata's work does not leave the medium in question to describe the larger media and cultural contexts they formed and operated in. Tsugata Nobuyuki, *Nihon animêshon no chikara: 85 nen no rekishi wo tsuranuku futatsu no jyaku* (The power of Japanese animation: The two pivots that persist through its 85 year history) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2004). Both of these are nonetheless highly valuable works – Tsugata's work in particular has been influential on my understanding of limited animation in Japan.

Indeed, the reaction against the overemphasis on the immaterial aspect of consumption has tended to obscure the importance of considering the material and the immaterial as being in constitutive relation with each other, rather than as an alternative between one approach and the other. The work of Daniel Miller has been particularly influential in bringing about what he has called "a general renaissance in the topic of material culture studies" in which the material aspect of consumption is emphasized over its semiotic or linguistic dimension.[12] In part this view is informed by the belief that consumption – not production – is the vanguard of history: "It is not the proletariat today whose transformation of consciousness would liberate the world, but the consumer," Miller provocatively writes.[13] Consumption is seen as the realm of the articulation of different social practices and a politics of consumption. Yet there is an ethnographic quality to Miller and his associates' work (as Miller himself acknowledges[14]) that ends up shifting the terms of discussion from the materiality of objects and how this affects their circulation to what the uses of particular objects are in particular local situations. If Miller's emphasis is ethnographic, the emphasis in this dissertation might be said to be mediatic; I attempt to develop a media studies approach to materiality rather than one influenced by ethnographic study – albeit one that accepts the ethnographic or historical conceit that media specificity is a historically and culturally situated phenomenon. This dissertation, moreover, examines the constitutive relation between the material and the immaterial, rather than privileging one over the other.

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[11] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (Saint Louis: Telos Press, 1981); Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1995).

[12] See Daniel Miller, "Why Some Things Matter" in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Daniel Miller (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 1-10.

[13] Daniel Miller, "Consumption as the Vanguard of History," in Daniel Miller, ed., *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London: Routledge, 1995), 17.

The second site where the question of the immaterial has been reformulated is in recent analyses of contemporary capitalism that emphasize the importance of immaterial, cultural or "common" properties as well as the intellectual property laws that enclose them and render them commodifiable. The *anime* character and *anime* media forms more generally are sites where these relations between intellectual property laws and material goods are articulated. *Anime* and the media mix is thus an important site for reconsidering the relation between material and immaterial properties in late capitalism. In the case of *anime*, each media-commodity is based on a particular negotiation between the pre-existent commodity form – the toy, for example – and the ways this object transforms into a media-commodity (or character-toy) in its encounter with the character image. At every point within the *anime* media mix system there is thus a negotiation between the material and the immaterial, the specificity of the media/object and its communication with the larger serial media environment of which it is a part. This negotiation and the enduring materiality of the media-commodity are key to the trans-media networks that are formed within the *anime* system, and are the basis for the forms of serial consumption this system develops. This dissertation will thus emphasize the continuing importance of the consideration of material circulation of images and the materiality of media in the face of this emphasis on the immateriality of capitalism in the present age. As such it also aims to contribute to a growing body of work within film studies and media studies that puts the emphasis on the material relations between media forms, and which suggests the importance of considering the material culture in which media are embedded.

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[14] Miller, "Why Some Things Matter," 19.

Finally, this dissertation offers a general theory of *anime* consumption that is intended to be able to account not only for the specific and very particular case study this dissertation focuses on – *Tetsuwan Atomu* and its media environment – but also the main elements of *anime*-based trans-media consumption as such: the character and its world. This consideration of the character-world relation and trans-media consumption within the *anime* system will allow us to return to the ways that consumption itself is fundamentally productive under late capitalism. Building on theories of the brand, I will emphasize the immaterial nature of the character as a technology that allows the communication between media to take place. Consumption within the *anime* system, I will suggest, must be conceived not only as the consumption of the character or character goods per se, but as the consumption of the character-world relation built through the serial relation of *anime* texts. This analysis will build on the work by writers such as Ôtsuka Eiji and Maurizio Lazzarato who both, albeit through very different theoretical frameworks, emphasize the importance of thinking the concept of the narrative or imaginative world to understand the modality of contemporary forms of consumption.

As Kusakawa Shô argues, *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s 1963 broadcast marked a "turning point in postwar Japanese culture." It not only marked the entrance of the television into children's hearts, but also brought about a significant transformation in marketing and consumption. "Whereas traditionally the method of selling a product was to advertise and sell a product based on its content, after *Tetsuwan Atomu* [companies would] advertise and sell products by overlapping the commodity image with a character image." *Atomu*, Kusakawa concludes, "is a symbol of the large-scale conversion of the postwar Japanese economy" from an economy based on the secondary sector of manufacture, to one based on the tertiary or service sector.[15] Indeed, one might even say that Atomu marked a shift to the "quaternary" sector based on the material-immaterial entity of the character (and the brand) and the intellectual property laws that enable forms of accumulation through these entities.[16]

Taking Kusakawa's brief yet illuminating comments as its point of departure, this dissertation aims to consider the emergence of *anime* in the context of media transformations (the systematization of the media mix), cultural shifts (the rise of the society of mass consumption) and the trans-media, serial consumption that develops out of these. It also aims to remedy the relative dearth of historical and theoretical work on *anime* by providing an account of *anime* that deals with its specificity as a medium and its close interconnection with other media forms – something that has been given little consideration, aside from the path-breaking work of Thomas Lamarre that I am in dialogue with here.[17] *Anime* constitutes the nexus of a system of trans-media consumption that emerges in 1963 and constitutes a “tipping point” or a threshold past which various media transformations emerge: the rise of character media and the media mix; the mediatization of commodities and the commodification of the image; and the character-world relation that forms the basis for contemporary modes of consumption. As *anime* becomes an increasingly global cultural and commercial phenomenon, and inserts itself into contexts and locations previously unaccessible to it (such as the art world and the museum, through the efforts of artist and curator Murakami Takashi), an understanding of its specificities and the ways it forms part of the consumption-production of late capitalism is a necessity. It is towards such an understanding that I hope this dissertation will contribute.

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[15] Kusakawa Shô, *Terebi anime 20 nen shi* (Tokyo: Rippu Shobô, 1981), 30-32.

[16] Tsuchiya Shintarô argues that the character business occupies the quaternary sector, due to its reliance on immaterial entities like the character, and therefore is to be differentiated from the tertiary sector commonly associated with the service economy. See Tsuchiya's *Kyarakutâ bijinesu: Sono Kôzô to senryaku* [Character Business: Its Structure and Strategy] (Tokyo: Kinema Junpô, 1995), 28.

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[17] See in particular Thomas Lamarre, “Drawing Movements and Moving Drawings,” *Japan Forum* 14 (2) (2002); and Thomas Lamarre, “The Multiplanar Image,” in Frenchy Lunning, ed., *Mechademia, Volume 1: Emerging Worlds of Anime and Manga* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

CHAPTER ONE:

LIMITING MOVMENT, INVENTING *ANIME*

Discussions of animation often begin with etymologies of the world "animation" itself. In this vein, Paul Wells presents the following definition as the conventional response to the question, "what is animation?":

> To animate, and the related words, animation, animated and animator all derive from the latin verb, *animare*, which means "to give life to," and within the context of the animated film, this largely means the artificial creation of the illusion of movement in inanimate lines and forms. A working definition, therefore, of animation in practice, is that it is a film made by hand, frame-by-frame, providing an illusion of movement which has not been directly recorded in the conventional photographic sense.[18]

Esther Leslie, following a reflection on early animator Emile Cohl's fantastical film, *Fantasmagorie*, describes animation's impulse to create life in somewhat more florid language: "From the very first, animation, self-reflexive and unmasking, establishes a circuit of life and destruction. Animation, the giving of life, battles with annihilation, and always overcomes, always reasserts the principle of motion, of continuation and renewal."[19] Indeed the putting-into-motion of animate and inanimate objects is precisely the method by which animation bestows life: "In animation pictures and puppets, clods of earth and leaves, motionless inorganic matter move, run, talk, and even change shape."[20]

In these definitions of animation, as in most one comes across, movement is treated as analogous to, or indicative of, life. Animation is the giving of life, through the giving of movement. Yet, what is clear in these definitions is that life is not defined here by physiological or biological conditions, but by spectator's phenomenological experience of the image(s) of movement.[21] Moreover, behind many definitions of animation lies an implicit conception of *what kind of movement* constitutes life: smooth and fluid motion. In short, these definitions more often than not explicitly or implicitly invoke the style of motion that characterizes what is known as full animation – a style of animation emblematized by Disney's work of the mid-1930s onwards, stressing fluid motion and a realist aesthetic. This implicit evocation of realism – in movement and form if not in subject matter – is significant. While the objects in motion may indeed be inanimate objects unlikely to be endowed with motion in everyday life, desks, tables and so on are felt to be "alive" in animation when they exhibit a certain fluidity and consistency of motion felt to be "realistic." We can better understand this association between motion and realism by turning to the early, phenomenological writings of a film theorist who gave this association serious reflection: Christian Metz.

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[18] Paul Wells, *Understanding Animation* (London: Routledge, 1998), 10.
[19] Esther Leslie, *Hollywood Flatlands: Animation, Critical Theory and the Avant-Garde* (London: Verso, 2002), 2.
[20] "All That's Animation: Introduction," in *Weird Movies a Go! Go! Volume 3* (Tokyo: Petit Grand Publishing, 2001), 17.

In "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema" Metz argues that of all media, cinema is the one that is experienced as the most real, and that generates a degree of "affective and perceptual *participation* in the spectator"[22] that is unsurpassed by other media. Cinema, in brief, generates the highest degree of the impression of reality – the quality of *seeming real* that might be termed realism. What is the mechanism that allows cinema this conceit? How is it that cinema generate this "feeling that we are witnessing an almost real spectacle"?[23] The answer, for Metz, lies in the introduction of movement into an image that is not perceptually real: the cinema "render[s] the world of the imagination more real than it had ever been" precisely by injecting "the reality of motion into the unreality of the image."[24] Motion, Metz suggests, is always perceived as real. Since motion is never a tangible reality – one can never hold movement in one's hand – there is no difference between the perception of motion in immediate, daily life and the perception of motion onscreen, in cinema. And yet, cinema generates the highest impression of reality of all media precisely because it is *not* the most realistic of media.

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[21] The only account of animation in terms of life that attempts to ground the discussion in a biological account of life – defined as the existence of a repeated interval – can be found in Thomas Lamarre's groundbreaking discussion of *anime*: "From animation to *anime*: Drawing movements and moving drawings," *Japan Forum* 14:2 (2002).

[22] Christian Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," in *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, trans. Michael Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 4.

[23] Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," 4.

Here Metz distinguishes between two problems when thinking about media. The first is "the impression of reality *produced by the diegesis*, the universe of fiction"[25] by which we can understand the degree of affective or libidinal investment of the spectator in the spectacle. The second is "the reality of the vehicle of representation in each art,"[26] the proximity between the *look* (or representation) of the spectacle and the *look* (or representation) of phenomenological reality. Theatre is the most realistic of media, the closest to reality as experienced, but nonetheless does not equal cinema in the degree of investment in the diegesis that it generates. Theatre is all too real – the presence of the players in front of the audience, and in the same space of the audience, diminishes the audience's ability to lose themselves in the spectacle. The very unreality of the cinematic spectacle – sustained by the hermeneutic separation of the diegetic world of the film from the world of the spectator – allows a greater degree of affective participation in this spectacle on the part of the spectator than is possible in the theatre. Cinema generates the highest degree of spectatorial investment precisely because it combines a degree of unreality of the spectacle as representation with the reality of movement.

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[24] Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," 15.
[25] Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," 12.
[26] Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," 13.

To extend Metz's reflections to the medium of animation, we might say that the movement of a table dancing onscreen is perceived as perceptually real insofar as it is in motion. The table is alive because it moves onscreen, and since movement is always perceived as real, the movement of the table bestows a sense of realism to the table's otherwise impossible dance – granted that on the representational level the drawing may not be as close to phenomenological reality as the photograph. As Metz himself writes, in a brief allusion to the question of animation, "[t]he fantastic creatures of *King Kong* were drawn, but the drawings were then filmed, and that is where, for us, the problem begins."[27] So long as there is movement, Metz seems to imply, the impression of reality will be sustained.[28]

The shortcomings of Metz's phenomenological account were been noted by a number of writers – including Metz himself – over the 1970s. Specifically, his naturalization of filmic mechanisms of reality-production came under attack by a group of writers concerned with examining the ideological mechanisms at work in the generation of the impression of reality in cinema.[29] Particularly important among these for its focus on the problem of motion is philosopher Jean-François Lyotard's essay, "Acinema." In this short yet provocative piece, Lyotard provides a framework for us to begin grappling with a movement regime that, unlike full animation which attempts to approximate the realism of motion that characterizes cinema, is based on the interruption of motion, and the extensive use of still images: limited animation. From this perspective, the problem with Metz's account and with many animation critics' equation of life with onscreen movement, is that both either imply a uniform conception of motion (smooth, uninterrupted motion) or presume a uniformity in the effects of motion (whether smooth or not) on the spectator.

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[27] Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema," 5.

[28] This statement would seem to contradict his emphasis on the importance of the photographic nature of the images in other sections of his article. Nevertheless, this sentence provides an interesting opening onto the question of animation, insofar as it would seem to give priority to the presence of movement over the quality (drawn or photographic) of the images.

[29] These writers include Jean-Louis Baudry, Jean-Louis Comolli, Stephen Heath and Laura Mulvey. For a recent re-reading of Metz's essay in a much more positive light – with concerns that overlap with my own here – see Tom Gunning's essay, "Moving Away from the Index: Cinema and the Impression of Reality," in *differences* (2006), 18:1, 29-52.

In "Acinema" Lyotard spells out what was only implicit in Metz's essay: the "impression of reality" is a construction supported not by the mere existence of motion in the cinema, but by a very special economy of motion. In short, not just any kind of motion will do to generate cinema's reality-effect; not all kinds of movement support the impression of reality. Rather a specific kind of movement is required. Conversely, other types of motion can work against this impression of reality, and even undermine it.

Lyotard reformulates the problem of the impression of reality in terms of an economy of libidinal investment, and argues that film production is the art of managing this libidinal investment through the managing of an economy of movement. It is worth noting that, for the Lyotard of this period – the so-called "libidinal Lyotard"[30] – the organization of the libido is the essential mode of organizing a social body. And here, as with Freud, the libido is figured not only as a sexual but also as a more generally productive energy. Different social forms involve different forms of libidinal organization, that is, different relations between energy and structure. Cinematography, for Lyotard, is one such structure that works to organize libidinal energy. Cinematography is a form of writing with movements, and a selection of movements in order to "protect the order of the whole."[31] Taking aim at institutional cinema in particular, Lyotard writes that,

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[30] James Williams, *Lyotard and the Political* (London: Routledge, 2000), 62.

> cinematography is thus conceived and practiced as an incessant organizing of movements following the rules of representation for spatial localization, those of narration or the instantiation of language, and those of the form "film music" for the sound track. The so-called impression of reality is a real oppression of orders.[32]

This "organizing of movements" and "real oppression of orders" conforms to what Lyotard calls the "figure of return," an imperative that requires the smooth alternation of production and consumption, and the "repetition and propagation of sameness"[33] in the libidinal economy as in the political economy of capitalist social formations. This "return" might be thought in terms of Marx's famous cycle of M-C-M' – money/commodity/more money – where the return is the regaining of the original money, plus the surplus value gained in the cycle of exchange. Yet for Lyotard this surplus value is not only monetary but also social: it is the libidinal ordering that integrates subjects and their desires into an established social formation. Cinematic movement and its direction – insofar as it "eliminates *all impulsional movement, real or unreal, which will not lend itself to reduplication*, all movement which would escape identification"[34] – is one such means of social integration according to the model of the return. Regulation of cinematic movement according to the model of the return not only produces capital, but also regulates subjects and integrates their libidinal economies into that of the social whole.

This organization of the social body through the orchestration of movement in cinema is not, however, necessary – as the impression of reality was in Metz – but contingent, and therefore capable of being resisted. This indeed is where we find the space for a politics of cinema, an "acinema." Lyotard envisions producing this acinema through the creation of a cinema that conforms to the "pyrotechnical imperative" – a *jouissance* of pure consumption without return, consumption without production, a reveling in sterile (that is unproductive) differences. Concretely, this would mean creating a cinema that tends towards one of two poles: "*immobility*" or "*excessive movement*."[35] In creating a cinema of immobility or of excessive movement "the cinema insensibly ceases to be an ordering force; it produces true, that is, vain, simulacrums, blissful intensities, instead of productive/consumable objects."[36]

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[31] Jean-François Lyotard, "Acinema," in Philip Rosen ed., *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 350.
[32] Lyotard, "Acinema," 350.
[33] Lyotard, "Acinema," 353.
[34] Lyotard, "Acinema," 355.

Limited animation might be one place to look for such a politics of movement.[37] Unlike the animation of Disney or other such "full animation," limited animation relies on the minimization of movement and the extensive use of still images. Unlike the illusion of life produced by full animation and the affective investment which it incites, might limited animation not dissolve this illusion, and thereby limit spectatorial investment? Much like Bretchtian theatre, might limited animation not generate the effect of distantiation, and repel any efforts to produce the movement of return characteristic of institutional cinema as described by Lyotard? Indeed, it is the political possibilities – and its Bretchtian tendencies – that animation critic Hayashi Jôji finds so exciting about limited animation. Unlike the full animation of Disney – said to produce the "illusion of life" – "limited animation does not try to hide from the spectator the fact that it is an unreal image."[38] Yet, Hayashi properly notes, "As the critiques of most of the animation works broadcast on TV have made clear, jerky movements are not the necessary condition for limited animation."[39] What Hayashi is pointing to here is something that the commercial nature of the mostly limited animation TV programs in Japan has made abundantly clear: in spite of, or perhaps *because of* their jerky motion (insofar as it is embedded within a particular media configuration), these programs develop both affective investment, as well as circuits of return. Jerky motion alone does not guarantee a Bretchtian aesthetics of distantiation.

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[35] Lyotard, "Acinema," 351, emphasis mine.

[36] Lyotard, "Acinema," 351.

[37] Thomas Lamarre has found an early proponent of limited animation in animation critic Mori Takuya's *Animeeshon nyûmon* (Introduction to Animation) (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 1966). Following Mori, Lamarre refers to limited animation as modern, and to full animation as classical. Lamarre then extends this argument to connect full animation to Deleuze's discussion of the movement image, and limited animation to the time image. Thomas Lamarre, "Full Limited," unpublished manuscript. This connection works particularly well in the case of the limited animation of *anime*, which emphasizes the affective dimension of the graphical image, as Lamarre points out. This also enables Lamarre to avoid the pitfall he argues characterizes much of the debate around animation, whereby full animation is linked to movement, while limited animation is linked to stasis. What he emphasizes is that limited animation is not characterized by stasis, but rather by a different kind of movement or dynamism. While taking Lamarre's point that the "still" image of limited animation is not in fact still at all but rather shot through with a dynamism specific to it, I will nonetheless emphasize the stillness of the image to bring out its connections with other "still" image media that also generate a sense of dynamism internal to the image. This divergence of paths will allow me to consider more closely the connections between the limited *anime* image and its contemporaneous media forms of *manga* and *kamishibai*.

The limited animation-based media mix, with its serial proliferation of commodities and its production of consuming subjects that glide easily between television program, video game and toy is living proof that a different kind of movement – one that relies on still images as well as sequences of movement – can itself produce a comparable economy of return. Indeed, Thomas Lamarre has connected the particular style of limited animation found in *anime* with a spectator position that is firmly aligned with the process of informatization that is in turn be linked to the needs of contemporary capitalism. Lamarre writes:

> Limited animation also shaped a new kind of viewing and consuming, one that entails scanning, re-reading, searching information, discerning technical innovation and so forth. In other words, one might say that *anime* generated a viewer

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[38] Hayashi Jôji, "Rimitteddo *Anime*" in *Iconics: Journal of Japanese Image Arts and Sciences*, No.8 (1978), 28.
[39] Hayashi, "Rimitteddo *Anime*," 23.

> experience that was very much like an experience of informatization itself. And thus I think it no coincidence that *anime* emerged, and is still emerging, into the global market in conjunction with the new economies of globalization and informatization.[40]

This dissertation similarly sees the spectator of *anime* as being deeply imbricated in processes of capital accumulation and the development of the spectator-child as consuming subject. Yet, Lamarre links *anime* viewing to capitalism through a particular mode of spectatorship that emerges most markedly in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the advent of the VCR, time-shifting practices and a form of "*anime*-philia" characteristic of a new kind of spectator – the *otaku* as *anime* fan.[41]

Here, however, I will be concerned with a viewing practice bound up not with a kind of intensive scanning of the onscreen image, but with an earlier viewing practice that developed an economy of return based on the movement from one medium to another. That is, the earliest form of *anime* viewership can be said to be characterized by an intensification of consumption produced by the direct relations the onscreen image created with offscreen media and products. The dynamically still image of the *anime* character will be shown to be one of the prime means of generating these relations between media onscreen and offscreen. Moreover, this earlier viewing practice does not go away with informatization and the scanning of the image that Lamarre describes, but is incorporated into it; indeed, the informational columns about Atomu products or the TV series in children's magazines like *Shônen* and the *Atomu Kurabu* fan magazine suggest that the informatization of the image is profoundly linked to the trans-media movement *anime* enables.

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[40] Thomas Lamarre, "From animation to *anime*: Drawing movements and moving drawings," *Japan Forum* 14:2 (2002), 337.

[41] Lamarre's theorization of *anime* spectatorship draws on Ôkada Toshio's description of the viewing practices of otaku as they developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in his *Otakugaku nyûmon* (An Introduction to Otakuology) (Tokyo: Ôta Shuppan, 1996). Of course, what makes Lamarre's account important is his convincing suggestion that these viewing practices are imbedded in the *anime* medium itself – and therefore not limited to a segment of fanatics, or *anime*-philes. However, I would suggest that these practices of viewing do not come into full force, as it were, until the era of re-playability made possible by technologies such as the VCR.

While later chapters will explore these relations more fully, this chapter will focus on the media environment present at the time of *anime*'s emergence, and the conditions of development of this new style of limited animation that has become one of the defining characteristics of what is now known as *anime*. In other words, before looking at the way its very stillness opened the animated image onto other realms of image-commodities which in turn supported the movement of return of *anime*, I would like to look more closely at the specific style and conditions of development of this particular incarnation of animation. In so doing I will explore the connections between *anime* and the larger media environment that prepared its spectators to invest in the "jerky," non-realistic movement style of *anime*.

Two Streams of Animation

Considered schematically, there are roughly two main streams of animation in Japan: the television-based style of limited animation, and the theatrical-release-based full animation style. While this distinction only dates to the emergence of television animation in Japan, in 1963, and is a rough distinction challenged in many ways, it is nonetheless useful for considering the specificities of what is now called "*anime*." Indeed, while the term is generally applied to all animation coming out of Japan, Tsugata Nobuyuki provides a more narrow definition of the term "*anime*" that is useful for thinking about its specificity as a particular genre of animation. *Anime*, Tsugata writes, refers to a genre of animation that is (1) cel-based; (2) uses various time-saving systems that give it a lower cel-count than most non-Japanese animation, developing a style of limited animation; (3) is not just based on simple gags or good versus evil storylines, but has a strong tendency towards development complex human relationships, stories, and worlds.[42] To this definition we might add three more characteristics: (4) *anime* is primarily television-based (though video tapes later become an important distribution format); (5) it is character-centric; and (6) it is inherently trans-serial, crossing to multiple different media formats.

The other stream, or, in the words of Tsugata, the other "axis" of Japanese animation is the Disney-influenced, full-animation, feature-length animated film stream that comes out of Toei Studios' animation division, Toei Animation (formerly Toei Dôga). This second stream finds its culmination in the contemporary giant of Japanese animation, Miyazaki Hayao. Miyazaki is an important representative of this full animation stream insofar as he began his career as an animator for Toei, and also because he rejects the term "*anime*" in describing his works, using instead the older term "*manga eiga*" (or cartoon film), which initially came into circulation around 1921.[43] As Lamarre emphasizes in his analyses of Miyazaki, however, this director is no simple adherent to the Disney school of full animation but developed his own, somewhat hybrid style of animation that combines the characteristics of full animation (smooth movement) with those of limited animation (the use of sliding planes to create a sense of movement and depth).[44] In this sense one might more properly think of there being three (or indeed more) streams of animation in Japan, with Miyazaki lying along the continuum between limited and full animation, albeit closer to the full animation pole. Here, however, I will follow Tsugata's rough schematization and consider Miyazaki to be a practitioner of the style of full animation – which in many senses he is – in contrast to the movement regime associated with limited animation.

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[42] Tsugata Nobuyuki, *Nihon animêshon no chikara: 85 nen no rekishi wo tsuranuku futatsu no jyaku* (The power of Japanese animation: The two pivots that persist through its 85 year history) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2004), 20-21.

[43] Two of Miyazaki's most well-known works are *Princess Mononoke* and *Spirited Away*. Thomas Lamarre explains Miyazaki's preference for the term "*manga eiga*" ("cartoon film") in the following manner: "One way to think of this is as a distinction between an animation that focuses on animating characters (as with Donald Duck or Mickey Mouse, to use Miyazaki's examples) and an animation that aims for a cinematic mobility with *manga*-like drawings. In sum, it could be thought of as a distinction between drawing movements and moving drawings. Miyazaki, needless to say, wishes to emphasize the mobility possible by means of moving drawings." Thomas Lamarre, "From animation to *anime*: Drawing movements and moving drawings," *Japan Forum* 14:2 (2002), 361-362.

Toei was officially established in 1956, but its germinal form was established in 1948 as an association called Nihon Dôga, which drew together many animators active in the prewar and wartime periods. Indeed Toei's history may be traced back even farther, to the first animation produced in Japan: its two principal founders, Yamamoto Sanae and Yabushita Taiji, were trained by one of the three founding figures of animation in Japan, Kitayama Seitarô.[45] This lineage leads Yamaguchi Yasuo to claim that the contemporary Japanese animation boom can be traced back to Kitayama, who was active from 1917 to around 1923. It is indeed important to keep these types of genealogies in mind when considering the history of Japanese animation, since in the prewar period animation in Japan was not an industry at all but an assortment of small production groups often based around a principal animator, who passed knowledge and know-how about animation to his disciples in esoteric fashion.

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[44] Thomas Lamarre, "The Multiplanar Image," in Frenchy Lunning, ed., *Mechademia, Volume 1: Emerging Worlds of Anime and Manga* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

[45] Yamaguchi Yasuo, ed. *Nihon no anime zenshi: Sekai wo sei shita nihon anime no kiseki* (The complete history of Japanese *anime*: The miracle of Japanese *anime* and its capture of the world) (Tokyo: Ten Books, 2004), 49. The other two founding fathers of Japanese animation are Shimokawa Ôten and Kô'uchi Jun'ichi; all three released their first animated films in 1917. Animation was first introduced to Japan in 1909, through the work of Emile Cohl.

However, there is a greater break between *anime* – roughly defined as Japanese TV animation post-*Tetsuwan Atomu* – and the longer history of animation that comes before it than Yamaguchi's genealogy allows. Toei Animation modeled itself in the image of Disney Studios. From its industrial, mass-production methods, to its aspiration to cinematic realism (using full animation to generate realism in motion, and the multiplane camera to generate a sense of cinematic depth), to its use of fairy-tales as the source material for its narratives, Toei aspired to be the "Disney of the Orient."[46] Indeed its first full-length production, *Hakujyaden* (Legend of the White Serpent, 1958, released in the US as *Panda and the Magic Serpent*), which was also the first full-length, full-color animated film produced in Japan, is a veritable *Snow White* of the East. It is based on a Chinese folk legend, uses rotoscoping to generate realistic motion of the main characters (as Disney did in the production of *Snow White*), and deploys a group of less-than-realistic animal and dwarf-sized human characters for comic relief (much like the role of the seven dwarves).[47]

The limited animation as developed at Mushi Productions Studio differed from the full animation of Toei (and Disney) in its stylistic characteristics (the extensive use of stillness, the rhythmic play between stillness and extreme motion that is the basis for both its dynamic action scenes and its gags, the *manga*-style character design, its serial narrative format), its production schedule (based around weekly television episodes rather than yearly or bi-annual large productions), its commercial basis (the extensive use of character merchandizing and the serial commodification it implies) and its trans-media tie-ins (based first and foremost on the strong tie between *manga* and *anime* media). While some of these characteristics were present in animation from the 1930s,[48] the systematization of these characteristics in television animation differentiate post-*Tetsuwan Atomu* work from that of the Toei studio, and suggest the need to think of a rupture, rather than continuity, between the lineage of the founding father of Japanese animation, Kitayama Seitarô, and contemporary animation.

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[46] The term "Disney of the Orient" seems to be a common term used to describe Toei, and is found in Yamaguchi, 66, as well as Sasakibara Gô and Ôtsuka Eiji, *Kyouyou to shite no manga/anime* (*Manga/anime* as education) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001), 137. On the multiplane camera see Lamarre, "The Multiplanar Image."

[47] Daisuke Miyao points out that *Hakujyaden* used rotoscoping in "Before *Anime*: Animation and the Pure Film Movement in Pre-War Japan," in *Japan Forum*, 14(2) (2002), 207. Leonard Maltin notes that rotoscoping was used in Disney's *Snow White*, in Maltin, *Of Mice and Magic: A History of American Animated Cartoons* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1980), 56.

Another way to formulate the differences between these two streams of animation in Japan is to think of the Toei stream as a style of animation composed of the relation between animation and cinema (mediated by the cinematic style of Disney animation as it developed in the mid to late 1930s) whose physical apparatus was the film theatre. The other stream, *anime* proper, which finds its beginnings in *Tetsuwan Atomu*, is developed out of the relation between animation and *manga* (in its postwar "story comics" manifestation), whose physical apparatus was the new medium of television.[49] Television began broadcasting in Japan in 1953, but the years 1960 to 1964 were the most important for the penetration of TV sets into Japanese households. In 1960 TV ownership was at 55% of households; by 1964 ownership had grown (due in no small part to the 1964 Olympics) to 95%, a "phenomenal growth in the domestic market" for televisions that has been "widely acknowledged as the single most important factor in the success of the Japanese electrical goods industry."[50] Television was also key to the development of the new style of animation known now as *anime*. While there had been a relation between comics and animation in Japan from the very first (two of the three original Japanese animators came from the cartoon tradition) *Tetsuwan Atomu* was the first instance of an animated series constituting itself explicitly on this relation between *manga* and animation. Many have even suggested that the *manga* worked as the storyboard for the *anime*. The product was in both name and in style "*terebi manga*"[51] or TV comics – a new genre of the moving image that is not reducible to animation per se.[52] *Manga* with *Tetsuwan Atomu* becomes not only the source of thematic elements or characters (as comics had occasionally been previously, as far back as 1917), but the source of a new visual logic, and a new relation between motion and stillness.

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[48] In the prewar period there are several cases where animation shorts were based on popular *manga* series, such as the *Norakuro* series, or the *Bôken Dankichi* series, the former of which was also the basis for many merchandise spin-offs, such as stuffed animals and so on. But only several animation shorts were made of each of these, and the overall tie between animation and *manga* was very weak, as Akita Takahiro argues, until the systematization of this relation in 1963 with *Tetsuwan Atomu* and TV *anime*. See Akita Takahiro, *"Koma" kara "firumu" e: Manga to manga eiga* (From "Frame" to "Film": The Comic and the Cartoon Film) (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2005), especially 104-5. Tsugata Nobuyuki gives provides a quantitative comparison between the 1930s and 1960s that leaves no doubt about the change in the relationship between *manga* and animation. In 1933, 4% of animated films were based on a *manga* original; in 1964, 90% of animated films (or rather, in this case, TV series) were based on *manga* originals. In 2005, in an index of the shift in the media environment, 65.7% were based on *manga*, while 18.6% were based on novels, video games or other works, with 15.7% being original animation productions. Tsugata Nobuyuki, "*Manga* no *anime*-ka ni okeru shoyôsô" (The phases of the *anime*-ization of *manga*) in Takeuchi Osamu and Koyama Masahiro, ed., *Anime e no henbô: Gensaku to anime to no bimyô na kankei* (Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 2006), 11.

[49] Natsume Fusanosuke suggests that *anime* is the result of the union of *manga* and film (playing on the older term for animation, *manga eiga* or "cartoon film") in *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (Where is Tezuka Osamu?) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1995), 23. However important it is to think about its relation to film, it is even more important, I would argue, to think of its relation to television, since it was the latter's temporality and medium specificity that most informed the production of *Tetsuwan Atomu*.

As a practical and aesthetic response to the economic and temporal constraints of producing animation for the weekly television schedule, *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s Mushi Productions Studio made *manga* move. Yamamoto Ei'ichi, one of the central members of the Mushi Productions Studio, describes it in the following manner: "In the end we completely did away with the techniques of full animation. Then we adopted the completely new technique of making the *manga* frame the basis for the shot, moving only a section of this frame."[53] Mushi Pro, as the studio is known, developed a unique style of limited animation by combining the *manga* image with the moving image of animation.

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[50] Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 140.

[51] Ishiko Jun notes that "terebi *manga*" was the term in use at the time. Ishiko, *Manga shijin Tezuka Osamu* (*Manga* poet: Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Shin-Nihon Shuppansha, 1991), 26.

[52] Tsugata emphasizes the distinction between *anime* and animation, writing that, "In short, Tezuka from the first did not intend to [make the drawing] 'move' in an ideal manner; he intentionally created '*anime*' not 'animation.'" What Tsugata implies here is that Tezuka gave up on his earlier ideal of Disney animation in order to create something else. Tsugata, *Nihon animêshon no chikara*, 34.

Now, while many accounts of Japanese *anime* imply that Tezuka and his animators at Mushi Productions Studio "invented" limited animation single-handedly, it must be said that limited animation as a set of techniques and a visual style was already being used at the time by popular American cartoons such as *Popeye* and *The Jetsons* (which were televised in Japan at the time) and had been since United Production of America's (UPA) popularization of the technique in the late 1940s.[54] Limited animation was thus common knowledge for Japanese animators at the time, and certainly the animators at Mushi Productions were familiar with both UPA and Hanna Barbera's limited animation work – though Yamamoto Ei'ichi notes that while the latter's TV animation productions interested some, it was held in ill repute for its rough movement and simple story lines.[55]

Another little noted source of stylistic and technical inspiration for the development of TV *anime* is to be found in the animated television commercials of the 1950s.[56] The 1950s was a difficult decade for animators in Japan; with the end of the Pacific War what little government funding there was for animation dried up, and the main source of demand for animation shorts was also decreasing at the time as theatres no longer screened animated or other shorts before their main features.[57] Animators were left with little in the means of work or income. However one new source of work was the rising demand for animated television commercials.

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[53] Yamamoto Ei'ichi, in Mushi Productions ed., *Tetsuwan Atomu DVD-Box 1 Data File* (included in the Japanese DVD Box 1, 2001), 46

[54] Jeremy G. Butler, *Television: Critical Methods and Applications* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1994), 278.

[55] Yamamoto Ei'ichi, *Mushi Puro kôbôki* (A Record of the Rise and Fall of Mushi Productions) (Tokyo: Shinkosha, 1989), 64. This book provides an indispensable account of the early days of Mushi productions, through the start of *anime* production. While written as a "fictional" account, all the names and events related to Mushi Productions are fact, whereas the personal life of the main "character" (Yamamoto himself, under a pseudonym) is fictionalized.

[56] I thank Aaron Gerow for suggesting the importance of considering the history of animated commercials in the 1950s for the rise of TV animation in the 1960s. Tsugata also remarks on this importance.

When television began broadcasting in Japan in 1953, it opened up a new world for animators. Most TV commercials throughout the 1950s were entirely animated, used animated sections, or combined live-action with animated elements in the same scene. The pervasiveness of animated commercials was in part a response to the limits of the television apparatus itself, and the lack of mastery of the image on the part of the production staff. In particular, Naitô Toshio explains, problems with TV's gray-scale led live-action actors and products to look awful onscreen. Animation, by contrast, provided a much more stable and appealing image.[58] The subsequent demand for television animation for commercials served as a life support for struggling animation studios during the 1950s, and was a means of training animators in TV animation production. While the quality of animation varied, it is significant insofar as the commercials tended to use cycles of movement, minimize the number of drawings, deploy a stark contrast between characters in the foreground and background drawings, and move toward a style of animation that while not "limited" in the true sense, nonetheless pointed in this direction. It is also significant that many animated commercials also featured trademark characters – characters specific to particular brands or products, such as the Seiko rooster, "Niwatori-kun" (the first such trademark character in television history, appearing on television in 1953), Morinaga Caramel's "Morinaga-kun," and the Shiseidô toothpaste

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[57] Yamamoto, *Mushi Puro kôbôki*, 61.
[58] Naitô Toshio, "CM firumu jûnen shi (chû)" (Ten Years of Commercial Films [Middle Installment]) in *Senden Kaigi*, February 1964, 48-49.

character, “Pearl-chan.”[59] This emphasis on character – though not unique to TV advertising – also previews the emphasis on characters that will be one of the defining features of TV *anime*. Finally the television animation commercial work supported and trained studios and animators that would later produce animated television series, such as Otogi Pro and TCJ.[60] Otogi Pro was founded by the famous pre- and postwar *manga* writer, Yokoyama Ryûichi, and did both creative and commercial animation work. Otogi Pro was also responsible for the production of what is technically the first animated television series: the three-minute long *Instant History* series, that contained a one-minute segment of animation in each episode. TCJ specialized in TV commercials, but in October 1963 released what would be *Atomu*’s main rival, *Tetsujin 28-gô* (Iron Man Number 28). Insofar as TV commercial animation forced animators to develop some of the techniques that would later be used for TV series production, sustained the studios that would later produce these series, and trained the animators who would create them, Tsuagata Nobuyuki is right to remark that “it is no exaggeration to say that commercials animation truly fostered the growth of postwar Japanese animation, and especially TV *anime*.”[61]

The Emergence of *Anime*-ic Movement

Clearly Toei full animation, US limited animation, and TV commercial animation all exerted some influence (even if not always acknowledged) on Mushi Productions animators.[62] Tezuka, for example, indicates a desire to follow the path opened by the limited animation stream of television animation coming from the US (i.e. Hanna Barbera Productions) and avers that his erstwhile hero Walt Disney may have become "too great," leading to "the stagnation of the development of animation."[63] Yet Tezuka and his collaborators' re-tellings of the creation of *anime* emphasize not only the influence of American animation, but also the influence of four other elements: technological failure, *manga*, *kamishibai* or picture card shows, and the temporal and financial constraints of producing weekly 25-minute programs for television. In another account given by Tezuka, he explains his inspiration for limited animation as resulting from his childhood experience of watching *Felix the Cat* animation on his home projector – a 9 ½ millimeter projector made by the French company Pathé. The projector was old, so it would often stop and start, holding an image for longer than it was supposed to. In so doing the 10-minute Felix episode turned into 30 minutes of animation. When trying to strategize ways to economize on time and energy in creating a weekly TV series, Tezuka remembered his experience watching *Felix*, and came up with the idea of using *still* images to economize on the number of drawings and lengthen the screening time. Dialogue and sound, he conjectured, could be used to cover up the immobility of the image.[64]

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[59] Naitô Toshio, “CM firumu jûnen shi (jô)” (Ten Years of Commercial Films [First Installment]) in *Senden Kaigi*, January 1964, 50-53; and Naitô, “CM firumu jûnen shi (chû),” 48.

[60] Yamamoto Ei’ichi, for example, started his career as an animator at Otogi Pro, before moving to Mushi Productions where he directed its first animated short, the award-winning experimental piece, *Aru machikado no monogatari* (The Story of a Certain Street Corner). He was shortly thereafter one of the principal writers and episode directors of *Tetsuwan Atomu*.

[61] Tsugata, *Nihon animêshon no chikara*, 123.

Elsewhere, in one of his autobiographies, *Boku no manga jinsei* (My *manga* life), Tezuka continues this line of thought:

> If someone were to ask me, "If it doesn't move then is it really animation [*anime*]?" I would respond that I think it is. Since *anime* is a kind of screen image

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[62] Yamamoto Ei'ichi is quite candid about the awareness of US limited animation, and himself spent two years in Otogi Pro working on, among other things, commercial animation. But his account also emphasizes the difference of making *Atomu* from all previous animating experience, as well as previously existing animated films and TV series. See his *Mushi Puro kôbôki*.

[63] Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa manga-ka* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1979/2000), 236-237.

[64] Tezuka Osamu, "Waga *anime* kurui no ki," (A record of my *anime* madness) in *Bungei Shunju*, October 1977, 157-8.

> [*eizô*], I don't think it matters whether it's moving or not moving; if you can somehow watch it, then it's good enough. Of course, if it's not moving it becomes something like paper theatre [*kamishibai*]. But there are some works where I froze the image to an extreme degree, since I thought that if you made it move a little, generated some affect, and presented the spectator with a story, it would still be animation even if it weren't moving.[65]

This passage is important for the ways Tezuka tries to redefine animation, moving it away from the emphasis on fluid motion which, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, characterizes most definitions of the medium. According to this formulation, "*anime*" might be defined as a screen image that generates a kind of affective response in the spectator, tells a story, and has at least a minimal degree of movement. Tezuka here cites the medium of *kamishibai* or picture card theatre – a popular cultural theatre for children especially prevalent in the late 1940s and 1950s, whereby a storyteller would narrate a story accompanied by a series of still images – as the outer limit of *anime*.[66] Yet this outer limit also functioned as an aesthetic or operational inspiration. In a recent interview, Sakamoto Yûsaku, the chief of production at Mushi Productions at the time, and the person responsible for suggesting they undertake the *Atomu* project, similarly cited the importance of both *manga* and *kamishibai* as inspirations in the creation of this TV *anime* series. *Tetsuwan Atomu* if nothing else, Sakamoto thought, could be a kind of "electric *kamishibai*."[67]

The references to American limited animation should disabuse us of the notion that Tezuka et al invented limited animation. Nonetheless these creators' references to *manga* and *kamishibai* in describing how they developed the style that would become the basis for *anime* also suggest the importance of acknowledging that the creation of *Tetsuwan Atomu* did indeed involve an "invention" of a particular kind: the invention of a relation between *manga*, *kamishibai* and animation as three formerly discrete media. This invention created a style of animation wherein *it seemed as if the manga itself was moving* (one of the most widely repeated comments at the time of the *anime*'s release, and in retrospective accounts of it), or that the *manga* poses themselves were "animated" (even if at times by voice alone). The basis of this new type of animation was not the moving image alone, but rather the *manga* image *as* moving image. This invention turned out to be a "moving" experience indeed, particularly for the countless young fans of the *manga* series.

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[65] Tezuka Osamu, *Boku no manga jinsei* (My *manga* life) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1997), 120.

[66] For an English language account of picture card shows that considers their influence on *manga* in postwar Japan, see Tsurumi Shunsuke, *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan, 1945-1980* (New York: KPI, 1987).

[67] Mushi Production 2002, 44.

Tezuka and his animators developed strategies of animation based on the limitations that confronted them: too few animators, too little time, and too small a budget to create what at least at an early stage had been Tezuka's ideal, Disney-style full animation.[68] Yet the result was a mode of animation that had an aesthetic and a consistency of its own. As Lamarre puts it: Tezuka "submitted that viewers would accept the shortfalls of limited animation if they were sufficiently interested in the story. For Tezuka, narrative is to absorb spectators, overcoming techno-artistic limitations. Probably he never imagined that those limitations might be perceived as aesthetic choices and technical innovations."[69] And yet it was precisely these aesthetic characteristics that were from the start the key to the success of Tezuka's limited animation – as much as the narratives that Tezuka thought would be the basis of spectators' pleasure.

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[68] Disney was perhaps one of the most important stylistic influences on Tezuka's *manga*, and his films were at least partly responsible for inspiring Tezuka's desire to create animation himself, a desire chronicled in his autobiographies, discussed with other *manga* artists, and narrativized in *Firumu wa ikiteiru* (Film is Alive). The latter is a *manga*, written in 1958-9, that, according to Tezuka, "should be called an I-novel (I-*manga*?) expressing a time when I was burning with the almost mad desire to make animation." Tezuka Osamu, "Atogaki" (Afterword), *Firumu wa ikiteiru* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977), 133. Not surprisingly, since the publication of the *manga* follows a stint working at the Toei Animation Studio, Tezuka in this *manga* still evinces the stylistic idealization of the full animation style of Disney.

[69] Lamarre, "From animation to *anime*," 339.

Before turning to the aesthetics of this animation experience, however, I would like to briefly list the technical innovations that inform it. The following are the labor-saving devices that characterize the style of limited animation developed during the production of *Tetsuwan Atomu*, as outlined by animator Yamamoto Ei'ichi (with my own comments following quoted sections):

1. *3-Frame Shooting*: "Even when wanting to move the image smoothly, use not the previous standard of one-frame shooting or two frame shooting, but rather use 3-frame shooting." That is, instead of the full animation standard of either 12 or 24 distinct images per second, the Mushi Pro animators used the same image over three frames, for a maximum of 8 distinct images per second. As Yamamoto implies, 3-frame shooting was used only when they wanted the effect of relatively smooth motion; on the whole far fewer than 8-frames per second were used. We might add here that another aspect of this minimization of images was the reduction of the number of images that compose each movement sequence. As Lamarre points out, "In limited animation, animators tend to suppress the intermediate positions in a movement. If an animator can make a figure appear to walk using only three drawings – one leg out, both legs together, the other out – why then draw all the intermediate stages?"[70] Mushi Pro animators eliminated many of the intermediate drawings, and reduced movement – and the steps of the movement – to the bare minimum.
2. *Stop-images*: "With close-ups of a character's face looking at something, and other instances where it would not be so strange not to have movement, stop-images were used, getting by with only a single image." A single, still image was used for scenes where movement was not required; shot-reverse-shot scenes, crowd scenes, even dialogue scenes where the voice gives the character life when the still image does not.
3. *Pull-cels*: "When a personage is framed in a bust-shot, or when a car crosses the frame… use just one image, and shoot while moving the cel." A single image is pulled across the background or the background is pulled under the foreground image. This is particularly prevalent in flying scenes, or vehicle scenes where the object is moving in a single direction, and its distance from the "camera" remains constant.
4. *Repetition*: "When a character is walking or running, set the character in a single place in the frame and reuse the same images, sliding the background beneath it. In this way, no matter how long the character walks or runs, we could get by with just 6 to 12 images." The result of this technique is a "movement loop."

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[70] Lamarre, "From animation to *anime*," 345.

5. *Sectioning*: “Normally in cases when a personage would swing its arm, the whole body would move. However we would use stop-images for the face and body and only move the arm in a sectional manner.”
6. *Lip-synching*: “For scenes where the character speaks its lines, make the face a stop-image and, applying the fifth principle, only move sections [of the face]. Whereas normally, in talking scenes, there were many shapes for the mouth, we would only use three: closed, wide open, and half-way open, randomly repeating these using 3-frame shooting. Thereby, with only four images [i.e. the face image plus the three mouth images] any length of lines became possible.”
7. *Dual-use*: “The same movements were reused across a number of different cuts. We would ignore the delicacies of a particular scene and make do with reused images for scenes that resembled one another.” This is also referred to as the “cel bank” or the “bank system” for the ways existing images and image sequences were stored in a systemic manner, much like a contemporary database.[71]
8. *Short Shot Length*: “Since when cuts are long in length the character must be moved around here and there, we used short shot lengths. Moreover, since the type of cheap movement detailed in the above sections can’t withstand long cut lengths, shorter cuts are better.”[72]

All movements in *Tetsuwan Atomu* were composed of variations on these fundamental time- and labor-saving devices which enabled the Mushi Productions staff to get by with only 1500-1800 drawings per twenty-five minute episode.[73] (To put this into perspective, the same program length done in full animation would require around 18,000 drawings.[74]) The result was a particular form of limited animation that, over time, developed as a distinct “genre” or style of limited animation, distinct from that developed at UPA and elaborated at Hanna Barbera. Immobility rather than movement often dominates scenes, and at times the life of the characters is sustained by the voice or narrative alone. The experience of *anime*, particularly that of the 1960s, is thus as much a sequence of still images as a flow of movements. *Anime* is an "intermedia"[75] – a medium that is composed as an assemblage of discrete media – that deals in motion and immobility, movement *and* poses. What we find in *anime* is not cinematic motion, nor that approximation of cinematic motion which full animation tries to attain but rather a particular dialectic of motion and stillness, a particular motion-stillness economy. And it was the particular combination of the above devices, in the particular style of motion-stillness that was developed around *Tetsuwan Atomu* at this time that, as the "TV *anime* technique," formed the basic pattern for all *anime* subsequently.[76]

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[71] Takeuchi Ichirou explains that the idea for the bank system in fact came from a system Tezuka developed for the writing of his *manga* as part of the “industrial revolution” of *manga* production, for which Tezuka was instrumental. Takeuchi Ichirou, *Tezuka Osamu = Sutorii manga no kigen* (Tezuka Osamu = The origins of story *manga*) (Tokyo, Kodansha, 2006), 90. Thomas Lamarre suggests that “The cel bank is predecessor of what Azuma calls, in his discussion of otaku, the ‘database structure.’” Lamarre, “Full Limited.”

[72] Yamamoto, *Mushi Puro kôbôki*, 105-106.

[73] Yamamoto, *Mushi Puro kôbôki*, 105.

[74] Yamamoto, *Mushi Puro kôbôki*, 75.

The *Anime* Shock

If the devices developed around the production of *Tetsuwan Atomu* became the standard of *anime* production thenceforth, it is in no small part due to the fact that the *Atomu* TV series was a popular success, attaining audience ratings between the mid-20% to mid-40% range. The series itself lasted four years, from January 1st 1963 to December 31st 1966, and spawned a total of 193 episodes. Yet the popular success of Atomu was matched by a degree of shock on behalf of full animation producers in Japan, and met with some harsh criticism as well. One of the key Toei animators of the time, Ôtsuka Yasuo, describes the shock *anime* produced at the time:

> Once Atomu was broadcast it became explosively popular. For us animators at Toei it was huge shock, as if the Japanese people said to us "This is good enough for us," "We're satisfied with this," "So long as it is based on a popular *manga*, we need no preparation, much less any advertisement." The Japanese animation

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[75] Lamarre writes that "Animated film is arguably multimedia or intermedia in that it traditionally utilizes drawings and photography and, more recently, digital colouring and computer-generated images." "From animation to *anime*," 331. I will develop this point further below in reference to the media of *manga* and *kamishibai*.

[76] "Staff Interview 1: Yamamoto Ei'ichi" in Mushi Production 2002, 46. Tezuka similarly argues, albeit in 1979, that all contemporary *anime* "in the end, don't take one step out of the *anime* system we built up, and are mere variations [on it]." Tezuka, *Boku no manga jinsei*, 267.

> industry as a whole was forced to a major turning point, including Toei which had worked so hard to develop original stories and new characters. To put it in an extreme manner, it seemed like if one would only use a widely-known *manga* writer with a popular *manga* that had a large number of copies in circulation as the original work [on which the *anime* was based], then movement could take second place.[77]

For an animator like Ôtsuka – and a company based around people who held similar beliefs – the stop-image animation of Mushi Productions was an affront to the very principles of Toei animation, which had as its goals the production of "realistic movement" through which Toei might "win the sympathy of the masses."[78] In short, for Toei animators like Ôtsuka, movement – smooth, realistic movement – was primary. For them the still-image-based animation style developed at Mushi Productions seemed not to be animation at all – but rather like "*kamishibai* plus alpha." "I felt like the technical good conscience of Japanese animators that Toei had been building up was destroyed by Atomu's 100,000 horsepower."[79]

As Ôtsuka lays bare the shock and consternation he and his peers at Toei felt at the popular success of *Tetsuwan Atomu* and the subsequent rise of television *anime* it inspired, he once again broaches the question with which we approached the issue of movement in *anime*: how can affective investment be possible in a medium that does away with the smooth, realistic movement that characterizes both cinema and full animation? How could spectators be satisfied with unmoving or barely-moving images, to the point of coming back for more, week after week, in yet greater numbers? How is what Lyotard called the "movement of return" generated in *anime*?

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[77] Ôtsuka Yasuo, *Sakuga ase mamire* [Drawings Covered in Sweat] (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 2001), 104.
[78] Ôtsuka, *Sakuga ase mamire*, 98-99.
[79] Ôtsuka, *Sakuga ase mamire*, 106.

The answers to these questions lie in a threefold response. The first is suggested by Ôtsuka himself, in the passage quoted above. This movement of return is based not on the relative self-enclosure of a text onto itself (as the earlier Toei films had been, and as classical cinema has been conceived) but is rather inherently open – open, that is, onto other media forms and types.[80] The *manga-anime* relationship is primary in this respect, with the *manga* acting as a preparatory framework – a kind of advertising, or affective priming, as Ôtsuka implied – for the moving images to come. Moreover, other media follow immediately: toys, stickers, games, magazine articles and so on, all combining to form a trans-serial media environment wherein the *manga-anime*'s narrative world could be accessed from multiple points at any given time. Character-based merchandising became one of the central pillars on which the *anime* system was built. To some extent this was for economic reasons: in order to placate TV stations and the program sponsor who worried about high production costs, and also to out-manouver his future TV animation studio competitors from the start, Tezuka negotiated an exceedingly low price from the TV station for each episode, asking what amounted to a mere third of the production cost.[81] The result was that Tezuka had to seek compensation for the loss in costs of production elsewhere – in character merchandising. In short, if he could not follow his longtime idol Walt Disney's model in animation style, he nonetheless drew inspiration from Disney's business acumen, and followed his pattern of character merchandizing. But economic factors are not the only reason for the centrality of character merchandizing to *anime*. Indeed, the economic success of character merchandizing and trans-media seriality would not be possible were it not for affective factors that supported it. Character merchandizing exists because of the affective engagement with the character image; and the investment in the character image in *anime* is strengthened by similar such affective investment in the character image elsewhere. Media images mutually reinforce in an effect generally known as "synergy" – giving rise to greater affective engagement in the *anime* character not *in spite of* but rather *because of* the lesser realism of its onscreen movement. We will see this effect at work when we return to the trans-media migration of the *anime* image in Chapter Two.

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[80] This is a very rough description of classical cinema. Studies of stars such as Shirley Temple; studies genre films; and studies of the connection between gender, desire and political economy in the cinema have shown that cinema is nowhere near a closed text. Yet, as the impression of reality discourse, as well as understandings of cinema developed through apparatus theory and analyses of its production of pleasure in the spectator have emphasized, the cinema depends to a lesser or greater degree on the sense of closure offered by the cinematic text, including the sense of enclosure of the viewing space. Cinema's very pleasures are based on this textual and architectural en/closure. The pleasures derived from the *anime* text, on the other hand, function in large part through its relation with other, extra-textual materials, allowing us to characterize the *anime* text as an open text. For studies of cinema that emphasize the importance of the consideration of extra-textual elements, see Charles Eckert, "The Carole Lombard in Macy's Window" and "Shirley Temple and the House of Rockefeller" in Christine Glendhill ed., *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (London: Routledge, 1991); Mary Ann Doane, "The Desire to Desire" in *The Desire to Desire: The Woman's Film of the 1940s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: BFI, 1999). Television studies in particular has emphasized the differences between the closed text of cinema and the much more open televisual text. For classic statements of this openness, see Raymond Williams' *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Routledge, 2003) and John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema Television Video* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

Second, it is key to emphasize that the mode of affective investment in the images produced by *anime*'s particular form of limited animation is comparable, but not identical to that produced by the realism of motion generated in cinema and full animation. There is a comparable yet nonetheless distinctive movement of return produced in *anime*, based around its own particular "expressive context." "Expressive context" is a term that Lacanian critic Saitô Tamaki introduces in a fascinating essay titled "The Ethics of 'Movement', Or, An Exploratory Essay on Representational Context."[82] I should note at the outset that I am in disagreement with the gist of his essay, which is an attempt to discover and affirm an ethics of movement in the work of Miyazaki Hayao, arguing that it contains a temporality that goes against that of most television *anime*, which, due to its emphasis on stillness, tends to remain within a non-conflictual, timeless realm in which everyday, chronological time is suspended; a "non-ethical" time when "every moment is assumes a narcissistic 'here and now'-ness."[83] Yet, while I may disagree with Saitô's argument, the term "expressive context" which Saitô introduces to account for the specificities of different media is highly useful for grappling with the specificity of *anime*'s affective investment.

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[81] Mushi Production ed., *Tetsuwan Atomu DVD-Box 1 Data File*, 8. Yamamoto writes that Tezuka initially sold each episode for 750,000 yen, even though the estimated actual cost of each episode was 2,500,000 yen, though he notes that after the success of Atomu Tezuka was able to negotiate a slightly better price. Yamamoto, *Mushi Puro kôbôki*, 94. Tezuka, in an August 1964 indicates that the cost of production of each episode was around 2,700,000 yen, while the amount received from their sponsor was 1,500,000 per episode. See Matsuoka Hideo, "Interview: Yutaka na kûsô to gôrisei," (Interview: Rich Imagination and Rationality) in *Sunday Mainichi* (August 16, 1964), 21. This latter amount seems a significant increase from the amounts cited elsewhere, however (usually between 550,000 – the amount given in Mushi Productions' recent account – and Yamamoto's 750,000) so there is a possibility that Tezuka was exaggerating the amount received in this interview. Nonetheless, whatever the actual amount received, the point remains that the cost of production still significantly exceeded the amount received. We might also add that Tezuka's short-sighted move has haunted the TV animation industry ever since; animation companies continue to rely on other means to recoup the costs of production in a system that still does not compensate the full cost of animation production.

Saitô develops the concept of representational context from his reading of Gregory Bateson and Edward T. Hall, and defines it as "the context that determines the sense [*imi*] of a particular stimulus."[84] The example Saitô gives first is that of Orson Welles's 1938 radio broadcast of *War of the Worlds*; the uproar it caused was due to people listening to the broadcast through the "context of news." Yet lest this term come to simply mean "context" in the general sense of the term, Saitô introduces qualitative differences into different contexts through the introduction of the concept of *degree* of context (or “contextuality”), with different media bringing different degrees of context. Saitô writes:

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[82] Saitô Tamaki, "'Undô' no rinri, arui wa hyôgen kontekusuto shiron," in *Bunmyakubyou: Rakan, Beitoson, Maturaana* (Sickness of Context: Lacan, Bateson, Maturana) (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2001).

[83] Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 54. This is true, Saitô argues, both of the *anime* and of its reception; its fans also seek a "timelessness" – as is evidenced in their purchase of expensive laser disc (now DVD) box sets. Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 55.

[84] Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 47.

> It is possible to think visual media in terms of a ranking of their degree of representational context. For example, we can list representation genres in an order of highest to lowest context: “*anime*,” “comics,” “TV,” and then “film.” In short, “*anime*” has the highest degree of context, “film” the lowest. What I am referring to by “context” is the degree to which a representational genre itself determines a particular sense. This is what, following E.T. Hall, we will call *anime*’s “high context.” As a general tendency, the more popular a form of expression, the higher its context. In the case of representational media, the lower the amount of information on the screen, the higher the level of context becomes.[85]

When thought in terms of generic conventions, this makes perfect sense: anyone familiar with the Western genre would instantly recognize a film as belonging to this genre upon seeing a still in which a man dressed in black faced off with a man dressed in white in a deserted town. This example is also revealing insofar as it demonstrates that “high context” media requires a high degree of knowledge of the particular genre in question. Yet it also means that once this knowledge is attained, very little information need be given to understand the context of the genre in question.

> “*Anime*” and “comics” have an extremely high level of “context transmission.” A single frame [*gamen*] instantly transmits the genre of the work and even the tendency of its content. The possibility of instantaneous, reciprocal modulation “between comic and serious” that is one of the grammars of *anime* (what is called its “guarantees”[*oyakusoku*]) is unthinkable in film, and comes from the high context of *anime*.[86]

Saitô furthermore argues that each medium has its own unique “temporality” which in the case of visual media coincides with what he terms its “movementality” (*undôsei*). Since each medium has its own movementality – such that the movementality of *manga* is apparent in a single frame – the combination of different media types results in a sense of dissonance.[87] Moreover, it is this movementality that most strongly asserts a medium's proper expressive context. And the specific movementality of distinct media forms not only leads to dissonance when two different media forms are combined, but also leads to a degree of "realism" internal to a specific medium. "If *anime* can be said to be real," Saitô writes, "it is not through using photorealistic backgrounds and mimicking cinematic techniques, but undoubtedly only once it has attained a movementality proper to *anime*. If this is indeed possible, even a personage drawn with a single line could show a degree of realism in movement that would be equal to that of live-action."[88]

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[85] Saitô, “The Ethics of ‘Movement,’” 48.

[86] Saitô, “The Ethics of ‘Movement,’” 48. “Oyakusoku” literally mean “promise” or “guarantee” and refers to those narrative patterns and visual conventions that animators are expected to follow in the production of specific genres.

Saitô's relativization of the question of realism here in terms of the specific forms of movementality proper to distinct genres and media is useful for developing an expanded conception of realism that can encompass media such as *anime* where the movement is distinctly "unrealistic" when measured against the standards of live action. The concept of representational context allows us to consider distinct media forms as developing distinct forms of affective investment – a term I prefer to the rather fraught term "realism" – in distinct representational regimes. Here I use the term affective both in the loose sense of "emotional" – conscious feelings of happiness, sadness, and so on – as well as in the sense recently theorized by Brian Massumi: an abstract, pre-personal, pre-individual form of being-affected by something.[89] Affective investment in a particular media or narrative or character would thus include both conscious (or personal, in the sense of referring to and recognized by an individual subject) and unconscious (non-conscious, pre-subjective, or even collective) forms of investment, or involvement. Affective investment (or realism) would thus designate the degree of involvement of a spectator in a text, character, or world; it is a term that can designate the believeability of the text, or the extent to which the text can provoke the involvement of the spectator. This involvement, moreover, does not need to be measured by the degree of credulity of the world (the traditional measure of realism) but also includes the emotional involvement in the world; and the degree to which the spectator will pursue the text or its world (in the sense of decoding enigmatic aspects of it, reading supplementary materials about it or its author, consuming its surrounding media or materials).

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[87] The dissonance between different forms of movementality is one of the difficulties besetting the use of computer graphics imaging (CGI) in film and animation: it has a distinct mode of movementality that at this point has not yet been properly discovered – and whose effect is nothing less than the "death of movement." "Until CG depends not on the quotation of live-action but attains its own autonomous realm of expression, it will have to accept its subjection to other realms [i.e. to live-action]." Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 50.

[88] Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 50. It should be said that this conception of realism as relative has already been developed in film studies. Jean-Louis Comolli, for instance, describes the "transformation of the conditions of … credibility" of the cinematic image from a depth of field to the production of psychological depth. As Comolli implies in this passage, the measure of the realism of the image transforms over time. See Comolli, "Machines of the Visible," in Timothy Druckrey ed., *Electronic Culture: Technology and Visual Representation* (New York: Aperature, 1996), 115. The importance of Comolli's position here comes in his relativization of the sense of realism in a single medium, rather than arguing – as Saitô does – for an ontological level of the medium (its movementality) against which to measure all efforts at the development of realism.

Distinct media, Saitô would seem to suggest, develop distinctive modes of affective involvement.[90] In this manner, Saitô allows us to better comprehend how "excessive movement" or "stillness" might lead, in particular contexts, not to a politics based on excess or pure *jouissance*, but to a commercial system that develops a particularly powerful movement of return. We can thus understand Lyotard's "acinema" – a political form of cinema that rejects common forms of investment and the realism-based pattern of return through an appeal to immobility or excessive movement – to be a very specific response to a very specific movement regime (classical Hollywood cinema).

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[89] Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Duke UP, 2002).

[90] It is in this sense of affective involvement that we can understand Saitô's comment, cited above, to the effect that with animation, when done properly, a "single line could show a degree of realism in movement that would be equal to that of live-action." Saitô, "The Ethics of 'Movement,'" 50.

A politics of *anime* – "an/*anime*," we might call it – would involve a very different set of prescriptions, since regularized movement is not the norm but the exception in this representational context.

While this is not the place to develop such a conception of "an/*anime*," the response to *anime* should not be a return to the style of full animation, even in its hybridized form developed by Miyazaki. In this sense I would argue that Saitô fails to follow through on his own argument when he affirms the type of smooth movement of Miyazaki's "cartoon films" over the stop-images and poses of television *anime*. Saitô sees in *anime*'s stillness an attempt to reproduce *manga*'s representative context in *anime*, rather than making the effort to develop its own proper movementality. Yet Saitô's vision of what animation should be betrays the ultimately "conservative" end-point to which a theory of medium specificity can lead: the affirmation of media types that adhere most closely to the conventional ideals – and norms – of a medium. In this case Saitô argues that animation's movementality is most properly developed through smooth movement, uniform character design (i.e. little to no use of the gags and "*deformé*" transformations that one sees in TV *anime*) and the homogeneous space-time of linear narrative – all elements that Saitô praises in Miyazaki's work.[91] In short, he affirms what we might call the Disney ideal. By locating the movementality of *anime* in the Disney ideal, or Miyazaki's version of it, Saitô turns his back on the very potential he set up through his introduction of the concept of representational context: the ability to understand the specificity of *anime* – its proper movementality – in terms of its particular dialectic of movement and stillness, or, more accurately, *its movement of still images, and its stilling of moving images*.

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[91] While, again, this is not the place to develop a theory of an/*anime*, the seeds of it can be found in this destabilizing tropes of *anime* itself: a politics can arise not from the smoothing out of its unevenness (of movement, character design, or temporality) but rather its radicalization. Moreover, this would welcome rather than shun the encounter with different image types, particularly ones with a different "movementality." Against Saitô's move to purify *anime* of its *manga* influences, I would like to see a further invasion of *manga* into *anime*, along with the increased used of photographic images. These are two tendencies that mark the in many ways highly experimental animation of Anno Hideaki, particularly in *Kareshi kanojo no jijô* (His and Her Circumstances).

The specificity of television *anime*, then, should be understood to reside precisely in this dialectic of stillness and movement, or the stilling of moving images and the moving of still images. The introduction of stillness into animation does not reduce animation to comics, but transforms the very medium of (full) animation into something else – into *anime*. Against Saitô, I would propose that there is an ethics proper to *anime*'s movementality that resides precisely in its radical shifts from gag to serious, from moving to still – and in the non-homogeneous "timeless time" of "kairos" which these attributes give rise to (and which Saitô critiques, counterposing these to the "ethical," chronological time or "chronos" of Miyazaki). That is, even despite the openness of the still image to commodity tie-ins, there is nonetheless an excessiveness of the type of movement developed with Mushi Productions that cannot be exhausted by or reduced to its ability to resonate with commodities. It is here that a certain critical potentiality of *anime* resides. But I will leave this critique of Saitô aside for now, and return to his commendable concept of representational context.

With the concept of representational context in mind, we can understand how affective investment – or what Saitô calls "realism" – should be understood as arising not from the degree to which a medium matches reality as perceived, but from the degree of consistency a medium exhibits internally. *Internal consistency* within a particular "expressive context" can be said to be the one of the most important criteria in the consideration of a degree of affective investment such a medium can develop. Yet while this helps us understand why *anime* might develop affective investment in fans who have the knowledge required to understand its particular movementality and context, how can we understand its popularity at its inception, before such an understanding was present – and when animation was associated more with the fluid movement of Toei than with the jerky movement of Mushi Production? Why did the limited *anime* "shock" meet with such a high level of excitement among the viewing population?

To answer this question, we must introduce a third factor accounting for the general acceptance of the movement style developed at Mushi Productions: the wider media environment out of which it emerged. In particular, the media of *manga* and *kamishibai* played key roles in laying the technical, aesthetic and affective bases for *anime*. *Manga* and *kamishibai* were as important for the genesis and popular reception of *anime*'s particular "movementality" as the medium of animation itself, insofar as they provided a kind of preparation for the representational context developed in *anime*. For the remainder of this chapter I would like to explore the ways that these two media were key elements within the representational context into which *anime* emerged, focusing on the ways stillness circulated in the popular culture of the time, and the ways the still image was traversed by a particular form of dynamism – if not movement itself. An understanding of this representational context will allow us to grasp how the stillness-movement aesthetic of TV *anime* might have – contrary to Toei and even Mushi Productions' animators' expectations – generated the affective response that lead to its popular acceptance.[92]

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[92] Yamamoto details the surprise of the Mushi Productions animators themselves at the high ratings and popular enthusiasm that their initial foray into television animation received.

Media Contexts: Postwar *Kamishibai* and the Sliding Image

We have seen repeated reference to *kamishibai*. Ôtsuka Yasuo from Toei referred to the movement style of limited TV animation as "*kamishibai* plus alpha"; Sakamoto Yûsaku, the animator in charge of Mushi Productions Studio and the *Atomu* project, conceived that Atomu could be like an "electric *kamishibai*"; Tezuka saw *kamishibai* as the limit of animation… But what is *kamishibai*? Literally translated as "paper theatre," *kamishibai* was a form of popular entertainment for children that had its first peak of popularity in the early 1930s, and its second and final boom in the early postwar period, beginning its decline in the mid-1950s.[93] The *kamishibai* story-teller would ride on his or her bicycle from district to district, stopping in particular areas to give a performance. The performance was announced by the clapping together of wood blocks and the call, "Come along now, the *kamishibai* is about to start!" The story-teller then set up the theatre: a wood box mounted on the back of the bicycle, with drawers on the sides that contained candies and treats, and the "stage" itself that swiveled upward to sit at the height of the performer's head. Small panels opened outward to frame the "theatre" section, inset into what resembled a picture frame. As children gathered around, the story-teller would sell them cheap candies and treats – the means of income for the story-teller – and then proceed to give them the performance their purchase of candies entitled them to.

The performance consisted of three to five distinct narratives told through the use of color paintings mounted on boards which slid into the wooden theatre that was

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[93] *Kamishibai* has its historical origins in *utsushi-e* or moving magic lantern exhibits. As a street-based alternative to magic lanterns, a form of wood-carved puppet show emerged called "*tachi-e*." *Kamishibai* emerged from *tachi-e* around 1929. Nakagawa Masafumi argues that the paper-painting-based *kamishibai* theatre emerged as a response to a desire for more cinematic representation – the paper-based medium giving the possibility of the simulation of long shots, close-ups and so on. "Utsushi-e, tachi-e kara hira-e e" (From Moving Magic Lanterns, to Standing-pictures, to Flat-Pictures) in *Senchû Sengo Kamishibai Hensei* (A Collection of Wartime and Postwar *Kamishibai*) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 196.

mounted on the back of the bicycle. On the back of the story boards was the script which the story-teller read out loud to the children, adopting different voices for each character in the narrative, which was conveyed through a combination of image, dialogue and voice-over narration. The narratives were serial, with one new segment of the ongoing narrative told each day. Most narratives lasted for around 20 to 30 episodes each, after which they ended, never to be shown again. This no-rerun policy accounts for the fact that, as one author suspects, "most people remember the voice and face of the old man telling the story, or the taste of the candies more than the individual works themselves."[94] That said, there were some series such as the *kamishibai* "classic" *Ôgon Batto* (Golden Bat) whose intense popularity meant that there was sequel after sequel. Every segment of a series consisted of ten placards or story-cards, most beginning with a synopsis of what had happened up until that point and ending with cliff-hangers that incited the desire to follow future episodes.[95] ("What will happen to Toshio as he waits at the edge of the village for his dear sister to return? Will the villains carry her off to the sea as they planned? Or will Golden Bat come their rescue once again? Find out tomorrow in the next installment of *Golden Bat*!") The combination of three to five distinct, ongoing narratives allowed the story-teller to appeal to and gather together a wide audience range: younger children and older children, girls and boys, though the general age-group of the children was from 5 to 12 years old.[96]

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[94] "*Kamishibai* no omide wa dagashi no aji" (The memories of *kamishibai* are of the taste of the sweets) (No author cited), in *Senchû Sengo Kamishibai Hensei* (A Collection of Wartime and Postwar *Kamishibai*) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 210.

[95] Kagetsu Yôichirô, "'Ika ni mo' to 'natsukashisa' no jiba" (The magnetic field of 'I see' and 'nostalgia') in *Senchu Sengo Kamishibai Hensei* (A Collection of Wartime and Postwar *Kamishibai*) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 208.

[96] Kagetsu, 208

Kamishibai has its postwar peak around 1953. The poverty of the early postwar period, combined with the number of children starved for entertainment lead to a great upsurge in the popularity of this medium. As a housewife wrote in a 1948 letter to the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper, "*kamishibai* is the sole entertainment of today's children who are hardly ever given story books or toys."[97] The *kamishibai* system was based on a division of labor between the artists who produced the narratives, the middle-men who distributed them, and story-tellers who circulated through the cities to give the performances.[98] According to a police survey conducted in 1952, there were about 2000 *kamishibai* performers in Tokyo alone, reaching an estimated 1,000,000 spectators each day.[99] *Kamishibai* was not a "mass medium" insofar as the latter is generally defined by the phenomenon of a single sender's message reaching a mass audience. With *kamishibai* there was a multiplicity of messages, each inflected by the particular performer, and each involving the face-to-face encounter between *kamishibai* performer and audience. The *kamishibai* story-cards were, moreover, painted by hand, leading postwar cultural critic Tsurumi Shunsuke to argue that "it had a directness that weekly magazines and films did not," and suggest that it was a model-based art form rather than a reproduction-based art form.[100] Nonetheless, based on the mass numbers of children *kamishibai* performers reached each day, it is undeniable that the medium of *kamishibai* had some of the effects of a “mass” medium: the nation-wide circulation of popular series, and general familiarity with the *kamishibai* medium.

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[97] Reprinted in Suzuki Tsunekatsu, *Kamishibai ga yattekita!* (*Kamishibai* is here!) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 76.

[98] Suzuki Tsunekatsu lists the entire division of labor as going from Producer to Script Writer to Painter to Producer to Branch Officer Chief to Performer. Suzuki Tsunekatsu, *Kamishibai ga yattekita!* (*Kamishibai* is here!) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 31.

[99] Suzuki Tsunekatsu, *Kamishibai ga yattekita!* (*Kamishibai* is here!) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 95. Osaka boasted a similar number of *kamishibai* performers, reaching a postwar peak of 1545 performers in 1954. Suzuki, 103.

[100] Tsurumi takes the term "model-based art form" from the early modern writer Hasegawa Nyozekan. Tsurumi Shunsuke, "*Kamishibai* to Kata Kôji" (*Kamishibai* and Kata Kôji) in *Senchû Sengo Kamishibai Hensei* (A Collection of Wartime and Postwar *Kamishibai*) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 98.

Based on the above description of *kamishibai* alone, we can begin to understand in what ways the description of *Atomu* as “electric *kamishibai*” was overdetermined. To begin with, we should note that the term “electric *kamishibai*” did not begin with *Atomu.* Rather, the term electric *kamishibai* referred to the new medium of television itself.[101] At the time this appellation was meant to be a derogatory remark on the quality of television itself, and its insignificance as a medium. *Kamishibai* was a none-too-respected children’s medium, with many parents and parent teacher associations (which were quite powerful at the time) decrying it for exerting a negative influence on children.[102] Some even described *kamishibai* performers as “street beggars.”[103] Given its status as a low art form, and even as a threatening one, it was perhaps not surprising that critics of television would pick up on it in their attacks on the new medium. Indeed, the medium of *kamishibai* features in one of the articles written by television’s fiercest critic, Oya Sôichi, where he famously argued that television would turn Japan into a nation of “100 million idiots” – a phrase that “became part of the national vocabulary.”[104] As Jayson Makoto Chun notes, some sources cite the first appearance of this phrase to a 1957 edition of *Shuukan Tokyo* where Oya wrote: “Everyday on television there is an array of vulgar programs worse than storyboard shows [*kamishibai*]. A campaign to turn us into a 'nation of a hundred million idiots' through the advanced mass media of radio and television has developed."[105]

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[101] See, for example, Muraki Yoshihiko’s brief discussion of this in Kawakami Hiroshi, ed., *Taishu bunka to shite no terebi: Kiseki to tenbou* (Television as Mass Culture: Its Path and its Outlook) (Tokyo: Diyamondo-sha, 1979), 27.

[102] Abe Susumu remarks, in 1962, that “TV was until recently ridiculed for being electric *kamishibai*.” *Gendai-kko saiten hou* (How to Grade the Contemporary Kid) (Tokyo: San-ichi shobou, 1962), 46.

[103] For an account of the public outcry against *kamishibai*, see Suzuki, 106-110; for *kamishibai* performers treated as street beggars, see Suzuki, 95.

[104] Jayson Makoto Chun, *“A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots”? A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1973* (London: Routledge, 2007), 161. The phrase also circulated in films of the time, such as Ozu Yasujiro’s *Ohayo* (Good Morning), which in some ways revolves around the question of electrical appliances and television in particular.

However the comparison between *kamishibai* and television was not simply a way to disparage the new medium of television. There were also profound similarities on the level of the "apparatus" and the mode of spectatorship of the two media that have been generally ignored in the literature on the rise of television in Japan.[106] Specifically, the size of the *kamishibai* "theatre" was roughly equal to that of the televisions screens of the time, and there was undoubtedly a resemblance between the television box and the *kamishibai* box. Most importantly, perhaps, was that for the greater part of the population who could not afford the exorbitant costs of television sets during the 1950s, TV was viewed on the street corner, among the masses of other people grouped around the set to watch the program in question. *Gaitô terebi* or "street corner TV" was a practice thought up by Shôriki Matsutarô, a man credited for both bringing television to Japan and for the popular reception of television in the 1950s.[107] There were important differences between *kamishibai* performance and street-corner television viewing, as Yamamoto Taketoshi notes, not the least of which being the fact that *kamishibai* performances were given in local environments where the spectators were among friends and neighbors, whereas street-corner televisions were generally placed in highly crowded, urban spaces (such as

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[105] Quoted in Chun, *"A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots"?* 164.

[106] My understanding of the apparatus comes from the important work of Jean-Louis Baudry and Jean-Louis Comolli on the apparatus in film theory. See Jean-Louis Baudry, "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus," and Jean-Louis Comolli, "Technique and Ideology: Camera, Perspective, Depth of Field (Parts 3 and 4)" both anthologized in Philip Rosen (ed.) *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

[107] See Simon Partner's account of Shouriki's key role in the promotion of television in his *Assembled in Japan*.

Shinjuku, Shibuya and Shinbashi, major city centers within Tokyo).[108] And yet, for the children who didn't frequent these downtown locales there was another place to see television: in the local restaurant, or even more frequently, the show window of the local electronics shop. Children of the time were known as "TV gypsies" for the way they would wander in search of a storefront to watch their favorite television show.[109] The outside-viewing practice, or what might be called "street-corner spectatorship" was thus common to both *kamishibai* and early television. Finally, the emphasis on sound over image, and the use of what were often, even in the case of television, *still images* to illustrate the soundtrack were characteristics of television as much as *kamishibai*, and must have reinforced the idea of a kinship between the two media.[110]

The similarities in apparatus, mode of presentation and even spectatorship of the two media are impossible to deny. In this sense, the common sense argument of *kamishibai* historians that it was the emergence of television that was the principal reason for the decline of *kamishibai* must called into question. It was not television per se that lead to the decline of *kamishibai* – but rather, the ideology of privatization that increasingly encouraged entertainment (and happiness) to be located *inside* the home – rather than outside on the streets. Siegfried Zelinsky sums up these forces best when he writes, in the context of a similar phenomenon in West Germany, of the rise of television and the decline of movie-going audiences:

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[108] Yamamoto Taketori, *Kamishibai: Machikado no Media* (*Kamishibai*: The Street-corner Media) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Koubunkan, 2000), 132. Yamamoto's is one of the best and only considerations of the media archaeological links between television and *kamishibai* that I have come across.

[109] Nogami Akira, *Omocha to asobi* [Toys and play] (Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 1979), 86.

[110] The emphasis on sound over image is in fact a characteristic of television more generally, and is not limited to either Japan or early television. As John Ellis writes, "The image is the central reference in cinema. But for TV, sound has a much more centrally defining role… The image becomes illustration… Sound tends to anchor meaning on TV, where the image tends to anchor it with cinema." *Visible Fictions: Cinema Television Video* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 129. However, it is nonetheless fair to say that early television in Japan was characterized by the predominance of sound over image in a pervasive manner that is no longer true today, or, for that matter, even by the mid-1960s.

> [T]hey are first and foremost phenomena with a common context: the successful strategy of both national and international post-war capitalism to develop the increasingly technology-based forces of production in a market economy in close connection with the perspective – internalized in the majority of subjects – that *freedom and happiness cannot primarily be realized in the social but rather in the private sphere*, in competition with and alongside the individuals and families who represent their identity internally and externally through the share of social prosperity which they manage to command. This share had to be reified in consumer goods which, in turn, possessed representative character.[111]

Rather than seeing the decline of *kamishibai* – or of movie-going audiences – as a result of competition between media forms whereby the survival of the fittest prevails, we must instead, Zelinsky urges us, understand this decline as an effect of the spread of an ideology of privatization.[112] Television was the perfect commodity in this respect, since it built and most importantly *marketed as* a consumer durable that could be consumed in the privacy of one's home. It was the ideology of privatization and the growth of consumerism that killed *kamishibai*, more than television itself.[113] Thus, rather than seeing television and *kamishibai* as enemies, we should see them as symbiotic, in a sense. *Kamishibai* arguably lead to the greater acceptance of television, as the latter borrowed its mode of outdoor presentation, its physical form, and even its narrative form. Indeed, a number of early television programs were actually *kamishibai* shows, or programs based on still images.[114] It is in this sense that critics in 1961 declared television to be the natural extension of *kamishibai*.[115] And it is in this sense that television could properly – and without hint of disdain – be regarded as a form of "electric *kamishibai*."[116]

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[111] Siegfried Zelinsky, *Audiovisions: Cinema and Television as Entr'actes in History*, trans. Gloria Custance (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 204 (emphasis mine).

[112] Other factors for the increasing location of happiness in the home include, as we will see in the context of the transformation of play in Chapter Four, the decline of public space, the spread of discourses that see the street as a site of dangers (namely the danger of being run over by the growing numbers of automobiles), and the rise of the "examination hell" which saw the decline of children's free time.

[113] Writers such as Kamichi Chizuko and Suzuki indeed acknowledge this implicitly when they cite the society of mass consumption along with television. See Kamichi Chizuko, "Kodomo no bunka to shite," in *Senchu Sengo Kamishibai Hensei* (A Collection of Wartime and Postwar *Kamishibai*) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 200; and Suzuki, 110-111. However the tendency to give a simple explanation for the decline of *kamishibai* – i.e. the rise of television – informs much work on *kamishibai*.

Kamishibai*, the Sliding Image and *Anime

This does not meant that we should regard the reference to *kamishibai* in the context of Atomu as being merely overdetermined, and therefore without descriptive merit. On the contrary, there are important formal and stylistic reasons why the reference to *kamishibai* should not be ignored in this exploration of the representational context in which *Atomu* emerged. First and foremost of these is the emphasis on the still image. The basis for *kamishibai* performances, as we have seen, is the still rather than the moving image. The *Tetsuwan Atomu anime* both directly and indirectly referred to *kamishibai* throughout the series. In some instances, such as in the second episode of the series – *Furanken no maki* (The Frankenstein Episode) – a series of still images are used with no movement internal to the image. A voice-over tells of the escape of the Frankenstein robot as we see a still image of the robot in mid-pose ostensibly "walking" down the street; in the next series of images bank robbers argue over the opening of the vault; the robbers are shown in a series of still poses, each one separated by a strip of black film (as if the lights were flickering on and off). The combination of lively argument on the soundtrack, the alternation of images of the robbers at the bank with entirely black frames, gives this scene a stop-and-go quality based on the sequence of still images that is reminiscent of *kamishibai*. It would not be speculating too wildly to say that "electric *kamishibai*" was the aim and inspiration for this sequence, even if the images change more rapidly than in the much more slow-paced *kamishibai* performances (and thus also point to another sequential medium in which the changes in image are much more rapid: *manga*). Another example of a *kamishibai*-inspired sequence is to be found in the sixth episode of the series, *Dentou ningen no maki* (The Lightning Man Episode). Here, in a flashback sequence lasting 24 seconds, Doctor Ochanomizu's narration of a past event accompanies an "illustration" of the past event based entirely on still images. Once again the speed of the image change is more similar to *manga* than to *kamishibai*, but the use of voice-over narration with still images is highly reminiscent of *kamishibai*. These are but two of the more direct references to *kamishibai* within the *Tetsuwan Atomu* series. More importantly, perhaps, is the way the entire modus operandi of the production of *Atomu* was organized around the principle – inspired by the popular reception of *kamishibai* – that still images combined with narration and dialogue could be the basis of a popular story-telling and entertainment medium.

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[114] Yamamoto, *Kamishibai*, 154. There was even a *Tetsuwan Atomu kamishibai* version.

[115] Cited in Yamamoto, *Kamishibai*, 140.

[116] Tezuka himself reverses the normal hierarchy between television and *kamishibai*, arguing that the latter is "the mass-cultural form that has the most deep-seated force of attraction" and is "the most suited for the Japanese people." After all, he continues, no matter how popular television gets, "in the end it is just electric *kamishibai*." Tezuka Osamu, *Boku wa manga-ka* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1979/2000), 226-7.

The second reason for the importance of the *kamishibai* reference is the dynamic nature of the still images themselves. *Kamishibai* images, while technically immobile, were nonetheless traversed by movement, showing (along with *manga*) how still images could be *dynamically* immobile. Each *kamishibai* storyboard was a representative scene drawn from the events narrated that week, showing a particular action. While many images were very "painterly" and did not always connote the sense of speed or tension that many postwar *manga* writers attain, a great number of the *kamishibai* images did evince a degree of dynamism, and conveyed a sense of being in the middle of the action. Characters were often shown in mid-movement, clothes flutter in the wind, and speed lines were occasionally used to denote movement in the more action-oriented narratives.

In some sense, these images are approximate to what Gilles Deleuze in *Cinema 1: The Movement Image* refers to as "any-instant-whatever." The "any-instant-whatever" is the indiscriminately captured section of an action as recorded in snapshot form by the cinematographic apparatus. Re-played in sequence with its previous and following "any-instant-whatever" (each equidistant from the other) movement is recomposed into a fluid movement-image. Deleuze opposes this any-instant-whatever to an earlier, "ancient" form of generating movement from the composition or sequence of poses or "privileged instants":

> Movement conceived in this way will thus be the regulated transition from one form to another, that is, an order of *poses* or privileged instants, as in a dance… The modern scientific revolution has consisted in relating movement not to privileged instants but to any-instant-whatever. Although movement was still recomposed, *it was no longer recomposed from formal transcendental elements (poses), but from immanent material elements (sections)*.[117]

With the modern scientific revolution – and cinema here is a representative technology of this revolution – "the mechanical succession of instants replaced the dialectical order of poses." Deleuze continues:

> It is in this sense that the cinema is the system which reproduces movement as a function of any-instant-whatever that is, as a function of equidistant instants, selected so as to create an impression of continuity. Any other system which reproduces movement through an order of exposures [*poses*] projected in such a way that they pass into one another, or are "transformed," is foreign to the cinema. This is clear when one attempts to define the cartoon film; if it belongs fully to the cinema, this is because the drawing no longer constitutes a pose of a completed figure, but the description of a figure which is always in the process of being formed or dissolving through the movement of lines and points taken at

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[117] Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*, translated Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 4.

> any-instant-whatevers of their course. The cartoon film is related not to a Euclidean, but to a Cartesian geometry. It does not give us a figure described in a unique moment, but the continuity of the movement which describes the figure.[118]

Digressing from the problem of *kamishibai* for a moment, we can see in this passage Deleuze's effort to define the animated film as belonging to the cinema. Yet this passage only makes sense if we suppose that the cartoon film Deleuze is talking about is full animation.

We should explain that the process of creating full animation generally involves the principal animators on the project drawing what are called "key frames." Key frames are the most important segments of an action, generally the beginning, middle and end of a particular action segment, and are drawn by a high-ranking animator. They give a sense of the main elements of the action, but taken alone would merely constitute a series of poses. Lower-ranking animators known as "in-betweeners" then proceed to fill in the intermediate drawings such that the action appears not as a sequence of poses (i.e. the beginning, middle, and end drawings) but rather as a continuous movement that flows through the key frames, without stopping there. Deleuze's argument in this passage – allowing him to conclude that animation is part of the cinematic regime – consists in downplaying the initial form of animation in the early stages of production as a sequence of poses ("the drawing no longer constitutes a pose of a completed figure") in order to emphasize the transformative work of the in-betweeners as the creation of precisely the "any-instant-whatevers" of animation ("the description of a figure which is always in the process of being formed or dissolving through the movement of lines and points taken at any-instant-whatevers of their course"). It is the in-betweeners who effectively render the movement one composed of any-instant-whatevers, rather than a sequence of key poses.

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[118] Deleuze, *Cinema 1*, 5.

The end result is a "continuity of movement" that allows the cartoon film to belong "fully to the cinema."

Deleuze's description of the "cartoon film" – predicated as it is on the movementality of full animation – cannot be applied to the limited movement regime of *anime*. While undoubtedly *anime*, particularly theatrical releases, contains sequences of smooth movement, on the whole it emphasizes the stillness of the image, even when in motion (using speed lines and fast-moving background to generate the intense sensation of speed that some contemporary writers cite as one of the defining characteristics of the *anime* experience). *Anime*, in Deleuze's terms, is "foreign to cinema"; it involves a different regime of motion that is neither classical nor modern. And yet in Deleuze's development of the terms "privileged instant" or pose and "any-instant-whatever" we can find the seeds for a means of articulating the specificity of the still-moving images of *anime*. To do so, let us return to the case of *kamishibai*.

With *kamishibai*, as we saw, the in-the-midst aspect of many of the movements depicted would seem to recommend them to be thought in terms of the concept of "any-instant-whatever." And yet the very mode of story-telling proper to *kamishibai* instills these images with a length of time or duration far beyond the 1/24th of a second of a filmic snap-shot. In part this is done through the dialogue voiced by the performer. Each image remains "onstage" for anywhere from 30 seconds to a minute, during which time dialogue is voiced, and the narrator explains events related to the scene depicted. The image is thereby designed to be both instantaneous action and part of a longer scene. If duration is added to the image through dialogue, it is also added to it by a mode of segmenting the image wherein the image is revealed in stages, introducing a temporality or sequentiality into the image itself. Images are not simply slotted in, one immediately replacing the other. Rather, the performer often slid an image halfway across, leaving part of the new image covered over by the previous one. In one instant, the performer could reveal the rest of the occluded section, simultaneously revealing a new narrative element. This technique not only introduced a kind of segmentation or "cut" into the image itself, it also gave the image an added form of duration – in the form of suspense, and the subsequent release of this suspense in exposing the occluded area. All these techniques developed a particular dynamism proper to the still image itself. The image became neither transcendental pose (with one immobile pose following another) nor a random snapshot or any-instant-whatever. The image gained what might be called a "graphically still dynamism" and temporal extensity that, as we will see below, informed the very form of "immobility" developed in *anime*.

In sum, *kamishibai* prepared the way for the use of the immobile (or dynamically immobile) image in *anime*, and also laid important groundwork for generating dynamism within the immobility of the image. So many scenes in *Tetsuwan Atomu* involve the character either moving its mouth little or not at all. Yet the dialogue carries the still or partially still image through the dynamism of the voice alone.[119] Similarly, the means of segmenting and revealing the still image in *kamishibai*, and the movement of planes this implies laid the groundwork for two of the key aspects of *anime*-ic movement: the short shot length and the generation of dynamism through quick cuts; and the importance of the sliding of planes for the generation of *anime*-ic movement – what Yamamoto Ei'ichi referred to as "pull-cels," and Thomas Lamarre terms moving the drawing rather than drawing the movement.[120]

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[119] Radio dramas – some of which were extremely popular among children during the 1950s – should also be cited as an important source of inspiration for the emphasis on the voice carrying narrative. Though through its combination of image and voice, *kamishibai* certainly had greater importance in developing the representational context for *anime*.

Media Contexts: The *Manga* Image and the Interval

In addition to its essential role in familiarizing spectators with Atomu and his world, and functioning as a form of advertisement before the fact, the medium of *manga* also played a key role in two other respects: in developing the representational context into which *anime* emerged, and in further developing the dynamically still image that sustained the moments of minimal movement characteristic of the particular style of limited animation developed in Japan. Comic strips were first serialized in newspapers and magazines in Japan in the 1920s, and grew to greater popularity in the 1930s, shifting from 4-frame humorous comics to adventure narratives and other stories of longer length. These longer *manga* were published both in children's magazines like *Shônen Kurabu* (Boys' Club) or *Shôjo Kurabu (*Girls' Club), two of the most popular magazines in the prewar period, and also as stand-alone book volumes.[121] Yet, the contemporary form of *manga* is said to have truly begun with the 1947 publication of *Shintakarajima* (New Treasure Island), written by Tezuka Osamu (drawings) and Sakai Shichima (story and composition). Similarly while prewar *manga* had been but one element of the widely read children's magazines – the one of its principal attractions being serialized novels accompanied by illustrations – in the late 1950s *manga* began to overtake in importance other print media such as serial novels and the intermediate medium between novels and *manga* called

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[120] Thomas Lamarre, "Drawing Movements and Moving Drawings," *Japan Forum* 14 (2).

[121] The longer *manga* published in the magazines were still only several pages in length each, and generally episodic in nature. The books were around 120 to 200 pages in length, and were either compilations of serialized episodes, or stand-alone books comprised of a single narrative.

emonogatari or picture-narratives.[122] By the late 1950s, *manga* gained primacy over these other media types in the monthly and then weekly magazines that became the main sources for *manga*, and children's culture in general, leading, by the 1960s, to *manga*'s \ monopolization of magazine space that continues to this day.

Tezuka played a leading role in establishing the style and the dramaturgic emphasis of postwar *manga*, and this in turn helped secure *manga* a key position in the media ecology of postwar Japan. While Sakai quickly dropped out of the pictire, Tezuka has come to be considered the "God of *manga*" for his role in the development of what is known as modern, "story *manga*." While there is a good deal of dispute among contemporary critics as to what exactly Tezuka's role in the modern *manga* "revolution" was – and indeed whether this was a revolution at all or just a continuation of trends already visible in certain prewar *manga* – it is difficult to deny that Tezuka played a key role in the development and popularization of modern story *manga*.[123] Story *manga* is typically defined as *manga* that puts its emphasis on story and dramaturgy rather than on simple gags, was envisoned by Tezuka as the combination of the novel and the *manga* forms,[124] and deploys cinematic techniques within pictorial representation. The latter in particular lent a dynamism to the action depicted that was in some ways unprecedented; Tezuka and his subsequent followers used a dynamic montage of close-ups, medium shots, birds-eye-view shots, canted framing, odd angles and other stylized cinematic devices that had been used much more rarely in prewar *manga*.

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[122] The postwar period began with the emphasis being once again placed on illustrated serial novels, however these soon morphed into one of the other most popular media of the early 1950s: *emonogatari*. Literally "picture stories," *emonogatari* were like serial novels with simply more illustrations. Halfway between *manga* and novels, their narrative was propelled forward by the written portions, with the images being illustrations of these. They were similar, in this sense, to the *kamishibai* style of story-telling, and not without reason: many *kamishibai* artists of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s later became *emonogatari* artists. Since many *emonogatari* writers were drawn from the ranks of *kamishibai* artists, the medium was characterized by a more realistic drawing style, of the kind found in *kamishibai* work. These illustrations often, as in serial novels, simply accompanied the text. However, as the medium developed during the 1950s, *emonogatari* increasingly used frames, and sometimes even word-bubbles, recalling the medium of *manga*. *Emonogatari* declined during the late 1950s, giving way to the primacy of *manga*. It is nonetheless cited as an intermediary medium – a mid-wife or "vanishing mediator" – to the rise of *manga*. For an account of the media environment of the late 1940 and 1950s, focusing in particular on the magazine *Shônen Gahô* see Honma Masao's *Shônen manga daisensô* (The Great Wars of Boys' *Manga*) (Tokyo: Sômasaya, 2000). For a collection of classic illustrated novels and *emonogatari* from this period, see the Shônen magazine pieces collected in Kôbunsha bunko, ed., *"Shônen" kessakushû: Shôsetsu, emonogatari* (Masterpieces from "*Shônen*": Novels and Emonogatari) (Tokyo: Kôbunsha, 1990).

[123] One of the best collections of essays whose aim is to provide the background to the establishment of the myth of the god of *manga*, and in so doing provides and important re-evaluation of the place of Tezuka in postwar *manga* history, is Shimotsuki Takanaka ed., *Tanjou! 'Tezuka Osamu': Manga no kamisama wo sodateta bakkuraundo* ('Tezuka Osamu' Born! The background that reared the god of *manga*) (Tokyo: Asahi Sonorama, 1998).

Indeed, the break between modern and prewar/wartime *manga* styles can be compared to the break between early cinema and modern, "narrative" cinema, or what Noel Burch calls the "primitive mode of representation" from the "institutional mode of representation." Tezuka, in this sense, is the W.H. Griffith of the *manga* world. (This is true in all senses of the comparison, including the inability to give Griffith total credit for this transformation; Tezuka similarly had his precursors.) Film critic Satô Tadao situates prewar *manga* as a kind of primitive mode of representation, writing in a 1964 essay that "unlike the prewar [*manga*] that was like early cinema, filming with a fixed camera position" the *manga* works of Tezuka and his successors deploy "a montage of close-ups and long-shots, strongly incorporate a feeling of movement and speed into the image, and give the spectator a sense of movement through following the frames alone."[125] The importance of this shift from prewar to postwar, modern *manga*, is not only that it provided the basis for a revolution in *manga*, but that, most important to us here, it incorporated an intensity of movement into the still image itself. *Manga*, that is, provided the representational context in which spectators became accustomed to feeling a sense of movement from still images; it developed a dynamism of the image and of inter-image relations which overcame the real immobility of the image(s). Here I would like to approach the specificity of postwar *manga* style by pointing to its innovations, as well as to how these innovations informed the production of television *anime*.

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[124] Tezuka Osamu, "*Manga* zukuri no genten" (The basics of making *manga*) in *Zenbu Tezuka Osamu!* (All Tezuka Osamu!) (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 2007), 412. As such, story *manga* was certainly a postwar innovation – even if not outright invention – of Tezuka's. Tezuka famously began his earlier version of *Rosuto wârudo* (Lost World), first written when he was a middle-school student, and later rewritten and published in 1948, with the phrase, "kore wa *manga* ni arazu, shôsetsu ni mo arazu" (This is neither a *manga*, nor is it a novel). See Tezuka Osamu, *Rosuto wârudo: Shikaban, #1* [Lost World: Private Edition, Volume One] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1994), 9.

[125] Sato Tadao, "Tezuka Osamu-ron" (On Tezuka Osamu) in *Zenbu Tezuka Osamu!* (All Tezuka Osamu!) (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 2007), 580.

In addition to his heightened awareness of dramaturgy and his innovations regarding narrative content, Tezuka's most important formal contributions to *manga* can be summed up as the development of dynamism through the sense of intra-frame movement (dynamic character design and framing) and inter-frame movement (though minimizing the interval or ellipsis separating frames). I will begin by considering Tezuka's development of a sense of intra-frame movement in *manga*, a dynamization of the still *manga* image through character design and cinematic framing. As Fredric Schodt writes, Tezuka developed a "streamlined style of character drawing that was almost entirely based on ellipses. It was actually an old technique of animators, and it allowed him to draw at a remarkable speed and to develop his more 'cinematic' and novelistic style, for he could create longer and more dynamic works."[126] The emphasis on dynamism is important here. Inspired by the earlier style of Disney animation in his character design, Tezuka uses the model of the sphere as the basis for his character design, giving the character a sense of volume, as Tezuka notes,[127] but also allowing the character a sense of flexibility – "squash and stretch" as Disney animators referred to it.[128] This flexibility gave a sense of dynamism to the still image itself, an elasticity which stands in for a play of forces within the character's body, and that contrasts sharply with both the much more inflexible and unyielding character designs of prewar *manga*, and the weightier, painterly images of *kamishibai*.[129]

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[126] Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), 44-5.

[127] Tezuka Osamu, "Kawairashisa wo dô hyôgen suruka" (How to Express Cuteness?) in *Tezuka Osamu esseishû #3*, *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshû bekkan #7* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1997), 85-92.

If this squash and stretch of the character is one way to inject a sense of dynamism or the play of forces into the image, the extensive use of "speed lines" (lines that indicating that the character is in motion, and the direction from which this character is moving) is another, making it appear like the *manga* image was moving. This development leads critics such as Fujikawa Chisui to praise Tezuka for his "injection of cinematic movement into the stilled *manga* picture."[130] Yet while "cinematic" is certainly an applicable term for the framing and montage techniques that we will discuss further below, it is debatable whether this is the appropriate term for the example that accompanies Fujikawa's comment. In this example from *Tetsuwan Atomu*, Atomu throws a lion around his head in the air, with circular speed lines describing the movement of the lion through the abbreviation of its former positions, and a partial obscuring of the lion's shape such that only its torso is in clear focus, with the rest of its body partially obscured by the speed lines. While this image clearly gives a sense of movement and dynamism to the still image, "cinematic" is perhaps not the best way to describe this image. Indeed, much like our discussion of the *kamishibai* image above, this image is neither transcendental pose, not instantaneous snapshot. Rather, it is an image run through by duration – the previous positions of the lion indicating a certain time-lapse throughout the course of the image, giving rise to the speed lines. And yet, at the same time, the last position of the lion – the relatively clear image of its torso – indicates that this does have some aspects of the snapshot, insofar as part of the rapidly moving lion is clearly "captured." This mixed temporality is visible in *anime* as well, where Atomu's feet are blurred when he is in flight, emphasizing his speed (and suggesting time-lapse), and yet the rest of his body is in focus (suggesting instantaneity); and when speed lines are used to emphasize the trajectory of an object in the air. Dialogue within the *manga* only adds to the complication of the temporality of the image – being neither a snapshot nor a transcendental pose, but a something in-between.[131]

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[128] Former Disney animators Frank Thomas and Ollie Johnston discuss squash and stretch in *The Illusion of Life: Disney Animation* (New York: Disney Editions, 1981), 47-51.

[129] The stiff, unyielding character design of the earliest "robot" character, Sakamoto Naoki's 1935 Tanku Tankurô in the *manga* of the same name, is exemplary here. This character had all the flexibility of a bowling ball (which the character indeed resembled). Yet even the most exemplary character of the era, the stray black army dog Norakuro possessed a similarly unyielding body. In contrast to these characters, Atomu – though himself a robot – stretches and squashes across the *manga* frame.

[130] Fujikawa Chisui, "Tetsuwan Atomu ron" (On Tetsuwan Atomu), originally published in *Shisô no kagaku* (The Science of Thought), October 1963; republished in Takeuchi Osamu and Murakami Tomohiko ed., *Manga hihyô taikei: Tezuka Osamu no uchû* (Compendium of *Manga* Criticism: The Universe of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1989), 25.

If the temporality of the *manga* and *anime* image is not cinematic, its framings nonetheless are. As I have mentioned, prewar *manga* – albeit with important exceptions – is characterized predominantly by a theatrical style of framing reminiscent of early cinema. There is little change of "camera" angle or position from one frame to another, and the camera is predominantly facing the action, with characters moving from right to left within the frame – a technique of representation that corresponds with early cinema's emphasis on what Noël Burch calls "frontality." Similarly, there is little change in the distance from the "reader" to the image, recalling once again the constancy of distance that characterizes both the theatre and the primitive cinema.[132] Likewise there was little sense of the "direction match"; characters walk in one direction in one frame, and the opposite direction in the next.[133] In contrast to the "externality" of the reader in the primitive mode of *manga* representation, the modern, institutional mode of *manga* representation in whose postwar development Tezuka played a key role brings the reader inside the frame, close to the action. Tezuka "cuts" into the diegetic space bringing us close-ups, multiple camera angles, and a far more coherent and three-dimensional sense of space.

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[131] Yomota Inuhiko argues that *manga* tends towards "the embodiment of privileged moments [i.e. poses] recomposed as fiction in an age that comes after the collapse of the transcendental moment of metaphysics, and in which movement has become the segmented representation of a succession of any-moments-whatever." Yomota Inuhiko, *Manga genron* (The principles of *manga*) (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1999), 27. I must admit to finding this statement perplexing, and its meaning elusive. What I do take from it, however, is the need to rethink the status of the *manga* image (and for that matter of the *anime* image too) in light of these useful terms Deleuze has bequeathed to us.

In so doing, postwar *manga* also multiplies the number of shots that make up a sequence or a narrative, leading us to the question of the transformation of inter-frame relations. *Manga* becomes significantly longer by breaking down the action into smaller and smaller subdivisions.[134] As *manga* critic Kure Tomofusa writes, "To put it in a simplified manner, whereas previously, one scene was equal to one frame, Tezuka created a style wherein one scene was equal to multiple frames."[135] Where prewar *manga* writers used one frame for every scene (a tendency Kure explains by the fact that many of the *manga* writers were in fact painters; this one scene = one frame being a very painterly conception of the image), Tezuka drew out a scene over multiple frames, leading to the integration of the spectator into the narrative space and the corresponding heightening of affective investment in the narrative. This technique also extended the duration of the scene (a kind of *manga* parallel to cinematic slow-motion, though here this technique could heighten the sense of speed as much as slow it down) and intensified the sense of tension, suspense or thrill. Postwar *manga*'s much-cited foundational moment for the heightening of the sense of *manga* movement is the excitement readers experienced at the movement of a speeding car in the opening scene of Tezuka and Sakai's *Shintakarajima*.[136]

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[132] On these points see Noël Burch, *Life to those Shadows*, trans. and ed. Ben Brewster (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 16 and throughout.

[133] It should be said that while the institutional mode of representation "corrected" this – ensuring that characters are moving in the same direction from shot to shot – *manga* even now does not always obey this cinematic rule, or the 180 degree rule.

[134] The extreme example of this is whole episodes of baseball *manga* devoted to a single pitch, albeit combined with numerous cutaways, flashbacks and other temporal and spatial interjections. See for example, Kajiwara Ikki and Kawasaki Noboru's *manga*, *Kyojin no Hoshi*.

[135] Kure Tomofusa, "Aru sengo seishin no igyou: Tezuka Osamu no imi," (The Achievement of a Certain Postwar Spirit: The Meaning of Tezuka Osamu), originally published in *Bungaku-kai* (April 1989), republished in *Zenbu Tezuka Osamu!* (All Tezuka Osamu!) (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 2007), 569.

The significance of the cinematic revolution that Tezuka and his successors introduced lies in part in the penetration of narrative space and the corresponding integration of the reader in this space, an integration that was accompanied by a stronger affective bond to the characters and events unfolding "around" the reader. In this sense it is perhaps significant that the magazine *Shônen* where *Tetsuwan Atomu* was serialized addressed the readers as "friends" of Atomu, with the implication that they were in fact "part" of the action, even if at one remove.[137] The significance of the "cinematic" revolution is also to be found in what in film would be the relation of photogramme to photogramme and the relation between one shot and another: the relations created between one frame and another in *manga*. Tezuka expanded the range of relations between one frame and the next in *manga*. On the one hand he moved this relation closer to that between photogrammes in film, albeit including ellipses. He drew "pans" for example where a car is seen driving by, represented gradation by gradation, from left to right over the course of several frames. On the other hand he expanded the distance between one frame and other, developing montage sequences that laid the basis for highly emotive and abstract sequences that characterize some of the best *manga*, and *shojo* or girls' *manga* in particular. Finally, as the *manga* critic Natsume Fusanosuke points out, this new relationality between frames (which Natsume considers to be one of the defining features of Tezuka's innovation) is directly related to a new sense of temporality in *manga*, a "layering of time through the formation of frames."[138] Tezuka, with his novel breakdown of action and sequence, generated new rhythms and temporalities of the image. This makes sense since in *manga* the experience of time is generated in large part through the relation between frames, and through the size of the frames (smaller, thinner frames generally connoting a shorter period of time).[139] With a greater diversity of relations between frames comes a greater ability to speed up or slow down the sense of time elapsing in the narrative. This newly discovered control over the flow of time through the frame-to-frame relations in *manga* was in turn highly significant for the development of *anime*. Specifically, this played out in Mushi Production's use of short shot length and multiple images. Rather than create a sense of movement within the frame through animating the characters, animators at Mushi Pro decided on multiplying the number of frames, shortening the length of each, and thereby obviating the need for intra-frame motion. The effect generated parallels Tezuka's transformation of the *manga* principle of one scene = one frame, to one scene = multiple frames. In *anime* production this principle was transformed into one scene = multiple (short, still) images.

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[136] It is also significant – and indicative of a general speeding up of *manga* and multiplication of frames used to heighten the sense of speed and suspense – that in his re-write of this classic work, Tezuka significantly lengthened this introductory scene through the multiplication of frames devoted to this famous opening scene. Where in the original work two pages and 10 frames were dedicated to the opening scene until the speedboat voyage to the ship, in the rewritten version (from which, significantly, Sakai's name has disappeared) this same sequence occurs over 10 pages, and occupies 36 frames. A reprint of the first two pages was included in Ôtsuka Eiji, *Atomu no meidai: Tezuka Osamu to sengo manga no shudai* (The Atomu Thesis: Tezuka Osamu and the main theme of postwar *manga*) (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 2003) 36; the revised version is published as Tezuka Osamu, *Shintakarajima* (New Treasure Island) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984).

[137] This address is evident in any sampling of *Shônen* magazine at the time of the *Atomu* serialization. Children are always addressed and interpolated as the friends of Atomu. This strategy was in fact planned by the *Shônen* magazine editors from the start of *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s serialization. In the transition from the character's original *Shônen* serialization as *Atomu Taishi* (1951-1952) to his new personality in *Shônen*'s Tetsuwan *Atomu* (1952-1968) an editor suggested that Tezuka give Atomu the sense of being just like a living person with a personality, to whom children would feel a sense of closeness, and the sense that he was just like one of their friends. Tezuka, *Boku wa manga-ka*, 146.

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[138] Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru*, 52.

[139] Of course word-bubbles and the inter-character dialogues they allow are another important way of generating a sense of duration in the image. These characteristics are all noted in Scott McCloud's "Time Frames" chapter in his *Understanding Comics* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 94-117.

The dynamically still *manga* image provided a model of how to generate a dynamically still (an immobile yet seemingly in-motion) *anime* image, constructed through the development of dynamism first on the level of intra-frame character design and dynamic framing, and second, through the inter-frame multiplication of frames/shots. Finally, the generation of the sense of dynamism through *manga* inspired – along with the existing examples of US limited animation and Japanese television commercials – another aspect of the production of *anime*: the expansion of the interval between images.

This representation of motion not only required the understanding that movement could be decomposed in *manga* just like in film, but also implied the presupposition that this movement could be abbreviated to a sequence of three or four frames. There were obviously gaps in the image. For example, in *Shintakarajima*'s famous pan of the car in motion, the car literally "leaps" across the spatial and temporal gaps between one sequential frame and another. But the presupposition was that the reader would fill in the gaps to generate a sense that the *manga* image of the car was actually moving. Thus at the same time that Tezuka broke down the one frame = one scene principle, multiplying frames in a more minute representational practice, he also discovered that a sense of movement could be developed by expanding the interval between frames to far beyond that existing in cinema. A sense of continuous movement across frames could be developed even despite the interval between them. This principle of the expanded interval, is, needless to say, an essential element of *anime* movement. As Lamarre explains, in *anime* "Animators tended to suppress intermediate movements, which resulted in jerky or awkward, less graceful actions, or explosive and unconstrained transitions. There also arose a tendency to move the drawing rather than to draw the movement – a reversal of the conventions of full cel animation."[140] The result is that limited animation "opens a sense of the interval, in two sites in particular: (1) one senses the interval within the movements of individual characters or figures; and (2) one feels the interval between surfaces such as foreground and background."[141] The expanded interval, along with the still image of the character, becomes one of the principle means of negotiating trans-media connections, as we will see in later chapters. But the principle itself can be traced to innovations that took place within the realm of *manga*, in attempting a greater sense of movement in that medium.

Limiting Movement, Inventing *Anime*

The stillness of *anime* was without doubt an assault on the common sense and ideal of animation production until that time. Yet, as I have tried to demonstrate above through my reading of Saitô Tamaki's concept of "representational context" and my discussion of two key media circulating at the time of *anime*'s emergence, *kamishibai* and *manga*, the oftentimes immobility of the *anime* image was not the radical assault on the movement of affective and capital return it might be thought to be in the context of Metz's, Lyotard's and full animation's conception of cinema or of animation. The context for *anime*'s emergence must be expanded beyond the norm of smooth movement assumed by cinema or the "cinematic" animation that functioned as Disney and Toei's operative ideal – to take account of the predominantly "still" image media of *manga* and *kamishibai*. We must also understand how *kamishibai* and *manga*, in their own particular ways, developed a sense of dynamism within the still image that would lead to its use in the generation of the dynamically still *anime* image. On the one hand, this dynamically still image functioned as the "representational context" of *anime*, allowing spectators to *feel* the image moving and *be moved* by the image affectively – even if the image was formally still. On the other hand, *kamishibai* and *manga*'s development of the techniques for the creation of this dynamically still image also laid the technical basis for the development of devices and techniques that were essential to the production and aesthetics of *anime*, and that allowed still images to be experienced as moving.

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[140] Lamarre, "From Animation to *Anime*," 335-6.
[141] Lamarre, "From Animation to *Anime*," 339-340.

At this point we might reformulate our logic of inquiry. Where up until now we have explained how formally still images could be seen to be moving, we might also ask the reverse: how could moving images could be seen as still? For, while I have spent much of this chapter examining the technical, aesthetic and representational conditions whereby still images were created and received as dynamically immobile, we must also acknowledge that the limited animation of *anime* did not only create still images, it also created moving ones. Yet these were moving images that *seemed like* and recalled the still ones of the *manga*. One of the great feats of animation – and the *Tetsuwan Atomu anime* series – as it was understood at the time was to inject movement into the *manga*, to generate the widely-held feeling that the *manga* itself was moving.[142] Yet in order for this to be the case, fans must also have felt that the animated image was itself dynamically immobile, like the *manga*. Taking the movement of *anime* into account, we might reformulate the feat of limited *anime* as not only making still images feel like they were moving, but also *making moving images feel like they were still*.

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[142] As I noted above, the feeling that the *manga* itself was moving was one of the most widely repeated comments of fans of the time.

That is, we might go so far as to say that a significant element in the revolution of the style of movement-in-stillness developed at Mushi Production Studio was in its *stilling* of the moving image itself. In addition to thinking of the limited animation of *anime* as a way of making still images (or still image sequences) seem like they were moving, we might also see it as *a way of making moving images seem like they were still*. This inversion should be read as a corrective to the common understanding of cinema and similarly of animation wherein the ideal to be aimed for is smooth movement and the impression of reality. It is also a corrective to the view that sees limited animation in terms of a "lack" of motion. Here we must reformulate Jean-Louis Comolli's argument that "any representation is founded on a lack which governs it, a lack which is the very principle of any simulacrum: the spectator is anyhow well aware of the artifice but he/she prefers all the same to believe in it."[143] We should think of this "lack" not as an absence which a spectator must "surmount" or compensate for, existing thus in a constant dialectic of lack and its disavowal.[144] Rather, we should see this "lack" as a positive limitation, or a positive condition.[145] We should say, then, that every medium is founded on an enabling condition, a "positive subtraction" (much as Bergson argued that all perception – the very legibility of perception – is founded on the subtraction of data available) that in turn defines the medium. It is this positive limitation that gives a medium its specificity of style, and its particular form of spectatorial pleasure.[146] (Of course the responses to this positive limitation do not imply a kind of teleology implicit in the medium, but a set of creative responses whose results may or may not solidify into something like style, technique, genre.) This "limitation" is thus not something that must be ignored or overcome but is rather an enabling condition of a particular generic or media form. For the medium – or genre – of *anime*, the very "limitation" of motion was the positive condition for its formation as a medium. In this sense, it is the role of the critic to pinpoint this positive condition, and articulate its operation.

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[143] Jean-Louis Comolli, "Machines of the Visible," in Timothy Druckrey, ed., *Electronic Culture: Technology and Visual Representation* (New York: Aperature, 1996), 117.

[144] Comolli reads the technical advance of cinema in terms of a attempt to "accumulate realistic supplements which all aim at reproducing… the impression of reality; which aim, that is, to reduce as much as possible, to minimize the gap which the 'yes-I-know/but-all-the-same' has to fill." "Machines of the Visible," 117.

[145] This point is suggested by Lamarre who writes of the limitation of movement as the "positive unconscious" of *anime*: "In effect, economic obstacles promoted technical innovation, which in turn generated the positive unconscious of *anime* (minimal movement = minimal life = information)." "From Animation to *Anime*," 340. While Lamarre gauges the effects of this positive unconscious of *anime* in terms of the exploration of the minimal conditions of life, I will be seeing the "limiting conditions" of

Limited animation, in this view, was not simply a way of creating animation on a limited budged and a tight schedule; it was a way of limiting the very movementality (to invoke Saitô's term) of animation that had stagnated under the prevailing influence of Disney.[147] In so doing it is arguable that animation attained a temporality and movementality that – contrary to Saitô's critique – has a specificity and a particularity of its own, separate from that of the cinema. This aesthetico-economico-technical transformation of animation gave birth to a new style of animation – *anime* – that was free to emphasize graphism over volume, graphically still dynamism over smoothness of

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anime as resulting in an expansion across media and commodity forms. The limitation of movement in animation opens the image onto other kinds of movement – across commodity and media series. In this sense rather than the term "lack" we can use the term "interval" – such that the interval of *anime* is what in term propels the spectator across other, cross-media of intervals, to the consumption other media forms.

[146] In a sense Metz suggested this point when he argued that it was cinema's unreality that gave it the greatest degree of affective engagement of any medium. Yet not only cinema, but rather every medium has a unique "optimal point" on a specified continuum, defined by its positive limitations.

[147] Once again, I recall Tezuka's comments about Walt Disney having become "too great," leading to "the stagnation of the development of animation," in *Boku wa manga-ka*, 236.

movement. And *anime* has come a long way since. When Tezuka and Yamamoto complain that *anime* subsequently has simply taken their innovations in *anime* production and created mere "variations," they ignore the significant aesthetic explorations in pushing the graphical quality of the image farther, accentuating further the articulation between movement and stillness, and creating kinds of rhythms in and between images that had nary been conceived in 1963, much less practiced. Series as diverse as *Sabu to Ichi* (Sabu and Ichi), *Kyojin no Hoshi* (Star of the Giants), *Ginga Tetsudô 999* (Galaxy Express 999), *Crayon Shin-chan*, *Kareshi Kanojo no Jijô* (His and Her Circumstances), and *Gankutsuô* (The Count of Monte Cristo) have since the late 1960s all pushed graphical and rhythmic elements to the forefront, and are in some ways experimental works in their own right. In creating commercial works *as* experimental works they both continue and transform the legacy of Tezuka, who, while wanting to create both experimental and commercial works, thought the two would have to be created separately.

Yet if this style of animation – of moving stillness and stilling movement – laid the groundwork for future experiments that would indeed go beyond *Tetsuwan Atomu*, this very style of *anime* also laid the groundwork for a cycle of commercial return that characterizes *anime* as much as its emphasis on the stillness-movement dialectic. This is of course the circulation of commodities, and the trans-media relationships that are the bread and butter of *anime* and *anime*-based commerce: the media mix. *Anime*, we might say, broke with the ideology of realism that informs most narrative cinema and most animation inspired by it. But in doing so it replaced the ideology of realism with another image-based power formation, equally insidious, and even more suited to the needs of the emerging society of mass consumption and its postmodern extension: the operationality of media connectivity and the intense consumption that it promotes.[148]

This chapter has considered how the representational context of *anime* might have provided the acquaintance with stillness and/as movement that informs its creation and reception. The next chapter will turn to the ways that the media mix was built upon the stillness-movement dialectic, and the generation of relations between *anime* and the surrounding commodity world. For the very immobility of the *anime*-image is in fact the condition of possibility for its communication with the commodity-image, which in turns binds the world of daily consumption closer to that of media consumption than cinema had hitherto been capable. As we will see in the following chapters, *Tetsuwan Atomu* was part of a movement that developed a motion-stillness economy of movement different from the cyclical movement of consumption-production described by Lyotard, but even more amenable to the consumption imperative of late capital and its operational logic of connectivity. If we are to understand the resistances inherent to *anime* – the potential radical quality of its movement and its graphism – we must first be alert to its equally inherent openness to these other kind of movements: the movements of commodities whose circulation was developed in partnership with and through the *anime* system itself.

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[148] Here I am suggesting that connectivity operates not (only) through an ideology that promotes consumption, but through the image-to-image relations developed in *anime* series like *Tetsuwan Atomu*. These image-to-image relations address the subject, in some ways, on a pre-personal level, partaking of a regime of power that Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari term "machinic enslavement." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 458. I will return to this question in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO:

CANDIES, PREMIUMS, AND CHARACTER MERCHANDISING: THE MEIJI-ATOMU CAMPAIGN

"The Time Machine Episode," the eleventh episode of the *Tetsuwan Atomu anime* series is of some interest for thinking about the question of trans-media relation. Broadcast on March 12th 1963, this episode is about time travel, and a boy's pursuit of his father through time, each riding his own separate time machine. Our protagonist Atomu and his private detective friend Higeoyaji join the boy (unnamed in the episode) in his search across the ages for his errant father, who plans to steal people and animals from the past to construct a "Zoo of Antiquity" for his future present. One scene from this episode stands out for the way it addresses the issue of the commercial circuits of *anime* and the trans-media relationality on which they are based. This is the scene where Atomu, Higeoyaji and the boy arrive at the father's first destination: the ice age. As they disembark through the vacuum-operated slot on the side of the time machine, a box of Meiji Seika's Marble Chocolates emerges from the exit shoot instead of Higeoyaji. The voice of Higeoyaji yells "Cut!" and the scene goes black. After a moment where the screen is entirely black, the scene "starts" again (a retake), and Higeoyaji emerges from the exit, landing on earth none too smoothly [Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3].

What is the meaning of this gag? And what is the connection between Meiji's Marble Chocolates and *Tetsuwan Atomu*? Meiji Seika, a company specializing in candy products, was this first television *anime*'s sole sponsor, and Marble Chocolates was Meiji's main product of the time. The scene described above would seem to be a kind of inquiry in the form of a gag into the relationship between Atomu and its sponsor.

Insomuch as this seems more an exploratory gag than a product placement, the Mushi production animators seem to be asking: what exactly is the relationship between Meiji Seika and *Tetsuwan Atomu*? And how do the heterogeneous media/commodities of television *anime* and its chocolate-manufacturing sponsor relate?

These questions and their answers are key to an understanding of how the formal characteristics of *anime* allow it to expand outward, forming ties between media and commodities. Media connectivity, as I have suggested in Chapter One, is fundamental to the formation of *anime* as a particular media-commodity system that effectively led to the formalization of a mode of trans-media consumption.[149] But how is this media connectivity formed? This question is another way of asking: how does *anime* become the commercial system it is? How is the potentially disruptive motion-stillness dialectic of *anime* translated into the motion-stillness of commodities and their flow? Or, rather, since we have seen that stillness was not itself disruptive but part of the reason for the early acceptance of *anime*, how does this formal motion-stillness of *anime* and its way of making moving images seem like they were still, translate into a trans-media economy of consumption? The answer, as we will see in this chapter, lies in the role played by the *anime character*, the drawn image of Atomu that enabled a convergence of media and objects around its image, and the formation of a particularly well-integrated form of image-commerce around *anime*.

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[149] My usage of the term "media-commodity" will become clearer in Chapter Four. For now we can note that the connection formed between *anime* media and other commodity forms transforms both into media-commodities. Commodities in particular must be thought in terms of their own communicational relation to *anime*, *manga*, and other media-commodities. *Anime* did not invent media-commodities, but greatly accelerated their proliferation and their institutionalization as *the representative* commodity-form of late capitalism.

The question of how to develop media connectivity had some urgency for the Mushi Productions animators at this time, as the scene from "The Time Machine" episode indicates. This was because Tezuka boldly (and as he himself later recognized, foolishly) undersold his *Atomu* series to the TV station. Intending to undersell the competition in advance, he demanded a mere third of the actual cost of production for each *Atomu* episode.[150] This fateful move – Tezuka's curse as it is known in the animation industry today, which still must sell its series to television stations at below the cost of production – virtually guaranteed that *anime* would be a trans-media commodity system. Mushi Productions and *anime* producers henceforth would have to rely on other means, and other media-commodity forms, to recoup the costs of production. Indeed Tezuka's expectation was that the cost of production could be made up by two other means in particular: the royalties received by licensing his character to commodity producers, and by exporting his series to the US and other markets.[151]

Walt Disney's strategy of character commerce was a major influence in Tezuka's plan to recoup the costs of production through royalties from his character. Disney's presence in Japan from the mid-1950s was in part responsible for introducing and popularizing the legal framework for the enforcement of character merchandising practices. Tezuka openly cites Disney as an inspiration for his own reliance on character merchandising,[152] and the legal contract used by Mushi Productions in its dealing with licensees of its characters was an abbreviated version of that used by Disney in Japan.[153] The very term "character" was imported to Japan with Disney's licensing contract of the 1950s, which termed the entities in question "fanciful characters."[154]

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[150] As I noted in the last chapter, Tezuka initially sold each episode for 750,000 yen, even though the estimated actual cost of each episode was 2,500,000 yen. Yamamoto Ei'ichi, *Mushi Puro kôbôki* (A Record of the Rise and Fall of Mushi Production) (Tokyo: Shinkôsha, 1989), 94.

[151] Tezuka had these two means to recoup production expenditures in mind as early as November 1962, as he indicates in an interview give at that time. See "TV dôga 'Tetsuwan Atomu' no seisaku" (The Production of the TV Cartoon, *Tetsuwan Atomu*) in *Tokyo Shinbun* (Tokyo Newspaper), November 19th, 1962, page 9.

[152] Tezuka indicates that Disney was his inspiration for the character merchandising scheme in the interview cited above, where he refers to Disney's practice of earning money through "copyright fees."

Nonetheless, Tezuka was the first Japanese producer to make the selling of licenses and the collection of royalties a core element of his business model, and Atomu was the first *anime* character to be marked with the copyright sign (©).[155] Tezuka's phenomenal commercial success meant that he was able to sustain his Mushi Productions Studio on the royalties gained from the sale of his character's image.[156] Moreover, the *Tetsuwan Atomu anime* series is now cited as a key moment in the development of the phenomenon and practice of "character merchandising" in Japan. Its success not only inspired immediate imitators, but also became a practice embedded at the very core of *anime* as a media mix system.[157] Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that *Tetsuwan Atomu* and Tezuka's character merchandising strategy is one of the major reasons Japan is today

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"Just as there were Disney watches, Disney handkerchiefs and so on," Tezuka says, so there would be a number of Atomu products appearing by the coming Spring of 1963. "TV dôga," 9. Tezuka also discusses using Disney as a model for his reliance on character merchandising in Tezuka Osamu, "*Manga* no shôhin-ka" (The Merchandization of *Manga*) in *Tezuka Osamu essei shû, #3* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 191-2; and Tezuka, *Boku wa manga-ka* (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1979/2000), 242-3.

[153] Kôno Akira, "Shôhin kaken shiyô kyodaku gyômu, dai 3 kai" [The licensing business for the use of merchandizing rights, #3] in *Mâchan Repôto: MD/Merchandizing Rights Reports* (March 1980), 24.

[154] Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyûjo, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters) (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001), 186.

[155] Tsuchiya Shintarô remarks that Atomu was the first character to be marked with the copyright sign, in *Kyarakutâ bijinesu: Sono Kôzô to senryaku* [Character Business: Its Structure and Strategy] (Tokyo: Kinema Junpo, 1995), 77.

[156] Tezuka Osamu, "Atomu no shi" (The Death of Atomu) in *Tezuka Osamu essei-shû 6* (Tezuka Osamu Essay Collection, #6) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 167.

[157] The former president of the Toei Animation Studio (formerly Toei Dôga), Imada Chiaki, makes the centrality of this practice to *anime* production abundantly clear: "If merchandising (the sale and the copyright income from character goods) was to disappear, we would not be able to cover the costs of production – no matter how high the viewer ratings [of the *anime*] might be – and the program would no longer be able to continue." Quoted in Utagawa Hideo, "*Manga* (*anime*) osoru beshi! Media mikkusu no jidai no senheitachi" (*Manga* (*anime*) Must Be Feared! The Front-line Soldiers of the Media Mix), *Shûkan Tôyô Keizai* (March, 1986), 132.

known as the "Empire of Characters."[158] Yet Tezuka's intent to rely on the practice of character merchandising was alone not enough to ensure the success of the practice; this very success and the installation of character merchandising at the heart of the *anime* system must be explained by recourse to a number of other factors which we will examine in this chapter.

To begin with, let us turn to the term character merchandising itself. In the most general sense, this term refers to the licensing, production, marketing and consumption of goods and media based around the image of a character. More narrowly defined, character merchandising is the copyright business.[159] Thus conceived, it is the business of creating contracts and gaining income through selling or leasing the rights to use a character image. Its viability as a business depends on the existence, recognition and enforcement of the intellectual property laws that support it. In this regard, historians of merchandising in Japan point to 1963 and the beginning of the *Atomu* TV *anime* series as a turning point after which merchandising rights for *manga* and *anime* characters were more strictly enforced than they had been before.[160]

Yet character merchandising cannot be adequately understood to rely merely on the due enforcement of copyright law. Expanding on this narrow definition of the practice, the World Intellectual Property Organization provides this broader definition:

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[158] The embedding of the practice of character merchandising at the core of the *anime* system and the media mix, and its persistence in cultural commodities over the years does not, however, mean that the practice hasn't experienced its ups and downs. As early as 1969 a newspaper headline in *Asahi Shinbun* announced that "The *Manga* Merchandising Strategy [i.e. character merchandising] Has Lost its Magical Powers." *Asahi Shinbun* (October 6th, 1969), 14. And yet despite its rise and decline – and *anime*'s rise and decline with it – the strategy has nonetheless remained a core element of the *anime* system.

[159] Kyarakutâ Mâketingu Purojekuto, *Zukai de wakaru kyarakutâ mâketingu* [Understanding character marketing through diagrams] (Tokyo: Nihon Nôritsu Kyôkai Manejimento Sentâ, 2002), 32.

[160] Yasui Hisashi, "TV kyarakutâ kenkyû, #12" (TV Character Studies, #12) in *Mâchandizingu raitsu repôto* [Merchandising Rights Report] (January 1976), 35. In this narrow sense in particular, insofar as earlier instances of the proliferation of character images (such as the Norakuro boom in the 1930s) did not see the strict enforcement of rights of ownership over the character image, the 1960s *anime* boom was truly the start of the character business.

> Character merchandising can be defined as the adaptation or secondary exploitation, by the creator of a fictional character or by a real person or by one or several authorized third parties, of the essential personality features (such as the name, image or appearance) of a character in relation to various goods and/or services with a view to creating in prospective customers a desire to acquire those goods and/or to use those services because of the customers' affinity with that character.[161]

This definition introduces a key element in the consideration of the character business: consumer desire. Yet how is this desire generated? It is not only through the visual appeal of the character, as some writers imply. Rather the generation of consumer desire depends in large part, as I will suggest in this chapter, on *the material ubiquity of the character image and its proliferation across media forms*. The proliferation of the character image outside of the television screen is what made character merchandising the phenomenon that it is today.[162] Yet, we also must acknowledge the important role the specific image regime of *anime* played in this proliferation. *Anime* enabled the proliferation of a visually consistent character image across media forms. Moreover, the consistency of the image was maintained and dynamized by the particular relation between stillness and motion found in the television *anime*.

As such, the appearance of the first *anime* character, Atomu, was clearly key to the development of character merchandising into the approximately 2.5 trillion yen business it is today.[163] Yet, as if to emphasize the importance of the distribution of the character image, some historians of merchandising, *anime* and popular culture point not only to the *Atomu* TV series but to a particular marketing campaign developed by *Tetsuwan Atomu*'s television sponsor, Meiji Seika, as the real turning point in the development of character merchandising in Japan.[164] In this Meiji Seika-Atomu marketing campaign, Atomu and friends stickers were used as "premiums" or "freebie" buying incentives for the purchase of Meiji's Marble Chocolates, igniting a sticker "boom" that according to contemporary news reports, overtook in scale all previous children's consumer fads.[165] As these writers properly emphasize, it was this sticker boom that was in part responsible for the development of *anime* as a medium organized around the principle of character merchandising and the serial proliferation of character images. That is to say, it was not merely *anime* alone, nor the preparatory frameworks offered by *kamishibai* and *manga*, but these media forms in concert with the material proliferation of Atomu images across media types made possible by the Meiji-Atomu stickers that organized *anime* around the practice of character merchandising, and established it as the media-commodity system its is today.

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[161] World Intellectual Property Organization. (1994) 'Character Merchandising', URL (consulted January 2008): www.wipo.int/copyright/en/activities/pdf/wo_inf_108.pdf, 6.

[162] This proliferation of character images also differentiates it from the earlier practice of tie-ins, which limits the circulation the image or its associations to one company or product, such as in the case of the 1960-1961 live-action TV show *National Kid* in which the main character always used a flashlight made by its sponsor, the major electrical goods company National (aka Matsushita Denki). Here, however, the commercial exploitation of the character was limited to the benefit of National; as Yasui Hisashi points out, the aim was to promote the company image and its products. Yasui Hisashi, "TV kyarakutâ kenkyû, #10" (TV Character Studies, #10) in *Mâchandizingu raitsu repôto* [Merchandising Rights Report] (April 1976), 20. With Atomu, however, we find the creation of products that didn't pre-exist the character or the show, but were created in the wake of its influence. Moreover, the circulation of the Atomu image exceeded by far the circulation of the image regulated by a single company's monopolization of the image, characteristic of the tie-in. The difference the circulation of the Atomu image makes will become apparent throughout this chapter and the next.

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[163] In 2003 the estimated worth of the character business was 2.51 trillion yen, which is approximately 34 billion US dollars. Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyûjo, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters) (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001), 196.

[164] The significance of the Meiji-Atomu campaign is often noted in the volumes of *Mâchandizingu raitsu repôto* [Merchandising Rights Report], a trade journal dedicated to the study of character marketing that has devoted several series of articles to reviewing the history of character merchandising in Japan, in which the pioneering role of Atomu and the Meiji sticker campaign are featured. See, for example, Yasui Hisashi's "TV kyarakutâ kenkyû" (TV Character Studies) series run in *Mâchandizingu raitsu repooto* from 1975 through 1977; and the "Nihon no kurashikku kyarakutâ" (Japanese Classic Characters) run through 1986 in *Mâchandizingu raitsu repôto*. The significance of the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign was also noted by contemporaneous commentators, such as the insightful Yamakawa Hiroji, "'Wappen bûmu' to 'terebi jin' shijô to masu komi -> kuchi komi -> mono komi" [The 'badge boom' and the 'TV people' market and mass communications, word of mouth communications, thing communications] *Senden kaigi*, July 1964. Recent writers who have made this point include Tsunashima Ritomo, *Atomu shîru to Tetsujin wappen* [Atomu Stickers and Tetsujin Badges] (Kyoto: Dankôsha, 1998); Tsugata Nobuyuki, "Hobbî no densetsu: Kyarakutâ bujinesu no 40 nen" [Hobby Legends: Fourty Years of the Character Business] published in the *Mainichi Shinbun* online, July 4, 2006, at http://www.mainichi-msn.co.jp/entertainment/*manga*/densetsu/archive/news/2006/20060704org00m200013000c.html [last accessed July 30, 2007]; Kyarakutâ Mâketingu Purojekuto, *Zukai de wakaru kyarakutâ mâketingu*; and Kitahara Teruhisa, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi* [A Natural History of "*Omake*"] (Tokyo: PHP Shinsho, 2003).

[165] "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi" (Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go and Adults), *Shûkan Sankei* (May 11th, 1964 edition), 20.

Yet, even as these writers point towards the importance of the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign, they nonetheless fail to explain why the campaign was as important as it was. Instead they tend to naturalize consumer desire and neglect the media transformations that took place around this campaign. Taking up where they leave off, I will suggest in this chapter that the importance of the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign lay in its development of a material ubiquity of the character image. This material ubiquity of the image in turn provoked consumer desire, and thereby laid the groundwork for the success of the character merchandising strategy. It is in this sense that the real tipping point for the emergence of character-based merchandising was indeed the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign of 1963 to 1966.

Few objections would be raised, I suspect, to the suggestion that the core element of the practice of character merchandising is the character itself. Yet it is far from clear what the character is, or what it does. Before continuing, I would briefly like to describe the two major, complimentary tendencies of the character that coordinate its trans-media migrations under consideration in this chapter, and explain how this chapter will deal with them. First, the Meiji-Atomu campaign displays the way the character as an entity functions as what, drawing on the work of Thomas Lamarre and Saitô Tamaki, we might call a "media attractor,"[166] transforming its surrounding media and things into alignment with its image. Commodities like chocolate bars were transformed into media objects and bearers of the character image under the effects of Atomu. Media and commodities converged around the image of the character, developing closer and closer relations with it. This chapter will expose the effects of the character's gravitational pull by examining the history of the practice of using premiums or *omake* to sell candies. By looking at the historical transformation of the relation between the premium and the candy, we will chart the way the *anime* character image functions as an attractor that warped its surrounding media and object environment. The increasingly close ties between chocolates and premiums, particularly with the advent of the Meiji-Atomu campaign, become an index for the gravitational force of the character.

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[166] Two authors use the term "attractor" in a particularly provocative way. Thomas Lamarre, writes that the "woman image [in Gainax discourse] enables a movement of proliferation and transformation across media." Lamarre, "Otaku Movement," in *Japan After Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, ed. Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian (Durham: Duke University

The second major aspect of the character is its complimentary tendency to expand outward throughout the media environment – what we might call its tendency towards diffusion. If the first tendency has the effect of multiplying the number of media and commodity types that display the character image, or are connected through the character, this second tendency describes the expansion of these new media and commodity forms throughout the child-consumer's lived environment. This material distribution of the character image, I will argue, was central to the development of consumer desire for the character image. It also gave rise to the "immaterial" entity of the character, an entity that, as we will see, both supports the trans-media movement and environmental diffusion of the character, and also refuses to be pinned down in any one material incarnation.

Press, 2006), 385. Saitô Tamaki deploys the term in *Sentô bishôjo no seishin bunseki* (The psychoanalysis of fighting girls) (Tokyo: Ôta shuppan, 2000). Following these authors I discuss a similar movement of the character across media, in this case not the woman *bishôjo* character (to which I will return in Chapter Five) but of the robot Atomu.

These two tendencies are found in the Atomu sticker: the attractive force of the character that transforms things and media into its own image, and the expansion or material dispersion of the character image within everyday space. Truly two sides of the same coin, the attractive force of the character transforms surrounding media into its image and enables the further diffusion of the character image; while the diffusion of these new character media and commodities in turn strengthens the power of attraction of the character, leading more media and commodities to be transformed into its image. Attraction and diffusion are thus two sides of the same coin that is character merchandising. Character merchandising, to be sure, relies on the legal infrastructure of intellectual property laws and its institutions of enforcement for the accumulation of capital. But, as I have already suggested, it is equally reliant on the construction of an affective infrastructure or an infrastructure of desire that works through the two logics of attraction and diffusion.

Organized around these two tendencies, the aim of this chapter will be threefold. First, and most generally, I would like to point to the fundamental inseparability between the historical emergence of the *anime* system and the rise character merchandising in Japan. The Meiji-Atomu campaign serves as a reminder that the phenomenon of television *anime* cannot be thought apart from the trans-media migrations of the *anime* image, and serves as a site to consider the historical emergence of this phenomenon. Second, this chapter will describe the two major tendencies of the character: its attraction and transformation of objects into its image (premiums and candy products); and the material dispersion of the image (as sticker) in the lived environment of its consumer. In so doing we will also lay the basis for a more theoretical understanding of the practice of character merchandising. Finally, this chapter will briefly begin to develop a theory of the character as a technology of connection, and make some further points on the associated phenomena of character merchandising and synergy, both of these being important phenomena that have as yet received little critical attention or theoretical consideration.

Let us turn, then, to Meiji's answer to the question posed in the Time Machine episode – how to connect Atomu to Meiji?

PART ONE: The Gravitational Pull of the Character

When Tezuka decided he wanted to take the challenge and produce what was to be the first made-in-Japan, 30-minute weekly animated TV series based on his popular *manga*, *Tetsuwan Atomu* (which had been serialized since 1951 in the young boys' magazine *Shônen*[167]), he began by looking for a TV station willing to broadcast it, and a sponsor willing to support it. The station he found was Fuji Terebi (Fuji TV); the sponsor he decided on, after a lukewarm response at Morinaga, was Meiji Seika.[168]

Meiji Seika is one of Japan's largest confectionaries, and was founded in 1916. It began candy and biscuit production in the year of its founding, and later became the second company to begin producing chocolate in Japan (in 1926), after Morinaga. Meiji and Morinaga were early on recognized as the two foremost chocolate companies in Japan, and were known particularly for their Hershey's-inspired rectangular-design chocolate bars [Figure 2.4].[169]

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[167] The series began to be serialized in *Shônen* as "Atomu Taishi" (Ambassador Atomu) but Tezuka changed the title – and altered the setting somewhat – to "Tetsuwan Atomu" in 1952.

[168] Mushi Productions and Tezuka Productions ed., *Tetsuwan Atomu: DVD-Box 1 Data File* (2001), 6.

[169] For two informative histories of the Japanese candy industry, see Machida Shinobu, *Za chokorêto dai-hakurankai* [The Major Chocolate Exhibition] (Tokyo: Fusôsha, 2000) and Kushima Tsutomu, *Za okashi* [The Candy] (Tokyo: Fusôsha, 1999).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, after the austerities of the war and the restarting of chocolate production, chocolates were still expensive and out of the reach of most children.[170] However there was a growing taste for chocolate through the 1950s due to the prominence of Hershey's chocolate – alongside Wrigley's chewing gum – as one of the two major handouts American GIs gave Japanese children during the Occupation years. Moreover, with the increased wealth resulting from economic revival and, as of 1955, the beginning of the so-called "economic miracle," a new consumer class emerged that had a recently developed taste for chocolates: children. An increase in adult income translated into an increase in buying power for the child, that most privileged member of the postwar population. In response to the rise of this new consumer, chocolate companies developed a keen interest in marketing their chocolates to children – through both design and advertisement. It was the beginning of path away from the standard, rectangular chocolate bar and towards what Kushima Tsutomu calls "toy [*gangu*] chocolates" – candy bars that took on innovative or playful shapes designed to catch the eyes and taste buds of children consumers.[171]

It is in this context that we can situate the development of Meiji's Marble Chocolates, Meiji's flagship chocolate at the time of its 1963-1966 sponsorship of *Tetsuwan Atomu*. The release of Marble Chocolates in February 1961 coincided with and contributed to a rage for chocolates at the beginning of the 1960s; if the years 1945 to 1950 are considered the Golden Age of Caramel Candy, the years 1960 to 1965 might be considered to be the Golden Age of Chocolate.[172] While in 1960 chocolate was ranked fifth in sales of the top five candy products in Japan – preceded by Japanese candy, biscuits, senbei (rice crackers), and Western candy – by 1965 chocolate had taken the lead and was in first place in candy consumption. Meiji was rated the top chocolate producer within this "chocolate boom," and accounted for 38% of the market.[173] A large part of the success of Meiji – and of the chocolate boom itself – might be explained by the close link between Marble Chocolates and *Tetsuwan Atomu*, a relationship that inspired the similarly close ties between subsequent *anime* and major candy makers like *Ôkami shônen Ken* and Morinaga, *Tetsujin 28-gô* and Glico, and *Obake no Q-tarô* and Fujiya.

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[170] While chocolate may have been the preferred gift to be received during the Occupation years, the price of a bar of Hershey's chocolate (50-yen) was too expensive for most children. Much more affordable were candies (a box of caramel cost 10 to 20 yen) hence the popularity of caramel. Kushima, *Za okashi*, 46-7.

[171] Kushima, *Za okashi*, 12.

Marble Chocolates, still in production today, are small, circular chocolates with a candy coating that come in seven different colors, and are packaged in a cylindrical, cardboard box which emits a "popping" sound when the lid is removed [Figure 2.5]. The candies themselves are very much like American M&Ms, or British Smarties. This is no coincidence; Marble Chocolates were based on the American model, already being sold in Japan. But while their American counterpart was not doing very well, Marble Chocolates quickly became a hit.[174] The figures are revealing: in 1961, 310 million yen in sales; in 1962, 3,460 million; in 1963 5,830 million yen.[175] Now, what was the difference between the American version and the Meiji version of these chocolates such that one would only have mediocre sales, while the other met with such success? Three factors occupying three distinct phases account for the increased sales of Marble Chocolates between 1961 to 1963: (1) the package design and novelty of the product (1961); (2) the first marketing campaign (1962-3)[176]; and (3) the second, *Tetsuwan Atomu*-based marketing campaign (1963-6). I will briefly discuss the first two periods before coming to the third phase.

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[172] By the end of the 1960s, non-sweet snacks [sunakku] were replacing chocolates as the most popular children's treat. Saitou Jirou, "Oyatsu to *manga* to *omake* no gattai: Yokubou no kobako to kodomo tachi no atsuki koukanshi, pâto II" [The combination of snacks and *manga* and premiums: The small boxes of desire and a history of children's heated exchange, part II] in in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 69-70.

[173] Meiji Seika Sha-shi Henshû Iinkai, ed., *Meiji Seika no ayumi: Souritsu kara 50 nen* [In the footsteps of Meiji Seika: 50 years since its establishment] (Tokyo: Meiji Seika, 1968), 99.

[174] Ôhashi Shizuo, "Mâburu kyanpên no CM,"[Marble Campaign Commercials] in *Dentsuhou*, #1393, November 11th, 1963, 4.

[175] *Meiji Seika no ayumi*, 102.

The Marble Chocolates package was itself quite unusual; for, despite an increasing tendency towards stylized package design, most chocolates at the time still came in the conventional chocolate-bar format. It was the novel, cylindrical package design, as well as the relatively new chocolate format that led Marble Chocolates to quickly become an object of attention, and that at least partly accounts for its popularity in the first year. As Machida Shinobu notes, the particular package design – making the popping sound noted above – made it fun to play with even once all the chocolates were eaten.[177] Eating and playing are intricately intertwined in Japanese children's culture, so this facet of the chocolates was quite important.

A big push for Meiji came in the next year, when the TV ad campaign began in March 1962. Until this time Meiji had done nothing in the way of advertising, and had yet to release any TV commercials.[178] But from March 1962 Meiji initiated an intense television, radio and print commercial campaign that featured the hitherto unknown, but soon to become famous Uehara Yukari. The young, 5-year old Uehara was picked out of obscurity to become the face and voice of Marble Chocolates, a candy with which she was so associated that she became known as "Marble-chan" (which one might translate as "Little Miss Marble"). The qualities that attracted audiences to Marble-chan were her directness, her playfulness, and her quirkiness. What attracted the campaign managers for Meiji Chocolate to her were these qualities as well as her ability to react in funny ways to whatever situation they put her in. Coming up with situations to stimulate the eruption of Uehara's quirky expressions thus became the main activity of the Meiji advertising department. It was an extremely simple approach to commercial making, as Ôhashi Shizuo, Meiji Seika's advertising manager at the time, admits, but it was also an extremely successful one.[179] Marble-chan was loved at home, quickly becoming a star of the television screen and a member of the household. Her performances were also critically acclaimed, and Meiji won prize after prize for its commercials (both for TV and for film) in festivals in Japan and abroad. Moreover, Meiji commercials blanketed the airwaves, filling television screens and radio programs. If the years 1962 to 1964 are known in the advertising world as "the age of Meiji Seika,"[180] it is not for the acclaim Meiji received, but for this massive quantity of commercials it was running on air. Meiji was the number one television advertiser in 1963, and it bought up TV spots so ravenously that there were rumors floating around ad agencies to the effect that Meiji set the price for television ad spots.[181]

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[176] The ad campaign first started in March 1962, though it had been in the planning stages since December 1961. "Mâburu kyanpên no CM" [Marble Campaign Commercials] in *Dentsûhô* [Dentsû Reports] #1393, May 1963, 4.

[177] Machida, *Za Chocolate Dai-hakurankai*, 90, 92.

[178] Ôhashi writes that until the planning for the subsequent year's ad campaign began in December 1961, there had been "zero" ad campaigns. "Mâburu kyanpeen no CM," 4.

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[179] Ôhashi Shizuo, "Meiji Mâburu Choco kyanpên: Shûchû spot chûshin no baitai keikaku,"[Meiji's Marble Chocolate Campaign: A Media Plan Centered on Concentrated Spot Commercials] in Kobayashi Tasaburou ed., *Nihon no koukoku kyanpeen* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Seibundou shinkousha, 1965), 99.

[180] Meiji Seika, *Meiji Seika*, 275.

[181] Kojima Tsuneharu, "Komâsharu to Mâketingu" [Commercials and Marketing] in Katô Shûsaku, ed., *CM 25 nen-shi* [A 25-year history of TV commercials] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978), 62.

While TV commercials were the centerpiece of the campaign, Meiji's ads ranged across multiple media forms, appearing in newspapers, magazines, on the radio, as posters, and as display shelves at stores (so-called point-of-purchase or POP ads) [Figure 2.6]. Meiji thus developed a "total" marketing campaign, unified by four elements common to all of the ads deployed in the campaign.[182] These four elements were Marble Chocolates, Uehara Yukari (either pictured or heard in most ads from 1962 and into 1963), a bouncy theme song (which ran on the radio, was incorporated into TV commercials and was even printed in newspaper ads in the form of lyrics and score), and the popping sound of the Marble box. The inadvertent success of the popping sound made by the box was quickly picked up on and used in TV commercials, radio ads, and even print-media ads (where a graphic "pop" – or "*pon*" in Japanese – was written beside the box).[183]

In one radio ad, for example, a groggy and slow-to-wake Marble-chan suddenly rouses from her sleep when she hears the sound of a Marble Chocolates box being popped open. The second to last line of this 1963 award-winning radio ad features the popping sound of the Marble box, and the voice of the announcer saying, "When you hear this sound, it means that someone, somewhere is eating Marble Chocolates." In a similarly award-winning television ad played during the 1962-3 New Year's holiday season – apply titled "Happy Marble" – the ad ends with Marble-chan facing the camera and giving the Japanese new year's greeting, "Akemashite, omedetô gozaimasu." But between the "akemashite" and the "omedetô gozaimasu" there is a cut to a brief scene where Uehara vigorously "pops" open a box of Marble Chocolates. A pop for any and every occasion, Meiji suggests. And, fittingly, for every ad as well.

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[182] The term "total marketing" (*tôtaru mâketingu*) was itself developed around this time, as I will discuss further in the next chapter.

[183] Ôhashi emphasizes the importance of the "sound policy" across Marble ads for the creation of a uniform product image. Ôhashi, "Meiji Mâburu Choco kyanpên," 99-100.

The reason for the shift to the third phase of the Marble Chocolate campaign – that based around the Atomu image – is usually attributed to increased competition from Meiji's traditional competitor, Morinaga.[184] Specifically, Morinaga began producing "Parade Chocolates," a line of chocolates that were almost an exact replica of Marble Chocolates (a particularly ironic turn of events, as Ôhashi notes, since Marble Chocolates were themselves imitations of an American chocolate product, before they decided on the highly successful cylindrical box). Released in November 1962, Parade Chocolates are clearly modeled on Meiji's successful line. A glance at the package would easily lead one to believe that they are in fact a package of Marble Chocolates [Figure 2.7]. The only difference between the two was the location of the name of the chocolate (wrapped diagonally, rather than straight through the center of the package) and the style of the cap: a shallow plastic cap inserted into the body of the cylinder with Parade Chocolates, instead of the over-lapping cap of Marble Chocolates. The particular style of the Morinaga cap led to an important advantage: it was particularly well-suited to double as a carrier of an "*omake*" freebie or premium, which is what led the chocolates to be so attractive to child consumers. It was by offering premiums that the almost identical Parade Chocolates was able to draw consumers who would otherwise have bought Meiji's Marble Chocolates.[185]

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[184] See Tsunashima Ritomo's important recent book revisiting this era, *Atomu shiiru to Tetsujin wappen* [Atomu Stickers and Tetsujin Badges] (Kyoto: Dankôsha, 1998), 26. However, like most material about this time, this book offers much information but precious little analysis. Nonetheless, Tsunashima's book – as with the similarly detailed work of amateur cultural historian Kushima Tsutomu – gives a highly valuable account of the sticker campaign.

[185] Ban Shojiro – a member of the Meiji Seika advertising department, and creator of the Atomu stickers later included as premium in Marble packages – notes that at the beginning Marble Chocolates' market

Specifically, the cap of early Parade Chocolate cylinders carried what was called a "moving badge" (*ugoku bajji*): an image whose form and color changed according the angle it was viewed, and which was located on the reverse side of the plastic cap [Figure 2.8]. This badge could be removed from the cap, and came with a safety pin on its reverse side such that it could be attached to clothing as a badge or pin. The images used at the time were of characters from *The Three Stooges* (broadcast on TV in 1963), from the TV program *Kurorin-mura to kurumi no ki* (a puppet show on air from 1956 through 1964), possibly Disney characters, as well as letters from the Roman alphabet and other character drawings.[186] It was this Morinaga challenge that allegedly led Meiji to develop its own premium campaign for its Marble Chocolates, and to begin using Atomu as an ally to boost its faltering sales. "Without the existence of Parade Chocolates," Tsunashima Ritomo writes, "Atomu stickers might never have been born."[187]

A History of *Omake*-Product Relations

Morinaga and Meiji were by no means the first confectionaries to turn to premiums as a buying incentive. In fact, premiums have been a key element of Japanese children's

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share was 90 to 10; but that in the end it had decreased to a meager 30 to 70. Interview with Ban in Tsunashima Ritomo, *Atomu shîru to Tetsujin wappen* [Atomu Stickers and Tetsujin Badges] (Kyoto: Dankôsha, 1998), 25.

[186] Tsunashima writes that these "moving badges" were first introduced as *omake* in Parade Chocolates in June 1963; and that this is the first indication in company records of Morinaga including *omake* in its Parade Chocolates. Tsunashima, *Atomu shîru*, 117; Tsunashima Ritomo, "Terebi to *omake*," in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 56. But this would not explain why Meiji felt the need to introduce Atomu stickers as early as Spring 1963 (perhaps March), nor how they could mount a campaign that begins in July as a "response" to Morinaga including premiums in their Parade Chocolates not a month before. In short, one must assume one of two things: either 1) that despite the absence of a paper trail, Morinaga had already been including premiums in its Parade Chocolates before June 1963, and perhaps from their release in November 1962; or 2) the main assault on Meiji's Marble Chocolates did not in fact come from Parade Chocolates, but came from other lines of Morinaga candies that did include premiums (such as the Disney Caramel, which had included premiums since 1960).

[187] Tsunashima, *Atomu shîru*, 116.

culture throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, beginning in the 1920s. The two main forms premiums have taken, from the 1920s to the present are *omake* and *furoku*. *Furoku* – a word which literally means "supplement" or "appendix" – develops out of magazine culture, particularly the vibrant and highly competitive magazine culture that developed in the 1920s and 1930s [Figures 2.9 and 2.10]. *Furoku* once again flourished in the immediate postwar period, until the early 1960s, when boys' *furoku* declined in the face of the rise of weekly magazines. Girls' and young children's magazines still contain *furoku*, however, in part because they are based on monthly rather than weekly cycles.[188] While *furoku* have a fascinating and complex history, what I would like to focus on instead is the particular history – and transformation – of *omake*. In particular I would like to focus on the historical transformations in the relation between product and *omake*, particularly leading up to and through the Meiji-Atomu campaign. I will begin, however, with the roots of the practice.

The word *omake* emerges from the Osaka area, where in the commercial culture of the region the term "*makeru*" from which *omake* comes was used in bargaining situations, and means "to lower the price." *Omake* refers to a give-away or premium include with the main product as a buying incentive. Honda Masuko writes that "the term refers to a 'something' that is not the 'main body'" of the product.[189] The term was first used in its present sense, and first gained widespread circulation through the business successes of Ezaki Ri'ichi, the founder of another of Japan's major candy makers, Glico. While the Osaka-based confectioner is now one of Japan's largest (alongside Meiji, Morinaga and Fujiya), at the time of its founding in 1921 it was a small company that produced a particular brand of caramels, struggling against the giants of the industry, Morinaga and Meiji. In his struggle for market share, Ezaki Ri'ichi happened upon the practice of including a premium in Glico Caramel boxes to spur sales. In 1922 Glico began including a picture card on a test basis in its boxes of caramel; in 1927 it started including *omake* in all its boxes. This campaign was a success, and from that point on a toy-like *omake* was included in every box.[190] In 1929 it began including the *omake* in a separate box placed on top or at the bottom of the caramel box in what is even now its classic form [Figure 2.11].[191]

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[188] On *furoku* see the articles in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), and Kushima Tsutomu's extremely informative *'Shonen' no furoku* (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 2000).

[189] Honda Masuko, "*Omake* to kodomo no bunka-shi" (A cultural history of *omake* and children), in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 4. Honda, a scholar of children's culture, finds particular interest in the history of *omake* insofar as she sees it marking a shift from an appeal made by advertising to parents based on the benefits their children might reap from a particular product – a stress on the educational, nutritional, etc. value of the product as a "good thing" – to an appeal directed at the child consumer stressing the "uselessness" of the product. The *omake*, she argues, dispensed with all pretense towards usefulness, and rather appealed to the child based on its uselessness. Honda, "*Omake* to

The Glico name became indissociably linked with the practice of including *omake*; in Kitahara Teruhisa's estimation it was Glico that built Japan's "*omake* culture."[192] Yet, however associated the name of Glico became with the practice of including *omake*, there was little connection between the object given as premiums and the main body of the product that was sold alongside it: Glico caramel candy. The objects

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kodomo," 5. This direct appeal to the child was particularly suited for candies, which were often within the range of a child's allowance, and thus could be purchased directly by the child. Even here, however, many candies – including Glico – display a dual address, both to parents and children. Glico marketed itself as a "nutritional" candy that would allow one to run for 300 hundred meters, clearly appealing to parents with its nutritional value, even if the appeal of its *omake* was a certain uselessness, directed at children. On Glico's emphasis on its nutritional value and healthiness, see Kitahara Teruhisa, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi* [A Natural History of "*Omake*"] (Tokyo: PHP Shinsho, 2003), 80.

[190] As Kitahara Teruhisa, a renowned collector and authority on *omake* (as well as *furoku*), explains from an interview he conducted with Ezaki, the exact time that the word "*omake*" started being used at Glico is unclear. For a time Ezaki had been calling the things "toys" (*omocha*); at some point – under whose influence he cannot recall – Ezaki started calling them "*omake*." Kitahara Teruhisa, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi*, 24.

[191] Honda, "*Omake* to kodomo," 6; Kushima, *Za okashi*, 42.

[192] Kitahara, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi*, 74.

of the *omake* were picked somewhat randomly based on their size, price, and availability. There were dogs, people, fish and hippopotami made out of clay; medals of honor, saws, oxen and squirrels; cars, motorcycles and tanks made out of metal; and baseball players, monkeys, umbrellas and maidens made out of paper [Figure 2.12].[193] All of these had but the most tenuous relationship to either Glico or the caramel candies whose sales they were promoting. Only a few Glico *omake* were actually directly tied into Glico as brand or as caramel producer, much less to the individually wrapped pieces of caramel inside the box. There were some exceptions to this, the most notable being Glico's use, in 1933, of the *manga* artist Tagawa Suihou's at the time extremely popular *manga* character Norakuro for hand-out advertisements, and also included a small Norakuro toy as part of its line of *omake*. While this did not connect to the candy per se, it did connect Glico to the larger media environment. Yet, however much this seems to preview the character-based premiums of the 1960s, this seems to have been a one-off experiment that lead to no further character *omake* along these lines. In short, for the most part, Glico *omake* were characterized by what we might call their *extrinsic relation* between the *omake* premium and the Glico caramel product.

Certainly there was a close tie between the two in the sense that the overall product was presented as a premium-candy mix. In giving the *omake* its own box, Glico elevated the *omake* to a particularly high level of importance; even at this point one could see the foreshadowing of an inversion between the *omake* and the candy object that comes later, and whereby the acquisition of the *omake* becomes the main reason of the purchase.[194] But the relation between the caramel and the *omake* was extrinsic: there was a non-essential or arbitrary relation between the premium and the candy product. The Glico name was clearly tied to the practice of giving out *omake*, but these *omake* had no clear relationship to the Glico brand, or to its trademark caramel. No lasting connection was created between the premium and the candy product, and the global Glico product was known merely for having *a* premium, not for having a *specific kind of* premium. Thus, we can say that there existed only an extrinsic relation between premium and product.[195]

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[193] An excellent catalogue of Glico *omake* through the ages is to be found in *Guriko no omake cataroku* (Glico's *omake* catalogue) (Tokyo: Yaesu, 2003). A personal account of a Glico *omake* maker can be found in Miyamoto Junzou's *Boku wa omake* (I am *omake*) (Osaka: Interu-sha, 1991). Kitahata Teruhisa's *"Omake" no hakubutsushi* [A Natural History of "*Omake*"] (Tokyo: PHP Shinsho, 2003) is the most interesting account of *omake* in general, with significant attention given to Glico.

A major transformation in the nature of connectivity between the premium and the object of purchase came about in the early postwar years, towards the end of the golden age of caramel, around the year 1950. This year marked the peak of both the Kôbai baseball card-based *omake* campaign, and the Kabaya novel-based *omake* campaign, and it is these two campaigns that are credited with launching the postwar *omake* boom.[196] Both campaigns stimulated children's desire for collection; moreover, as Serizawa Shunsuke puts it, this was an age of caramel-based *omake* campaigns that were based around the impetus towards – and the pleasures of – “self-attainment.”[197] While Serizawa’s choice of words is a strange one, what he is implying is that this was a time when the prolonged and patient collection of “direct” or “with-pack” premiums led to the possibility of receiving a larger, much coveted prize.[198] In the case of Kabaya, this coveted prize was the chance of selecting a volume from the same company’s collection of classic novels from world literature. Every 10-yen package of Kabaya Caramels contained a Kayaba Books card with a drawing of the then-popular Tarzan, or some related character.[199] The cards themselves, while a kind of direct premium, were not the sole reason for the purchase of Kabaya caramel. Rather it was what one could receive once having accumulated a sufficient number of these cards – or the right combination – that provided the impetus to purchase and to collect: a book from the Kabaya world literature library. Once one had accumulated 50 such cards, or five cards in the appropriate combination, one could go to one's local candy story (where the books were on display) and receive a single volume from the Kabaya Bunko collection.[200]

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[194] Ôtsuka Eiji locates this point of inversion in the Bikkuriman campaign of the 1980s in *Teihon monogatari shôhiron* [On the Consumption of Narrative: Standard Edition] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2001). Serizawa Shunsuke locates this inversion earlier, in the Kamen Rider card phenomenon of the 1970s in, "Sengo *omake* bûmu no shikumi," in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 54. Yet the potential for this inversion – and the logic of the dangerous supplement – can be said to be present from the very start of premium-product relations.

[195] We should also note that the Glico *omake* underwent a fairly major transformation in the wake of the beginning of television *anime* and the character-boom startd by the Meiji-Atomu campaign. Glico's transformation came in the years 1964 and 1965 when it began including *omake* in the shape of the principal robot from the *anime* that it sponsored and which came on air in October 1963: *Tetsujin 28-gô* [Iron Man Number 28] (released in the United States as *Gigantor*). Indeed, the years 1964-1966 were not only characterized by the Atomu sticker boom, but also by the battle between Meiji's Atomu sticker and Glico's Tetsujin badge.

[196] Serizawa, 53. The wartime years saw the decline and eventual complete cessation of *omake* production. Glico started producing *omake* once again in the immediate postwar period, but it was Kôbai and Kabaya that were particularly seminal in developing a new kind of *omake* campaign. They were also, however, quite short-lived.

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[197] Serizawa, 54.

[198] The term “with-pack premium” is used in Philip Kotler *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, and Control, Fifth Edition* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 664-5. Kotler distinguishes direct premiums (which he defines as “merchandise offered at a relatively low cost or free as an incentive to purchase a particular product”) from contests and sweepstakes (which he defines as “devices [which] present to consumers, dealers, or sales forces the chance to win something – such as cash, trips, or goods – as a result of extra luck or extra effort”). *Marketing Management*, 664-5. In Japan, however, direct premiums and contest, sweepstake or collection-based “prizes” (*keihin*) are often also referred to as “premiums” or *omake*. The Japanese “Act Against Unjustifiable Premiums and Misleading Representations,” for example, defines premiums (*keihin*) such that the term can mean both “premium” (in its various kinds, including “*omake*” or direct premiums) and “prize/sweepstakes”: “The term ‘premiums’ [*keihin*] as used in this Act shall mean any article, money or other kinds of economic benefits which are given as means of inducement of customers, regardless of whether a direct or indirect method is employed, or whether or not a lottery or prize competition method is used, by an entrepreneur to another party in connection with a transaction involving a commodity or service (transactions relating to real estate shall be included; hereinafter the same), and which are designated by the Fair Trade Commission as such.” Law No. 134 of 1962, Tentative Government translation, available at from: http://www.jftc.go.jp/e-page/legislation/premiums/prerep_2005.pdf (Accessed December 25th, 2006).

[199] One might note that the graphic style of these drawings come not from the realm of *manga*, but rather from the style used in the then-popular children’s narrative form of the “picture-story”(*e-monogatari*), which combined the texts of often well-known mystery, sci-fi and adventure story writers, with the images drawn by equally well-known graphic artists.

This premium system was thus based on a process of collection at the end of which the desired prize could be received. It was a particularly ingenious campaign, insofar as it addressed both postwar children's desire for books – at a time when most children were not well-off enough to afford books, but could spare the occasional 10-yen for candy – and their parents' satisfaction at thinking that every trip to the candy store could lead to the intellectual betterment of their children. Moreover one cannot ignore the importance of the anticipation, the excitement of collecting the cards, and the sense of what Serizawa called "self-attainment" once the child had collected enough cards to receive a coveted book volume.

The campaign was also significant in that it connected the *omake* directly to the caramel: Kabaya Bunko was not an official publishing house, but rather one created specifically to supply books for the Kabaya Caramel campaign. Though the books were all hard-cover classics from Japanese and world literature – including *Pinnochio*, *Taketori monogatari*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Les Miserables*, and so on[201] – they were all associated with the candy's publishing house (Kabaya Bunko), and thus with the candy and the *omake* cards one received with it. In other words Kabaya formed a *direct connection* between the caramels, the cards, and the type of prize to be gained through their consumption. Unlike the case of Glico, where the *omake* included in the box was to a large extent arbitrary, with Kabaya all consumption was aimed towards the collection of cards and the eventual receipt of the books on display at the candy store. Kabaya produced a kind of connection between the *omake* and the product (the caramel, but also the larger, global product of Kabaya Caramel with which the book was associated) in which the product and the premium mutually influenced one another.

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[200] Injecting an element of chance into the process, if one collected five cards containing the characters that together formed the words Ka-ba-ya-Bun-ko (カ－バ－ヤ－文－庫) one could also receive a book. Kushima, *Za okashi*, 47-8.

[201] A full list of all 159 titles in the collection is reprinted in Tsubouchi Toshinori, "Kabaya Bunko," in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan* [A Children's History of the Showa Period: An illustrated book of *omake* and *furoku*](Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 48. A more detailed account of the Kabaya campaign can be found in Tsubouchi's *Omake no meisaku: Kabaya Bunko monogatari* [The masterpiece of *omake*: The story of Kabaya Bunko] (Tokyo: Interu-sha, 1984).

In addition to this direct connection, we can also say there was a *relation of reciprocal exclusivity* created between the *omake* and the object; Kabaya Caramel and Kabaya Books were mutually dependent upon each other; one did not exist without the other. Over time the two became mutually indissociable. There was of course no necessary relation between caramels and books, and the two did not resemble each other – books and caramels are quite heterogeneous as objects go. Nonetheless, Kabaya created a strong reciprocal relation between the two in the minds of its child consumers. The very aim of buying Kabaya Caramel and collecting cards became to receive a classic of world literature through Kabaya Books. There was a reciprocal, and exclusive link between the Kabaya Caramels, and the Kabaya Books: one brought the other to mind, and the latter could be had by means of the former. The book was not equivalent to the caramel, but the caramel was the only means of accessing the book, of making it one's own. And holding the book in one's hands in turn pointed to the further benefits of consuming the candy: the potential of collecting other books in the series. This type of connectivity between premium and product – developed in other premium-product relations of the time, particularly in those of Kabaya's rival, the baseball-card collecting Kôbai caramel – I describe by the term *relation of reciprocal exclusivity*.

The next step in the development of candy-*omake* relations came with Morinaga's 1960 release of Disney Caramels; a line of caramel products that was created as a tie-in with the Disney TV show, *Disneyland*, on air in Japan as of 1958. With this caramel product, Disney characters not only adorned the box, but were also included inside the box as a "moving badge" premium [Figure 2.13]. While this product met with no great success, it was an important precursor to the Meiji-Atomu campaign for demonstrating the possibility of what might be called a *relation of convergence* or an *intrinsic relation* between candy and the *omake* object. Here not only did the candy premium take the form of a Disney character, the very name of the product and the image on its box were also linked to Disney and its characters. In fact, the very box image was redesigned to mimick the appearance of the moving-badge premium – a round, red circle with a Disney character at the center.[202] This was a new trend that a Morinaga marketing researcher at the time, Komiya Jun'ichi, argues had once been unthinkable.[203] As such it was a watershed moment in the development of new ways of organizing the relation between product and premium that in turn pointed to the potential for a character-based organization of commodities whose effectivity in generating consumer desire was to be demonstrated by the Meiji-Atomu campaign starting in 1963.

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[202] Morinaga marketing researcher Komiya Jun'ichi provides an account of the redesigning of the Disney Caramel package which emphasizes the importance felt at the time of creating tighter and tighter relations between premium and object, or in this case, premium and package. The redesigned package not only featured a close-up of the Disney character's face (where it had formerly included the entire body in a much less striking package), but encircled this face in a strong red circle – meant to be evocative of the design of the *omake*. Here the very package refers to the *omake* in a strengthening of the convergent relation already developed by the product name between the *omake* inside and the product itself. See the roundtable discussion, "Shôdô kai shôhin / sokyû no kichô no kibi" [The Subleties of Impulse Buying Products and Appeal], edited by Kubota Takashi, in *Senden kaigi*, April 1964, 16-18.

[203] Komiya, in "Shôdô kai shôhin," 17.

The Atomization of Meiji

In most cases of *omake* prior to those of Morinaga and Meiji the *omake* was either a random object in extrinsic relation to the product (as in the case of most Glico *omake*), or a specific object type created to link up with the product in a relation of reciprocal exclusivity (such as the Kabaya books that could only be had through the collection of caramel inserts). With the campaigns of the early 1960s and onwards, however, we witness several important developments in *omake*-product relations. First, we find the development of a convergent relation between *omake* and product. The *omake* premiums of this time became increasingly created around the image of a character, and this image influenced not only the form of the *omake* but also the form of the package and eventually the form of the candy product itself. Second, we also find a reversal in the relation of dependency between product and *omake*. In the cases of Glico and Kabaya, the premium was organized around the product, and was not available short of buying the Glico or Kabaya product. In the 1960s *omake*, particularly those that came after Atomu, there was an increasing dependence of the product (chocolate or caramel etc.) on the *omake*, or, more precisely, a dependence on the character image on which the *omake* was based. Here the product was more tightly tied to the *omake*, while the *omake* (and the character image) had a certain independence vis-à-vis the object.[204] Third, we find this complementary independence of the image itself from *omake* and candy product; the very appeal of the product and *omake* is in fact based in part around the wider circulation of the character image, and the desireability generated by the circulation of this image.

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[204] In fact it was eventually possible to get Atomu stickers elsewhere than in Meiji chocolates – in the book versions of the *manga* published by Kappa Comics as of 1964. One could of course purchase other Atomu goods without the mediation of Meiji.

While the Morinaga Disney campaign can be cited as a precursor in this regard, and a stimulus for the Meiji campaign itself, I would like to turn here to the Meiji Atomu campaign which was much more extensive, and had a far greater impact on the media and social spheres than the Morinaga campaign. In particular, I would like to focus on the reorganization of the Meiji campaign around the Atomu image. For it was this reorganization that established the importance of *anime* sponsorship and image appeal for other candy companies; created the model for advertising campaigns subsequent to the Atomu campaign, which were similarly organized around an *anime* character image; and was a turning point in the development of the character business in Japan.

The transformation of the *omake*-product relation wrought by the Marble campaign did not happen at once but in several stages, each of which sees the increasing centrality of the Atomu image. What changes, in steps, are the type of connections that exist between the Meiji objects and products – Marble Chocolates, at first, then other products later – and the Atomu character premium.[205] To begin with, we might remember the scene I opened this chapter with: the Marble Chocolates pack emerges from the spaceship; Higeoyagi calls "Cut!" and the screen goes black; and then Higeoyaji emerges from the spaceship. This episode, first aired March 12th 1963 and probably completed a week or so earlier, indicates a kind of question mark surrounding Atomu and Meiji's relationship; a curiosity perhaps, but also an unwillingness to think the two as connected by anything except a joke, or a black screen. At best, to use the term developed above in relation to premium campaigns, we might think of Mushi Production as presenting Atomu and Meiji Marble Chocolates in a relationship of *extrinsic relation*; nothing special links them together, in fact they are not much connected at all, except perhaps by the circumstance of Mushi Productions needing a sponsor and Meiji obliging. Theirs was merely a relationship of association, punctuated by a certain black thread of disconnection.

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[205] As one might expect, the premium-object relationship is only one of the elements that is re-configured by the Atomu image; in the growing centrality of the Atomu image not only then premium changes, but the chocolate object itself changes too, a transformation that thus reconfigures the entire product.

Meiji's early mention of Atomu in a January 4th, 1963 newspaper advertisement for Marble Chocolates follows a similar logic [Figure 2.14].[206] While the bulk of the page is taken up by the image of Uehara and a sample of Meiji products, the advertisement includes a text at the bottom of the page – this time separated by the black thread of a border – announcing that Meiji Seika was sponsoring the new "Japan-made 30 minute *manga* program," *Tetsuwan Atomu*. The ad also includes a list, in smaller font, of the other television and radio shows it was sponsoring, and their broadcast schedule. It seems that Meiji Seika also saw little more than an extrinsic relation between itself and the new TV show it was sponsoring.

For an indication of the beginning of a new phase in their relationship, we might look at one of the first advertisements put out by Meiji that tries to tie Atomu and Marble Chocolates together more directly. Published in the February 1963 issue of the boys' magazine *Shônen* – and located below its monthly serialization of the *Tetsuwan Atomu manga* – the ad shows Atomu riding package of Marble Chocolates [Figure 2.15]. There is a direct connection made here between Marble and Atomu; Atomu rides the Marble cylinder like a rocket and speed lines emerge from the back end of the Marble rocket. Atomu is going somewhere with Marble. Where? Towards Meiji, towards Marble. The ad itself is divided into two halves: the right being the Atomu TV show and the left being Marble Chocolates. Behind the rocket on the right hand side of the ad is an announcement for the *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV show: "The TV *manga* film / *Tetsuwan Atomu* / in action on TV!" Below lies a list of the stations carrying the show, the time it plays, and a reminder that it is sponsored by Meiji Seika. The left hand side features the ad copy for Marble Chocolates – a reminder of the 7 colors of Meiji chocolates, and an emphasis that there's only one Marble Chocolates in Japan. (Evidently a little bit of reminding was needed to differentiate itself from its false pretender, Parade Chocolates.) The rocket is flying Atomu towards the Marble side, and towards Meiji Seika; indeed Atomu is already completely on the Marble half of the image.

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[206] A full-page advertisement published in *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper, January 1st, 1963, page 6.

This relationship between Meiji and Atomu was solidified several months later by the beginning of the first Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign. As we saw above, in response to the success of Morinaga's Parade Chocolates, Meiji sought to include a premium of their own in Marble Chocolate boxes. The cylindrical shape and the small size of the box presented some challenges, but the Meiji marketing department eventually came up with a solution: stickers. Stickers had not yet been used in *omake* campaigns, and the emulsion type sticker used in the Meiji campaign was a relatively new technology for printers in Japan at the time.[207] Once stickers had been settled upon, the problem then became deciding on what the subject of the stickers should be. Many ideas were floated, including using the image of Uehara Yukari, but none elicited the excitement of the children these ideas were tested on.

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[207] Tsunashima Ritomo, *Atomu shîru to Tetsujin wappen* [Atomu Stickers and Tetsujin Badges] (Kyoto: Dankôsha, 1998), 27. The Meiji-Atomu stickers used a new kind of emulsion technology that, while in use in the US, was very new to Japan. On this see Tsunashima, 26-8; and Kushima Tsutomu, *Shônen shôjo tsûhan kôkoku hakurankai* (Boys and Girls' Mail Order Advertisement Exhibition) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô Shinsha, 2006), 204-5.

It was then that they happened upon the idea of using the image of Atomu; here, finally, was a concept that their test subjects immediately took to.[208] There was a limited test run of this idea in Spring 1963, in which single images of Atomu and other characters from the television series were included in the Marble Chocolates cylinder. After the success of this trial run, Meiji began its official, nation-wide Atomu sticker campaign on July 7th 1963.[209] This first official campaign offered a prize-in-the-mail variety of premium: children sent in two tops of the 30-yen Marble Chocolate boxes and received a large-size 21cm by 15cm Atomu Sticker sheet in the mail [Figure 2.16]. Each sticker sheet, of which there were three varieties, contained six Atomu and friends sticker images traced from the *manga* by Meiji employees, and included an instructions sheet showing children how to apply them.[210] Set to end in August, the overwhelming response to the campaign led Meiji to extend it into September. By the end of the campaign Meiji had received a total of 3.7 million requests for sticker sheets – overwhelming the local post office – and had seen its Marble Chocolate sales soar.[211] The success of this campaign led to the insertion – this time as direct, in-package premiums – of smaller Atomu stickers (as well as animal-shaped sponges) in all Marble Chocolates boxes from September 1963.

By this point Atomu had been firmly ensconced in the Marble world; a *relation of association* had developed between Marble Chocolates and the Atomu image and world. The dynamism and the desireability of Atomu were rubbing off in significant ways on the Meiji products Atomu touched; the very *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV show came to be regarded as a kind of prolonged advertisement for Meiji chocolate products.[212] But this use of Atomu involved a reorganization of Meiji. Despite the implications of the *Shônen* ad discussed earlier, it was not only that Atomu that went over to the Meiji side; Meiji in turn went over to the Atomu side. In fact, while the rhetoric of the ads implied that Atomu was flying for Meiji, there was the increasing sense that it was Meiji cozying up towards Atomu, even as the character retained its own imagistic independence. Meiji marketing director Ôhashi's comments at the time are indicative: "We thought we were the ones in control [of the Atomu sticker boom] but it turns out we were the ones being controlled."[213] The Atomu tail had started wagging the Meiji dog. While the Meiji image – particularly Marble Chocolates' image – became firmly associated with that of Atomu, Atomu retained the independence to associate with other products.

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[208] "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi" (Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go and Adults), *Shûkan Sankei* (May 11th, 1964 edition), 24.

[209] Tsunashima, 28.

[210] *Tetsuwan Atomu* DVD-Box 1, 43. The earlier test run stickers had been based on traces from cels from the *anime* version.

[211] "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi," 22.

Moreover, as time went on, Meiji developed what we termed above a *relation of convergence* or an *intrinsic relation* between its chocolate products and Atomu. No longer merely a relationship of association, Meiji developed products that were Atomu-based in both premium *and* in name. In July 1964, Meiji released its "Meiji Tetsuwan Atomu Caramel" also known as "*Omake*-tsuki [Premium-Included] Tetsuwan Atomu Caramel." This was a caramel product that bore an image of Atomu on the box in addition to including a sticker-based Atomu appliqué, or an Atomu magnet as *omake* inside [Figure 2.17].[214] The character was no longer just the *omake*; he was now the very name of the product, and the image that adorned its package. A final step in this growing proximity between the total design of the product, candy, *omake* and the character image came in the Fall 1964 release of the "Meiji Model Chocolates." With this product not only did the box bear the image of Atomu, and contain an Atomu *omake* inside – the very chocolate candy was formed in the shape of Atomu [Figure 2.18]. Here a *coterminous relation* was developed between character image, product and *omake*. While each had a different materiality (foil cover, chocolate, metal badge premium), package, name, *omake* and candy were all completely organized around the particular image of Atomu.[215]

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[212] Yamakawa Hiroji, "'Bangumi' to 'komâsharu' no *aidagara*: Nihon demo 'pâtishipeeshon' ga hajimaru" [The relationship between 'program' and 'commercial': 'Participation' begins in Japan too], *Senden Kaigi* (August 1964), 53. I will come back to this issue in the next chapter.

[213] "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi," 24. The tail of Atomu was wagging the dog of Meiji, as it were.

[214] DVD-Box 3, 40; Tsunashima, 1998, 24.

The Meiji Model Chocolates product was a kind of culmination of a progressive convergence of relations between premiums and the total product. What is important here is the key role the attractive power of the character played in transforming the *omake*-product relation from one based on heterogeneous association (Glico) to one based on a growing resemblance in name, form and appearance (Meiji-Atomu). The *anime* character prompted a reorganization of objects around its image, and a transformation in the object-to-object relations that I have been charting in terms of the relation between premium, candy, and product. The character image produced a convergence of series, and a growing proximity, connectivity and resemblance between what were still materially heterogeneous series or elements (the *anime*, the *omake*, and the chocolate). This is one example, if an important and indeed representative one, of the trans-series connectivity that the *anime* image generated (and indeed continues to generate) between previously heterogeneous media. And this is a key example of the new role played by the character as a kind of attractive force that forced otherwise heterogeneous media and object types to converge around it, remaking them in its image.

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[215] The metal badge *omake* for this chocolate was not included in the package, but was obtained after mailing in three coupons included on the foil wrapper. Once again the production of this chocolate involved the importation of new technology – this time a chocolate molding machine from Germany. Tsunashima, *Atomu shiiru*, 43.

From the Body of the Star to the Body of the Character

The increasing centrality of the Atomu image, particularly after the initial success of the Atomu stickers and the boom this set off, also saw the progressive displacement of the image of Uehara Yukari in favor of the image of Atomu as the central attractor of the Meiji campaign. This new centrality of Atomu – as *omake*, product and promotion – to Marble Chocolates and Meiji Seika in this third stage of its campaign comes across clearly in one of the first Meiji TV commercials in which the Atomu *omake* is featured, particularly when this ad is compared with the earlier ones which featured Uehara Yukari. This first *omake* commercial is especially telling for the way it reveals a certain reorganization of space, person and product around Atomu, demonstrating a shift in emphasis from Uehara/Marble-chan to the drawn/animated character.

Earlier TV ads such as the New Year's season 1962-3 "Happy Marble" commercial (Meiji's fourth television ad using Uehara Yukari) focused on Uehara and the Marble box. In "Happy Marble," the center of the frame is occupied by, alternatively, the box of Marble Chocolates and Uehara's face [Figure 2.19]. Of the 19 shots that make up the 45 second ad, seven shots are of the Marble Chocolates box (including in this count those shots of Uehara's hands in close-up receiving a box of Marble Chocolates as an "*otoshidama*" or New Year's gift from an adult hand) and five shots are of Uehara (in either in medium shot, or in a close-up on her face; this count does not include the shots of her hands). The remainder of the shots are made up by one shot of Uehara's geta wooden clogs; three tracking shots of the pattern in the snow made by Uehara's geta clogs as she walks from house to house collecting her New Year's gift, accompanied by a variation on the famous Marble Chocolates song (familiar to all from both radio and TV previous commercials); and a medium shot, zooming into close-up on the face of a hungry-looking dog waiting for Uehara at one of her destinations. The focus of the ad is clearly the relationship between Marble-chan and her Marble chocolates. Indeed the presumed other members of her family to whom she travels to receive her New Year's gifts exist only as giving hands or Marble-dispensers.

Things have changed by the late 1963 or early 1964 Atomu *omake* TV ad [Figures 2.20 and 2.21].[216] This commercial begins with the entrance of Marble-chan onto a completely white set, eating Marble Chocolates; the camera zooms in to a medium shot. Suddenly Uehara looks off screen to the left, and there is a cut to, and eyeline match with, two animated boy cartoon characters gesticulating in what is to be understood as a request for some chocolates. When Uehara shakes her head, refusing their request, the animated characters grow agitated and threaten her with the sticks they are carrying (always cutting between Uehara and the animated boys, who are never in the same frame). Marble-chan looks frightened and edges away from them towards the right of the frame – and then suddenly remembers something. She quickly shakes the Marble Chocolates box she is holding and out comes an Atomu "magic print" (a type of a sticker which transfers to another surface by scratching it on). A close-up of the magic print shows an image of Atomu in one of his dynamic, fighting positions, his body posed to move left and his eyes looking to the left of the image or screen. There is then a cut to the animated boys who, upon looking right and seeing Atomu (who remains offscreen), flee to the left of the screen as the Atomu magic print *slides into the space* vacated by the menacing boys.

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[216] For information on this ad (scant though it is) I am drawing from Ôhashi's comments in "Meiji Choco kyanpeen," especially pgs. 90-102; as well as the comments of Takasugi Jirou (who was a member of the production studio Nihon Ten'nenshoku Eiga that made Meiji's TV commercials) printed in *ACC-CM nenkan '61-'63* (ACC – Commercial Yearbook, 1961-1963) (Tokyo: Sansaisha, 1964), 31. The particular image of Atomu used in the commercial was being included in the second round of Atomu sticker sheets (of the mail-in *omake* variety) being given out from November 1963 to January 1964; but magic prints only came out as of April 1964; and were only included as *omake* in Marble boxes sometime a little later. So one conjectures that the ad must have run in Spring or Summer 1964. Tsunashima, *Atomu shîru*, 35; Tsunashima, "Terebi to *omake*," 56-7.

Here I should emphasize that the magic print just slides from right to left; throughout the whole commercial the Atomu print is not animated itself, but gains a secondary dynamism through the zoom of the camera, and by being pulled across the frame – an extreme example of what Thomas Lamarre terms "moving drawings" rather than "drawing movements."[217] The image is dynamic even in its very stillness. There is, as we noted in the last chapter in the case of limited animation, a dynamic quality to the still image itself that comes in part from the camera zooms and the sliding of the image across the screen; and comes in part from this image's association with the dynamically (im)mobile *anime* image. I will come back to this aspect of the commercial again, below.

Returning to the ad sequence: at the same time as the still Atomu image slides into the frame, the *Tetsuwan Atomu* theme song – a vigorous theme that is used in the TV show during moments of battle, usually accompanying Atomu's flight into the sky to attack the enemy of the week – is played on the soundtrack, giving an air of increased dynamism to the sliding Atomu image. After a slight cut, a hand appears from offscreen right and vigorously scratches the Atomu print onto a surface, using the Marble box to do so, demonstrating how the magic print works. There is then a cut to Marble-chan jumping up and down in ecstasy. Atomu has saved Marble-chan in this "episode" just as he rises to save threatened innocents in the TV *anime* every week. The final scene of this commercial is a stop-motion animation sequence where the Atomu magic print is sucked back into the Marble Chocolates box. This last scene demonstrates that every box comes with a magic print or an Atomu sticker, as the voice-over tells us, and further associates the image – and strength – of Atomu with Marble Chocolates.

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[217] Thomas Lamarre, "From animation to *anime*: drawing movements and moving drawings," *Japan Forum* 14(2) 2002: 329–367.

The formerly central place of Yukari as the protagonist and focus of attention in earlier Marble TV commercials – as well as newspaper ads and elsewhere – has been displaced by the image of Atomu, who comes to rescue Yukari from the threatening boys, in a school-yard version of the good-versus-bad narrative that animates the *Tetsuwan Atomu* show every week. Not only is Atomu accorded a central role on the visual level (allotted the central position in five shots while Yukari is given four) but the character – in his dynamically immobile form – is the central narrative figure, resolving the conflict, and arriving to save the day. The live-action icon of Marble Chocolates is displaced in favor of the drawn or animated character. Atomu replaces the child star Uehara as the affective and imagistic center of the Marble Chocolates campaign.[218] It is also significant in discussing a certain displacement of the earlier focus of Marble commercials that in this ad there is no popping sound, and the Atomu theme song replaces the Marble Chocolate song, which makes no appearance here.

There is much we might say about the similarities between live-action stars and drawn characters like Atomu. Both incite forms of commodity desire, or are in some form commodities themselves.[219] Both the star and the character are "images" in the sense that Richard Dyer uses the term to refer to "a complex configuration of visual, verbal and aural signs."[220] Both are also exemplary forms of what Dyer elsewhere calls "structured polysemy"; they have and embody multiple different meanings and traverse meaning contexts – a phenomenon in some ways similar to the trans-serial movement of characters I have been discussing here – and yet, at the same time, "the possibilities of meaning are limited in part by what the text makes available."[221] Finally, both stars and characters function on the principle of recognition; they are effective only so long as they are recognized.[222]

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[218] This is not to say that Uehara disappears, however. She remains a presence throughout the Atomu years. However where originally she was the main subject of action and attention, she is somewhat displaced by Atomu who occupies the principal, acting role in the commercials. Uehara is transformed into the Atomu fan, playing with stickers in the print ads, and being saved by Atomu in the TV commercials.

However, there are significant differences between stars and characters as well. First and foremost, most considerations of stardom are apt to point out that the body of the star is twofold; it is a doubled body, as it were. As Richard DeCordova writes to this effect,

> The body that appears in fiction films actually has an ambiguous and complex status: at any moment one can theoretically locate two bodies in the one: a body produced (that of the character) and a body producing (that of the actor). An attention to the former draws the spectator into the representation of character within the fiction. An attention to the latter, on the other hand, draws the spectator into a specific path of intertextuality that extends outside of the text as a formal system.[223]

In the case of most characters, there would at first seem to be no such doubled body, since there is only the produced body (the character) and no producing body (the actor).

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[219] Walter Benjamin has argued that the "cult of the movie star," is "fostered by the money of the film industry [and] preserves not the unique aura of the person but the 'spell of the personality,' the phony spell of a commodity." Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," trans. Harry Zorn in *Illuminations* (New York, 1968), 231.

[220] Richard Dyer, *Stars, New Edition* (London: BFI, 1999), 34.

[221] Dyer, *Stars* 63.

[222] Paul McDonald emphasizes the importance of recognition in "Reconceptualising Stardom," in Dyer, *Stars*, 177.

[223] Richard DeCordova, *Picture Personalities: The Emergence of the Star System in America* (University of Illinois Press, 2001), 19-20.

At the level of the visual attributes of the character, each character image is specific to a particular narrative. While there may be similarities in drawing style to be found – giving rise to an intertextual level of character designers, specific animators' styles and so on – there is on the whole a one-to-one correspondence between narrative and character. This is complicated in some ways by the case of Tezuka, who is famous for instituting a "star system" in his *manga* writing practice, whereby secondary characters are recycled from one narrative to another, and even principal characters sometimes appear in unlikely combinations. However, on the whole Tezuka is the exception rather than the rule; in the works of most other *manga* writers and animators a one-to-one correspondence between character and narrative prevails. Characters do not appear in multiple different narrative series (unless they appear as parodies), but rather are specific to the series they "star" in: Atomu for *Tetsuwan Atomu*, Pikachu for *Pokémon*, Major Kusanagi for *Ghost in the Shell*.

However, once we look a little closer we find that even the character does have a doubled quality; this doubling is just displaced in certain key ways. The first level where we can locate a doubling in the character body is on the level of the voice. As if to make up for the single-body "problem" of the character (preventing the boon for advertising that a star's presence in a given film or series presents, or the recognizability so important for fan culture), the *anime* industry and its fans have developed a secondary star system out of its voice actors and actresses, who regularly appear in interviews, DVD extras and at *anime*-related events and conventions. The absent "body" of the character would thus seem to reappear on the level of the voice of the actress or actor. A second level in which this double body reappears is drawing style. Die-hard *anime* fans in particular are likely to locate differences between the artists responsible for the production of a character image between one episode and the next, or differences in direction from one episode to the next. This in turn gives rise to an epistemophilic level of fan culture that has been particularly prevalent since the advent of the VCR and recordable/repeatable viewing practices. If there is a certain radicality to be located in this second level of fandom it is perhaps in its implicit understanding that there is no original, self-same character body. Nor, for that matter, is there a producing body, only a body that is produced – by its artists – differently on each occasion.

On a third level, we find the multiple "bodies" of the character as they circulate across media types, albeit within the same narrative series. Being illustrated, the character has a far greater ease of transposition to other media, particularly to other image-based media like *manga*, video games, and so on. Here again we come to one of the important points the medium of *anime* developed: the dynamically immobile character image that forms a certain resonance between and across media types: *manga* and *anime*, *anime* and sticker, sticker and candy box, candy box and toy, etc. This guarantees the character a much greater degree of circulation than the real-bodied actor, since the actor's image tends to have more difficulty in translating across media types, is generally limited photographic media, and transposes less smoothly to non-photographic media such as figurines, video games, illustrations, and so on.[224] This relative homogeneity or consistency of the character image across media forms also relates to another attribute of the character: its ability to remain the same across time. Unlike the bodies of actors and actresses, characters do not age, and need not change over time. In actual fact most characters do change, transforming to match their era, the contemporary drawing style, or the role assigned it. Even despite these changes, however, characters generally maintain a high degree of perceptual likeness over time. In this sense the body of the character is as immortal as its popularity. They are immortal, in this sense, at least insofar as they remain dear to the public – which for most characters is in practice often quite short.

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[224] Of course the character also has its limitations; it has traditionally had problems with transpositions to the medium of photographic film. Nonetheless we can say that the character travels more smoothly across a greater number of media types than does the live-action or photographic star.

This doubling of the character across media types leads in turn to another level of the character which I will address in the second section of this paper: the material dispersion of the character image. That is, the character becomes more than another media image, an image accessible only on the television set. The image is materialized and circulated throughout the child consumer's environment. In this first section we have seen what we might call the "immaterial" pull of the character as it transformed the relation between premiums and products, and particularly as it transformed Atomu's confectionary sponsor into an Atomu-centric world. In the next section we will turn to another fundamental aspect of the character and its merchandising, complimentary in every way to the force of attraction documented in this first section: its material body and its dispersion throughout the lived environment. In so doing we will also examine more closely the main impetus for the increasing strength of the Atomu character in attracting and transforming Meiji products: the incredible success of the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign.

PART TWO: The Material Dispersion of the Character Image

The Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign did more than just change the course of Meiji product development such that it became wholly dependent on the Atomu image. It is also cited as a principal reason for the subsequent frenzy of Atomu merchandise that appears to have taken off in late 1963,[225] and for the present state of character merchandising in Japan. Yet much of the writing on this sticker boom fails to suggest why it is that these stickers were as successful as they were. Moreover, writers who point to the importance of this period tend to naturalize the children's desire for the stickers and the ubiquity of the image they allow, assuming that it was natural for children to want to surround themselves with the Atomu image. However, we must recognize that, as Ueno Chizuko puts it, "commodities produce desire, not the reverse."[226] Transforming this statement into alignment with the argument made here, we should say that *commodities, in their interaction with media forms, and in their transformation into media-commodities produce forms of desire, and transform modes of consumption*. In this next section I would like to address how the character stickers produced desire by asking: how was it that the stickers ignited the mass cultural "boom" that they did? What was it that made these stickers a turning point for the development of character merchandizing and the increasingly convergent relationship between the Atomu image and Meiji products? Why were these stickers as popular as they were?

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[225] While Tezuka indicates that as early as November 1962 there were already character goods planned for release in the coming Spring ("TV dôga," 9), another article suggests that there was a rise in the quantity and number of displays of Atomu products in October 1963 ("Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi," 25). This periodization also matches a sudden rise in ads for Atomu merchandise in toy trade journals like *Gangu Shouhou* and children's magazines like *Shonen* around October and November 1964. From these and from the success of the first Meiji-Atomu campaign, we can surmise that Fall/Winter 1963 was the time when Atomu goods really took off in sales, and in quantity of items available.

[226] Ueno Chizuko, *"Watashi" sagashi gêmu* [The looking for "me" game] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1992), 68.

Stickery Logic

The first and most apparent reason for the popularity of the stickers was the explosive popularity of the *anime* series itself.[227] The TV series, as we saw, was based on the already established and well-regarded *Tetsuwan Atomu manga*, serialized in the popular boys monthly magazine *Shônen* from 1951 until 1968. The excitement of the magazine readers at seeing one of their favorite characters animated and moving on the TV screen is widely cited as one of the reasons *Atomu* held an average of 30% to 40% weekly viewership.[228] But the popularity of the TV series was not limited to existent readers of Atomu. Indeed, the *anime* also introduced a whole new generation of readers to the comic, making the comic itself an object of feverish consumption. We find here an example of the effect of "synergy" whereby the popularity of a series in one medium leads to its consumption in another medium – a major characteristic of what is now called the media mix. While some writers have remarked on the synergetic relationship between radio and *manga* in the 1950s, particularly around such franchises as *Akadô Suzunosuke*,[229] this synergetic effect between comics and other media reached new levels of intensity with *Atomu*.

Why this might be so – that is, why synergy worked to such great effect with Atomu, propelling the *anime* and its associated media forms to great popularity, such that they exerted great influence on the media ecology then and now – can be explained by noting the visual disjuncture between the *manga* image and the live-action film or television image present in earlier series like *Akadô Suzunosuke*. *Akadô* began as a *manga* by Takeuchi Tsunayoshi serialized in the popular boys' magazine *Shônen Gahô* from 1954 to 1960.[230] However the *Akadô* boom really began with its serialization as a radio drama in 1957 with film versions and a TV series following soon after. *Akadô* was a significant milestone in postwar Japanese children's culture not only for becoming a widely recognized "national hit," but also for being the first *manga* to be turned into a radio drama – affirming *manga*'s status as an important medium, and a valuable source material for future radio shows, TV programs, and films.[231] For these reasons, some writers point to *Akadô* as marking the beginning of the media mix in Japan.

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[227] The choice of the adjective "explosive" is not arbitrary. The phrase *bakuhatsuteki ninki* or explosive popularity has become something of a set phrase to describe the 1963 Atomu TV *anime* phenomenon.

[228] At its peak, the TV show's ratings reached the mid-40 percentile. A full listing of the viewer ratings for each episode is included in the highly informative booklets accompanying the Japanese *Tetsuwan Atomu* DVD Box-Sets.

[229] See in particular the work of Kan Tadamichi, "Tenbô: Kyôiku no handôka to jidô goraku masu komi" [Perspective: The reaction of education and children's entertainment mass culture], in *Jidô bunka no gendaishi* [A contemporary history of children's culture] (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1968).

Kan Tadamichi is one of these writers. A children's literature specialist who took a prescient interest in the transformations in children's culture underway at the time, Kan averred that *Akadô* was an epochal event in children's culture because "it was made into radio, TV and film versions, and actualized the representative form of the three-dimensionalization of mass communication [*masu komi no rittaika*], thus deciding the trend of children's mass culture thereafter."[232] The peculiar yet evocative term Kan invented to deal with this trend, "three-dimensionalization of mass communication," is what is now referred to as the "media mix."[233] For Kan what was of key concern was that these multiple dimensions of media entailed the creation of a synergetic effect in which the persuasive power of the media in combination exceeded their individual or added effects.

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[230] In fact the series was actually created by Fukui Ei'ichi, but Takeuchi took over after Fukui abruptly passed away after the first monthly installment of *Akadô*. For an account of *Akadô* that puts it into the context of the magazine culture of the time, see Honma Masao's *Shônen manga daisensô* (The Great Wars of Boys' *Manga*) (Tokyo: Sômasaya, 2000), 58-61 and 74-79.

[231] Honma notes that by the end of the radio drama, 90% of boys and 80% of girls surveyed knew of the name Akadô Suzunosuke. Honma, *Shônen manga daisensô*, 76-8.

[232] Kan Tadamichi, *Jidou bunka no gendaishi* [A contemporary history of children's culture] (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1968), 93.

[233] Kushima Tsutomu makes this point in *Shônen bûmu: Shôwa retoro no hayari mono* [Boys' Booms: The Fads of Showa Retro] (Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 2003), 30.

Despite the popularity of the *Akadô* series and its synergetic operation, however, there was still a disjuncture between the drawn or *manga* image and the photographic or filmic images of Akadô, the protagonist and title character – a problem that beset all series at the time. This disjuncture led to strategies of pairing the live-action hero with the *manga* hero in advertisements for the character, an iteration that arguably diminished the impact of both. We find ads for Akadô products working to bridge the gap between the two incarnations of Akadô; between *manga* and filmic versions [Figure 2.22]. The persistence of this problematic gap is likely one of the reasons Akadô's popularity was fueled more by the radio version than the live-action television or film versions of this series. The *manga* had image without voice and the radio had voice without image. Neither infringed on the realm of the other, in effect splitting into distinct media what would become with *anime* the doubled body of the drawn image/real voice actor. Not so for the live-action version of *Akadô*, where the problem was in effect that there were too many heterogeneous bodies: the producing body (the body of the actor) produced a body (the character) whose appearance conflicted with the image-consistency and power of the *manga* character (the body produced). Too many bodies, too little consistency across media. The same must be said for an earlier 1959 to 1960 live action version of *Tetsuwan Atomu* which failed to become the social phenomenon that the later series would [Figure

2.23].[234] The image gap between live action actor and drawn *manga* character is arguably a major reason for the difference in popularity of the two series.[235]

The revolution of "*terebi manga*," or "TV comics," as *anime* was known at the time, lay in the close graphical match created between the *manga* image and the televisual *anime* image. There was no longer a gap between the character of the *manga* and the character of the TV series or film, as there had been with live-action translations of *manga* texts. *Atomu* and subsequent *anime* provided a higher degree of image-consistency between the *manga* and its versionings than had hitherto been possible – and this matching of the character images only heightened their affective power – their power, that is, to involve spectators and readers in the character and world of the media text. Indeed, as we noted in the last chapter, the *Atomu anime* made viewers feel like the *manga* itself was moving.

If the first reason for the success of the stickers was simply the effects of the popularity of the *anime*, the second reason for their popularity can be said to come from the extension of this graphical consistency between *manga* and television *anime* to the realm of the stickers themselves. The stickers were traced alternately from the cels of the *anime* series or from the *manga* series, and so had a mimetic relationship to the form of the *anime* or *manga* characters. However, in pointing to this mimetic relationship created across media types, we arrive at a question: What should we make of the gap between the moving image of the *anime* and the still image of the sticker, or the *manga* for that matter? Wasn't there a disjuncture introduced by the distinction between the moving image of the *anime* and the immobile image of the *omake* sticker?

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[234] This earlier series was broadcast on Fuji Terebi from March 3 1959 to May 28 1960, and ran for a total of 65 episodes. Incidentally the famous prewar animator Murata Yasuji's animation studio was responsible for the opening animation for the opening section of the narrative of the first series.

[235] Conversely, one may explain the popularity of certain live-action series – such as the 1958 *Gekkô Kamen* (Moonlight Mask) or the 1972 *Kamen Raidâ* (Masked Rider) – by the fact that the main character was *masked*. The mask covered over the specificity of the face, injecting what might be called a drawn quality into the live-action medium. This drawn quality of the masked face made the connections between these live-action series and the *manga* series much easier to develop. We might also add that many live-action children's series – especially after the success of the 1966 *Urutoraman* (Ultraman) introduced fixed poses into the action, effectively stopping or stilling the motion at key moments in the series, particularly in battle. These fixed poses of masked figures enabled an ease of transposition from screen, to *manga*, to toy, to the child imitating these poses in real life.

In fact – and this is the crux of the stillness-movement economy of the *anime* system – this disjuncture was not as great as might be imagined. As we saw in the last chapter, the style of limited animation developed at Tezuka's Mushi Productions studio involved the extensive use of the still images of characters and background in a style that characterizes much of television *anime* to this day. Even where there was movement, this often involved pulling the still image of Atomu over an equally still background, generating a sense of movement by sliding the still image. Recall here the image of Atomu flying through the sky, an image repeated in almost every episode, as much a guarantee of the series as the theme song itself. In flight, Atomu is often suspended in a single, immobile pose, both arms half-extended, legs trailing with rocket fire coming out of his feet, flying through the sky. The background is pulled under the character, generating a sense of dynamism, of an image in movement and indeed the most thrilling kind of movement: flight. Immobility of the character image + sliding of the background layer = dynamism of the character. Atomu was both still and moving at the same time: *graphically still dynamism*, we have termed it.

It was this graphically still dynamism of the character image that was the key to the development of trans-media communication. For it was this very pose – arms half-extended, flying through the sky – that was characteristic of the *manga*, and became one of the principal images found in the Meiji stickers – and indeed on Meiji candy boxes and in the form of the chocolate itself in the case of the Meiji Model Chocolate discussed above [Figure 2.24]. This pose would later be replicated in the material form of the Tetsuwan Atomu metal toys, was emblazoned on running shoes, and so on. This graphically still image was the very basis for the trans-media connections formed around Atomu, which developed these connections to a greater degree than other, live-action series were capable. (In addition to the disjuncture between drawn and photographic, there was also too much movement in these latter series, not enough stillness, and not enough of the immobility that was at least in part responsible for the synergetic relations formed between media and commodity forms.) Moreover, there was an intensity to the still poses that came from the fact that they were not quite still, but were, rather, traversed by movement. The scenes of Atomu in flight were in some ways the most intense scenes of the series. They were scenes that evoked an Atomu at the very "height" of his powers, speeding his way towards a battle with a villain, preparing to save the day, and coordinated with the theme song. The immobility of the image was thus traversed with the intensity of potential-movement (what he would do to the villain of the week in the coming fight scene? – scenes that were generally the most fast-paced segments of the series); and the intensity of actual movement (as Atomu really flies through the animated skies). Thus, these moments of graphically still dynamism were ones traversed by a kind of intensity that was transposed across media series, and came to invest similarly posed images and objects – from toys to the *manga* images to running shoes to candy bars and the stickers themselves.

The stickers reproduced this graphical dynamism and its intensity all the while being still images. They replicated the poses in which Atomu flies through the sky, or points to the credits, or throws a punch, recalling the dynamism of the moving image, even in their stillness. It was, as I noted, the very stillness that allowed these stickers to communicate most effectively – and affectively, for the child spectator – with the mobile-immobile images of the *manga* and the *anime*. Moreover, the commercials for the Atomu *omake* evoked this graphically still dynamism, reminding children just how mobile a still image could be. In this sense we might turn back to the 1964 Marble Chocolates' *omake* TV commercial that we discussed above. As we saw, this ad features the Atomu sticker (or scratch-on "magic print") sliding across the screen to save the distraught Marble-chan from two menacing boys. This commercial replicates the principle of graphically still dynamism found in the *anime* insofar as we find the combination of an immobile sticker image and the principle of sliding planes that instill the image with dynamism. As this commercial aptly demonstrates, the sticker's literal stillness rides on the dynamic interplay of movement and stillness found in the *anime*. The sticker image (both onscreen in this advertisement and especially offscreen as the Marble Chocolates premium) thereby arrogates the potential for movement that characterizes the stilled *anime* image to itself.

The sticker in daily life thus functioned as a dynamically infused image: a still image that could *seemingly* be in motion at any moment; a still image nonetheless traversed by the movement-potential that marked the *anime* image. This Meiji-Atomu *omake* commercial also, once again, points to the displacement of the live-action star by the drawn character and the greater proclivity of the drawn image to cross media (even, in this case, intersecting with live action footage). Moreover, as we have seen here, there is not only sameness across media – the image-consistency of the character – but also difference.[236] The character not only crosses media without loss of consistency of style or form; it distinctly *adds* something of one medium to another. In this case it adds the *anime*'s dynamism and movement-potential to the otherwise still sticker image. Indeed, it is this surplus or *addition* – what, following Kan Tadamichi, we might call "multi-dimensionalization" – that arguably constitutes one of the major characteristics of media synergy.[237]

So if the *anime* gave movement to the sticker, what was it that the sticker gave to the *anime*? Even as the stickers communicated with the *manga* and the *anime* through the dynamically immobile Atomu image, they also had a material specificity of their own which is the third, and perhaps most important reason for their popularity. This specificity has three aspects. First, there was the *physical mobility* or *portability* of the stickers, which was enabled by their small size and their inclusion within the relatively affordable Meiji candy. Second, there was their adhesiveness or *stickerablity*; that is their ability to be placed anywhere, and on any surface. And finally, following from the first two aspects, there was their ability to be *seen anytime*. We might sum this up as: *anymovement, anywhere, anytime*. Stickering their shoes, clothes, desks, ceilings, school bags and books, the graphically still dynamism of the Atomu image was suddenly able to accompany young fans in all walks of their life, always there to remind them of their favorite character and his narrative world. Unlike the TV show, which only aired once a week, or the *manga*, which was bulky and less mobile, the sticker could be anywhere and everywhere; it was temporally and spatially mobile.[238] This meant that the pleasures of consuming the character of Atomu, and the pleasures of the Atomu world were similarly temporally and spatially diffused.

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[236] I will come back to the importance of this point at greater length in Chapter Four.

[237] In fact this is more of a multiplication or layering than simple addition; for as definitions of synergy propose, this is a phenomenon in which the whole amounts to something greater than its parts. Synergism, as defined by the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, is the "interaction of discrete agencies (as industrial firms), agents (as drugs), or conditions such that the total effect is greater than the sum of the individual effects." *Merriam-Webster Online*, http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/synergism [accessed September 6, 2007].

The sticker enabled a certain abstraction of the image that was not possible in other media forms. Whereas the characters of both the TV *anime* and the *manga* were embedded in specific material environments (the living room and the TV set for one; the *manga* book or magazine for the other) and narrative or pictorial settings – the sticker image of Atomu was abstracted from its pictorial and narrative setting as well as from its material apparatus. Free from its narrative or material framework, the sticker-possessing child was free to re-imagine and re-position the Atomu image and world as she or he pleased. While undoubtedly the sticker functioned as a conduit for the child's participation in the existing character world, the abstraction the sticker made possible also allowed the child to imagine this narrative world differently.[239]

Character Merchandising, Reconsidered

In Part One of this chapter we saw how the character image of Atomu exerted a kind of gravitational pull on heterogeneous media forms, attracting commodities and media to it, and generating increasingly convergent relations between heterogeneous products based on the principle of resemblance to the character image. But we find in the sticker a phenomenon that is in some ways the inverse of (if fundamentally complimentary to) this convergence: the abstraction, material proliferation and diffusion of the Atomu character image. Many writers both at the time and retrospectively have described the Atomu image as flying out from the TV screen into the everyday world of objects.[240] And it was precisely here that lay the genius of the sticker. It responded to what one might describe as a certain "impetus" or "drive" of the image to be everywhere; the image produced in the subject a desire to be surrounded by the image.[241] The image incited a desire within the consuming subject to have this image all around him or her, to create an Atomu world out of his or her surroundings. The stickers both responded to and produced this desire in an ever-more intense manner. Any surface could become an Atomu-related object; any object could be Atomu-ized and thereby serve as a means of re-integrating the subject into the pleasures of the TV show. In the long valley of a week's time between one episode and another, the stickers were a constant reminder of Atomu, and offered the subject the opportunity to re-integrate into the pleasures of the show.

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[238] Kan Tadamichi, as we will see in Chapter Four, pointed to *manga* as similarly having the properties of "anywhere, anytime" in an essay written in the 1950s about the *Akadô* phenomenon. The stickers, I would argue, should be seen both as a continuation of this phenomenon, but also as further dematerialization and fluidification that allowed them much greater circulation and mobility than the *manga* had. Kan, "Sengo no masu komi to jidô *manga* (2)"[Postwar mass communications and children's *manga* (2) (first published in 1960)] in *Jidô bunka no gendaishi* (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1968), 118.

[239] I will come back to importance of re-imagining the Atomu world through its character goods in my discussion of the "mass communications toy" in Chapter Four.

Newspaper, magazine and TV ads for Meiji's premiums emphasized this ability to cover one's world with Atomu images. Many of these ads show the Atomu stickers being applied to the bodies, faces and surroundings of the children recipients of the premiums. The set of instructions for the use of the stickers, printed on the reverse side of the early sticker sheets, guided children to cut out and affix the adhesives to objects such as one's school bag, pencil case, baseball, desk drawers, shoes and face [Figure 2.25].[242]

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[240] Kitahara Teruhisa, for example, writes that "It felt as if [Atomu goods] flooded out of the Braun tube and into the candy stores." Teruhisa, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi*, 183.

[241] It goes without saying that this "aspiration" of the image had its failures as much as its successes; the commercial success of a character is by no means guaranteed, and few and far between are the characters that attain the staying status of Atomu.

[242] Moreover the subjects of these ads and instruction booklets are girls as often as boys; while the magazine *Shônen* [Boy] where *Atomu* was serialized was coded for boys (as its title suggests), the *manga* as well as the *anime* was enjoyed by members of both genders; the relatively strict gender division of later *anime* had not yet set in.

Considering the appeal of the sticker, Tsunashima Ritomo, a child at the time of the Atomu sticker boom, writes:

> When I ask myself, 'What were Atomu stickers' greatest appeal?' I feel like it must have been that you could make everything around oneself into Atomu character goods. When Atomu stickers first appeared there weren't very many character product stationary goods. Most of the stationary products … were just serious products made only as studying tools, and were not things that children felt much affection towards. However, as soon as one stuck an Atomu sticker on one of those serious stationary goods, it immediately became an Atomu character product, and something one felt affection for. Nowadays things have characters on them from the start, so there is no need for this procedure. Probably the Atomu sticker boom was born precisely because it was at a time before the present inundation with character goods.[243]

As Tsunashima suggests, the material transferability of the sticker led to the proliferation of impromptu character goods. This in turn led to the transformation of goods from being mere "tools" (*dôgu*), based on their use value for studying, to being image-based media-commodities. We can perceive in this transformation an early signal of the shift towards a postmodern media sphere. For postmodernity's commodity culture sees, to quote Brian Massumi, "Use-value [being] overshadowed by fulfillment-effect, or image-value."[244] That is, we see a shift here from things taken from the perspective of their use, to things seen from the point of view of their affect-laden image-value. Contrary to theorists of postmodernity such as Fredric Jameson, who argues that this period of historical transformation sees "the waning of affect in postmodern culture,"[245] Anne Allison argues that contemporary consumer capitalism sees the "reenchanting [of] the everyday world" through the proliferation of affect-laden character goods.[246] Through this process a lifeless commodity (e.g. a school notebook) is transformed into an intimate companion (e.g. an Atomu notebook). As children stickered their surroundings with the image of Atomu, they also simultaneously transformed their surroundings into an Atomu environment, that is, an environment that was suffused with and re-enchanted by Atomu-based character goods, and the sense of intimacy they created. Moreover, as things became mediatized through the transformative function of the image-sticker, they also became incorporated into a communicational network that expanded the reach of the media into and onto the everyday objects of Atomu's young fans. The world of *Tetsuwan Atomu* was overlaid onto the world of its child consumers who in turn participated in the Atomu world at every point through the ubiquity of the character image.

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[243] Tsunashima Ritomo, *Atomu shîru to Tetsujin wappen* [Atomu Stickers and Tetsujin Badges] (Kyoto: Dankousha, 1998), 31

[244] Brian Massumi, "Everywhere You Want to Be: Introduction to Fear," in Brian Massumi, ed., *The Politics of Everyday Fear* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 15.

[245] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 10. Brian Massumi takes issue with this argument in "The Autonomy of Affect," *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Duke UP, 2002).

If the sticker is to be understood as a kind of prototypical form of character merchandising, as I suggest we should understand it, we are now prepared to elaborate a more theoretically precise definition of this phenomenon than that offered at the opening of this chapter. Character merchandising can thus be redefined as *a practice that operates through inciting a desire for the ubiquity of a character and its world, and providing the means for this desire to be satisfied through the material availability of the character image*. Yet if the creation of desire for character goods works through the incitation to ubiquity, character merchandising relies equally on the character image's power of attraction. Character merchandising, that is, works through the two complimentary tendencies of the character we have seen in this chapter: the attractive force of the character as immaterial entity in transforming surrounding goods and products into Atomu-related products; and the diffusive tendency of the materialized character (as sticker, chocolate, etc.) that enables the material expansion of this character image throughout the child's environment. It also relies on the synergetic effects these two tendencies give rise to. The Meiji-Atomu campaign of 1963 brought these operations together, arguably for the first time; it transformed surrounding media into a convergent relation with the character image, transforming candy and their premiums into Atomu goods; ignited the desire for character ubiquity; and provided the means of satisfying this desire through the proliferation of stickers, and the consumption and participation in character worlds they permitted.[247] This, in turn, marks a shift in the operations of consumer capitalism itself, which, as writers like Maurizio Lazzarato have recently emphasized, increasingly works through the production not only of *objects* but of *media-objects* and their *worlds* of consumption: "consumption consists not in buying or destroying a service or product as political economy and its critique teaches us, but means first and foremost belonging to a world."[248] One of the sites we see this transformation in capitalism and its modality of consumption is, I will argue throughout this dissertation, in the emergence of *anime* and its partner practice of character merchandising.

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[246] Anne Allison, *Millenial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 13. Allison argues that this animistic re-enchantment of the world is particular to Japan's "alternative capitalism," though, as she shows in her book, this "alternative" form of enchanted commodities is increasingly expanding outside of Japan, and arguably informs many practices of character merchandizing as well as branding outside of Japan as well.

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[247] With the sticker, the character became ubiquitous and environmentally diffuse in way it had never been before. Indeed, Kitahara Teruhisa argues that it was the avid stickering activities of the children of the Meiji campaign that led to the general practice of character marketing. It was from these activities, he writes, that "not only confectionaries, but TV stations, *anime* production companies, publishing houses and so on all learnt that 'if we put a character on something, it'll sell.'" Kitahara Teruhisa, *"Omake" no hakubutsushi*, 222.

[248] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme* (Paris: Les Empecheurs de Penser en Rond, 2004), 96. We will come back to this point, and this interesting theorist of contemporary capitalism, in Chapter Five.

Character Technology and Synergy

In this final section, I would like to take up once again the issue of the operational coincidence of the dissipative or dispersive effects of the material multiplication and environmental ubiquitization of the character image, with the gravitational pull of the abstract character that effectively brings formerly heterogeneous media series into convergent relation with the character image. On the one hand, the Meiji sticker campaign was responsible for the material expansion of media towards a spatially and temporally dispersed yet continuous media environment, as we have seen with the sticker. On the other hand this material expansion of the media intensified the attractive force of the character, which multiplied the number of media and commodities offering the Atomu image, as we have seen with the reorganization of product and *omake* around the character image. The intensity of the attraction of the character as a kind of immaterial force is indexed, we might argue, to the degree of material circulation of the character image.

Insofar as it acts as an abstract or immaterial force of attraction, the character can be defined as a device or mechanism that allows audio-visual media and other tie-in objects to connect. As such the character is a kind of technology of connection that works on both the material and the immaterial levels. While I will develop an understanding of the character in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five, here I would like to point out two attributes of the character as abstract technology of connection that work in concert with – and in some ways overlap – the two tendencies (attraction and dispersion) of the character I have been pointing to in this chapter.

The first is mobility, or what Itô Gô has recently referred to as the "autonomy of character."[249] The character is a particular combination of name and visual design[250] that is in some senses independent from any particular medium. Indeed, the nature of the character image is to travel across and between media, being embodied in each medium in distinct ways.[251] The drawn character is particularly well-suited, as we have seen, to facilitating crossovers between *manga*, *anime*, and video-games. It also translates particularly well into three-dimensional figures such as toys, whose production has been an essential part of the animation industry from the 1960s on. And the character of course has no resistance to being transposed to other two-dimensional media such as lunch-boxes and notebooks and candy packaging.

The second main attribute is the communicative nature of the character. Here, however, I am not referring to the commonplace that argues that character goods support inter-personal communication, becoming a subject of conversation between friends or family members.[252] What I am pointing to rather is the way that the character acts as what I would call a "communicative medium" that allows for the communication or connection of media themselves. The character is not only actualized in different media – celluloid, paper or plastic – each of which has its own specific material traits and specificities. The character is also an abstract device that allows for the communication across media series (and media materialities) to take place. The character is abstract because it is always in excess of its particular material incarnations. That is to say, the character cannot be reduced to any one of its incarnations, but must be thought both in its incarnations and in the ways that it exceeds them. It is this surplus that in turn allows different media and different material instances to communicate.

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[249] Itô Gô, *Tezuka izu deddo: Hirakareta manga hyôgenron e* [Tezuka is Dead: Towards an expanded theory of *manga* expression] (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2005), 54.

[250] According to the legal scholar Ushiki Ri'ichi, name and visual design are the minimal, and principal, requirements of the legal definition of a character. Ushiki Ri'ichi, *Kyarakutâ senryaku to shôhin kaken* [Character Strategy and Merchandizing Rights] (Tokyo: Hatsumei Kyôkai, 2000), 23; 42. However as writers such as Azuma Hiroki have pointed out, the conception of a specific character also extends to its sonic attributes such as favorite phrases or expressions, as well as particular speech patterns. See Azuma Hiroki *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* [The animalizing postmodern] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2001). A famous example of the latter can be found in the character Lum from Takahashi Rumiko's *Urusei Yatsura*, who drawing from a regional expression, adds "dattcha" to the ends of her sentences.

[251] In *Tezuka is Dead*, Itô Gô has emphasized this mobile aspect of the character, and has argued that this mobile substrate of the character – what he calls the "*kyara*," using the contemporary Japanese abbreviation of the longer term *kyarakutâ* – is the basis for the development of all *characters*, including the more psychologically deep characters that he suggests developed in the postwar period with Tezuka Osamu's *manga*. In this dissertation, however, it is what Itou calls the *kyara* that interests me most.

[252] This aspect of the character is emphasized in much literature on the character phenomenon in Japan. For example, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters), Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyûjo. (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001). I will come back to the question of communication in Chapter Four.

Yet the character's autonomy from any specific media incarnation, and its ability to allow material instances of the character to communicate do not spell the end to medium specificity. Rather, each manifestation of the character foregrounds the different properties of the medium in which it appears. Movement-stillness, for *anime*; sequential narrative, for *manga*; interiority and narrative realism for light novels; weight, dimensionality and plasticity for toys; manipulability and interface for video games – to describe but the most basic aspects of each medium in which we find the character today. In this respect, the character in its media crossings generates, on the one hand, a degree of convergence between media forms around its image – hence the importance of the drawn character, which develops these relations of resemblance more effectively. Part of this work involves the effective erasure of heterogeneity between media types in favor of a kind of consonance or convergence around the character image. On the other hand, however, the character as immaterial media connector "abstracts" some of the specificity of each medium it is incarnated in – a specificity that remains despite the homogenizing force of the character – and brings this specificity to bear on other of its material incarnations.

The relation of movement to stillness is particularly important in this regard. The sticker, for example, borrows the mobility of the *anime* image; it arrogates the graphically still dynamism of *anime* (one of the core properties of the latter medium) to itself. At the same time the sticker brings another kind of mobility to the mix: physical mobility in the sense of *portability* or environmental ubiquity. The *anime* character thereby gains the property of physical ubiquity along with its graphically still dynamism. The character as abstract entity is in this sense not only *autonomous* from any specific medium, it is also *tinged with* or doubled by the specificity of each medium it incarnates or actualizes in. Each material incarnation thus effectively transforms the abstract character image. And this tinging or layering of the specificity of each of the character's incarnations (the dynamic stillness of *anime* + physical ubiquity of the sticker + materiality of the toy, etc.) compounds, snowballs.[253]

The effect of synergy – that much bandied-about yet too little theorized term of the contemporary lexicon – thus arises first, through the number of different visual media series the character is materialized in; second, through the work the abstract device of the character undertakes in connecting these material instances or media series – since without this connective work the first level would just remain a collection of disconnected objects and media; and third, through the multi-dimensional, compounded qualities of different media this abstract character brings to each of its incarnations. It is the character's multiple incarnations, its work of connecting different media or allowing diverse media series to communicate, and its compounding of the specificity of one medium of incarnation in another that gives rise to the synergetic effect. *Synergy is the overall, global effect of a kind of palimpsest-ic augmentation of multiple media and commodity incarnations.* And it is this synergism that in turn gives each of the character's multiple incarnations their persuasive, snowballing force.

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[253] Brian Massumi writes: "The world is in a condition of constant qualitative growth… The world is self-augmenting. Reality 'snowballs,' as William James was fond of saying." Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 12. There is a similar sense in which the reality of the character is also self-augmenting, or snowballing, at least to the degree of the number of media it incarnates in.

There is a high level of reciprocity, then, between the material proliferation of the character image, the autonomy of the character from any specific incarnation, the immaterial operation of the character as media connector, and the character's force as an attractor of media series. The character as attractor works to proliferate the number of material character goods. The immaterial character as connector or attractor draws on the specificity of each material incarnation; and each material incarnation is then invested with the layered effects of other such incarnations. This is also to say that the effects of synergy are felt both within and across every material incarnation; insofar as the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, each part is also greater that the part alone. Put more simply, *the synergetic whole is experienced and present in every part*. The immaterial character connects and augments; the material incarnation provides the ground for this multi-layered augmentation and for the physical proliferation that generates the desire for further consumption. Synergy – like that phenomenon of which its is a part, character merchandising – must of necessity work through both material and immaterial means, each dependent on the other.

The double operation of the character as immaterial connector/attractor and material image proliferator allows it to serve as a prime vehicle for rethinking the relation between media materiality and the immaterial within the consumption practices developed with the emergence of *anime* in the 1960s, and continuing into Japan's postmodern present. Such a rethinking is necessary in the legacy of postmodern theories of consumption that dominated the 1980s and much of the 1990s discourse on visual and cultural practices, in both Japan and North America. These theories emphasized the consumption of immaterial signs – what was called "semiotic consumption" (*kigôteki shôhi*) – over and above the material object being consumed.[254] These theories were built upon Jean Baudrillard's highly influential dictum that "the logic of consumption… is a logic of the sign and of difference."[255] Baudrillard and his followers emphasized that consumption only operated within a particular system of relational differences that operated on the model of the Saussurian concept of language.

While this work is important for emphasizing the relational basis of consumption and for critiquing the presumed neutrality of needs, it also tended to give rise to the presumption that all consumption was motivated by the systemic and differential consumption of immaterial signs or signifiers. In short, it neglected to leave space for a consideration of the persisting importance of material products in supporting these signs and motivating consumption. Undoubtedly what are being sold today are product-images, and in the case of image-media, images as products (presuming there still remains a difference between the two). Nevertheless, even if we were to grant that the image is a mere sign, the semiotic or imagistic level of the object and its material substrate are nowhere near as separable as the proponents of this immaterialistic theory of consumption assume. Rather, as I have attempted to show in this consideration of the sticker, modes of consumption and media conditions are intricately linked to both material and immaterial phenomenon. There would have been no explosion of character merchandising without the immaterial attraction and the material expansion of the character image in its multiple media forms. Hence we are confronted with the renewed need to examine the materiality of the forms in which moving image media forms are embedded, even as we must rethink and expand the notion of the medium itself to encompass such entities as the sticker.

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[254] This reliance on an immaterial conception of the sign and its consumption was introduced into the study of *anime* and *manga* consumption through the work of Ôtsuka Eiji, who explicitly cites Baudrillard in several of his works. See, for example, Ôtsuka's *Teihon Monogatari shôhiron* [On the Consumption of Narrative: Standard Edition] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2001), and *Tasogare toki ni mitsuketa mono: "Ribon" no furoku to sono jidai* [Things Found at Twilight: "*Ribon*" Premiums [*furoku*] and Their Age] (Tokyo: Ota Shuppan, 1991). The latter work is a reading of 1970s girls' magazine *furoku* in terms of the concept of the consumption of signs.

[255] Jean Baudrillard, "The Ideological Genesis of Needs"[1969] in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (Saint Louis: Telos Press, 1981), 66.

Here, by way of conclusion, we might say that the sticker's ability to be materially anywhere and temporally anytime accelerated the development of character seriality, or its immaterial power of attraction and intermedia communication. The stickers provided the material basis for the character's tending towards ubiquity. In turn, the abstract technology of the character allowed the communication between the various media series to take place, making Atomu stickers more than just stand-alone objects. The communicative aspect of the character, buttressed on the one hand by its drawn nature and on the other by the motion-stillness economy of *anime*, fit glove-like with the materially mobile nature of the stickers in a co-creative process whose ultimate result was the generation of consumer desire, the ubiquitization of the character image, and the beginning in earnest of the practice of character merchandizing that became the kingpin of the *anime* system, and continues unabated to this day.

CHAPTER THREE:

MEDIA MIXES, MEDIA TRANSFORMATIONS

Thus far we have seen several key characteristics of the *anime* media system: the gravitational pull the character exerts on other media, transforming heterogeneous commodities or media into character-based media-commodities; the tendency of the character image to circulate or diffuse throughout the environment, independent from a single medium or object; the communication across material instances of the character through the consistency in drawing style and the very stillness of the *anime* media; and the trans-media synergy generated through this process. This transformation, connection and diffusion of media are key characteristics not only of character merchandising, but also of another trans-media phenomenon whose development overlaps with yet also differs from the former: the media mix. This latter concept and phenomenon will be the principal subject of inquiry of this chapter

The term media mix is the most widely used term to describe the state of serial interconnection of media – and the development of a particular media franchise across multiple media types, over a particular period of time – that characterizes contemporary Japanese visual and print culture. Yet, despite its importance, this term is both under-theorized and suffers from a lack of historicization. Indeed it is surprising how a term so important for thinking the present and past of Japanese media could be so critically neglected.[256] There has been remarkably little serious consideration of the meaning of the term “media mix,” much less any attempt to situate it in relation to its genealogical origins: postwar American and Japanese marketing discourse. Indeed, while the term continues to be used within contemporary marketing discourse, it is by far overshadowed by the popular use of the term to describe the kind of circulation of characters and narratives across media types which is an essential part of the *anime* system. Yet, there has been no attempt to differentiate the two quite distinct uses of the term, or even to point out that this term comes from the realm of marketing theory.

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[256] There are four exceptions to this neglect. The first is the research project of Yokohama Yûji, which centers around thinking the challenge to criticism the media mix's dispersal of a work across series presents to the critic, is one exception to this critical neglect (see his "'Shinseiki Evangelion' ni okeru monogatari seikai no kôsei: Media Mikkusu sakuhinron no kansei" (The narrative world and composition of *Evangelion*: The possibilities for a media mix theory of the work) in *Nihon Bungaku*, January 2006, pgs 51-86). However Yokoyama's work tends to fall into mere description - simply describing the differences between media instances rather than thinking critically about them. The second exception is the work of

The aims of this chapter will be, first, to elucidate the genealogical origins of the term media mix and differentiate this usage of the term from its more common, contemporary usage; second, to contest the common-sense history of the media mix by linking it to transformations in the sphere of children’s media culture that we find occurring with the rise of *anime*; and third to describe the transformations in the media sphere that the rise of the media mix phenomenon brought about. In so doing this chapter will also provide a clearer sense of the shift in the conception and nature of media and commodities that occurred in the early 1960s – in part due to the emergence of *anime* media – and that comes to be an essential aspect of the historical shift from a modern or Fordist social regime to a postmodern or post-Fordist one. For the sake of clarity I will

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Azuma Hiroki who also addresses the issues raised by the media mix, particularly in his two volume work, *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* [The Animalizing Postmodern]. Azuma is more critically astute, and with his concept of the media environment comes terminologically close to the transformations I describe in this chapter. Yet I would argue that what he calls “environment” is not much different than what is otherwise known as “ideology” (in the Althusserian sense) – whereas what I aim to describe in my use of the term environment points to the mediatization of inhabited space. See Azuma’s *Gêmu teki riarizumu no tanjô: Doubutsuka suru posutomodan 2* [The Birth of Game-ic Realism: The Animalization of the Postmodern 2] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2007)). A third exception is the work of Anne Allison which, while useful for its effort to link the media mix of the 1990s to transformations in capitalism, gives little historical sense of the phenomenon under discussion – a problem found with Yokoyama and Azuma as well. Finally the work of Thomas Lamarre, particularly in his analysis of the trans-media development of Oshii Mamoru’s *anime* and novel and video game series, *Blood the Last Vampire*, suggests a particularly strong example of the possibilities both of media mix narrative development, and of media mix criticism. See Lamarre, “First Time as Farce: Digital Animation and the Repetition of Cinema,” in *Cinema Anime*, ed. Steven T. Brown (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 178-9.

distinguish the marketing term "media mix" that emerged in the early 1960s from the later use of the term by referring to the former as the "marketing media mix"[257] and to the latter as the "*anime* media mix."[258] I will suggest that the precondition for the transformation from the marketing media mix to the *anime* media mix is a transformation in the conception and practice of media that occurred with the emergence of a *de facto anime* mix circa 1963.[259]

An important subtext to this chapter is the problem of the historical shift from the modern into the postmodern, or, from a Fordist mode of production and consumption, to a post-Fordist one. While I will return to this historical transformation from different angles in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, in this chapter I would like to emphasize the correspondence between the transformation from the marketing media mix to the *anime* media mix and the transformation from modern/Fordist mode of production/consumption to a postmodern/post-Fordist one. Yet this parallel, which matches the emergence of the *anime* media mix to the emergence of postmodern media conditions, also, it should be said, reveals a certain disjunction. This disjunction is visible first in terms of periodization: the *anime* media mix emerges a good decade before the usual periodization of the emergence of postmodernity or post-Fordism in Japan as in Europe and North America 1973. Moreover, it occurs simultaneous to the era of high Fordism and the emergence of the society of mass consumption in Japan. Thus, we will suggest that the media conditions proper to post-Fordism emerge not after the era of high Fordism, but within it. Post-Fordist media conditions emerge alongside and indeed within the era of mass consumption normally associated with Fordist social formations.[260]

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[257] In a further complication of this crowded terminological domain, "marketing media mix" as used here should not be confused with the "marketing mix," one of the most fundamental concepts of modern marketing, which refers to the "4Ps" of Product, Price, Place and Promotion. Advertising (and hence the marketing media mix) would be one component of the fourth "P": Promotion.

[258] This term is also used with some caution. Indeed there is some inaccuracy in calling the later manifestation of the media mix "*anime* media mix" since the deployment of this media mix is not limited to *anime*, but prominently includes live-action TV series and films as well. However two reasons justify this usage. First, it is my contention that the mode of linking media together was concretized around TV *anime* as it emerged in the early 1960s. And second, the term presently refers to a phenomenon that is most prevalent in *anime* and its related media cultures (video games, comics and light novels), though of course this term is applied to the non-*anime* media mix as well, such as films, music soundtracks and lately, according to Ôtsuka Eiji, politics as well. See Ôtsuka Eiji's brief yet provocative comments on media mix politics in, "Kyarakutâ ka suru seiji / Media mikkusu ka suru nashonarizumu," [The Character-ization of Politics / The Media Mix-ization of Nationalism] in *Sengo minshu shugi no rihabiritêshon* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko, 2001/2005).

[259] It is also worth emphasizing that while I will be framing my discussion in terms of a certain transition between one sense of the media mix (marketing) and another (*anime* media mix), the marketing sense of the term media mix continues to be used to this day within marketing textbooks and discourse. For example the marketing media mix merited a section in the recently revised and rewritten marketing manual, *Atarashii kôkoku*, published by Japan's largest ad agency, Dentsu. See *Atarashii kôkoku* (New Advertising), Shimamura Kazue ed. (Tokyo: Dentsu, 2006), 156-158.

Second, there is a causal disjunction: the cultural and media conditions of consumption of post-Fordism emerged prior to the economic transformations that are supposed in many accounts to have brought these cultural transformations on. That is, the emergence of a particular mode of "postmodern" serial consumption occurs prior to economic shifts that mark the emergence of postmodernity itself. Capitalism in its post-Fordist manifestation should thus be understood to depend on transformations in consumption and the media environment that occurred independently of the determinations of a late capitalist formation in search for new means of accumulation. It would thus seem that capitalism, in its moment of crisis (a crisis of production as much as consumption) in the 1970s, took up and generalized transformations that occurred in spheres (namely children's media culture) previously ancillary to the main theatre of accumulation (the production and consumption of consumer durables), but which would in time become central to the post-Fordist model of accumulation.

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[260] Other theorists of the shift have made a similar point. Fredric Jameson, for instance, rightly recognizes the 1960s as "the key transition period" to the postmodern in "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998* (London: Verso, 1998), 3.

The media transformations dealt with in this chapter thus force us to reconceptualize the modern/postmodern or Fordism/post-Fordism divide.[261] One way to frame this is to say that to be true to the concept of the "cultural turn" – the idea that capitalism is now guided as much by the cultural level as the economic – we must assume that capital alone cannot be responsible for the necessary shifts in and of culture.[262] Rather, a complex series of determinations (including cultural, narratological, technological, medium-specific, as well as economic elements) generated these shifts that capital later took up. At the core of these shifts is the phenomenon of the media mix. While this phenomenon began to develop in the 1950s (with early precursors to the media mix like *Akadô Suzunosuke*), it first took concrete shape in the early 1960s (with the rise of television *anime*), and became the cultural dominant somewhat later – in the mid-1970s. Let us turn to the media mix, then, that codeword for the media and cultural transformations that would later be key in the transition to a post-Fordist regime of accumulation.

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[261] Though I use both the term "postmodern" and "post-Fordist" to describe the present socio-cultural-economic space, I prefer the latter phrase, which does not carry with it the cultural baggage the term "postmodern" does. The postmodern has been, in my view, too closely associated with characteristics associated with particular artistic or literary movements – pastiche over parody, surface over depth, space over time – that conceal other transformations that are arguably more lasting and more deserved of our attention. In particular, and under consideration in this dissertation, are the transformations in forms of consumption and production that attend media transformations that are in large part irrespective of the characteristics of these literary or cultural forms that were the emphasis of earlier theorists of the postmodern, the most eminent and more interesting of whom is Fredric Jameson. The dangers of anchoring an understanding of the current era in culturalist descriptions is highlighted, I think, in some of the 1980s work of Karatani Kôjin, who argued that the Japan of the 19th century – because of its language games and love for pastiche – was postmodern *avant-la-lettre*. If the concept of the postmodern is to have any theoretical weight, it must be anchored in an analysis of the specificities of the present that does not allow for its easy universalization. See Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); Karatani Kôjin, "One Spirit, Two Nineteenth Centuries," in *Postmodernism and Japan*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989).

[262] Fredric Jameson describes the postmodern cultural turn as "a remarkable historic development in our time, namely the immense expansion of culture and commodification into all these fields – politics and economics, for example – from which it was rightly differentiated in the daily life of the modern period." "'End of Art' or 'End of History'?" in *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998* (London: Verso, 1998), 86.

Shifting Temporalities of Consumption and the Circulation of the Character Image

As I suggested in the last chapter, one of the principal issues that the Atomu and post-Atomu *omake* premium campaigns raise is that of the convergence of media and object types around the character, and the circulation of the character image in multiple media forms. If the main personage of the candy maker Meiji Seika's Marble Chocolate campaign shifts from the young girl Uehara Yukari or "Marble-chan" to Atomu, what we find is not a simple replacement of Marble-chan by Atomu, but a transformation in the very role and breadth of circulation of the candy company's icon. Yukari's personage certainly circulated far and wide: on TV, in newspaper and magazine ads, in point-of-purchase display shelves, on posters, and on the radio. Yukari seemed a celebrity, but one whose face and voice were linked exclusively to Meiji. Yet this was also a limitation: she was everywhere sponsored by Meiji, and so did not circulate without Meiji's direct intervention. Meiji was the sole instigator of the circulation of Yukari's image.

Things changed with Atomu. On the one hand, the character image, particularly in its incarnation as a sticker, gained wider circulation through the Meiji campaign. Unlike the Atomu image in the TV *anime* or the *manga* – embedded, as it were, in specific material environments (the living room and the TV set for one; the *manga* book or magazine for the other; and a narrative setting for both) – the sticker image saw the character abstracted from its usual narrative setting and material apparatus. While the character image was embedded in a new material setting – the candy package – its abstraction from the *manga* and *anime* narrative or material framework meant that the image gained a mobility and portability that was unprecedented.

On the other hand, the image of Atomu began to circulate independently of Meiji's machinations. It was independent not only from the TV series and the *manga*, but also from the Marble campaign itself. While this wider circulation of the Atomu image strengthened Meiji's own campaign, it also made Meiji dependent upon the character in ways it had not imaged – to the extent that the campaign's marketing directors, as we saw in the last chapter, began to feel that the tail was wagging the dog.[263] This was a medium-independence (discussed in the previous chapter in terms of the character's immateriality), as well as a company/product-independence (the character image was not exclusively tied to Meiji, its products, or its promotional campaigns).[264] The Atomu image appeared on the TV show, in the *manga*, and, increasingly, in the numerous other companies' products that developed products around the Atomu image or form. From the nexus created by this continuous expansion of the Atomu world into domains of children's culture, the weekly appearance of Atomu on television in ever-new situations and scenarios, as well as his monthly appearance in *manga*, the character gained a dynamism that the former idol of Marble Chocolates could never match.

This was a dynamism generated by perpetual renewal, combined with a recognizability maintained through the consistency of character image, design and limited *anime* movement. The stillness of the image, and the reuse of patterns of movement and poses in the *anime* were, as we have seen, key to maintaining its consistency and communication across media forms. This graphical recognizability was also supported by a consistency of personality, in that the character is always bright in outlook and always willing and ready to save the world – whether in *manga*, *anime* or in Meiji's television commercials. Yet this minimal requirement of recognizability was offset by the perpetual introduction of novelty – new characters, new narratives, new products.

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[263] "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go to otonatachi" (Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-go and Adults), *Shûkan Sankei* (May 11th, 1964 edition), 22.

[264] This independence was of course relative; and different character managers exert differing degrees of control over their character. Presumably the rival chocolate maker Morinaga could not have used Meiji's Atomu image. But toys makers, plastic model makers, banks and publishing houses could.

What we find is thus a strong combination of commercial repetition and difference. Interest in Atomu was sustained both through the periodic introduction of novelty through new scenarios, new figurines, and new information about the character; and through the repetitious patterns of movement, poses and behaviors that maintained the currency and recognizability of the Meiji and other character merchandise. It is this dialectic between novelty and repetition that makes it somewhat inaccurate to describe the *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV show as 30-minute commercial for Atomu merchandise, as many writers over the years have.[265] Certainly there was a relative collapse in the distinction between program and advertisement; *Tetsuwan Atomu* promoted and accelerated the purchase of Atomu-based products. However the form of the television commercial brings to mind a static and unchangingly repetitive media object, whereas it was precisely the dynamic interaction between repetition and difference that was most important in the case of Atomu and its successors. Every new weekly appearance was also a novel appearance of the character that expanded its narrative world and kept it refreshingly new for the viewer and consumer – even as the patterned poses, moments of stillness, and generic narrative forms guaranteed that no products became outmoded over time.[266] This repetition-and-expansion is thus quite different from the repetition-based television commercial, for which reason this latter term does not capture the expansion of the character world that each weekly episode undertook.

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[265] As early as 1964 the advertising critic Yamakawa Hiroji writes that "The program and the commercial's relations have already become one entity. Can we not say that the entire 30 minutes of *Tetsuwan Atomu* is a commercial for the 'Atomu caramels' commodity?" See Yamakawa " 'Bangumi' to 'komâsharu' no *aidagara*: Nihon demo 'pâtishipeeshon' ga hajimaru" [The relationship between 'program' and 'commercial': 'Participation' begins in Japan too], *Senden Kaigi* (August 1964), 53. The suggestion that the program has itself become a commercial is also put forward in American and Canadian critics' discussions of what, from the 1980s, were known as "toy-based programs" or "program-length commercials." This is a very similar phenomenon to what emerged in Japan in the early 1960s and yet, thanks to the efforts of government regulatory bodies, did not emerge in North America until the 1980s. For discussions of character merchandising and the blurring of programming and advertising in the North American context, see especially Stephen Kline, *Out of the Garden: Toys and Children's Culture in the Age of TV Marketing* (London: Verso, 1993), Ellen Seiter, *Sold Separately: Parents and Children in Consumer Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), and for an account of the phenomenon from someone within the television industry, see Cy Schneider, *Children's Television: The Art, the Business, and How it Works* (Lincolnwood: NTC Business Books, 1987).

Yet if television commercial the *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV series was not, promotion it certainly was. Inoue Masaru, in a 1964 article, suggestively called this phenomenon the "echo strategy," whereby the development of consumption of one product line (or media series) echoed forward into a demand for further media or products.[267] Every episode of *Atomu* was indeed such a site for the promotional "echo" onto other Atomu products.[268] But as the term echo itself suggests, this is no mere repetition, but a kind of differential expansion – or echoing – of the character world. It was this echo effect and the differential expansion of the Atomu world that lead to its importance and dynamism as a promotional tool for Meiji. The autonomy of the character-icon of Atomu from Meiji's control was to the latter's benefit, even if its marketing campaigns were increasingly controlled by the movements of the character, rather than being controlled by the candy or its maker.

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[266] As we saw in the last chapter, the Meiji stickers as well as other forms of Atomu goods were in large part based on a selection of poses and character designs that appear regularly on the TV show and in the *manga*. A sudden change in character design, the demotion of Atomu to a second tier character, or the sudden change in narrative pattern would not only threaten the TV show's popularity, it would also render the existing character merchandise immediately outmoded. In this sense character merchandising was not only the necessary condition for *anime*, it was also its straightjacket. This aspect changed somewhat during the 1970s when the deliberate outmoding of existing products through the continuous introduction of new and remodeled characters itself became a strategy to promote consumption, particularly as toy makers replaced candy makers as the principal sponsors of *anime*.

[267] Inoue Masaru, "Hanbai sokushin no tame no 'ekô sakusen,'" [An 'Echo Strategy' for the Promotion of Sales] *Senden kaigi* (April 1964), 104-7.

[268] Yamakawa Hiroji stresses the function of this echo strategy in the context of children's television *anime*. See in particular his "Shôhinka keikaku ni tsunagaru terebi *manga* no bûmu" [The TV *manga* boom as it is connected to merchandising plans] in *Senden Kaigi* (June 1964) and his "'Bangumi' to 'komâsharu' no *aidagara*: Nihon demo 'pâtishipeeshon' ga hajimaru," cited above.

The consequences of this circulation of the character image lay not only in the establishment of *anime* as a commercial medium capable of supplying marketing tools for candy companies. Rather, as we began to see in the previous chapter, the significance of the emergence of the *anime* system is equally to be found in its transformations of the temporality and rhythm of media and object consumption. The explosion of character goods subsequent to the Meiji sticker campaign ensured that there was no longer a forced break between the consumption of a TV show from one week to the next. Rather, with the proliferation of media and commodities carrying the image and narrative of the character, a continuous mode of consumption of the character became possible. The stickers, while fundamental to the establishment of character merchandising as a practice, quickly became only one element in this environment of continuous consumption.

Other important elements included the *manga* itself, which could be read whenever one had a free moment. Aside from its monthly serialization in *Shônen* magazine, Kappa Comics published entire volumes of the *Tetsuwan Atomu manga* in its collected, B5 size formats which quickly became record bestsellers – and which also, following Meiji Seika's lead, included Atomu stickers in every book.[269] On top of this Mushi Productions released its own fan club magazine, *Atomu Club*. Published monthly, *Atomu Club* included episodes of Atomu unavailable from other venues, as well as a plethora of information about Tezuka Osamu and other subjects of interest. Then there were the records. The voice of Atomu and his uplifting theme song – which was very literally associated with upward movement, since the song came on predominantly in scenes where Atomu rises into the sky to battle his next foe – could be listened to at will thanks to Asahi "Sono Sheet" records.[270] One could play with Atomu toys, or build Atomu models. Drink from an Atomu cup while wearing Atomu shoes and writing a letter with Atomu pencil. And cover oneself and one's surroundings over with Atomu stickers.

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[269] Mori Haruji, *Zusetsu: Tetsuwan Atomu* (Illustrated: Tetsuwan Atomu) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 2003), 93.

In short, there was very little time of the day when the Atomu fan had to be completely separated from her or his idol. This acceleration of the temporality of consumption, and the development of a potentially continuous form of consumption marks the particular kind of character commerce that emerges with *Tetsuwan Atomu* and subsequent television *anime*. The importance of the development of a continuous mode of consumption for understanding wider shifts in capitalism is signaled by Jeremy Rifkin, who writes of the re-framing of the consumer within contemporary business and marketing practices. Rather than conceiving of the company-consumer relationship as being based on one-off purchases, companies more and more endeavor to create ongoing relationships with their consumers, developing the kind of continuous relationship of consumption under discussion here. The fan club magazine and other modes of generating a continuous relationship between Atomu and his fans are, in this sense, low-tech versions of what have more recently been dubbed "relationship technologies" –

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[270] "Sono Sheets" were the invention of a French company; very thin, flexible records, they could be played on a real record player, or a cheap paper toy record player, and in the case of Atomu often came with Atomu story or picture books. After the Atomu sono sheet became a "great hit," subsequent children's TV shows were also made into sono sheets. Nakano Haruyuki, "Subarashiki Showa 30 nendai: Dai 7 kai, Media Mikkusu no sakigake: Sono Sheeto" (The Wonderful Showa 30s: Installment Seven, The Forerunner of the Media Mix: Sono Sheets) in *Iguzamina* (Examiner) (May 2005) #212, 16.

technologies that create and maintain relationships between company and consumer.[271] Finally this development of a mode of continuous consumption and a dispersal of the media text across time and space also leads to what we might call an "environmentalization" of the text, a transformation in the conception of the media text to a media ecology or media environment – something we will return to below.

Kadokawa Shoten and the Media Mix

The independence of the character and its ability to circulate across both media and commodities, the form of character-based connectivity developed between one medium and another, and the temporal continuity of consumption are several of the principal characteristics of the *anime* system. They are also several of the necessary conditions for the emergence of the regime of trans-media seriality that has been known since the mid-1980s in Japan by the term "media mix." Thus, I would argue that the model of what is now known as the media mix can be traced to the 1963 emergence of television *anime* and its development of character merchandising and the trans-media relations on which it depends.[272] However, this *anime* media mix is often assumed to begin not with *anime* in the 1960s but with the mid-1970s endeavors of a particular publishing house: Kadokawa Shoten (Kadokawa Books). While this attribution makes sense from a limited perspective grounded in institutions and media empires, I would argue that it masks a longer history of the media mix that extends at least to the emergence of *anime* in the 1960s. I would thus suggest that the Kadokawa media mix should been regarded as an expansion of the logic and strategy of the *anime* media mix. That is, the Kadokawa media group was able to develop its strategy of media interconnection in part through an understanding of the workings of the serial interconnection of media and commodities in the children's media sphere as of the 1960s. Nonetheless, it is worth considering Kadokawa's project and its media mix strategy, for whether it pioneered this strategy or not, its version of the media mix has been highly influential on the Japanese media and publishing industries since the mid-1970s – and on the *anime* industry itself.[273] It is thus an important element in a genealogy of the *anime* media mix, and will bring out the specificities of this media mix particularly as it is compared to the marketing media mix. Before describing Kadokawa's project and evaluating its media mix strategy, it is worth getting two rough definitions of the media mix on the table.

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[271] Rifkin discusses relationship technologies and the use of fan clubs to bring together a "community" of consumers in *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism Where All of Life is a Paid-For Experience* (New York: Putnam, 2000), 99-100; 110.

[272] It must be said that, as I noted in Chapter Two, Atomu was not the first instance of serial interrelation between media texts – examples such as *Akadô Suzunosuke* and *Gekkô Kamen* from the 1950s in some sense prepare the way. However there is a certain qualitative transformation that occurs with Atomu such that the media mix can be said to emerge with the *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV *anime*, even if it is prefigured in earlier texts from the 1950s.

The media mix as it was defined in marketing discourse – what I am calling the marketing media mix – is best described as a method of advertising that used multiple media forms to get an advertising message across to consumers, and a set of techniques, mathematical algorithms and so on used to choose which among the four principal media of television, radio, newspapers, and magazines to use for a particular product's ad campaign. In making these decisions, the considerations involved include: how wide the audience for the ads should be; how many people should see the ad and how many times; which media give the widest coverage and which media have the greatest impact; what size (spatial) or length (temporal) of ads have greatest impact within each medium; how long the ad campaign will run, and so on. As I describe in further detail below, this concern with the media mix arose from a certain awakening on the part of marketing practitioners to the variety of possible media through which a product might be advertised, and the increasing demand on the part of ad firms and their potential customers for a quantitative breakdown of the cost-effectiveness of using specified media combinations to get across a particular message. As an advertising dictionary succinctly puts it, the media mix is the a way of "conducting advertising activities through the selection and combination of multiple media (*baitai*) via an advertising plan."[274]

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[273] Kadokawa is presently one of the major media mix conglomerates in Japan, accounting for many of the *manga* magazines, TV series, films and video games associated with the *anime* media mix since the 1980s and 1990s.

The *anime* media mix as it is referred to in popular and critical discourse refers to two phenomena: the phenomenon of one work being translated or deployed across numerous media; and the synergetic use of multiple media works to sell other such works within the same family or group.[275] To take a recent example, the popularity of the *anime* version of the "light novel" series *Suzumiya Haruhi* increased the sales of the multi-volume book series, as well as the light novel magazine where it was serialized. Moreover the growth in popularity of the novels subsequent to the *anime*'s television broadcast virtually ensured voluminous sales of the DVD versions of the series; and every ad for the TV series increases the sales of the novels as well. Synergy, as we saw in the last chapter, is a phenomenon whereby the total effect of the combination of the parts is greater than their sum; the whole is greater than the sum of the parts,[276] and the whole, we added, is also present in every part. Yet, as this broad definition implies, the production of a synergetic effect through the use of the media mix is not limited to the goals of commercial success, but also presents new possibilities not extant in the individual media works alone – possibilities, for example, for a reconceptualization of narrative, and for the creation of trans-medial works.[277]

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[274] *Koukoku yougo jiten* [A Dictionary of Advertising Terminology], ed. Nikkei Koukoku Kenkyûjo (Tokyo: Nikkei Keizai Shinbunsha, 1978; 2005), 175. Here it is worth noting the existence of two words in Japanese that designate the English term "media." The loanword *media* (as in *media mikkusu*) is used in the English sense of the "media" or the "mass media"; *baitai* is closer to the English terms "medium," or "vehicle" as in a medium of transmission, or a vehicle of transmission of a particular message.

[275] The former definition corresponds to the definition Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin provide of the US industry term, "repurposing": "to take a 'property' from one medium and reuse it in another," in *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 45.

Yet it was for the explicit goal of commercial success that the young, recently appointed president of Kadokawa Books, Kadokawa Haruki, took the company down the path of the media mix. Under Kadokawa Haruki's father, Kadokawa Gen'yoshi, the founder of the company who passed away in 1975 leaving it to his eldest son, Kadokawa Books was a respected, second-tier publishing house that was known for its literary orientation, publishing classics of literature, particularly those from the Showa era (1926-1989). Kadokawa Gen'yoshi's goal in establishing the publishing house in the immediate postwar period lay in his belief that "Publishing is the road by which a defeated Japan may recover" and he vowed to work to "persistently point the path towards the reconstruction and ordering of the culture of our homeland" through the publication of quality literature.[278] Haruki's goal, on the other hand, clearly lay in transforming Kadokawa into a multi-media, money-making enterprise.

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[276] Once again I cite the *Merriam-Webster Online* definition: the "interaction of discrete agencies (as industrial firms), agents (as drugs), or conditions such that the total effect is greater than the sum of the individual effects." http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/synergism [accessed September 6, 2007].

[277] Once again I would suggest that Thomas Lamarre's comments on Oshii Mamoru's *anime* and novel and video game series, *Blood the Last Vampire*, suggest a particularly striking example of the possibilities both of media mix narrative and of media mix criticism. See Lamarre, "First Time as Farce," 178-9. In this regard, the example cited above of *Suzumiya Haruhi* is particularly interesting as it presents a model of the media mix as remix: the *anime* is a cut-up, segmented, and re-ordered version of the linear series of events as recounted across the series of novels. Angela Ndalianis notes the phenomenon of creating multiple different and often non-coinciding narratives across media types in the context of recent media practice in North American video games and cinema, and refers to it – following Deleuze – as "divergent series," or the creation of incompossible worlds. I will come back to Ndalianis's argument in Chapter Five. Angela Ndalianis, *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (Cambridge: MIT, 2004).

Kadokawa Haruki had already made several forays into multi-media strategies by the early 1970s. The first, one of his earliest steps towards a wider media strategy, lay in the translation and publication of popular American film novelizations from the early 1970s. The first of these was *Love Story* (1970, Japanese title *Aru ai no shi* [The Poem of a Certain Love] 1971) a novel by Erich Segal that was based on the scenario for the film, which was released in 1971. *Love Story* was published in Japanese by Kadokawa Books half a year before the film opened, with other novelizations of American films following soon after.[279] These forays into film-based novels led Kadokawa to be derogatorily referred to as the "cinema paperback."[280]

Another of Kadokawa Haruki's strategies involved the transformation of the paperback itself. Until this time the paperback or pocketbook (*bunkobon*) in Japan had been the preserve of literary classics. But Haruki reconceived the paperback along what he understood to be the American model: an entertainment-based book that, once read, would be quickly disposed of. His attraction to the model of the book as disposable entertainment lead him to turn the paperback itself into an advertising medium, using color on the cover for the first time, and including ads on both the cover and within the book in the form of bookmarks.[281] With this transformation, "the book was no longer based on its quality, but was information sold as a package."[282] The paperback became a mere thing that, as many in the publishing world complained at the time, had become as disposable as other commodities.[283]

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[278] The first Kadokawa Gen'yoshi passage is quoted in *Asahi Shinbun Yûkan* (Asahi Newspaper, Evening Edition), August 28, 1993; the second comes from a one-page declaration by Gen'yoshi written in 1949, entitled "On the Occasion of the Launching of Kadokawa Pocketbooks," published in the back of every Kadokawa pocketbook edition to this day.

[279] The relation between film and book industries in the US, and the importance of *Love Story* for Hollywood are detailed in Justin Wyatt's fine work, *High Concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). The rise of the media mix within the Japanese film and book industries – through the efforts of Kadokawa Haruki – is thus contemporaneous to the development of what Wyatt (drawing on a Hollywood industry term) calls "high concept."

[280] Kadokawa Haruki discusses this in his autobiography, *Wa ga tôsô: Furyô seinen wa sekai wo mezasu* [My Struggle: A Delinquent Youth Aims for the World] (Tokyo: Iisuto Puresu, 2005), 132. If the title of his autobiography seems to overlap with Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) this is no accident: Kadokawa has many times expressed his admiration for Hitler's book which he has provocatively claimed was "my most important textbook" for his media strategy. In fact he, quite provocatively, "reads" Hitler's use of uniforms, music, Rilke's poetry and Nietzsche's thought as element of a wider media strategy key to total mobilization. See Kadokawa Haruki, "Wa ga tôsô: 'Gensô' wo uru furonteia bijinesu" (My Struggle: The Frontier Business of Selling 'Fantasy') in *Purejidento* (October 1977), 80-1; Kadokawa Haruki quoted in Sakaguchi Yoshihiro, "Kadokawa Haruki: Shuppankai no nyû hiirô ka" [Kadokawa Hiroki: The new hero of the publishing world?] in *Gendai no me* (May 1982), 205.

Yet this publishing upstart's most significant act, one that even his many detractors argue changed the publishing industry's direction permanently, was his 1975 founding of a film production division within Kadokawa Books. The aim was to further develop what he eventually called the "Trinity" [*sanmi ittai*] strategy – here playing on the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity – of combining text, sound and image in what became known as "Kadokawa marketing" (*Kadokawa shôhô*), and which later, in the mid-1980s, came to be called the media mix.[284] This strategy involved producing films based on the works of the major novelists published by Kadokawa, releasing the soundtracks of these films, and re-publishing all the writers' novels alongside a massive publicity campaign for all three. In short: the aim was to use the films themselves as ads for the novels; the novels as ads for the films; and the film's theme song on the radio as an ad for the records, film, and book. Playing on the concept of the Trinity, we might refer to this in lay terms as the "three-in-one strategy." Yet, to this three-in-one we must add a fourth, principal element of this strategy: the intense advertising campaign that accompanied the release of the film, and that itself crossed over media from television, to magazines, to newspapers, to billboards, and so on.

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[281] On the use of color for the first time on paperback covers and its American inspiration, see Kadokawa Haruki, *Wa ga tôsô*, 133; on advertisements in paperback editions see Yamakita Shinji's *Kadokawa Haruki no kôzai: Shuppankai, Eigakai wo yurugaseta otoko* [The merits and demerits of Kadokawa Haruki: The man who shook up the publishing world and the film world] (Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai, 1993) [Originally published as *Shoubainin Kadokawa Haruki no kenkyû* in 1979], 110.

[282] Kogawa Tetsuo quoted in "Baburu bunka no hate, dare ga waraeruka, media mikkusu no zasetsu, Kadokawa jiken,"[At the End of the Bubble Era, Who can Laugh? The Failure of the Media Mix: The Kadokawa Incident] in *Aera* (October 5, 1993), 6.

[283] Yamakita, *Kadokawa Haruki no kôzai*, 111.

[284] Ueno Kôshi suggests that the "marketing strategy itself was not the invention of Mr. Kadokawa, but was a style already popularized in the United States and elsewhere, though it was he who established it in Japan." Ueno Kôshi, "Shouhin no bunka-ka arui wa koukoku to shite no eiga" [The Culturization of the Commodity, Or, Film as Advertisement] in *Shinario* 36:11 (November 1980), 10.

The selection of which author's work to use for this strategy was an important concern. As Tsuchiya Shintarô points out, the plan was to choose the work of a prolific entertainment author whose entire catalogue of books was owned by Kadokawa such that the interest generated by the synergetic effect of the Kadokawa marketing strategy would not only result in increased sales of the author's book that was used as the basis for the film adaptation, but would also "echo" onto the sales of other novels by the same author. According to this strategy, not only one book, but rather the entire catalogue from that author would see an increase in sales on account of the three-in-one strategy. This was particularly successful when, as with the first Kadokawa media mix authors, the works themselves were part of a larger series that involved the same cast of characters.[285] Indeed, the importance of having characters that migrate across media works, and function to incite consumption of further novels by the same author is one of the points that ties this strategy closely to that developed in the character-based *anime* system.

All these aspects of the strategy are present in the first film Kadokawa produced: *Inugamike no Ichizoku* [The Inugami Clan], which was based on the detective fiction writer Yokomizo Seishi's 1950 novel of the same title, directed by Ichikawa Kon, and released in theatres in 1976. Like much detective fiction, this work is one of the over 20 Yokomizo novels and dozens of shorter works that feature the detective Kindaichi Kôsuke. With the film and the massive publicity campaign for the film and the novel, *Inugami no Ichizoku* became a major bestseller, selling over 2,400,000 copies after the film's release – compared to the 60,000 copies sold after its initial 1972 Kadokawa reprinting.[286] Highlighting this cinema-novel media mix's relations to the *anime* media mix, publishing industry critic Ueda Yasuo suggests that the similarity of the main detective character, Kindaichi, to a *manga* character, and the resemblance of Yokomizo's prose to a type of serious, *gekiga*-style *manga* were two of the major reasons for the success of this first instance of this Kadokawa media project. Indeed, the consumers of the Kadokawa film and novels were, Ueda notes, members of the "*manga* generation."[287] For Ueda it was this *manga* generation's sensitivity to the combination of image and sound, on top of the *manga*-like characteristics of Yokomizo's prose, that was another reason for the wide success of Kadokawa's media mix.[288]

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[285] Tsuchiya Shintarô, *Kyarakutâ bijinesu: Sono kôzô to senryaku* [Character Business: Its Structure and Strategy] (Tokyo: Kinema Junpô, 1995), 121. The fact that many of these novels came from detective fiction – a genre infamous for its production of well-loved characters, from Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes to Edogawa Rampo's Akechi Kogorou to Yokomizo Seishi's Kindaichi Kousuke – is a significant point that I will deal with more fully at a later date.

Ultimately, Kadokawa Haruki's filmic foray was vindicated from the rumors that his brash attempt at film production would lead the company to bankruptcy, and Kadokawa Film began producing one blockbuster budget-sized film every year.[289] It was with the following year's film version of Morimura Sei'ichi's *Ningen no Shômei* (English title: Proof of the Man) that Kadokawa unleashed its most effective and reportedly infectious ad copy: "Read it and then watch it, or watch it and then read it?" (*Yonde kara miru ka, mite kara yomu ka*).[290]

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[286] Kawai Ryôsuke, "Shoseki" [Books] in *Shuppan media nyûmon* [An Introduction to Publishing Media] (Tokyo: Nihin Hyôronsha, 2006), 48.
[287] Ueda Yasuo, *Besutoserâ kôgengaku* [Modernology of the Bestseller] (Tokyo: Media Paru, 1992), 180.
[288] Ueda, *Besutoserâ kôgengaku*, 181.
[289] Kadokawa Haruki describes these rumors in *Wa ga tosô*, 140.

"Read it and then watch it, or watch it and then read it?" In other words: consume the novel and then the film, or consume the film and then the novel? We have seen a similar model of consumption in the context of the *Tetsuwan Atomu*; a kind of continuous consumption that did not end with the TV episode but continued with the *manga*, the stickers, and so on. A similar form of continuous, serial consumption and a movement across media texts – from film to novel, or novel to film – is found expressed in this ad copy, and was the verbal articulation of the successful Kadokawa marketing strategy. The sheen of Kadokawa's strategy faded in short time, as the ballooning production and marketing costs of the media mix weighed Kadokawa down.[291] Yet this three-in-one strategy of selling novels-films-soundtracks through the combination of image, sound and text was nonetheless established as the main trend of the publishing and image-making industries, expanding the logic of the *anime* system to a general adult audience, and laying the basis for what later became known by the term "media mix."[292]

By the mid-1980s the synergetic combination of media texts had become common practice, and the term "media mix" replaced the earlier terms used to describe the phenomenon such as "Kadokawa strategy," "Trinity strategy," "docking," and "cross-media."[293] It was around 1986 or 1987 that the term "media mix" began to displace these other terms, and Kadokawa Haruki was enshrined as the founding father of this phenomenon.[294] By 1993, most of the numerous newspaper articles that accompanied the media furor of Kadokawa Haruki's arrest on charges of drug trafficking retrospectively acknowledged his importance in the creation or development of what was by that time commonly known as the media mix.[295] That is, along with the enshrining of the media mix as concept, practice and common term within the Japanese media industries, Kadokawa Books came to be regarded as the progenitor of the media mix in Japan.

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[290] *Shuppan nenkan* (Publishing Yearbook) lists Kadokawa's second film as being number four of the year 1977's 10 most newsworthy events, noting the effectivity of the new slogan, "Read it and then watch it, or watch it and then read it?" "Shuppan/dokushokai 10 dai nyûsu" (The publishing/reading world's 10 biggest news) in *Shuppan nenkan 1978* (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyûsu-sha, 1978), 54.

[291] Ueno details the ballooning costs of advertising over the first five years of Kadokawa films and the manner in which these costs were overtaking Kadokawa's profits. Ueno, "Shôhin no bunka-ka," 10, 13.

[292] By 1978 one of the main topics of the Japanese publishing world was the "joining of bestseller and image"; most of the major sellers that year had some connection with image-making – whether film or *anime* – as pioneered by Kadokawa two years earlier. *Shuppan nenkan 1979* (Publishing Yearbook) (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyûsusha, 1979), 53.

Given that one of the fundamental points of this dissertation is that *anime* is from the start an inter-medial, or trans-media system, it should come as no surprise that I object to this periodization. *Anime* culture and its trans-media system may or may not have been a direct influence on Kadokawa Haruki's decision to use a trans-media marketing strategy – as I have noted Haruki himself refers rather to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and American book media as direct influences. Nonetheless, I would argue that the trans-serial logic of the *anime* system is a precursor to and a latent if not manifest influence on the development of the Kadokawa media mix, and its very success in generating trans-serial consumption. The influence of the *anime* system is seen not only in the trans-media connections and continuous mode of consumption that Kadokawa attempted to develop, but also in his choice of works that have a strong character basis. Not surprisingly, there were those within the field of merchandizing who sensed the similarity between the Kadokawa strategy and the *anime* media strategy that had developed earlier. Kôno Akira, a regular contributor to the Japanese character merchandising trade journal, *Merchandizing Rights Report*, wrote in 1978 that, "The success of Kadokawa Film is based on a kind of character [merchandising] strategy, that is to say, it was able to succeed in its merchandising strategy precisely because books are a type of merchandise. Put in [toy maker] Poppy's terms "See it then read it, or read it then watch it?" [sic] would be "Watch it then play with it, or play with it then watch it?"[296] However, in spite of the ultimate precedence of the *anime* media mix to Kadokawa's, Kadokawa's media mix venture was nonetheless highly significant insofar as it was both symptomatic of and an active agent in larger media and historical transformations – namely the shift from what we might call a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of accumulation and media-cultural formation.

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[293] Yamakita, *Kadokawa Haruki no kôzai*, 33, 202; Ueda, *Besutoserâ kougengaku*, 178.

[294] One of the earliest articles I have come across that uses the term "media mix" in its present sense of the *anime* media mix – calling the present time the "media mix age" – is Utagawa Hideo's "*Manga* (*anime*) osoru beshi! Media mikkusu no jidai no senheitachi" (*Manga* (*anime*) Must Be Feared! The Front-line Soldiers of the Media Mix), *Shûkan Tôyô Keizai* (March, 1986), 130. Another article that both refers to the *anime* media mix as well as to the Kadokawa marketing is Noda Masanori's "Goraku gata shuppansha no media mix: Tokuma Shoten, Kadokawa Shoten no gurûpu senryaku" [Entertainment Publishing Houses' Media Mix: Tokuma Books and Kadokawa Books' Group Strategies] in *Tsukuru* (April 1987).

[295] For example, "Baburu bunka no hate, dare ga waraeruka, media mikkusu no zasetsu, Kadokawa jiken,"[At the End of the Bubble Era, Who can Laugh? The Failure of the Media Mix: The Kadokawa Incident] in *Aera*, October 5, 1993, 6.

While the *anime* media mix had existed since the emergence of *anime* in the early 1960s, Kadokawa's deployment of the *anime* media mix marked its extension into two realms previously relatively insulated from the media-commodity logic that underpins it: literature and film. This is not to say that literature and film had not been connected before the 1970s. Indeed, the novelty of the phenomenon of Kadokawa marketing, as Ueno Kôshi argues, was not in turning novels into films. Filmic adaptations of novels are almost as old as film itself. "Where the Kadokawa strategy differed, rather, was in using the fame of the novel to advertise the film, at the same time as using the new film to advertise for the novel, thereby producing a synergetic relation between them."[297] Previously, films and novels had maintained a form of autonomy – even if only ideological – from the marketplace, and a degree of separation from each other. They were considered from the point of view of their value as cultural goods. Content was supposed to have prevailed over packaging, its use-value or cultural value over its exchange value. Kadokawa Haruki's gambit was to treat films and novels as exchangeable – that is to say connected, communicating – commodities, and as advertisements for each other. The Kadokawa marketing strategy downplayed their inherent value in favor of their value as packaged and exchangeable goods, their ability to be sold and consumed as disposable commodities. And it downplayed their internal consistency and media specificity in favor of their connectivity, one text advertising the other, with the literal advertising campaign ("Read it and then watch it, or watch it and then read it?") as yet another text encouraging cross-over consumption between the novel and the film.[298]

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[296] Kôno Akira, "Atarashii kyarakurâ senryaku no riron to jissen, #1" [New character strategies: Theory and Practice, #1] in *Mâchan Repouto: MD/Merchandizing Rights Reports* (January 1978), 39. Tsuchiya Shintarou also notes the similarities between Poppy and Kadokawa's media mix strategies in *Kyarakutâ bujinesu*, 51.

The Culturalization of the Commodity and the Shift to Post-Fordism

With Kadokawa, Ueno Kôshi suggests, film, novel and song each became advertisements for the other. This state gave rise to, on the one hand, the centrality of the "advertisement" in this cultural formation; and on the other hand, to the "phenomenon of the *culturization* of the commodity [*shôhin no bunka-ka*]."[299] There is a double shift here. First, previously autonomous cultural forms lost their autonomy, became inter-related and were organized around the form of the advertisement. Advertisements are in some ways the prototypical serial media form, insofar as it is their nature to point to ("buy *this*") a product outside itself. This is what we might call, following Ueno and early commentators on TV *anime* like Yamakawa Hiroji, the advertisment-ization (*koukoku-ka*) of the cultural or narrative text (whether it be *manga*, animation series, film, novel or song). Second, the cultural form became the prototypical commodity. Film-as-advertisement became *the* model of the commodity form in what Ueno presciently terms the culturization of the commodity – a transformation that is profoundly linked to the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production, consumption and accumulation of capital. A brief consideration of the wider transformations involved in this shift will allow us to put the specific rise of the media mix into historical perspective.

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[297] Ueno, "Shôhin no bunka-ka," 11.

[298] Of course the very advertising slogan implies the continuing distinctness of each – one *reads* books while one *watches* films. I will address the persisting importance of media specificity – in spite of the general alarm about the loss of it – in the next chapter.

The analytic category of Fordism was first developed by the Italian thinker Antonio Gramsci, but was taken up and developed further by French economists from what is known as the "Regulation School" of political economy. What representative writers of this school such as Michel Aglietta and Alain Lipietz emphasized was the close meshing of production and consumption in what they called "regimes of accumulation." Nick Dyer-Witherford, in his account of the Regulation School, notes that for these writers,

> Captalism… is neither a historically invariant formation nor one teleologically destined to collapse. Rather, it repeatedly overcomes internal contradictions by generating successive "regimes of accumulation" – intermeshed orderings of

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[299] Ueno, "Shôhin no bunka-ka," 12. Here we see the phenomenon observed earlier in this chapter with respect to *Tetsuwan Atomu* and its products: its operation as a kind of advertisement for other media forms.

> wage relations, consumption norms, and state intervention that synchronize the overall social pre-requisites for the extraction and realization of surplus-value.[300]

Fordism, as Aglietta writes, was "the entire set of social conditions of the regime of intensive accumulation."[301] These writers describe, that is, the "mode of regulation" that enables a particular scheme of capitalist accumulation to reproduce itself.[302] In the regime of accumulation known as Fordism, the Taylorist, or assemblyline style of the mass production of uniform commodities was paired with a "uniform mode of consumption of simplified production" known as mass consumption.[303] Standardization was key to both production and consumption, and all social activities from free time to sexual relations were standardized with the aim of promoting worker productivity.[304] As David Harvey emphasizes, "Postwar Fordism has to be seen, therefore, less as a mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life. Mass production meant standardization of product as well as mass consumption; and that meant a whole new aesthetic and a commodification of culture."[305]

If uniformity, standardization and rigidity were the principles of the "total way of life" under Fordism, flexibility, innovation, and instability are some of the main characteristics of life, work and leisure under the emerging regime of post-Fordism.[306]

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[300] Nick Dyer-Witherford, *Cyber-Marx: Cycles and Circuits of Struggle in High-Technology Capitalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 55.

[301] Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US Experience*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2000), 155.

[302] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 121-122.

[303] Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation*, 154.

[304] Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation*, 158-161; Gramsci discusses this standardization of sexual and other norms in "Americanism and Fordism," *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. and ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 300-306.

[305] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 135.

[306] The rise of post-Fordism is dated to the early 1970s – like that of postmodernism, or late capitalism, all of which are analytical frameworks attempting to grapple with cultural and economic transformations undergone since the 1970s and continuing into this day. Harvey provides one of the best and most informative accounts of the transition to and transformations seen under post-Fordism, in *The Condition of*

Similarly, if there is a transformation of production, consumption and leisure between Fordist and post-Fordist modes of accumulation, there is equally a transformation in the nature of commodities themselves. Martyn J. Lee has made this point, forcefully emphasizing the importance of the commodity as the bellwether of an era insofar as "it tends to reflect the whole social organization of capitalism at any historical and geographical point in its development."[307] Since "the commodity form can be said to be an objectification of a mode of production at a given phase of its development," each mode of production will give rise to a distinctive form of the commodity.[308] This form is what Lee calls "the *ideal-type* commodity-form of the regime of accumulation."[309]

Consumer durables were the "ideal-type commodity" and the mainstay of the Fordist era of production and consumption.[310] This is as true in postwar Japan as in the United States, and consumer durables formed the core of consumption in the so-called high-growth era of postwar Japan. The two foremost decades of high-growth in Japan were marked by the names given to the ideal commodities of consumption: the "Three Sacred Treasures" of the Showa 30s (1955 to 1964): the television set, the washing machine and the refrigerator; and the "Three Cs" of the Showa 40s(1965-1974): Color TV, air conditioner (known as a *Coorâ* or Cooler in Japanese), and Car. The distinguishing characteristic of consumer durables such as these was, Lee writes,

> that sense of fixity, permanence, and sheer physical presence which stamped itself symbolically in the form of the functional aesthetic on to the design and appearance of domestic goods as diverse as radio, television sets, cookers, refrigerators and music centres. Similarly, such features were also to be

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Postmodernity, 141-197. Dyer-Witherford advances an informed and provocative critique of Regulation School theorists in *Cyber-Marx*, 54-61.

[307] Martyn J. Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn: The Cultural Politics of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1993), 119.

[308] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 120.

[309] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 120

[310] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 130-131.

> materialized in the emphasis on the commodity's durability, longevity, performance and utility that were so often presented by manufacturers to be the commodity's chief selling point.[311]

If the emphasis of the Fordist commodity was on durability, utility and functionality, the emphasis of the post-Fordist commodity is, by contrast, on flexibility, fluidization, miniturization and an increased portability of the commodity. There has also been, Lee notes, a marked "'dematerialization' of the commodity-form where the act of exchange centers upon those commodities which are time rather than substance based."[312]

On the one hand these shifts lead to an emphasis on what Lee calls "experiential commodities"[313] – commodities like films, video games, vacation packages, fashions, and so on. These prototypically post-Fordist commodities are governed by a "metalogic… of intensification and innovation; its typical commodities are instantaneous, experiential, fluid, flexible, heterogeneous, customized, portable, and permeated by a fashion with form and style."[314] There is thus a shift away from commodities justified on the basis of their appeal to utility or need, to commodities based on the promise of a certain kind of experience. Here we might recall the shift in the nature of the notebook discussed in the last chapter; with the emergence of character-based goods like the Atomu notebook, the notebook suddenly shifts from being a tool used in the classroom (assessed by the ease of writing, or the quality of its binding) to an object to which the consumer has an affective relation. The specificity of the Atomu notebook is that it provides an experience (intimacy, participation in the Atomu world, or "enchantment," in Anne Allison's terms), more than it fulfills a need.

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[311] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 130.

[312] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 135

[313] Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 135.

[314] Stephen Kline, Nick Dyer-Witherford and Greig Peuter, *Digital Play: The Interaction of Technology, Culture and Marketing* (Montreal and Kingson: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 74.

On the other hand there is an accompanying shift in the temporality and rhythm of consumption itself. As Harvey emphasizes, an acceleration of the production cycles of commodities within the post-Fordist mode of flexible production has been accompanied by faster and faster cycles of consumption:

> The half-life of a typical Fordist product was, for example, from five to seven years, but flexible accumulation has more than cut that in half in certain sectors (such as textile and clothing industries), while in others – such as the so-called 'thought-ware' industries (e.g. video games and computer software programmes) – the half-life is down to less than eighteen months. Flexible accumulation has been accompanied on the consumption side, therefore, by a much greater attention to quick-changing fashions and the mobilization of all the artifices of need inducement and cultural transformations this implies."[315]

The rise of experiential, and particularly media-commodity forms, and the corresponding acceleration of the temporality of consumption are as characteristic of the Japanese experience of post-Fordism as they are of the Western European and North American experience that Harvey discusses. Indeed, in the case of Japan at least, as we have seen in the case of *anime*, this transformation in the cultural sphere and the rise of experiential commodities preceded the usual periodization of the shift in the 1970s.

Character-goods are one major category of fashion-based non-durables that begin their rise in the 1960s. Yet, if it was in the 1960s that they began their rise, it was particularly in the 1970s, with Kadokawa Books, that the strategy of the media mix began to be felt outside of the realm of children's culture. And it is most of all in the last 10 years of Japan's prolonged economic downturn that character-based culture and the media mix strategy have come to take center stage in an economy driven less by the production and consumption of large consumer durables than by the production and consumption of character goods. It is to this "contents industry" and specifically the media and character goods arena – the *anime* industry – that the Japanese government's attention has now turned to find a way out of its years of decline. Anne Allison has noted recently that the Japanese government "is treating *manga* and *anime* like national treasures."[316] As the term "national treasure" implies, this is not only a concern for economic gain but also with an eye to social prestige and cultural influence – the gain of so-called "soft power" or "gross national cool."[317] Yet, as the abbreviation of gross national cool (GNC) would seem to imply, the potential for economic gain is also regarded as significant. By the turn of the millennium, the character industry had become a massive market boasting domestic retail sales of over 2 trillion yen (US$19 billion) in the year 2000[318]; and 2.5 trillion yen in 2003. Another estimate has put the annual value of the contents industry on the whole (including the publishing industry, *anime* and live action drama and film, video games and so on) at 12.8 trillion yen.[319]

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[315] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 156.

One might say that if the consumption of consumer durables was the basis for the high-growth years of 1955 to 1973, the *anime*-based contents industry and "media-culture" consumption that first developed in the 1960s is increasingly the basis for economic growth and expansion in the post-Fordist present. This shift also marks a transformation in the organization of desire, from a desire organized around consumer durables based on the concept of lifestyle ("the bright life"), technological and national progress, and the drive for social belonging, to desire organized around the consumption of experiential or cultural commodities that promote individual or collective (i.e. in fan communities) participation in a narrative or character world and the social communication that develops through this.[320]

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[316] Anne Allison, *Millenial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 6. For a Japanese External Trade Organization (JETRO) report pointing in this direction, see "Trends in the Japanese Animation Industry," www.jetro.go.jp/en/market/trend/topic/2004_07_*anime*.pdf (accessed September 7, 2007). For a critique of this government support of *anime*, see Ôtsuka Eiji's *'Japanimêshon' wa naze yabureru ka* [Why 'Japanimation' Will Go Down] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2005).

[317] The concept of "soft power" was developed by Joseph S. Nye in the 1990s, and given extended formulation in *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Public Affairs, 2004). The term "gross national cool" was coined by Douglas McGray, in "Japan's Gross National Cool" Foreign *Policy*, No. 130 (May - June, 2002).

[318] "The Character Business Grows Up," Jetro website, http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/market/trend/topic/2004_08_character.html?print=1 While this report notes a decline in the following year, the calculations of the Bandai Character Lab report an increase of sales thereafter, with the sales for 2003 reaching 2.5 trillion yen. See *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters), Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyujo. (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001),196.

[319] Onouchi Megumi, "Sûji de yomitoku kontentsu bijinesu, dai ikkai" (Understanding the Contents Business in Several Figures, First Installment) *Nikkei Net*, http://it.nikkei.co.jp/internet/column/contents.aspx?n=MMITbb031024062005 (last accessed September 23, 2007).

Kadokawa Haruki, writing in 1977, seems to recognize this shift in the nature of commodities, and by implication, in the basis of commodity culture and its orientation of desire:

> Be it books, or music, or film, these are commodities without substance. They are not material commodities like electrical appliances or cars. Books and records and films can all be said to be fantasies that have become commodities. If these fantasies did not have commodity value, books, for example, would become merely paper and ink. The business of selling these kinds of fantasies or illusions is very suited to an active nihilist like myself.[321]

Kadokawa's suggestion of is a shift from consumer durables to immaterial commodities ("commodities without substance") is apt, as is his suggestion that the location and very nature of value (in the economic sense) has shifted. Indeed the comparison Kadokawa makes between the two types of commodities (cars versus books) suggests the larger shifts at work in the economy, raising cultural goods and "experiential commodities" like books and films to the forefront of the economy and commercial practice – taking "active nihilist" businessmen like Kadokawa Haruki with them.

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[320] The merit of Azuma Hiroki's work is to suggest the ways that the consumption of *anime*-based character goods – particularly among gaming fans – has both individual and collective dimensions, with their associated modes of consumption. See in particular his theorization of two discrete modes of consumption – individual and collective – articulated in his *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2001), and in the essay based on this work, "The Animalization of Otaku Culture," trans. Yuriko Furuhata and Marc Steinberg in Frenchy Lunning, ed., *Mechademia 2: Networks of Desire* (Minneapolis: University of Minesota Press, 2007).

[321] Kadokawa Haruki, "Waga tôsô: 'Gensô' wo uru furontia bujinesu" (My Struggle: The Frontier Business of Selling Fantasies) in *Purejidento* (October 1977), 81.

Yet an important point to make, one that moreover tends to be neglected in the discussions of the post-Fordist "ideal commodity-form," is the fact that the shift was not only from one commodity type to another, but rather a shift from a singular, discrete commodity (the television, the car) to a series of media-commodities interrelated through the media mix strategy (the film-novel-song-advertisement media mix). For alongside the culturization of the commodity noted by Ueno – and profoundly allied to Lee's concept of the experiential commodity – there was also a shift towards the development of media interrelation, or what I have called trans-media seriality and communication. This turn toward media interrelationality itself points to a transformation in the nature of the media text itself, shifting from a model of the media text as relatively self-enclosed entity, to the media text as a trans-media or trans-serial fragment. The media text, that is, becomes fundamentally open, relational, and in communication with other media texts. I will explore this transformation further in the following two sections.

Dissolution of the Work as Unified Totality

In the model of the *anime* media mix established by *Tetsuwan Atomu* and extended into film and literature by Kadokawa Books, the unity of the work was broken down into multiple serial fragments. The experience of the work was no longer based on the appreciation of a single, unified work, as it was to a greater degree in the case of the film or the novel.[322] Rather, the experience of "a" work stretched across media types and media genres, including narrative media (film, books), non-narrative media (stickers, music albums, advertisements), and information or gossip media (the columns on Atomu in the magazine *Shônen*, in the Kappa comics publications of the Atomu *manga*, or in the *Atomu Kurabu* fan magazine; the articles on the Kadokawa films and their surrounding intrigue, including the specials on the so-called "media hero" Kadokawa Haruki himself).[323] Media mix texts require the consumer to read, and consume across texts. The serial interconnection of these texts functions as an impulsion towards their serial consumption.

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[322] Even here, however, films were already part of film serials which extended over time; and novels were often first serialized in newspapers and magazines before being bound into single book volumes. With

Two seismic shifts subtend this fragmentation of the work. The first is the increasingly non-localizable nature of the "original." Writers such as Azuma Hiroki and Sasakibara Gô have argued that the original work was formerly clearly defined, as the chronologically prior version of what was later to become texts within the media mix. For example the *manga* was traditionally released first, then the *anime* or live-action version was produced, then "related goods" (*kanren shôhin*) such as toys and candy products were released. Here the *manga* can still be regarded as the original work (*gensaku*) from which the other media and commodities are spun-off. Yet Sasakibara argues that it is precisely the non-localizability of the original that defines the media mix. The media mix first appears, then, when the "original work" becomes non-localizable and indeterminate.

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anime and Kadokawa's film-novel project there was perhaps more of an acceleration of an existing practice than a total, unprecedented transformation.

[323] In a fascinating analysis of what he at the time (1977) calls the "multi-media" environment, Tamura Minoru points to the importance of magazines and other information media for "amplifying" messages transmitted in other media, and for developing "topics"(*wadai*) that are then picked up and transformed by other media. The limitations of Tamura's early analysis of the trans-media serial environment is his adherence to the information-message versus vehicle-medium paradigm which, as I will argue below, is inadequate for grasping the specificity of the media mix. See Tamura Minoru, "Maruchi media ni yoru zôfuku no mechanizumu: Messeji no media-kan idô ni tsuite" (The Amplification Mechanism of Multi-Media: On the Movement Between Message Media) in *Shuppan Nyûsu* (Publishing News) (September 15, 1977), 6-9.

For Sasakibara, it is *Kamen Raidâ* [Masked Rider] (1971), a live-action, special effects or *tokusatsu* TV series and *manga* developed by the legendary *manga* writer Ishinomori Shôtarô, that constitutes the first instance of the media mix in full form. Here I quote Sasakibara at length:

> From the first, *Kamen Raidâ* was set into motion as a media mix plan. It was not the case of an existing *manga* used as original work for the creation of a live-action version. Rather, on the occasion of Toei making a plan for a live-action TV program, they requested the participation of a "*manga* writer" – who would normally be thought of as coming from a completely different field – and cooperatively framed a plan. For this reason, we can say that in this case the real original work was the written plan that was thus developed. The *manga* and the live-action program were then formed in parallel, in accordance with this plan.
>
> The TV program *Kamen Raidâ*, and the *manga Kamen Raidâ* are two twins born from the mother's body of the same written plan.[324]

What attracts Sasakibara to this case is that the *manga* and the live-action TV series were developed and released simultaneously.[325] That is, *Kamen Raidâ* is not only an example of a work that involves a trans-media development, but is one that erases the hierarchical or temporal distinction between the "original" and its "version-ings" that the earlier practice of adaptation had relied on.

However, no matter how great the importance of this simultaneity of development, the case can be made that the originality or primacy of the temporally "original" work was always called into question by the serial spin-off. Indeed, we should recognize that once the development of the media mix begins there is a fundamental reordering of the entirety of the work such that the primacy of the "original" is necessarily lost. As Gilles Deleuze suggests in a passage that has profound implications for a theory of seriality, it is the second appearance (or the second "version") that gives the order of the series, retroactively rearranging the first:

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[324] Sasakibara Gô, "*Anime*-ron" [On *Anime*] in Ôtsuka Eiji and Sasakibara Gô, *Kyôyô to shite no <manga/anime>* ("*Manga/Anime*" as Education) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001), 248-9. In its focus on the plan, Sasakibara's definition of the *anime* media mix comes closest to the *modus operandi* of the marketing media mix, insofar as the development of the latter always involves the creation of such plans which detail the time of release and the length of run of the different parts of the ad campaign.

[325] On a historical note, one of the earliest apparitions of this phenomenon – of simultaneous development of *manga* and TV show by a production company – that indeed precedes *Kamen Raidâ* by some time was another "kamen" series, indeed one of the first: *Gekkô Kamen* [Moonlight Mask]. Though in this case the television show appeared on air three months prior to the *manga* serialization, what is significant is that the *manga* version was planned not by the editorial board of the magazine in question – in this case *Shônen Kurabu* – but rather by the TV program production company. This suggests a simultaneity of the "plan" similar to that of *Kamen Raidâ*. Miyahara Teruo, *Jitsuroku! Shônen Magajin meisaku manga henshû funtôki* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2005), 77.

> It is not enough that everything begin, everything must begin again once the cycle of possible combinations has come to completion. The second moment does not succeed the first: it is the reappearance of the first when the cycle of the other moments has been completed. The second origin is thus more essential than the first, since it gives us the law of repetition, the law of the series, whose first origin gave us only moments.[326]

In this process the "original" or "first origin" is retroactively re-inscribed as one element of a series, its status as original overturned. Indeed much like the case of the character of Atomu, whose parents were created in a later episode, temporally after Atomu's own "birth," the logic of seriality effects a retroactive erasure of the distinction between parent and progeny, original and secondary text. Rather than reading the process in terms of the logic of childbirth – the mother giving birth to twin children – we should instead understand the serial logic of the media mix as inverting the chronology and hierarchy proper to the family and its schema of succession. Whether starting from a plan or taking off from an "original" work, the serial logic of the media mix retroactively erases the logic of succession. The logic of the series is therefore not a temporal one of before-after, first-subsequent, but of parallel, convergent (and sometimes divergent) worlds.[327] The first of the two seismic shifts underpinning the fragmentation of the work with the media mix sees a challenge to the unity of the work and to the very schema of succession (orginal-version, or even plan-version) on which this unity depends.

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[326] Gilles Deleuze, "Desert Islands," in *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974*, ed. David Lapoujade, trans. Michael Toarima (New York: Semiotext[e], 2004), 13.

[327] I will return to this point in Chapter Five.

Segmentation and Flow: Television, Fragmentation and the Media Mix

The second of the two seismic shifts is best thought through an appeal to two concepts key to the field of television studies: segmentation and flow. Indeed, the very usefulness of these terms in thinking the transformations that I have been discussing under the rubric of the media mix in this chapter raises the question of the importance of the medium of television as a determinant of these transformations under discussion here. Was television – as some writers have argued – responsible for fundamentally altering the media landscape and for informing the shift from the logic of the marketing media mix to the *anime*/Kadokawa media mix? There is a good case to be made that it is, even though I will suggest we must ultimately see these transformations as encompassing television, rather than being determined by it. Before turning to this question, however, I would like to explore the theorization of flow in Anglo-American television theory, and point out its usefulness not only for understanding Japanese television – which operates fairly closely to its model, the American broadcasting system[328] – but also for understanding the kind of movement between textual fragments that compose the media mix.

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[328] This point is key. For, as many writers have pointed out, the form of television under discussion greatly influences the type of television theory that develops. As national models of television differ considerably, the concept of flow, for example, may not be applicable to the reality of television in certain countries. Indeed the concept of flow was itself developed upon the shocking encounter with another model of television from that the original author of the concept – the British scholar Raymond Williams – was used to: the American one. Yet, despite the absence of this concept from Japanese television discourse (symptomatic more of the absence of *theory* from Japanese mass communications studies than the inapplicability of the concept), I will argue here that the concept is indeed key for thinking about Japanese TV culture and beyond.

The cultural theorist Raymond Williams introduces the concept of flow in his attempt to think about the specificity of the medium of television in his rightly praised opening salvo to television theory, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*.[329] For Williams, the fundamental fact of television as it has developed along the commercial model is flow: "In all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organization, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow. This phenomenon, of planned flow, is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as technology and as cultural form."[330] Williams proposes the concept of flow to explain the organization (on the part of the broadcasting agency) and the experience (on the part of the TV viewer) of television as a continuous succession or flow of more or less tightly connected sequences of image and sound; as the flow of ad segments and program segments; and as the flow of larger units within the daily schedule of programs as represented in the TV listings of the newspaper.[331] The main experience of flow in television would seem to occur at the second level, what Williams calls the "actual succession of items within and between the published sequence of units."[332] And it is here especially that television requires a fundamental re-evaluation of the concept of the work or textual unit in face of the fact of the television experience. "In all communications systems before broadcasting the essential items were discrete," writes Williams.[333] Whether the novel, the play or the film, all were experienced as discrete units, as works or events, and "[o]ur most general modes of comprehension and judgment are then closely linked to these kinds of specific and isolated, temporary, forms of attention."[334]

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[329] Two particularly useful overviews of the concept of flow and the debates it has engendered in television studies can be found in Mimi White's "Flows and Other Close Encounters with Television" in *Planet TV : A Global Television Reader*, ed. Lisa Parks and Shanti Kumar (New York: New York University Press, 2003); and in the first chapter of Richard Dienst, *Still Life in Real Time: Theory After Television* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

[330] Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Routledge, 1974 [2003]), 86.

[331] These three levels of flow as described by Williams, 97.

[332] Williams, *Television*, 97.

[333] Williams, *Television*, 86

At first broadcasting too worked within this tradition. Discrete units were assembled into programs, and the "work of programming was a serial assembly of these units."[335] Yet the individuality of each unit remained, in part because between these discrete units a pause, or an interval was inserted. However, in the present state of broadcasting "the concept of the interval… has been fundamentally revalued"; the "flow series" has replaced the "programme series" of discrete units.[336] What comes with this revaluation of the interval is not just a different kind of connectivity between existing units, however. There is a fundamental transformation in the nature of the televisual unit itself. Here the work of film and television theorist John Ellis provides an important supplement to Williams: whereas Williams' prime emphasis is on flow, Ellis' interest is in the segment. Yet despite their seeming opposition – which Jane Feuer properly points out is more of a dialectic anyway[337] – Ellis in fact builds heavily on Williams' emphasis on the transformation in the nature of the fundamental unit of broadcasting. The fundamental unit of television is no longer the discrete text but rather, Ellis argues, the segment:

> Broadcasting TV has developed a distinctive aesthetic form. Instead of the single, coherent text that is characteristic of entertainment cinema, broadcast TV offers relatively discrete segments: small sequential unities of images and sounds whose maximum duration seems to be about five minutes. These segments are organized

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[334] Williams, *Television*, 87.
[335] Williams, *Television*, 88.
[336] Williams, *Television*, 93.
[337] Feuer argues that "television is constituted by a dialectic of segmentation and flow" and that what Williams means by flow is really "segmentation without closure." Feuer, "The Concept of Live Television," in *Regarding Television: Critical Approaches – An Anthology*, E. Ann Kaplan ed. (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1983), 15, 16.

> into groups, which are either simply cumulative, like news broadcast items and advertisements, or have some kind of repetitive or sequential connection, like the groups of segments that make up the serial or series. Broadcast TV narration takes place across these segments, characteristically in series or serials which repeat a basic problematic or dilemma rather than resolving it finally.[338]

The development of a new conception of the unit – as segment – thus accompanies the revaluation of the interval and the emergence of the phenomenon of televisual flow. Moreover, two specific forms of organization adequate to television's multiplicity of segments emerge: the series or serial. Seriality, as Nick Browne calls these two related forms, is the "paradigmatic form of television programming."[339] The serial and series forms are at work, it is important to note, not only in the genres known best for their serial quality – the situation comedy or sitcom and the soap opera or drama – but also for TV news and even some forms of advertising.[340]

What we have then are a group of elements and concepts that can explain a new textual system. The segment is the basic building block, an image-sound-time segment that has its own internal unity and a degree of consistency, even as it is fundamentally open to connections formed with other segments that precede it and follow. The logic of continuity between segments is provided by the serial or series forms, which work to manage the intervals between segments. The experience and the guiding principle in programming for television is flow: the continuous and serial interlinking of segment after segment over the course of televisual time.

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[338] Ellis, *Visible Fictions*, 112.

[339] Nick Browne, "Political Economy of the Television (Super) Text," in *Television: The Critical View, Fourth Edition*, Horace Newcomb ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 590.

[340] As Ellis writes, "There is no real difference in narrational form between news and soap opera. The distinction is at another level: that of source material." Ellis, *Visible Fictions*, 159.

Television is not the only place where this system develops, however.[341] Indeed, a transformation in the concept of the text as discrete unit is visible throughout the media ecology of Japan since the 1960s. At first this takes place in the realm of *anime* and children's culture, but by the mid-1970s with Kadokawa's three-in-one marketing strategy this transformation in the nature of the text infiltrates even the previously sacrosanct realms of the novel and the film. And one way to understand this phenomenon is as the gradual expansion of the logic of segment and flow into other cultural, media and commodity spheres. The revaluation of the interval appears not only within television, but also outside television – most importantly as a revaluation of the interval between one media form and another, or between media forms and commodities or things. In this sense, the image of Atomu can be seen as a minimal segmental unity that flows across, and allows the connections between, different media and object forms, appearing as stickers, notebooks, toys and *manga*. The logic uniting these various instances of Atomu is the serial form, though in this case the serial form is only vaguely narrative. The emergence of *anime* and the logic of the character are symptomatic of the

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[341] John Fiske makes an important call from within television studies to think outside the televisual box, and in terms of its pervasion of cultural life:

> Television's pervasiveness in our culture is not due simply to the fact that so much of it is broadcast and that watching it is our most popular leisure activity, but because it pervades so much of the rest of our cultural life – newspapers, magazines, advertisements, conversations, radio, or style of dress, of make-up, of dance steps. All of these enter intertextual relations with television. It is important to talk about their relations with television, and not to describe them as spin-offs from it, for the influence is two-way. *Television Culture* (London: Methuen, 1987), 118.

Fiske's proposition to think the intertextual and trans-media relations is right on the mark. Yet his insistence on thinking television in terms of its reception – as "texts" (produced by the active reading practices of the audience) rather than "programs" (produced by the stations as commodities) undercuts the importance of thinking the production of "intertextual" connections themselves as commodities. It is essential to see the production of trans-media series not as a kind of intertextual relation created through active reading practices (Atomu toys are certainly not products of intelligent reading practices) but as the extension of the production and marketing of commodities. The commodity in this particular media ecology is a fundamentally relational commodity, not embedded in a single medium. We must, then, keep our eyes sharply focused on the commodity nature of the product in question, and not imagine that it is somehow part of a circulation of meanings of whom "we" are the primary producers.

revaluation of the interval in yet another domain: the revaluation of the trans-media interval, and the emergence of a new kind of segmentation, serial interconnection and "flow" across these intervals.[342]

The expansion of the phenomenon of segmentation and flow to other media domains such as the *anime* media mix confronts us with an important question: how fundamental was the advent of television for the emergence of the *anime* media mix? Is television responsible for the development of the *anime* media mix and the trans-serial logic it develops? For the marketing practices of the 1960s and their emphasis on inter-media relationality? And for the final transformation of the conception of the literary text and the filmic text with Kadokawa in the 1970s? To a qualified degree, the answer to all these questions can be "yes." Television's emphasis on trans-media connections had a profound influence on the media environment on the whole, and particularly on the commercial practices which permeate it. One of the most important of its effects was the development of a "children's market," which most writers attribute to the advent of television, and a number of whom suggest corresponds to the rise of TV *anime* in particular.[343] In other ways too television was key: it established a particular temporality of consumption with the week as its cyclical unit, and a mode of textual crossing that

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[342] Celia Lury, in her theorization of the brand, makes a similar point about the importance of the concept of televisual flow for thinking the revaluation of the interval that accompanies the brand logic. "[T]he logo," she writes, "is a mark of this new operationality of the interval in relation to the broadcast distribution of the commodity." Celia Lury, *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy* (London: Routledge, 2004), 89.

[343] The importance of television and TV *anime* in particular for the development of the children's market and the incorporation of children into the society of mass consumption is highlighted especially in Yamakawa Hiroji, "Shôhinka keikaku ni tsunagaru terebi *manga* no bûmu" [The TV *manga* boom as it is connected to merchandising plans] in *Senden Kaigi* (June 1964), 46-50; Akiya Shigeo and Takayama Hideo, "Fureagaru 'kodomo shijô': 'Chisana ôsama' tachi no shôhi seikô" (The rising 'children's market': The consumption tendencies of the 'small kings') in *Ekonomisuto* (Economist) 44:48 (November 1966), 57; Takayama Hideo, "Kodomo shijôron: Shôhi kôzô wo henshitsu saseru mono" (On the children's market: Transforming the structure of consumption) in *Chuô Kôron Keiei Mondai* 11:4 (Winter 1972), 311-314; Saitô Jirô, *Kodomotachi no genzai* (Children's Present) (Nagoya: Fûbaisha, 1975), 49-52.

finds its expression in the concepts of segmentation and flow. It was television that also provided the basis for the later Kadokawa marketing practices.[344]

There is also, however, the danger of overstating the influence of television. Just as Williams was cautious to detach the contemporary form of television from technological determination, so must we be careful when attributing the media transformations discussed in this chapter solely to the medium of television. To be sure, television was instrumental in cementing the shifts described above, and in extending the pervasiveness of media connectivity. Television, like *anime*, emerged as a fundamentally trans-media form.[345] But there is a good case to be made – in the case of this dissertation on the basis of transformation in associate spheres such as 1950s magazine culture, and the *omake* marketing practices we saw in the previous chapter – to the effect that television forms one part, albeit an important one, of a wider shift.

Indeed, it was *anime*, as a particular aesthetic and commercial form, that made perhaps the greatest difference in solidifying a form of serial interconnection of commodities and media – through, for example, the development of the character as a technology of connection, and the rhythm of movement and stillness developed around it. While the emergence of *anime* is inseparable from the medium of television, it was also determined by a number of other media elements, such as *kamishibai* and *manga* (as we saw in Chapter One) that were responsible for developing its mode of trans-media seriality. Television was central to the development of the serial form through the further fragmentation of the text and the "flow" constructed across these fragments. Yet even as television can be credited with the further development of seriality within the televisual medium, it should be understood to be part of a wider, more generalized shift in the serial form towards a trans-media seriality.[346] This is made particularly evident by the fact that this trans-media seriality is not merely contained within the medium of television, but explodes outside the television, connecting television series to chocolate series, to toy series, to *manga* series, and on, and on. Television was of undeniable importance in forming the conditions for the *anime* media mix. However, the fundamental trait of the media mix form is to *travel across* media, and therefore speaks to wider determinations than television alone. These determinations include the growing number of media; the rise of *anime* as a key trans-media form (both dependent on and related to other media forms); the development of the character as a technology of relation capable of connecting media and commodity forms and of stimulating consumer desire; the rise of the child as consumer and as a target of marketing strategies and media campaigns; the growth of disposable income during Japan's postwar recovery and years of high-growth economics. The determinations also include the transformations in the nature of media and consumption that we have seen in this chapter: the increasing centrality of the text-as-advertisement, and the shift from commodity towards cultural-commodity. Another key transformation is the environmental diffusion, or "environmentalization," of media.

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[344] Writing about the American context, John T. Caldwell has made a similar point. Commenting on the use of tie-ins and commercial practices in the American film industry in the present day, Caldwell attributes the emergence of these practices to television:

> [T]he film industry has become as good at merchandising, repurposing, syndication, sponsorship, product placement and audience feedback as the television industry was in the 1950s. Studio executives did not discover these strategies in the postclassical, "high-concept," or postmodern age; they merely adopted the tried and proven business strategies that television and broadcasting had successfully developed many decades earlier.

"Cinema," he concludes, "in some odd ways, has become television." John T. Caldwell, "Welcome to the Viral Future of Cinema (Television)," in *Cinema Journal* 45, no. 1 (Fall 2005), 95, 96.

[345] Bolter and Grusin have, following the insights of Marshall McLuhan, properly pointed out that all media work through the remediations of other media; all media are therefore composites and transformations of other media forms. Building on Bolter and Grusin's insight that certain media remediate differently – "What is new about new media comes from the particular ways in which they refashion older media" – we might suggest that the specificity of certain media forms – such as *anime* and television – can be located in their fundamental openness to the strategies of remediation, and trans-media communication. Some media remediate more than others. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 15; Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London: Routledge, 2001).

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[346] Rick Altman has suggested that flow replaces discrete segments only under particular historical conditions of television broadcasting; this provides yet another way to think about the question of technological influence. Altman argues that "flow is not related to the television experience itself… but to the commodification of the spectator in a capitalist, free enterprise society." See Altman, "Television Sound," in *Television: The Critical View, Fourth Edition*, Horace Newcomb ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 567. Extrapolating from this argument, we might say that the particular form of seriality that emphasizes a dialectic between segmentation and flow becomes key to television or other media forms only within a specific (if emergent) capitalist regime: post-Fordism.

Environmentalization of the Media

If seriality is a logic that inhabits and connects television to other media forms, it also connects these media to the realm of things. Transformations in the media sphere were, as we saw in the case of premiums and the candy industry, complemented by a parallel transformation in things. Objects in the material environment of the consumer were swept up by the transformations and serial logic that characterize image media within the *anime* system. One of the results of this expansion of the image is the transformation of commodities into media-commodities; another is what we have called its "environmentalization": the proliferation of the image into spaces and places that had formerly been beyond the reach of image media.

One site that this expansion takes place is in the growing importance of site-specific advertising outlets such as the store. Indeed, the 1960s saw what marketing practitioners called the "mediatization of the store," and the development of so-called point-of-purchase (POP) in-store displays.[347] In the case of candy, these POP advertisements put both the candy and the character or personage (such as Atomu) that it was advertised with on display. Corresponding to the mediatization of the store was the mediatization of the package design itself, which became a kind of promotion for the product within.[348] In this regard the important connections being developed between store display and television ads, television ads and the package design, and even between the *omake* premium and the candy package recommend thinking of the store itself as a type of media environment.[349]

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[347] On the "mediatization of the store" see, for example, Komiya Jun'ichi, "Tentô baitaika no tame no hitotsu no teian" [For the Medium-ization of the Store: One Suggestion] in *Senden kaigi* (April 1964), 18-19.

Yet if the store was one key site for the expansion of the image, the home and domestic space was another. In the last chapter we saw how children, consumed by the mobility of the Atomu stickers, stuck Atomu images to desks, books, baseballs, refrigerators, and other available items from domestic, play and school spaces. The stickering of items previously devoted to study (notebooks), or to personal welfare (refrigerators), or to leisure (baseballs) incorporated all these objects and the activities with which they were associated into an Atomu world. This covering over of this children's environment with Atomu images lead to what might be called, following recent re-readings of Karl Marx, the "real subsumption" of children's worlds by the proliferation of Atomu images.

Marx developed the concept of real subsumption in contrast to that of "formal subsumption" as two distinct ways of understanding the increase in productivity and valorization under capitalist conditions of production. In formal subsumption, the precapitalist mode of work is maintained intact by capitalism – "capital subsumes the labour process as it finds it, that is to say, it takes over an *existing labour process*, developed by different and more archaic modes of production."[350] Under these conditions, "surplus-value can be created only by lengthening the working day."[351] Real subsumption – which, Marx emphasizes, is "*capitalist production proper*"[352] – involves not the extension of existing labor practices but rather their thoroughgoing transformation: "a complete (and constantly repeated) revolution takes places in the mode of production, in the productivity of workers and in the relations between workers and capitalists."[353]

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[348] Taking this situation as her starting point, Susan Willis has provocatively proposed to substitute the Marxist analysis of the commodity by an analysis of the package when dealing with contemporary consumer culture in *A Primer for Daily Life* (London: Routledge, 1991), 1-22.

[349] On the relations between television *anime* characters, *omake* premiums, and package design, see the roundtable discussion in the same issue of *Senden kaigi*: "Shôdô kai Shôhin / sokyû no kichô no kibi" [The Subleties of Impulse Buying Products and Appeal] ed. Kobota Takashi, *Senden kaigi* (April 1964).

Recent interpretations, particularly those associated with the Autonomist Marxist tradition hailing from Italy,[354] have read the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism in terms of a shift from formal to real subsumption. Brian Massumi, drawing on this work provides a useful definition of the latter term:

> Real subsumption involves a two-pronged expansion of the capitalist relation. First, an *extensive expansion*, whereby capitalism pushes its geographical boundaries to the point that it encompasses the entire globe... Second, an *intensive expansion*, whereby the last oases of domestic space are invaded by the four irrepressible dense points. This is "endocolonization."[355]

The four "dense points" that Massumi refers to here are the four elements of the capitalist relation: commodity/consumer and worker/capitalist. "'Postmodernity,'" Massumi continues, "is the presence of the consumer/commodity axis of the capitalist relation in every point of social space-time: endocolonization accomplished."[356] One site we see this combination of exocolonization and endocolonization is in the expansion of the image into children's culture.

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[350] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume One*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 1021.
[351] Marx, *Capital*, 1021.
[352] Marx, *Capital*, 1027.
[353] Marx, *Capital*, 1035.
[354] Major figures in the movement include Antonio Negri, Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Maurizio Lazzarato; prominent North American autonomist thinkers include Harry Cleaver, Nick Dyer-Witherford, Jason Read, and the somewhat more heterodox Michael Hardt and Brian Massumi.
[355] Brian Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Deviations from Deleuze and Guattari* (Cambridge: MIT, 1992), 132.
[356] Massumi, *A User's Guide*, 133.

Television *anime* and the sticker brought about first of all an *extensive* expansion of capital, incorporating into the sphere of mass consumption a new market segment: the child. The child's emergence as a new market segment in Japan, as I noted above, is usually dated to the proliferation of television sets in the early 1960s and was significantly accelerated by rise of *anime* and the consumption of character goods – particularly those related to *Tetsuwan Atomu*.[357] This exocolonization or extensive expansion initiated ever-larger numbers of children into the ranks of consuming subjects. The stickers in particular and character goods generally also brought about an *intensive* expansion through the environmental proliferation of the character image they made possible. This endocolonization or intensive expansion saw an increasing intensity of consumption within each child-consumer's life. Consumption in the domestic space of the home and the environment of the child was expanded and accelerated in hitherto unimagined ways, colonizing interior space (both domestic space and the space of desire) with the character image.

This process, moreover, saw not merely the expansion of the commodity-consumer axis; the shift to post-Fordism also saw the expansion of the worker/capitalist axis as well, a process that is also visible in the environmentalization of the character image with *anime*. Antonio Negri and theorists from the Autonomist Marxist tradition have described this expansion of the worker/capitalist axis in terms of the shift from the "mass worker" to what they term the "socialized worker," and argue that there has been a shift in the locus of productive labor from the factory to the entire social sphere. Negri describes the real subsumption of society under capital in the following terms:

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[357] Once again, for commentators who make the connection between *anime* and the incorporation of children into the society of mass consumption, see the work of Yamakawa Hiroji, Akiya Shigeo and Takayama Hideo, and Saitô Jirô in particular.

> [C]apital then proceeds to penetrate and conquer the whole of society and there arrives a moment in which the old forms of production, of property and of circulation break down: in this situation, not only is the capitalist mode of production hegemonic, but the capitalist form of the labour-process becomes the only existing one. The entire society becomes one enormous factory, or rather, the factory spreads throughout the whole of society. In this situation, production is social and all activities are productive.[358]

Production, in this reformulation of work and social activity, does not only happen in the factory, but happens everywhere throughout the social sphere – meaning also that resistance can effectively confront capital at any point or place.[359] It should be said that, as Negri himself emphasizes, "the emergence of the socialized worker has been accompanied by, and bound up with, the emergence of the feminist movement."[360]

That is, this shift in the locus of work is part historical, and part theoretical. The reconceptualization of the locus of production from the factory to the social factory develops in part out of a theoretical shift in feminist theory, insofar as it began emphasizing the need to regard the housewife and the labor she performs as essential aspects of capitalist valorization. As Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James wrote in 1971, "domestic work produces not merely use values, but is essential to the production of surplus value."[361] In this regard, the recognition of the expanded realm of work was both a theoretical and a political shift that recognized, as Harry Cleaver put it, "that the equation of capital with the 'factory', characteristic of Marxist political economy, was clearly inadequate."[362] This shift involved, in part, blurring the divisions between waged and unwaged time, and waged and unwaged "workers."[363] This blurring of distinctions would seem to echo a point made by Adorno and Horkeimer years earlier in their critique of the culture industry.[364] However, where they point to leisure activity and the culture industry as functioning as a kind of preparation or habituation of the worker for the mind-numbing and abusive life in the factory – "Donald Duck in the cartoons and the unfortunate victim in real life receive their beatings so that the spectators can accustom themselves to theirs"[365] – the writers from the Autonomist tradition are interested in exploring first, how domestic work is itself immediately productive; and second, how the "work" of consumption was itself a form of production, instilling the subjective basis for the productivity of capital.

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[358] Antonio Negri, *Politics of Subversion: A Manifesto for the Twenty-First Century*, trans. James Newell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) 204

[359] Dyer-Witherford, *Cyber-Marx*, 82.

[360] Negri, *Politics of Subversion*, 101.

[361] Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James, "Women and the Subversion of Community" in *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972), 33. See also Leopoldina Fortunati, *The Arcane of Reproduction: Housework, Prostitution, Labor and Capital*, trans. Hilary Clark, ed. Jim Fleming (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1995).

This point is best understood by pointing out that for Negri and others, this emphasis on the social worker and the diffusion of the factory was also a response to a historical shift that required reconceptualizing the very locus and kind of work to the social factory and its basis. For Negri and others, the basis of this new diffuse factory and the socialized worker is for capitalist expropriation to be understood in terms not of wages but of the expropriation of communication and community.[366] It is the very social processes of communication that have become the basis for capitalist expropriation and valorization, both within traditional factory settings and without. As Maurizio Lazzarato has reframed it, production increasingly relies on the communication between workers, and the "application of subjectivity."[367] The creative interaction between subjects becomes a source of productivity; "*in real subsumption*," Jason Read emphasizes, "*the production of subjectivity itself becomes productive for capital*."[368]

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[362] Harry Cleaver, *Reading Capital Politically* (Leeds: Anti/Theses, 2000), 70.

[363] Dyer-Witherford, *Cyber-Marx*, 80.

[364] Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

[365] Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 110. Just as the culture industry thesis needs to be reconceptualized to deal with the patently more differentiated cultural products of the contemporary period, so we must re-examine the role of the contemporary culture industries in generating producing subjects. For the contemporary culture industries not only in accustom the subject for "immaterial" modes of production, but develop the creative and subjective bases for the current phase of production. It is exactly this that writers like Lazzarato and Negri propose to undertake in their work. Nevertheless, it strikes me that they would benefit greatly from a more nuanced, and media-sensitive analysis – like that undertaken by Adam Ardvisson in his work on brands, and the work on *anime* undertaken here.

[366] Negri, *Politics of Subversion*, 116

The realm of consumption becomes a key site where both the (future) worker's capacity for communicative production, and her or his subjectivity, are developed. Consumption thus becomes immediately productive for capital. First of all, consumption is a key site for the development of subjectivity: "Consumption produces subjectivity: The new talents and potentials of the subject of immaterial labor are continually being produced by the instruments and tools of leisure."[369] Second of all, consumption is the site of the production of communicative relationships: "Consumption is no longer only the 'realization' of a product, but a real and proper social process that for the moment is defined with the term *communication*."[370] Moreover, as Lazzarato writes, the "particularity of the commodity produced through immaterial labour… consists in the fact that it is not destroyed in the act of consumption, but rather it enlarges, transforms, and creates the 'ideological' and cultural environment of the consumer."[371] Consumption, then, becomes a site of the development of the subjectivity and the communicative powers of subjects that are the basis for contemporary forms of production, as immaterial labor.[372] The cultural commodity becomes key in this respect since it, more than any other form, reflects the definition of consumption as that which "produces both the conditions for further consumption, in the constitution of new desires, and the constitution of new production, in the creation of new subjective potentials as fixed capital."[373]

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[367] Maurizio Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, ed., *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 136. Representative work in this respect are the forms of "immaterial production" that are found in "audiovisual production, advertising, fashion, the production of software, photography, cultural activities, and so on." Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," 137.

[368] Jason Read, *The Micro-Politics of Capital: Marx and the Prehistory of the Present* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 136

[369] Read, 148.

[370] Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," 141.

[371] Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," 138.

To translate this into the terms of this chapter, we may understand the consumption of Atomu sticker (unlike that of, say, a refrigerator) as producing both the desire for the further consumption of stickers, character narratives and products, *and* as producing a transformation in the consuming subject. That is, according to Lazzarato and Negri, the subjective developments of the subject generated through consumption will in turn form the basis for present and future forms of the social cooperation that is the basis for the creation of similar such commodities, and for the "creative" forms of consumption itself.[374] To take an example from the contemporary period, the production of fan spin-offs of works in the otaku community is, in this sense, not the aberration that it is sometime thought to be, nor is it an oppositional form per se. Rather, this "secondary production" is one form in which the communicational commodities distributed in the form of *manga* or *anime* in turn produce production (i.e. the secondary production of the fan works) in their very consumption. The commodity, that is, develops communicational ties to other consumers, ties which in turn form part of the productivity of consumption in post-Fordism.

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[372] It is in this sense that we can understand Lazzarato's suggestion that communication – and perhaps immaterial labor itself – function as the interface between production and consumption, in the following passage: "Immaterial labor continually creates and modifies the forms and conditions of communication, which in turn act as the interface that negotiates the relationship between production and consumption." Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," 143.

[373] Jason Read, *The Micro-Politics of Capital: Marx and the Prehistory of the Present* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 130. While the term "fixed capital" usually denotes machines or non-movable elements (such as the factory itself) in Marx, Read's unusual usage of the term is here meant to point to the way subjectivity itself becomes a fundamental machinic element in the production of future capital, an element that is not used up in the course of production.

[374] Lazzarato emphasizes the importance of the consumer as "active." "Immaterial Labor," 143. Where he differs from writers like John Fiske who emphasized the active quality of consumption of television viewers, is that Lazzarato does not fail to point to ways that this very activeness of consumption becomes a form of productivity under the current regime of capital.

This is visible as early as the case of Atomu. Consumption in the Atomu environment already involved the development of communicational ties with other consumers of the Atomu image. Writers at the time such as Yamakawa Hiroji emphasized the communal or group nature of consumption, and the formation of communities around consumption. In noting the “badge boom” following on Glico’s release of Tetsujin 28-gô badges as *omake* with their caramels, Yamakawa was particularly interested in the way children exchanged badges with each other, or stickers for that matter. “From the perspective of the advertising companies, this exchange of badges and stickers effectively forms a kind of medium,” Yamakawa notes.[375] Following the suggestion of a friend, Yamakawa calls this medium of communication through badges or stickers “*mono komi*” or “thing communication” – a play on the already established terms mass communication (*masu komi*) and word-of-mouth communication (*kuchi komi*).[376] It was precisely these networks of communication that became more and more important for capital as it shifted outside the factory, and placed more and more emphasis on the production of communication and communicating subjects. Moreover, the environmental diffusion of the image and its consumption was in many ways parallel to the diffusion of the factory and production into the larger social realm. As communication became increasingly important for the productive processes of capital, the stimulation of communication in the form of the consumption of the image and the formation of networks of communication alongside this consumption were two sites this new logic of production was articulated.

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[375] Yamakawa Hiroji, “‘Wappen bûm’ to ‘terebi jin’ shijô to masu komi -> kuchi komi -> mono komi” [The ‘badge boom’ and the ‘TV people’ market and mass communications, word-of-mouth communications, thing communications] *Sengen kaigi* (July 1964), 48.

[376] Yamakawa also notes that both word-of-mouth-communication and thing-communication are forms of communication that have grown out of television’s influence: theme songs forming the basis of the first word-of-mouth communication, and the *anime*-character-inspired badges and stickers forming the basis for and thing-communication. “‘Wappen bûm’ to ‘terebi jin,’” 48-9.

If consumption of the image in one sense produces the forms of subjectivity and communication that are the basis for contemporary modes of work, the consumption of the Atomu sticker can also be understood as form of work from another theoretical perspective: that developed by scholars of television. One of the basic insights by critical television scholars on the political economy of television has been that this medium, while generally perceived as being free, in fact operates through stations selling viewers to advertisers.[377] The audience is thus what Dallas W. Smythe has called "the commodity audience," something "produced, sold, purchased and consumed." "Like other 'labor power'," he continues, "it involves 'work'."[378] That is to say, advertisers do not only pay for viewers in general, they pay for the work or attention of viewers in their activity of watching television. What companies buy when they advertise "are the services of audiences with predictable specifications which will pay attention in predictable numbers and at particular times to particular means of communication (television, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards, and third-class mail) in particular market areas."[379] This understanding of television viewing as a form of labor is developed further by

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[377] As Nick Browne writes, "Considered as a business, television works on a basic exchange. For a fee, television delivers audiences, measured in thousands, to advertisers. That is, the business of television is showing ads to audiences." Nick Browne, "Political Economy of the Television (Super) Text," in *Television: The Critical View, Fourth Edition*, Horace Newcomb ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 587.

[378] Dallas W. Smythe, "On the Audience Commodity and its Work," in Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner, eds., *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 233. This essay was originally published in 1981, and Smythe is perhaps one of the first to consider the function of the audience in terms of the problem of work.

[379] Smythe, "On the Audience Commodity and its Work, 234.

Jonathan Beller who proposes an "attention theory of value" whereby the attention of spectators is assumed to be productive of value, and thus understood to be "work."[380] Indeed, Beller describes "cinema" – by which term he refers to all image production today, and designates more aptly, in my view, the visual media of television and the internet than film – as "a deterritorialized factory running on a new order of socially productive labor – attention."[381]

With the accelerating dissolution of the distinction between promotion and program with texts like *Tetsuwan Atomu*, the very image of Atomu becomes, as we saw, something like an advertisement or promotion (if not a commercial per se) for other Atomu goods and texts. This is to say, then, that every time children saw the Atomu image they were in fact "working" – working to produce connections, desire, narratives, but working most fundamentally to consume, and thereby to extend the life of consumption of the character and its narrative.[382] The diffusion of the Atomu image throughout the child's lived environment contributed to a transformation in the form and temporality of consumption of the image, and the consumption of media. Consumption – and the work of consuming – has been extended throughout the lived environment. There is thus an environmentalization of media, consumption and work that corresponds to the "diffuse factory" or social factory articulated in the Autonomist understanding of post-

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[380] Jonathan Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006).

[381] Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production*, 13.

[382] This was arguably an early development of what Julian Kücklich has termed, in a different context, "playbour."Julian Kücklich, "Precarious Playbour: Modders and the Digital Games Industry," *Fibreculture* 5 (2005). The specific subject of inquiry of this article is the labor of videogame "modders" – game fans who create "modifications" of the original game – additional levels, different characters, even different game environments. These modifications, it is argued add shelf life to the original game itself, thereby creating value for the game companies. From this perspective, any activity resulting in increased shelf-life of a series, a character, or its commodities could effectively be considered to be creative of value in the economic sense. Including, here the activity of watching an *anime* series, or of following the connections between media forms.

Fordism and its real subsumption of subjects to capital. Understood in the two senses articulated above – the development of subjectivity and communication, and the act of seeing or looking as a form of value-production – we can thus say that the child was not only subsumed as consumer, but also, importantly, subsumed as consumer-laborer in the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism.

This transition from Fordism to post-Fordism was thus in reciprocal presupposition with transformations in the media environment and in the nature of commodities and their interrelations, beginning in the 1960s. That is, even in the years generally considered to be the height of Japanese Fordism – the 1960s of the economic miracle, the rise of mass consumption, and so on – the seeds for the post-Fordist development of the social factory and the emphasis on the serial consumption of experiential commodities were being sown. The site of this sowing was the media sphere, seeing, among other things, the increasing diffusion of the media into the lived environments of its consuming and producing subjects. Moreover, an essential aspect of the process of real subsumption that characterizes the shift to post-Fordism was the integration of the child into processes of consumption *and* production – an integration that was carried out through the environmental expansion of serially related media and media-commodities.

While we have already seen many of the transformations in the media and commodity spheres key to the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, there is still one fundamental transformation we have not yet broached. This is the transformation in the very concept of the medium itself, which we can understand best by exploring the contrast between the marketing media mix and the *anime* media mix. While, as we will see, both conceptions of the media mix emerge at the same time, each implies a fundamentally different conception of the medium-message relationship. To set the stage for a consideration of the marketing media mix I would like to briefly consider the history of marketing practice in Japan, and contextualize its appearance in terms of changes in the social milieu, most notably the rise of a society of mass consumption in the mid-1950s.

The Postwar Emergence of Marketing and the Society of Mass Consumption

The consensus among Japanese historians is that marketing developed in Japan in the postwar period, as a direct response to the importation of American-style marketing techniques beginning in 1955. Indeed, the term marketing itself only came into general use around this date.[383] While advertising existed before this date – and indeed went at least as far back as the Edo period (1603-1868) – marketing, which includes advertising as one of its techniques, is a modern practice. The American style of marketing was, Kohara Hiroshi writes, a particular body of knowledge, practices and discourses based on the one hand around the provocation of consumer response to, and desire for, a particular product through mass advertising, and on the other hand the quantitative or "scientific" research techniques for calculating the most effective means of doing so.[384]

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[383] Ishikawa Hiroyoshi, *Yokubô no sengo shi: Senkô suru ishiki kakumei* (A Postwar History of Desire: The Advance of the Consciousness Revolution) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1966), 88. According to Ishikawa the term was first introduced to Japan in the late Taisho period (1912-26), around 1924, but only came into general usage in the mid-1950s.

[384] Kohara Hiroshi, *Nihon mâketingu shi: Gendai ryûtsû no shiteki kôzu* (Japanese Marketing History: The Historical Composition of Contemporary Distribution) (Chuo Keizaisha, 1994), 68. On the following page, Kohara gives a general definition of marketing as "the generic name for an individual company's conscious and deliberate act of the creation and acquisition of a market." Kohara himself is one of a smaller group of historians who argue that marketing practices were already being developed in the prewar period, particularly from the 1910s to the 1930s. During this period a select group of large companies deployed strategies such as the placement of ads in newspapers, the use of sales incentives, and the use of graphical

The impetus for the introduction of American-style marketing was the September 1955 trip of top management executives from Japan to the US for the purpose of observing and learning from the functioning of US companies. What they saw, among other things, was the importance companies placed on marketing practices. And what they brought back to Japan was an increased appreciation for the place of marketing within business. This sparked a sharp rise in interest in marketing across the Japanese industrial world.[385] Now it is worth noting here that while marketing had existed in the US for some time the "central tenets" of modern marketing "did not fully crystallize until the mid-1950s," as marketing authority Philip Kotler notes.[386] Marketing in the US was also in many ways a postwar development. In one of the texts Kotler takes to be representative of this crystallization, Robert J. Keith suggests that marketing underwent a Copernican revolution during the 1950s. During the "era of sales," starting from the 1930s, the product was at the center of marketing practice. In the 1950s, however, the consumer was put at the center of marketing: the earth's product was replaced with the

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trademarks in an early effort at creating a company image. Yet these prewar marketing practices are said to have been neither systematic nor widespread. They were limited to a relatively small group of companies, most of which dealt in commodities newly imported from the West (such as candies, cosmetics, beer and electrical goods) and which had a limited range of influence. See Shimokawa Kôichi, *Mâketingu: Rekishi to kokkusai hikaku* (Marketing: Its History and International Comparison) (Tokyo: Bunshindô, 1991), 120. Even where they did exist, these practices would subsequently be strongly influenced by the postwar influx of American-style marketing. Kohara, *Nihon mâketingu shi*, 53. The necessary conditions for the real take-off of marketing in Japan would only be present in the postwar period – namely the emergence of a society of mass consumption, and the need to mediate the mass production of goods and their consumption by the intermediary of marketing.

[385] Kohara Hiroshi, "Nihon no mâketingu: Dônyû to tenkai" [Japanese Marketing: Its Introduction and Development] in *Nihon no mâketingu: Dônyû to tenkai* [Japanese Marketing: Its Introduction and Development] Mâketingu-shi Kenkyû-kai ed. (Tokyo: Dôbunkan, 1995), 11-12. The existence of *Senden kaigi* – a monthly marketing and advertising magazine first published by the Kubota marketing agency in 1954 – would seem to indicate a growing interest in marketing pre-dating this 1955 trip. However it is indeed true that most marketing journals (and particularly those published by the Dentsu ad agency) begin to be published in 1956 or thereafter.

[386] Philip Kotler, *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, and Control, Fifth Edition* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984 [first edition, 1967]), 20.

consumer's sun as the center of the business universe.[387] Moreover, this Copernican revolution was also accompanied by a reorganization of the company itself around the marketing department. The replacement of the product by the consumer as the center of marketing practices was to be accompanied by a parallel revolution that firmly ensconced the marketing department at the center of a company's decision-making processes, replacing top management as the central decision-makers of the company, and reflecting the changed emphasis of the company on the consumer rather than the product.[388] It was in the throes of this marketing revolution that the Japanese executives found the American companies they visited in 1955. And, in light of the subsequent introduction of US-style marketing practices into Japan in the following years, it seems they too were convinced of the commercial benefits of this revolution might bring them.

If the importation of the American marketing revolution into Japan in 1955 was one element in the formation of the postwar consumer society, this year is also highly significant as it marked the beginning of the years of high growth that supported the consumption this society was founded on. The year 1955 is recognized as the year in which Japan left behind the period of poverty, reconstruction, and material want (malnutrition, lack of food, homelessness) that characterized the immediate postwar years. The year 1955 is generally thought to mark the end of the "Period of Postwar Recovery" (1945-1954) and is the first year of the "Period of High-Growth" (1955-73).

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[387] Robert J. Keith "The Marketing Revolution," *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 24, No. 3. (Jan., 1960), 35.

[388] Keith, "The Marketing Revolution," 38. Not surprisingly this shift brought with it an increasing concern for the study of consumer behavior, and the 1950s saw the "development of an academic discipline of consumer behavior within the marketing departments of colleges of commerce and business." Russell W. Belk, "Studies in the New Consumer Behaviour," in Daniel Miller ed., *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London: Routledge, 1995), 58

This was the beginning of the years of Japan’s “economic miracle,” characterized by its years of high economic growth and the development of a society of mass consumption.[389]

The consumer society was one in which the industrial-arena development of mass production had to be met with the market-arena development of mass consumption, as we saw in our discussion of the Regulation School thesis. The indispensable tool for the connection of mass production to mass consumption was, Kohara notes, the new and highly important practice of marketing. Indeed, what characterizes the society of mass consumption is neither mass production nor mass consumption alone, but the close connection of the two established through the intermediary of marketing.[390] Marketing was a kind of technology for connecting production to consumption. As such it was a key element in the establishment of the mass consumer society in Japan and thus, in turn, to the development and sustenance of Japan’s economic miracle.[391]

Marketing Discourse and the Media Mix

Given that marketing itself may be considered to be a kind of technology of relation between production and consumption, it is perhaps appropriate that one of the major trends in marketing discourse that emerged towards the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s in Japan was an increased emphasis on *relationality*. The concept of relationality, or *kanrensei*, was used with growing regularity at this time, and is found particularly frequently in two aspects of marketing practice. The first concerned the inter-relationality of company products: product-to-product relations, and company brand to individual product relations. This was framed, for example, as the question of "individual brand" versus "family brand," and, on a different register, around the increasingly significant issue of the company or brand "image."

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[389] Kohara, “Nihon no mâketingu,” 6. In 1956, in one of the most famous proclamations in the postwar era, a government white paper declared, “We are no longer in the postwar” (*mohaya sengo de wa nai*).

[390] Kohara, “Nihon no mâketingu,” 11.

[391] This point can be illustrated by looking at the example of the electronics industry. The electronics industry was an essential component of Japan’s postwar rise as an industrial power, yet while exports accounted for some of the growth of Japanese industries, the mainstay and reason for the success of key industrial sectors such as the production of televisions was sustained (at least at first) not by foreign consumption but rather by domestic consumption. And for this, as Simon Partner argues in *Assembled in Japan*, good marketing was key. Thus, Partner argues, the marketing of television sets by the electronics industry through the concept of the “bright life,” created in the 1950s, was “just as responsible for the postwar miracle as the Japanese electronics industry.” In short, the key to postwar prosperity was the consumption of media, particularly TV and television sets, and the key to the consumption of television sets was good marketing. Simon Partner, *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 138-9; 4.

The second aspect of the relationality discourse was more concerned with ensuring the interrelation of different aspects of a single product's marketing campaign. A perfect example of this is the first Meiji marketing campaign discussed in Chapter Two, which coordinated its ads around the image or voice of Uehara Yukari and the popping sound of the Marble Chocolates' cap. This coordination of different aspects of a particular product's marketing campaign was articulated using a variety of concepts that included the terms total marketing (*tôtaru mâketingu*), unified marketing administration (*tôgô mâketingu kanri*), media plan (*baitai keikaku*), echo-strategy (*ekô sakusen*), marketing mix (*mâketingu mikkusu*), and media mix (*media mikkusu*).[392]

The term "media mix" seems to have broken into Japanese marketing discourse in a year significant for this dissertation: 1963. In this year there were two articles that used the term "media mix" in their titles and the term "media mix" was featured in the "Gendai kôkoku jiten"[Contemporary Advertising Dictionary] column of the January

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[392] A number of these were terms were the focus of American marketing debates of the time. That these terms made their way to Japan fairly quickly is not surprising, since it is clear that Japanese marketing theorists were avid readers of American marketing journals, and quickly picked up on trends and issues being dealt with therein.

1963 issue of *Senden Kaigi*.[393] Since it is fairly comprehensive, I quote a large part of this latter definition:

> *Media Mikkusu* (media mix): The use of a variety of advertising media organically, synthetically, effectively, and in accordance with an advertising goal.
>
> In the contemporary age of the development of mass media [*masu komi*], it has become difficult to reach an advertising goal by using a single medium. We might say that this is a result of the complexification of society, the development of communications [*tsûshin*], and the development of advertising techniques. In particular, with the spread of television sets, the appropriate use of each medium according to its different properties has become absolutely necessary, and the media mix has come to occupy an important position within the advertising plan.[394]

What is interesting to note in this definition of the media mix is its emphasis on the appearance of television as a key factor in the recognition of multiple avenues of advertising; the focus on media specificity (which is defined within the marketing context by the number of viewers/readers, its circulation, and the chance of multiple viewings); and the emphasis on the "synthetic" use of the media towards a particular goal. The advertising goal was, for the most part, quite simply to convince viewers to buy the product that was the object of the media mix ad campaign. Murata Shôji, editor of the ad journal, *Senden Kaigi*, defined the "optimum media mix" in 1965 as "the one that reaches the largest number of receivers for the lowest cost, and that uses a mixture of media to transmit the message with the greatest effect."[395]

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[393] These two articles are: Shiraishi Kazushige, "Media mikkusu ni yoru kôkoku no kôka: Ukete wo chûshin to shita chôsa kenkyû" [The Effects of Advertising with the Media Mix: Research on Surveys Focused on the Receiver"] *Dentsû kôkoku ronshi* (April 1963); and Kobayashi Tasaburô, "Media mikkusu ni, san no jirei: kôkoku dairiten, kôkoku nushi no ba'ai" [Two or Three Case Studies of the Media Mix: In the Case of Ad Agencies and Advertisers"] *Dentsû kôkoku ronshi* (July 1963). These two are the first instances of the use of "media mix" in the titles of articles that I have found, having looked through the marketing and advertising journals, *Senden kaigi*, *CM kenkyû*, *Dentsû koukoku ronshi* and *Marketing to koukoku*, as well as using an article-based search engine.

[394] "Gendai kôkoku jiten," in *Senden kaigi* (January 1963), 109.

[395] Quoted in Suzuki Hirohisa, "Shakai shinrigakuteki media mikkusu kenkyû josetsu" [A Prolegomenon to a Socio-psychological Study of the Media Mix] in *Tokyo daigaku shinbun kenkyujo kiyô* [The Bulletin of the Institute of Journalism, University of Tokyo] volume 20 (1971), 76. This article provides a useful review of marketing media mix theory; another useful article in this regard is Nakajô Fukujirô and

So how does this marketing concept of the media mix differ from the *anime* media mix? The discourse on the former certainly emphasizes the multi-media strategy that characterizes both the *anime* system and Kadokawa's media mix strategies. Both, moreover, rely on the premise that multiple media in combination exert greater force than a single medium; in short, they both presuppose the principle of synergy. Where the two conceptions of the media mix strikingly differ, however, is in marketing discourse's "vehicular" conception of the medium. The marketing media mix is characterized by the strict separation of the goal of its message transmission (e.g. convincing the viewer to buy a National toaster), and the medium through which this goal is realized (e.g. a television spot commercial).

As was implied in the marketing definitions of the media mix seen above, the use of multiple media is considered along the same lines as the use of a single medium: media are the vehicles for the transmission of a message that is the content of the advertisement. Indeed, however complicated some of the marketing media mix models become (developing various algorithms to account for the effects of the repetitive viewing of messages, or the different strengths of various media), the conception of the medium remains a simple one: a vehicle for the transmission of a message.[396] A passage from a 1966 article by American marketing writers on the question of media selection makes this vehicular conception of the medium clear:

> The problem is to select from among various media alternatives the "best" set. The total amount of money available, the budget, is a restraint. Alternatives include not only media, but specific choices within a given medium as well. For a given magazine, for example, there is the choice of page size, colors and the like.

Mitsumoto Fumiaki, "Media mikkusu no riron to shuhô" [Media mix theory and technique] in *Mâketingu Jânaru* (English title: *Japan Marketing Journal*) (April 1984).

[396] Nakajô and Mitsumoto discuss the various algorithms developed to calculate the effects of the media mix in, "Media mikkusu no riron to shuhô."

> Thus, choices available include all media vehicles capable of carrying an advertisement. *A vehicle is any possible carrier of an advertisement*.[397]

Moreover, this strict separation between the medium as vehicle and the message this vehicle transports is in turn the basis for other such strict divisions that underlie the marketing discourse on the media mix. The most fundamental division which follows from the vehicle/message divide is the distinction between commodity and advertisement, where the advertisement (as the media mix complex) serves as a means to promote the consumption of the commodity (the "real" content of the media mix message). This operational premise of the marketing media mix, in turn, presumes the strict separation of the spheres of promotion from consumption and the immaterial media image(s) from the material object of consumption.

The *anime*/Kadokawa media mix, by contrast, is characterized precisely by the fuzziness of the clean divisions that marketing discourse presupposes, if not their complete interpenetration. Indeed, what this marketing discourse throws into relief is precisely the huge gulf separating the two conceptions of the media mix, and the transformation in media practice that occurred in the 1960s. Marketing discourse maintains this strict medium-message distinction even to this day. However, the specificity of *anime*/Kadokawa media mix – even as it takes its name from the field of marketing – is precisely the indistinction or "mix" between message and medium, promotion and consumption, advertisement and commodity, image and object of consumption. The specificity of the fuzzy, relational operations of the *anime*/Kadokawa media mix is effectively incomprehensible to the vehicle-message epistemological grid of understanding proper to marketing discourse.[398]

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[397] Frank M. Bass and Ronald T. Lonsdale, "An Exploration of Linear Programming in Media Selection," in *Journal of Marketing Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2. (May, 1966), pp. 179-188. Emphasis is mine.

Media Transformations, Social Transformations

This discursive and practical incompatibility highlights again the degree to which there was a transformation in media practice during the 1960s with the emergence of (what would later be known as) the *anime* media mix, such that this phenomenon was already in some sense incompatible with the marketing media mix discourse as it was being developed in this very same time period. This chapter has described a number of these transformations in media practice that occurred in this decade and, through the work of Kadokawa Books, in the decade that followed. The principle transformations we have seen here are: (1) the dissolution of the strict division between medium and message; (2) the convergence of commodity and advertisement, or program and promotion; (3) the acceleration of the consumption of media and commodities; (4) the breakdown of the distinction between cultural work and commodity, or, the culturalization of the commodity; (5) the weakening of boundaries demarcating one media from another, and the serial inter-relation of these media texts; (6) the replacement of the work as unified totality with the work as a series of trans-media fragments; (7) the expansion of the media into media environment, the wider circulation of the image, and the work of consumption as a form of production. To these we can add an eighth transformation that develops from the growing indiscernibility between media images and material objects of consumption, and will be the subject of the next chapter: (8) the mediatization of things or the emergence of the media-commodity. While it should be acknowledged that some of these transformations were already underway to some degree in earlier decades, it is in the 1960s for children and the 1970s for adults that these transformations are consolidated and a new regime of media interconnection emerges: the media mix. The emergence of this media mix and the transformations that characterize it – the real subsumption of life, work and consumption under a new regime of capital, the transformation in patterns and temporalities of consumption, the entry of the child into the sphere of consumption-production, and so on – were in turn vital to the constitution of a new, post-Fordist model of capitalist accumulation, particularly after the crises the Fordist regime underwent in the early 1970s.

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[398] This grid is sustained, it would seem, by the hold a certain epistemology of the media and the exigency of quantification (how much money + how many viewers + how many times = how many purchases of the product) has on them, and which militates against the fuzziness of real media operations. It is perhaps not so much that contemporary marketers misunderstand the media – the savviness of media campaigns in Japan betrays an implicit if not explicit understand of the fuzziness of media operations – as their epistemological grid prevents them from articulating an understanding of the qualitative transformations in and real fuzziness of the media sphere on the theoretical level.

Conclusion: Kadokawa Reconsidered

This chapter has focused primarily on the term "media mix" and the phenomena that it designates. I have emphasized that while Kadokawa Books is often credited as the instigator of the *anime* media mix, in fact the logic of the new media was already present in the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign beginning in 1963, and forms the basis of the modus operandi of the *anime* system. I have also suggested the profound differences that separate the *phenomenon* of the *anime* media mix from its *terminological* origins in marketing discourse. As a conclusion to this chapter, it is worth returning for a moment to the relationship between the de facto media mix developed by *anime* in 1963 and the media mix that Kadokawa is now popularly, and as I suggested here mistakenly, credited as having developed in the mid-1970s and after. Was the Kadokawa venture a mere repetition and expansion of earlier transformations and media logic developed in *anime*?

In significant ways the answer is in the affirmative. It is for this reason that I refer to the phenomenon not as the “Kadokawa media mix” but rather the “*anime* media mix” – in spite of the fact that Kadokawa only developed its *anime* branch in the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s. However there are some significant changes that Kadokawa effected, and that make the analysis of the Kadokawa development of the media mix more than just an effort in debunking the generally held myth that Kadokawa created the phenomenon. Two changes stand out in particular. The first is the importation of the media logic present in children’s culture (in *anime*) into the spheres of literature and film.[399] Or, to put it another way, Kadokawa’s adoption of what later became known as the media mix strategy marks the expansion of the media transformations described above from a particular media context (the *anime* system) to the media sphere at large.

The second change that Kadokawa effected was the integration of the multiple media streams of the media mix, and the creation of a media mix conglomerate. Whereas the earlier, de facto media mix practiced by Mushi Productions and later animation studios relied on the receipt of licensing fees for the use of their *anime* narratives or characters, Kadokawa integrated most aspects of media production within one company. If Kadokawa has grown to be one of the largest media conglomerates in Japan, it is because its media integration allows it to serialize a *manga* in one of its many magazines, publish a collection of several episodes through its book publishing arm, develop a TV series, release a video game, and shoot a live-action film – all without leaving the fold of the Kadokawa Group or the Kadokawa brand name. This media integration does not only involve the ability to publish a serial text across a variety of media types, it also allows for the cross-fertilization between texts, and the integration of advertising for one media series within another.

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[399] This importation of marketing and media logic from children’s culture into culture in a wider sense is a phenomenon that one also sees described in the context of North American media production of film and other texts from the mid-1970s onward. See P. David Marshall, “The New Intertextual Commodity” in *The New Media Book*, ed. Dan Harries (London: BFI, 2002), especially 71-3.

Kadokawa's recent hit *Lucky Star* is a prime example. Originally a *manga* serialized in Kadokawa's gaming magazine *Comptiq* (a monthly whose subtitle describes it as a "*MediaMix Game Magazine*"), the TV *anime* version presents one of the characters reading *Comptiq* magazine in one scene, and engrossed in another Kadokawa media mix product – the novel and recent blockbuster *anime* film release *Toki wo kakeru shojo* (*The Girl Who Leapt Through Time*) – in another scene. The characters are not only Kadokawa media mix products; they are also its greatest fans. This is undoubtedly tongue and cheek. But this works all the same to generate the cross-media connections and intertextual advertisements which are the bread and butter of the media mix environment. In this sense, the development of convergent and synergetic relations between premium and product, as discussed in the last chapter, finds its logical extension in a certain model of monopoly media capital, under which all aspects of the production of text and media environment are operated by branches of the same corporation. Kadokawa's two main transformations of the media mix, then, were to extend its range into other, adult media contexts, and integrate its various components into a single media conglomerate.

Yet, at the same time, the fact of this corporate conglomeration is not enough to explain the interconnections between media texts and things. That is, what the "media mix" finally designates is a particular media ecology in which media must be thought in terms of their relations to other media, in the trans-media connections they develop. The development of tight connections between media types facilitates the development of an integrated media empire, and does not presuppose it. So in the next chapter we must turn back to case of the Atomu media mix again to explore the transformations that occurred in media and things that enabled the communication between media and objects. We must ask how relations between media develop, how media and things communicate, and how the infrastructure of this inter-media/object communication lays the basis for the communicative communities that form around *anime* characters. Thus we will now turn to the emergence of another key term and media phenomenon in postwar Japan: the "mass media toy" and the mediatization of things.

CHAPTER FOUR:

MATERIALITY, COMMUNICATION AND THE MASS MEDIA TOY

Yamakawa Hiroji, an employee in the "Planning Center" of the mammoth Japanese ad firm Dentsu, and a frequent contributor to the advertising journal *Senden Kaigi* (Advertising Meeting), suggested in a 1964 article an important term for thinking about the communicational aspect of commodities or things in the media mix age. In noting the sticker boom we discussed in Chapter Two, and the "badge boom" ignited by Meiji Seika's rival Glico with its release of Tetsujin 28-gô badges, Yamakawa pointed to the way these stickers and badges became the objects of exchange and even communication among the children of the time.[400] "From the perspective of the advertising companies, this 'exchange' of badges and stickers effectively forms a kind of medium (*baitai*)."[401] Following the suggestion of a friend, Yamakawa called this medium of communicating by way of badges or stickers, "*mono komi*" or "thing communication." *Mono komi* was a pun on the already established term for mass communications, *masu komi*.[402] The term *masu komi* is a contraction of the term mass communications (*masu komyunikêshon*), which is virtually synonymous with the term more common in English usage, mass media, and which was introduced into Japan in 1951 by UNESCO. The term was popularized in the early 1950s by journalists who developed the contraction *masu-komi* in 1954, just in time for the rise of the newest of mass media, television.[403]

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[400] While in the form of woven badges, these badges had an adhesive patch at their back and so stuck to any material – whether clothes, metal appliances, or desks. They were another form the sticker boom took, and another medium of character circulation that rivaled that of Meiji-Atomu. Tetsujin 28-gô was a rival character to Atomu, serialized first in the same magazine, *Shônen*. An *anime* version of the *Tetsujin manga* was televised from October 1963 to May 1966, produced by the former commercial animation studio, TCJ, (now called Eiken).

[401] Yamakawa Hiroji, "'Wappen bûm' to 'terebi jin' shijô to masu komi -> kuchi komi -> mono komi" [The 'badge boom' and the 'TV people' market and mass communications to mouth communication to thing communications] *Sengen kaigi*, July 1964, 48.

[402] The term *mono-komi* also recalls the other pun on *masu-komi*: *kuchi-komi*, literally "mouth-communication," or "communication by word of mouth." Yamakawa also notes that both word-of-mouth-communication and thing-communication are forms of communication that have grown out of television's influence: theme songs forming the basis of the phenomenon of word-of-mouth-communication, and the *anime*-character-inspired badges and stickers forming the basis for and thing-communication. "'Wappen bûm' to 'terebi jin,'" 48-9.

By suggesting that the sticker is a new "medium," Yamakawa points to its ability to be used as an advertising medium – a vehicle by which to promote a company's product. No doubt there is more than a hint of the medium-message differentiation that characterizes the advertiser's take on the marketing media mix detailed in the last chapter – as if the medium of the sticker or badge could be separated from the character image that propels its circulation. And yet if there is also something compelling about this term "thing communication" it is the way it reflects the expansion of media and the becoming-communicative of things.

The term *mono-komi* and the sticker/badge boom it describes open onto the dual problem of media becoming objects, and objects becoming media that Scott Lash and Celia Lury have recently described by as "the mediation of things and the thingification of media."[404] This mediation or things, or, more accurately, the *mediatization of things* is a process whereby things (or commodities) are transformed into communicational media in their own right.[405] This mediation of things, or what I will also call the *communication of things*, is yet another manifestation of the culturization of commodities (Ueno Kôshi), the rise of experiential commodities (Martyn J. Lee), or what we have called "media-commodities" that we discussed in the last chapter. This mediatization of commodities becomes especially prominent with character commerce. While Lash and Lury focus on the 1980s and 1990s, we can trace this problem back to the 1960s, as one of the crucial moments in a transformation of commodity and media relations that occurs with the rise of character merchandizing. This chapter will focus on the problem of the communication of things as it operates in the context of the character economy developed within the *anime* system, and as it manifests in relation to one media-commodity in particular: the *masu komi gangu* or the mass media toy.

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[403] Saitô Ryôsuke, *Omocha hakubutsushi* [A Natural History of Toys] (Tokyo: Sôjinsha, 1989), 160-1. The term *masu-komi* – while a contraction of the Japanization of the English term "mass communications" – is virtually synonymous with the term used more widely in the English-speaking world, "mass media."

[404] Scott Lash and Celia Lury, *Global Culture Industries: The Mediation of Things* (Polity Press, 2007), 25.

[405] Another way to put this would be to say that with the mediatization of things the communicational aspect of commodities are emphasized, rather than their utilitarian aspects, or their suitability for the modern home. That is, as we will see below, though commodities always communicated to some degree, it is the nature of their networks of communication, and the importance placed on them, that change.

In acknowledging the importance of the badges and stickers as object of exchange between children, Yamakawa points to a facet of character-goods that many commentators have since emphasized: the function of the character as a means of social communication. In recent years in particular, the idea that character goods allow for inter- or intra-generational human communication has become a common explanation for the prominence of characters in Japan. For example, an employee at Sanrio, the company responsible for the creation of Hello Kitty, explains that Hello Kitty character goods can be used as communicational tools for household discussion. "Today you're going to brush your teeth with your Kitty-chan toothbrush, aren't you?" is given as an example of a positive mode of dinnertime conversation made possible by Hello Kitty.[406] On a more theoretical level the Luhmannian systems-theory influenced sociologist Miyadai Shinji and his collaborators have emphasized the importance of character goods along with other elements such as a bubbly writing style for development of "cute communication" among *shôjo* girls in the 1970s and 80s.[407]

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[406] Shimura Kazuki quoted in an interview, "Sanrio" in Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyûjo, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters), (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001), 129. This whole book emphasizes the importance of characters as a communicational tool.

[407] See especially "Shôjo mejia no komyunikêshon"(The communication of Shôjo media) in Miyadai Shinji, Ishihara Hideki and Ôtsuka Meiko, *Sôhô Sabukaruchâ shinwa kaitai: Shôjo, ongaku, manga, sei no hen'yô to genzai* (The dismantling of the myth of subculture: The transformations and the present of girls, music, *manga* and sex, Expanded edition) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2007).

Nor is this emphasis on thing-communication limited to Japan. Critical analyses of toys and children's culture in the North American context similarly emphasize the way toys function as communicational media among children. Stephen Kline in *Out of the Garden* writes that in consumer society "people communicate to others through the things they own and use; for children this modality of communication through 'things' was especially vital because goods helped to integrate and identify them with their own peers."[408] Ellen Seiter goes even further in emphasizing the communicative function of toys, writing that, "As a mass culture, toys and television give children a medium of communication – this is why I have described it as a lingua franca."[409] Commodities – or media-commodities – function as a medium of communication between their owners.

However, what I propose to do in this chapter is to go beyond the exploration of the role of character goods and media as intermediaries between people – as social lubricants facilitating communication between one child and another, or between grandparent and grandchild – and focus instead on their function as nodes in a larger inter-object and trans-media communication network. As Yamakawa suggests in his gesture towards the social exchange of stickers and badges, things have long been used as tools for communication between people (we can think of anthropologists' discussions of exchange in "primitive" societies as one site that suggests a longer trajectory of the use of things as a medium of communication between individuals or groups). What changes with the stickers and the explosion of character-based media is that commodities begin to communicate first and foremost with other commodities and media, thereby becoming what in previous chapters we have termed “media-commodities.”

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[408] Stephen Kline, *Out of the Garden: Toys and Children's Culture in the Age of TV Marketing* (London: Verso, 1993), 190-191.

[409] Ellen Seiter, *Sold Separately: Parents and Children in Consumer Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 50.

The subject of inquiry in this chapter will thus be the primacy of inter-object communication and its mode of operation. It is the network of relations established in the communication between the character image on TV and the character toy that I will argue constitutes the infrastructure or inscriptive surface on which the communication between people takes place. Without this surface constituted by character image-goods there would be no Hello Kitty toothbrush about which to have a dinner conversation. Put differently, the Hello Kitty toothbrush must be in communication with a network of other Hello Kitty goods – shoes, notebooks, stuffed animals and so on – in order to function as the generator of desire and the mediatic surface upon which inter-personal communication is inscribed. The very ability of character goods to function as communicational media between people thus depends on their prior constitution of a communicational infrastructure or surface established between things. This in turn implies a mediatization of things and a thingification of media that precedes their becoming mediators between people – whether as communicating signs that transmit messages about oneself (as articulated in identity-formation theories of consumption) or as objects that are the basis for a topic of conversation between two human individuals.

This is another way of suggesting that media interconnectivity does not depend first and foremost on users. Henry Jenkins, for example, has recently written that, “Convergence does not occur through media appliances, however sophisticated they may become. Convergence occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interactions with others."[410] Yet Jenkins' simple schematization – a world in which there are merely media appliances and brains – fails to capture the essential role played by technologies of "thing communication" that are not merely hardware, nor merely the products of users' creative imaginations: the mode of media connectivity proper to the character as a technology, and the role of media-commodities in supporting this connectivity. In order to grasp the specificity of character merchandising and the media mix system, we must pay attention to the way media construct connections, and not jump too quickly to the level of their consumption. It is through understanding this primary communication between objects and media that we may find an answer to the question of how subjects desire to participate within these networks of character communication. Understanding the materiality and immateriality of media connectivity is a first step, then, to answering the question of why and how subjects consume media within the *anime* system.

This chapter will approach these problems by turning to the material history of the toy and the emergence of what in the early 1960s was termed the "*masu komi gangu*": the "mass communications toy" or what I will call the "mass media toy."[411] By looking at the particular transformations the toy undergoes in its becoming mass media toy we can better understand the importance of the material specificity of different media objects in character communication. Focusing on the mass media toy and its transformations will also allow us to point to some earlier incarnations of the media toy, and specifically to two earlier eras of character circulation. I will begin by giving an account of the three principal moments in which the mass media toy develops, in parallel with developments in *manga* and animation. Like the character itself, the *anime*-influenced mass media toy of the 1960s has its precedents.[412] An examination of earlier moments of character-related toys will allow us to describe several important precursors to the era of character-based commerce under examination in this dissertation. Following from this examination, I will point out the ways the Atomu toys differ from their precursors, and mark a change in the relation between the child consumer and the character toy. Finally, I will address this *anime*-based mass media toy in the context of theories of communication, putting particular emphasis on the importance of difference for understanding the communication between objects and media. We will see that, despite my emphasis on the phenomenon of convergence around the character image in Chapter Two, media-commodities communicate through their *material differences* as much as their character resemblance.

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[410] Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 3.

[411] As I noted above, the Japanese term *masu komi* can be translated either as mass communications, or as mass media. Since the latter term is more common, I will translate the *masu komi gangu* as "mass media toy," or the "media toy" for short.

Note on the Character Business

Most writers on the character business in Japan cite the popular furor surrounding *Tetsuwan Atomu*, the beginnings of TV *anime* and Meiji Seika's Atomu stickers campaign as the basis for the emergence of character merchandising in Japan. However, the question of which character writers point to as the first instance of its serial circulation depends on their definition of the character business. As we saw in Chapter Two, a narrow definition of the character business refers to the practice of licensing, which in turn presupposes the appeal to, and use of, copyright law. It is the business of selling and buying the rights to use the character as a purchasing incentive or a product form.[413] Thus the "business" part of the character business is more properly defined as the "license business," or the "copyright business." Within this framework the character is defined as a "property," or rather an "intellectual property."[414] Writers who accept this narrow definition of the character business – such as writers for Japan's preeminent character business trade journal, *Merchandizing Rights Reports*, or the authors of character business manuals – will generally cite Walt Disney as the first person/enterprise in Japan to strictly enforce copyright laws beginning in the 1950s. Tezuka Osamu comes next as the one of the first copyright holders native to Japan to do so, with *Tetsuwan Atomu* being the trigger for the present state of character marketing in Japan.[415]

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[412] The media toy and character merchandising have their subsequent developments as well, such that these merit being grouped into discrete periods. The appearance of Hello Kitty in 1974 and the era of non-narrative, non-*anime*-based "fancy characters" that it initiated mark one important transformation; the de-centering of *anime* in the 1980s and 1990s with the rise of the video game industry marks another; and the recent rise of so-called "light novels" (around 2005) marks yet another. But as we will see the beginning of TV *anime* marks the point when the character established its veritable hegemony on forms of cultural production, and the expansion of the realm of character communication that continues to this day. I will address these other character periods more properly in a separate work.

However, to account for the history of the character solely from within the angle of the business of copyright is to suffer from a business-concerned myopia. Since the practice of copyright is relatively absent in Japan in the realm of characters until the 1950s, the important era of the 1920s and 1930s tends to be ignored.[416] One of my aims in this chapter is to gesture towards this longer history of the character and character commodities by looking past copyright agreements, and focusing instead on the movement of the character image in the history of toys. Indeed, copyright law, as I pointed out earlier, does not generate the trans-serial movement of characters, but rather only tries to capitalize on it, and submit it to modes of capital accumulation. The toy will serve as a key site from which to register the rise and fall of popular characters and their trans-series movement, and gesture towards the longer history of character commodities – a history in which, as we will see, Atomu nonetheless occupies a key position.

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[413] This can include selling the rights to manufacture character products (such as Atomu running shoes) or the rights to use the character image in a particular company's marketing campaign (Meiji's use of the Atomu image is an obvious example). The latter practice is also known as "character marketing."

[414] Kyarakutâ Mâketingu Purojekuto, *Zukai de wakaru kyarakutâ mâketingu* (Character Marketing Understood through Diagrams) (Tokyo: Nihon Nôritsu Kyôkai Manejimento Sentâ, 2002), 22-24; 32.

[415] Frederik Schodt concurs with this point, writing that "[m]erchandise based on *manga* characters was nothing new in Japan" – and indeed goes back to the 1930s. "But," Schodt continues, "Tezuka was the first *manga* artist to harness the power of television and license the rights of his creations in the fashion of Walt Disney in the United States, collecting a royalty on all items sold. In doing so he paved the way for the modern Japanese *manga*-*anime*-pop-culture juggernaut, creating a synergy among fans, publishers, broadcasters and retailers." Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007), 74.

[416] There has been some important historical research on it by writers such as Ôtsuka Eiji, Ôsawa Nobuaki and Nogami Akira. However, much work remains to be done on this important period.

The First Era of Character Circulation

The first character era of the modern period was from the mid-1920 into the 1930s.[417] According to Nogami Akira, a researcher of toys and children's culture, Japan's first "mass character" was Shô-chan. Shô-chan comes from what Nogami suggests was "Japan's first character *manga*," *Shô-chan no bôken* (The adventures of little Shou), written by Oda Shôsei and serialized in *Nikkan Asahi Gurafu* as of January 1923. *Shô-chan* was instantly popular, was released in pirated book editions from various publishers, and was turned into various commodities, the most famous of which was the trademark Shô-chan knit hat. Nogami argues that this hat, which attained national popularity, was the first example of character merchandise in Japan [Figure 4.1].[418] Shô-chan, Nogami writes, "displayed a development that makes it the very origin of Japan's character culture."[419] Subsequent to the success of Shô-chan merchandise, other *manga* series were made into spin-off character goods, such as Asô Yutaka's *Nonki na Tôsan* (Carefree Dad), which was turned into wooden dolls as well as sugoroku board-games in the mid-1920s [Figure 4.2]. As eminent toy historian Saitô Ryôsuke writes, Shô-chan and Nonki na Tôsan's transformation into toys and other character goods "marks the opening of the path by which the main characters of *manga* were later made into 'mass media toys' [*masu komi gangu*]."[420] If Shô-chan and Nonki na Tôsan were the first characters of the 1920s character boom, two major characters of the subsequent decade also cannot be ignored: Mickey Mouse and Norakuro.

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[417] Ôtsuka Eiji and Ôsawa Nobuaki describe this period as "the first real 'character boom' in modern history," in *'Japanimeeshon' wa naze yabureru ka* [Why 'Japanimation' Will Go Down] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2005), 24. The qualifier "modern" is important insofar as it implicitly acknowledges the possibility of character "booms" in the premodern period. Here I defer to Kagawa Masanobu's fascinating argument that the origins of Japanese character culture are to be found in the Edo period, particularly in the 18th century with the visualization of the formerly folk-tale-based *yôkai* or hobgoblins. With their visualization came their commodification, and their sale in the form of card-based games that in turn laid the basis for Japan's vibrant character culture – a culture that still, as the case of Pokémon attests, takes monsters as the basis for characters. Kagawa Masanobu, "Bakemono kara Pokemon e: Kyarakutâ to shite no yôkai" [From monsters to Pokemon: Hobgoblins as characters"] in *Ima Mukashi omocha daihakurankai* [Great exhibition of toys present and past], Hyôgo-ken ritsu rekishi hakubutsukan, ed. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 2004), 32-3. See also Kagawa's *Edo no yôkai kakumei* (Tokyo, Kawade Shobô, 2005). While Kagawa's work should not be ignored, and this longer history of character of characters in Japan should be kept in mind, I take the 1920s to 1930s as the first instance of character circulation in (modern) Japan in large part because the works at that time – as they were to be later – were based around *manga* and animation, and emphasized the circulation of the character image across multiple media platforms.

Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse is important for the history of character merchandising in Japan both for its popularity as a character, and for Disney's later attempts to enforce copyright laws. Indeed, if Mickey Mouse is often thought to be the character that inaugurated character merchandising per se, it is due not only to the character's persistent popularity (while earlier popular characters have been forgotten) but also to Disney's strict enforcement of copyright, and thus its pioneering role in the constitution of the character business as the business of rights and permissions, rather than the business of the production of character goods. There are – as we have already seen – earlier instances of character marketing to be found in the U.S. as in Japan. Kôno Akira, one of the foremost writers for Japan's character-merchandising monthly journal *Merchandise Rights Reports*, points to Richard F. Outcault's serial comic *Buster Brown* as a possible first instance of character marketing in the United States. Published in the *New York Herald* beginning in 1902, Outcault licensed the image of the popular Buster Brown and his dog Tige to over 40 different companies by the early 1900s, including most famously the Brown Shoe Company.[421] But all the same, Kôno goes on to write that while there are historical precedents for character marketing before Disney, "the foundations of the present character licensing business in the U.S. were laid by Kay Kamen." It was this Herman Kay Kamen who "together with Disney started the merchandizing of the character of Mickey Mouse."[422] Kamen was behind from the successful business management of Mickey Mouse and other Disney characters and it is in large part to him that the credit goes for the proliferation of Disney merchandise within the United States from 1933 to 1949, such that Kamen was labeled "The King of Merchandise" by the toy industry.[423]

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[418] Nogami Akira, "Sekai wo sekken suru nihon no kyarakurâ no miryoku" [Sweeping the world: The attraction of Japanese characters] in *Ima Mukashi omocha daihakurankai* [Great exhibition of toys present and past], Hyôgo-ken ritsu rekishi hakubutsukan, ed. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô, 2004), 25.

[419] Nogami Akira, "*Manga* to kyarakutâ bunka"[*Manga* and character culture] in *Ima Mukashi omocha daihakurankai* [Great exhibition of toys present and past], Hyôgo-ken ritsu rekishi hakubutsukan, ed. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô, 2004), 8.

[420] Saitô Ryôsuke, *Showa gangu bunkashi* [A Cultural History of Showa Toys] (Toyko: Iwamoto, 1978), 9. Saitô's finely researched book is the best account of the history of Japanese toys I have come across in the comparatively under-researched area of Japanese children's toys. I draw from his works extensively in this chapter.

Yet, while Disney extended its reach across the Atlantic, establishing offices in London and Paris in the 1930s, it was not until the postwar period that it established merchandising offices in Japan.[424] As a result Disney did not exert real copyright control over the use of Mickey Mouse or other characters until the 1950s. The result was that the unauthorized usage of the character image was rampant in Japan, beginning in the early 1930s with the popularity of Disney animated shorts, the first of which – *Skeleton Dance* – was screened in Japan in 1930.[425] With the subsequent screenings of Mickey Mouse shorts, the popularity of this Disney character grew, and unauthorized *manga* versions, toys and other goods emerged on the market.[426] Indeed, Saitô Ryôsuke argues, "'Disney' toys are one of the representative axes of the Japanese mass character toy from the prewar years of the early Showa period [1926-1989] to the postwar present."[427] The circulation of the Disney character image, and Mickey Mouse in particular, was thus significant even in the prewar period, even if not yet bound to the licensing business as it would be in the postwar period.

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[421] Kôno Akira, "Shôhin kaken shiyou kyodaku gyômu, dai 2 kai" [The licensing business for the use of merchandizing rights, #2] in *Merchandizing Rights Reports* (February 1980), 26. This journal goes under the odd name *Mâchan Repôto: MD*, the romanized title of *Marchan Reports: MD*, as well as by the longer Japanese title *Mâchandaijingu Raitsu Repôto* (Merchandizing Rights Report) that becomes its principle title as of 1995.

[422] Kôno, "Shôhin kaken, #2," 26.

[423] Robert Heide and John Gilman, "The Master of Marketing" in *The Main Event* (November 1st, 2002), at http://scoop.diamondgalleries.com/scoop_article.asp?ai=1317&si=124 (last viewed February 24, 2007).

[424] O.B. Johnston describes the existence of Paris and London offices in the 1930s in his memoirs as a member of the Disney merchandizing section, in a memoir serialized in the Japanese *Merchandising Rights*

Another key character in this period was Norakuro [Figure 4.3]. The *manga Norakuro* – literally "Black Stray" – is the story of a black dog's misadventures in the military. Easy-going, slow-moving and with a knack for getting himself both into trouble and out of it, Norakuro and the *manga* from which he came managed to walk the fine line between pro-militarism and a parody of it for 10 years (1931-1941), serialized by author Tagawa Suihô in the prominent children's magazine, *Shônen Kurabu*. Described as a "dog playing-war," the title character Norakuro became one of the most popular

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Report. O.B. Johnston and Mary Kerry, "Watashi to kyarakutâ mâchandaijingu, #5" (Character Merchandising and Me), *Mâchandaijingu Raitsu Repouto* (Merchandizing Rights Report), March 1982, 20.

[425] Yamaguchi Kasanori and Watanabe Yasushi, *Nihon animêshon eiga shi* [History of Japanese Animated Film] (Osaka: Yubunsha, 1977), 23.

[426] These Mickey Mouse *manga* include Shiyaka Bontarô's 1934 *Mikkî no kappatsu* [Mickey's Activity] and Hirose Shinpei's *Mikkî Chûsuke* [Mickey Chûsuke], discussed in Ôtsuka Eiji and Ôsawa Nobuaki *'Japanimêshon' wa naze yabureru ka*. While it is difficult to come by records on the extent of the circulation of the character, a Mickey Mouse toy from the 1930s is on display at the Yokohama Buriki Omocha Hakubutsukan toy museum; and Mickey and Betty Boop *menko* (game) cards are pictured in Tada Toshikatsu, *Omocha hakubutsukan #20: En'nichi to dagashiya gangu #1 / The Toy Museum #20: Toys Sold at Fairs & in Cheap Sweets Shop I* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1992), 24.

[427] Saitô, *Omocha hakubutsushi*, 175

characters and the longest-running series of the time, and continues to be one of the only Japanese prewar characters that are remembered to this day.[428] In addition to book versions of the *manga*, Norakuro was also turned into several animation shorts and brought a flood of other goods in its wake: card games, *sugoroku*, figurines (including one included as an *omake* premium in Glico caramel), handbags, shoes, pencil cases, harmonicas and masks. This last item proved to be so popular than an estimated one in four children in Japan owned a Norakuro mask.[429]

Along with Shô-chan, Nonki na Tôsan, Betty Boop, Mickey Mouse, Bôken Dankichi, Tanku Tankurô and other *manga* or animation characters of the 1920s and 1930s, Norakuro character goods were, as toy historian Saitô Ryôsuke points out, the forerunners of what later would be called *masu komi gangu*, or mass media toys.[430] What distinguishes these goods from those circulating in later character booms, is that the characters at this time were seen most frequently in games. Mickey, Norakuro and Betty Boop adorn the Japanese board game of *sugoroku*, and the game of “pugs” or *menko*, for example. While the main toy of the post-Atomu character goods boom was, as we will see, the figurine, during the 1920s and 1930s aside from masks and the occasional stuffed animals, games were perhaps the most common medium for character goods to appear.

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[428] For a discussion of the relation of animal representations to war, particularly with regard to children’s animation, see Thomas Lamarre, “Speciesism, Part One: Translating Races into Animals in Wartime Animation,” forthcoming in *Mechademia 3*. The editor of *Shônen Kurabu* at the time, Katô Ken’ichi, notes that before *Norakuro*, the longest running *manga* had been serialized for only two years. The average serialization time was one year. Katô Ken’ichi, *Shônen Kurabu jidai: Henshuchô no kaisô* (The Shonen Club Era: Memoirs of the Editor-in-Chief) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1968), 100.

[429] Saitô Ryôsuke, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 70. Despite the success of his character, *Norakuro*’s author Tagawa had no interest in enforcing his rights to a percentage of the profits, or in limiting the unlicensed circulation of his character. Indeed, when his editor at the magazine *Shônen Kurabu* brought to this rampant “piracy” of his work to his attention, Tagawa is said to have responded, “What’s wrong with that? They’re using Norakuro to make everyone happy.” Katô, *Shônen Kurabu jidai*, 104-5.

[430] Saitô Ryôsuke, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 51.

With the intensification of the war in China as of 1937, however, came a shift in aesthetic practices, and the toy media and the *manga* media once again drifted apart. During the 1930s, animal-based *manga* and play-war scenarios were the mainstays, and allowed writers to strike a balance between a reflecting the "state of emergency" and the rise of fascism and the creation of likeable and humorous animal characters. Following on the success of Norakuro, and the increasing militarization of all aspects of life subsequent to the Manchurian Incident of September 1931, "animal army *manga*" with animal characters in the main role appeared one after the other.[431] However, around the summer of 1937, according to Akiyama Masami, there was a shift from animal army *manga* to army *manga* with human protagonists. A realism set in, one that reflected the growing militarism and the intensification of the war that took place from this year onward.[432] This by no means signaled the end of animal *manga* characters, which as Thomas Lamarre notes in the context of animation, continued in some form or other until the end of the war.[433] However, the distinctive animal characters of the 1930s were increasingly replaced by *manga* that featured anonymous human protagonists whose only distinguishing marks served to separate the Japanese from the (usually Chinese) enemy. Here the lack of character individualization worked to emphasize the strength of spirit that supported Japanese nationalism and wartime mobilization. But this very absence of identifying characteristics also made them poor characters. Indeed, the soldiers in the *manga* of this time were non-characters: ideal, disciplined, and almost anonymous soldiers who were fought – and won – their wars. In short, any resistance to the war spirit that the animal army *manga* such as Norakuro might have laid claim to had all but evaporated, replaced by "massacre *manga*" or *manga* depicting the solemn advance of the Japanese army. These *manga* lasted until 1941, the year in which *manga* were completely banned.[434]

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[431] Akiyama Masami, *Maboroshi sensô manga no sekai* [The world of phantom war *manga*] (Tokyo: Natsume Shobô, 1998), 102.
[432] Akiyama, *Maboroshi sensô manga*, 152.
[433] Lamarre, "Speciesism."

With the end of character-based *manga* also came the end to the brief boom of character-based toys and accessories. The incipient "mass media toys" were replaced by war toys, which had been on the rise since the Manchurian Incident of 1931, and included guns, gas masks and other war-play toys and accessories. Parallel to the rise of realism in *manga*, toy historian Saitô Ryôsuke notes an increasing realism in the world of toys, citing the addition of details such as rubber tires and headlights on cars; and the development of apparatuses of movement developed to allow vehicles to move.[435] This growing realism was matched in the realm of military toys, where tanks, warplanes, machine guns, medals, gas masks and goggles were all "just like the original," and were the increasingly pervasive accessories for children's war play [Figures 4.4 and 4.5].[436] Until, that is, even these war toys disappeared with the intensification of total mobilization and as all available resources, materials and labor were geared towards war.

The Second Era of Character Media

Japan's toy industry had been a booming export business in the prewar era. Japan edged into the international toy market during World War One when the toy factory of the world – Germany – was too busy fighting to produce toys. Japan's toy industry built on the inroads made at this time, and by 1937 toys had become Japan's 12th most important export.[437] However, this industry, like all others not directly related to the war, declined as Japan's war effort intensified, eventually grinding to a complete halt. At the war's end, the toy industry was also in no shape for business; the metal-toy making factories of Tokyo had been all but destroyed during the course of the war.[438]

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[434] Akiyama, *Maboroshi sensô manga*, 158.
[435] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 95.
[436] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 132-3.

But before the toy makers had a chance to despair, they received special encouragement from a surprising source early in the postwar period: the headquarters of the American occupiers. Several months after the war's end, in November 1945, the heads of the toy industry were ordered to the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the occupying army and were told that "as collateral material for the most dearly needed food rations being imported for the Japanese citizens, they must immediate start putting their utmost effort into producing toys for export."[439] And so the Japanese toy industry renewed its production, restarted the exportation of its products, and thereby began its postwar revival by providing toys to American children, in return for America saving Japanese citizens from starvation. Building on a trend that started in the prewar and wartime period, Japan's postwar toy industry was geared primarily towards export, particularly towards export to the United States, which continued to be their greatest consumer even after the end of the occupation in 1952. One of the results of this emphasis on foreign rather than domestic consumption was that most toys produced over the next fifteen or so years were primarily isolated from the currents in mass media and from developments in Japan's domestic market.

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[437] Zaidan Hôjin Nihon Gangu Bunka Zaidan, "Keikôgyô no hatten to dai'ichi ôgon jidai no omochatachi" [The development of light industry and the first golden age of toys] in Takayama Hideo ed., *20 Seiki omocha hakubutsukan* [A museum of 20th century toys] (Tokyo: Dôbunshoin, 2000), 36.

[438] For a rare English account of the Japanese toy industry, see Gary Cross and Gregory Smits "Japan, the U.S. and the Globalization of Children's Consumer Culture" *Journal of Social History* (Summer 2005).

[439] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 183.

To be sure broad-based media trends and news events led to changes in the interests of American children, and the members of the Japanese toy industry responded to these in some fashion, as evidenced in the pages of of its major trade journals, *Gangu Shôhô* [Toy Business Bulletin] and *Tokyo Gangu Shôhô*. The gun craze in the 1950s, spawned in part by the general popularity of Western films and TV serials both in the US and in Japan ensured that ads for toy guns and articles discussing them filled the pages of this journal. And major technological developments – such as the development of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile – made big news in the journal, as its toy possibilities were explored. (The entertainment-industrial complex is not so far from the military-industrial complex after all.) However, for the most part media trends were absent from the pages of this journal, as were characters and character-based toys, which had particularly weak influence on three of the main streams of "large article toy"[440] production at this time: "*buriki*" metal robots and automobiles, guns, and dolls.

Of these three large article toys it is the *buriki* that will be most important to us here. *Buriki* were tin toys that were a mainstay of Japan's toy exports in the 1950s, accounting for 80 percent of all toy exports and fifty percent of domestic toy production in 1954.[441] Starting from a jeep [Figure 4.6] built from discarded cans modeled on that driven by the occupying soldiers – and labeled "Made in Occupied Japan" – these toys quickly developed into sophisticated designs, and included motors. These motors – first wind-up motors, then motors based on friction, and finally battery-powered motors – gave the toys one of their greatest appeals: movement. Indeed the moving automobile (cars, fire trucks, tractors) and the walking robot were the most common metal toys in production at the time, though there were also a significant number of trains, boats and airplanes as well. It was these *buriki* toys that would undergo a major transformation in the 1960s. But as I noted, during the 1950s these toys were on the whole free-standing objects, unconnected to specific developments within the larger media environment. They were only tangentially tied to larger trends, including the Western craze, and the fascination with space and the future manifested in the form of the robot toy. There were, however, two major exceptions to this: Disney and Akadô Suzunosuke.

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[440] It is important to clarify a distinction that cut through the Japanese toy industry at the time, and continues in some form to this day, influencing the entire toy market from production, to sales and distribution outlets, to consumption. This is the distinction between "large article toys" (*ômono gangu*) and "small article toys" (*komono gangu*). Large article toys were not simply larger in size, but more complex, more detailed, and more expensive. Until the mid-1960s these toys were produced primarily for export and were out of the reach of all but the wealthiest fraction of Japanese children. What large article toys were sold in Japan were often sold in department stores (the preserve of expensive items and foreign goods) or toy stores. Small article goods, on the other hand, were generally smaller in size, cheaper to produce and equally inexpensive to consume. They were objects any child could afford with their allowance or daily spending money. They have their beginnings in the 1-*mon* (or penny) toys of the Edo period, and reached their peak of popularity in the Showa period, during the earlier years of which they were the mainstream of the toys consumed on the Japanese market. The main site of distribution of these toys was the *dagashiya*, a kind of corner store that sold treats and candies, some books (*manga* in particular), and small article toys of all kinds. See Takayama Hideo ed., *20 Seiki omocha hakubutsukan* [A museum of 20th century toys] (Tokyo: Dôbunshoin, 2000), 13; and Saitô Ryôsuke, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 25.

Disney was most important for showing the potential to make significant sums of money from the licensing and control of rights to use its characters, and through the astute use of copyright law. Indeed, the term "character" itself was imported into Japan by Walt Disney Productions around the year 1950, when it made arrangements with the Japanese film distribution firm Daiei for the release of its full-length animation films *Dumbo*, *Bambi* and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*.[442] At this time Daiei also handled the licensing arrangements for characters appearing in the films, which at the time were described as "fanciful characters" – a term that apparently shortened to "character"

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[441] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 219.

[442] Nakao Mitsuo, "Kyarakutâ gyôkai hajimete monogatari," *Mâchandaijingu Raitsu Repôto* (Merchandizing Rights Report), February 1980, 28.

(*kyarakutâ*) soon after its entry to Japan.[443] The predominance of this term now – including its abbreviation, *kyara* – is perhaps representative of the importance of the legal model of character merchandizing imported by Walt Disney Productions and its representatives in Japan. However Disney's influence within boys' and girls' magazine culture of the time was relatively limited; and it was this magazine culture that provided the real representational, stylistic and connective infrastructure for the character boom that was to come with TV *anime* in the 1960s. It is out of this magazine culture that the first real character toy of the 1950s emerges: the Akadô Suzunosuke sword.

Akadô Suzunosuke was the hero of the *manga* of the same name, serialized in the boys' magazine *Shônen Gahô* from July 1954 until February 1960. The serial was started by Fukui Ei'ichi, but after Fukui's sudden death (after only the first episode of *Akadô*), the series was taken up and developed by the *manga* writer Takeuchi Tsunayoshi. Though one of the first "child swordsman" tales in a long while, it was also part of the wider popularity of the "*jidaigeki*" or "samurai period piece" genre, which was experiencing a resurgence in popularity after its initial banning under the Occupation authorities (who deemed it militaristic and feudal).[444] As we saw in Chapter Two, *Akadô* also marks the start of a certain model of trans-media movement that some argue constitutes the origin of the media mix.

The *Akadô* "boom" began in 1957 after the start of its radio show,[445] and with it there came a slew of Akadô toys. Not surprisingly, the most popular of these were Akadô swords. Part of the importance of these sword toys is that they were perhaps the first large article toys to be based on *manga* characters or their worlds, at a time when most of these toys were made for export, and their manufacturers had their eyes firmly fixed on foreign markets.[446] Akadô swords were first made by Takatoku Gangu KK (Takatoku Toys KK), a small article toy maker that graduated to the production of large article toys with these swords [Figure 4.7]. The Akadô swords became such a hit item that Takatoku followed up with other *manga*-based character toys in the coming years.[447]

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[443] Kôno, "Shôhin kaken, #2," 21. See also *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû*, 186. Several years later, around 1956, Disney founded its own licensing firm to take care of licensing contracts for its character in Japan. Nakao, "Kyarakutâ gyôkai hajimete monogatari," 28.

[444] Takahashi Yasuo, "Akadô Suzunosuke," in *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Showa 20nen – 35nen* [A Children's history of the Showa period: From 1945 to 1960] (Tokyo: Bessatsu Taiyô, 1987), 76.

[445] As we saw in Chapter Two, the Akadô boom was not based around the television show – at the time of its initial broadcast in October 1957 there was still less than one million television sets across the country,

Here was the first postwar explosion of character-based toys. Yet, the goods that developed with the Akadô boom and in its wake differ from the toys based on *anime* characters that would emerge in several years' time: they were goods that allowed one to *be* the character, rather than *play with* the character (as would be the case with *anime*-based goods). They were swords, and masks and guns, modeled on the faces, weapons or particular possessions (such as gloves or sunglasses) of the main characters of *manga*-turned-radio or live-action TV shows that Takatoku surmised the child consumer wanted to play: the heros of the *Akadô*, *Shônen Jet*, *Maboroshi Tantei* and *Gekkô Kamen* series [Figure 4.8].[448] Referencing these Takatoku toys, Kushima Tsutomu argues that it was "these toys which established the method of turning TV characters that come from *manga*

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and the Akado TV show was not widely followed – but rather around radio. Saitô Jirô, *Kodomo tachi no genzai: Kodomo bunka no kôzô to ronri* [Childrens' Present: Theory and Structure of Children's Culture] (Nagoya: Fubaisha, 1975), 49.

[446] On this see "Kyarakutâ Shôhin hassei no dodai to natta komono gangu" [Small article goods are the foundation from which character products grew"] *in Merchandizing Rights Reports* (January 1977), where the participants in the discussion emphasize the significance of Akadô swords and toy maker Takatoku's move to produce large article toys based on characters – something which had been the preserve of small article goods makers.

[447] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 279-80.

[448] Another significant fact about these toys is that they were on the whole unlicensed; at this time it was still rare for toy makers to pay royalties either for the use of the character image or to produce items based on the character. Kôno, "Shôhin kaken #2," 22.

magazines into toys, or what is called 'mass media toys' [*masu komi gangu*]."[449] Indeed, Kushima is more correct than he might realize. For Takatoku Toys not only started the character-based toy trend; it was also Takatoku who coined the very term "mass media toy" – first using it in an ad for their products in the January 1960 issue of another toy trade journal, *Tokyo Gangu Shôhô*[450] (Tokyo Toy Business Bulletin) [Figure 4.9].[451]

The Third Era of Character Merchandising

There was only a trickle of Atomu goods before 1963. A figurine here, a gum package there. Book collections of the *manga*, of course, yet even these not the great hit that retrospective writers often assume. But over the course of the years 1963 to 1964 the trickle turned into a trend, and the trend into a tide, and the tide into that recently imported word "boom." The boom started around the time of Meiji Seika's Atomu stickers but quickly spread to both small and large article toys. In short time there were Atomu toys of all kinds: Atomu *buriki* figurines; cars with Atomu figurines in the driver's seat, Atomu emblazoned on the side of trains; Atomu inflatable dolls. Atomu's sister Uran was also taken up in this toy frenzy. As most writers recognize, this was the true beginning of the the mass media toy.[452] If the term was coined in 1960, it is generally agreed that 1964 was the tipping point, the point after which the trend became a mass phenomenon. And it was the appearance of *Tetsuwan Atomu* and other television *anime* that really transformed the toy into the mass media toy.

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[449] Kushima Tsutomu, *Shônen bûmu: Shôwa retoro no hayari mono* [Boys' Booms: The Fads of Showa Retro] (Tokyo: Shôbunsha, 2003), 31.

[450] This ad is also printed in *Gangu Shôhô* in March of the same year.

[451] I should add here that Takatoku did not develop its toys in a vacuum, and that another element of the rise of the mass media toy needs mentioning: the thriving magazine culture of the 1950s. Children's magazines, and boys' magazines in particular, are a third site in which characters and character merchandising first sprouted, and laid the its basis for the blooming of character culture with the *Tetsuwan Atomu anime*. If there was anywhere that consciousness of characters in the postwar period was developed, it was certainly in these monthly magazines. Moreover it was in these monthlies that the beginnings of the character goods and toys market were laid. *Shônen* magazine's generous *furoku* (give-aways included in every issue during the 1950s) included *manga* volumes, but also assembly kits that ranged from record players to typewriters. Some of these *furoku* were covered with the characters that inhabited the magazines. Other items, such as the "Cine Colt" that was advertised over the late 1950s and into the 1960s, and sometimes offered as a prize give-away, "shot" projections of character images (such as Tetsujin 28 and Atomu) onto the wall. (For example, *Shônen* offers 100 CineColts as give-aways in return for answering a quiz about one of their ongoing, popular *manga* series, *Yaguruma Ken'nosuke* (May 1958), 28.) It is in the *furoku*, the prizes, and the selling of merchandise that the magazines of the 1950s also, in their own way, laid the groundwork for the various types of character goods that will appear in the mid-1960s. Yet the circulation of the character images were limited by the proprietary relationship the magazines exerted on the characters and the few character-based objects that existed at the time.

This development was in part due to transformations in the style of media and the ease of transposition that accompanies the drawn or animated character, as I suggested in Chapter Two; but it was also a question of scale. The fast expansion of the number of television sets led to an exponential increase in the number of possible viewers from the time of *Akadô* to the broadcast of *Tetsuwan Atomu*. In May 1958 the number of television sets in the country had only just broken the 1 million mark, and radio was the main broadcast medium for children's culture. By 1963 there were over 15 million TV sets in homes around the country.[453] Atomu's popularity was thus dependent not only on its novelty – the first television animation show produced in Japan, moreover one that was based on an already popular *manga* – and the media connections its formed, but on the number of people it could reach. The scale of Atomu's popularity also led to a qualitative transformation in the media environment into which Atomu inserted itself. Atomu, that is, constituted what Malcolm Gladwell has called a "tipping point" – "the name given to that dramatic moment in an epidemic when everything can change at once."[454] The tipping point is type of threshold, a point past which quantitative accumulation generates a qualitative change in state. Atomu – and the start of television *anime* – marks a tipping point beyond which what had only been a trend became established practice. If there were instances of character merchandising, examples of the three-dimensionalization of media or the media mix, and the vague beginnings of the mass media toy, it was with Atomu that these became established practice. Atomu, in one sense, repeated the phenomenon of character merchandising that was already present as a model – from Mickey Mouse and Norakuro of the 1930s to Akadô of the 1950s there were already a fair share of examples of character merchandising to draw from. But the difference in this repetition was clear: the quantitative scale led to, and was in turn driven by, other qualitative shifts.

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[452] Saitô Ryôsuke writes that the "first golden age of the 'mass media toy'" appears with Atomu and Tetsujin 28-gô in 1963, and continues with the other media toys that come in their wake. *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 281-2. See also "Kyarakutâ Shôhin hassei no dodai to natta komono gangu" [Small article goods are the foundation from which character products grew"] *in Merchandizing Rights Reports* (January 1977), 18.

[453] Nogami Akira, "Kôdo seichô to omocha no tayôka" [High growth and the diversification of toys] in Takayama Hideo ed., *20 Seiki omocha hakubutsukan* [A museum of 20th century toys] (Tokyo: Dôbunshoin, 2000), 78.

The first of these shifts was the multiplication of media impacting children's culture. In the earlier Akadô character craze *manga* occupied the axial position within the media environment. Indeed, Akadô's importance lay in part in establishing *manga* as the key source for future media crossings at a time when *manga* was still regarded as a degraded if not dangerous cultural form.[455] But *manga* was not only the source, it was also the center of the media mix of the time. The children's literature specialist, Kan Tadamichi, in analyzing what he called the "three-dimensionalization of mass communication," argued at the time that *manga* was the line from which this dimensionalization started. And it was also the line to which consumer-children returned. As Kan writes in a wonderful passage:

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[454] Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000), 9.

[455] Until *Akadô* Suzunosuke, the use of a *manga* as the basis for a radio serial was unprecedented. Indeed, it was not until the *anime* version of Atomu that *manga* became generally accepted by adults. Saitô Jirô, *Kodomo tachi no genzai*, 46, 51.

> What is this thing called children's *manga*, that thing that anytime, anywhere, even during the middle of class, can be opened and read under the desk; that thing that the TV child [*terebi chairudo*], reproved for watching TV and send to bed early, reads under the covers by the light of a flashlight; that thing that has become the central axis of the three-dimensionalization of mass communications? This new function of the mass media must be properly evaluated…[456]

For Kan, writing in 1960, *manga* was the central axis around which other aspects of children's culture were organized; it was what children turned to at all hours of the day, and it was at the center of the mass media system.

Only a few years later in 1965, however, in the face of the quantitative expansion of television and its qualitative shift with the rise of TV *anime*, Kan was to argue that television itself had become the central axis of children's culture.[457] As Yamakawa Hiroji's put it in a 1964 article, television had become the "center of the total marketing plan." With TV *anime*, the medium of television was "the battleship encircled by other warships" – such as the theme song, the toys and so on. To be sure, *manga* retained its importance; it was the site from which this media mix unfolded, Yamakawa wrote, the "shipyard" where the battleship of TV *anime* was first built and later came to dock.[458] But with the emergence of television *anime* and the corresponding unprecendented diffusion of character images, *manga* no occupied the axial position of children's culture, just as it was no longer the only "ubiquitous" medium. Stickers, to begin with, and later toys, records, and story-books could also be seen anytime, anywhere. *Manga* was still one of the fundamental media, providing the stylistic and narrative armature for *anime* and its spin-offs, as we saw in Chapters One and Two; but it was no longer the central medium; the axis of children's culture had shifted to television.[459]

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[456] Kan Tadamichi, "Sengo no masu komi to jidô *manga* (2)"[Postwar mass communications and children's *manga* (2) (first published in 1960)] in *Jidô bunka no gendaishi* [A contemporary history of children's culture] (Tokyo: Ôtsuki Shoten, 1968), 118.

[457] In a 1965 article, Kan writes that "television is at the center of mass communications." "Gendai no kodomo wo yugamera bunka jôkyô to mondaiten" [The issues of the cultural condition that is warping contemporary children] in *Jidô bunka no gendaishi*, 231.

[458] Yamakawa Hiroji, "Shôhinka keikaku ni tsunagaru terebi *manga* no bûmu" [The TV *manga* boom as it is connected to merchandising plans] in *Senden Kaigi* (June 1964), 47.

A second major qualitative shift occurred at the level of visual representation itself. As we have seen in this dissertation, there was an increase in the visual consistency of representation across media types; a fluid transition between the *manga*, TV *anime* and sticker image. No longer did human actors compete with drawn characters when *manga* was adapted to the small or big screens. Nor was the pleasure of the adventure conveyed solely through the ear, as in the case of radio serials. Now it was the same character, in the same drawing style and in the same poses that inhabited *manga* and *anime* alike – not to mention the other media forms the character image migrated to. There was no more disjuncture in the transformation from *manga* to the screen: "it's like the *manga* came alive" was the mantra of the post-Atomu era.[460]

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[459] This displacement of *manga* goes can be explained by the point we made in the last chapter about the way the very logic of succession is displaced by the emergence of the series; it is now the "second" repetition, the second element of the series – *anime* – that becomes the fundamental medium of the ensemble.

[460] This emphasis on the sameness or direct correspondence between the *anime* and the *manga* is of course relative, and not always an easy transition to make. Indeed one fan – and now foremost *anime*/*manga* critic – Natsume Fusanosuke remembers feeling a sense of disjuncture between the *manga* and the *anime* images. For Natsume and others of his generation who grew up reading the *manga* of the 1950s, the Atomu of the 1960s *anime* and stickers was marked by a stylistic transformation that betrayed the original. The *anime*, stickers and *manga* of the 1960s were characterized, Natsume complains, by a rounding of the lines, a too-smoothness of the image that renders it inorganic, lifeless, formalized and ultimately "exchangeable" – in contrast to the vitality and "absoluteness" of Tezuka's lines in the 1950s. Natsume Fusanosuke *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (Where is Tezuka Osamu?) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1995), 197. Natsume's point is valuable insofar as it indicates a degree of discomfort – particularly among early fans of the *manga* from the 1950s – with what Natsume refers to as "reverse importation from *anime*" (Natsume, 148) to *manga*; that is, the transformation of the *manga* image in its encounter with the *anime* image. All the same, Natsume points to a transformation of the image over time, but in doing so also reaffirms the main point I am making here: that there was a uniformization of drawing style across *manga* and *anime* once the latter began.

Accompanying this shift was a parallel shift in the nature of toys. Much in the same way that the human actor was cut out of the *manga*-television representational loop, so the playing child's position also evicted from a certain level of play: the child went from *being/playing* the character to *playing with* the character toy. The toys of the late 1950s and early 1960s had provided the tools which made being/playing the character possible – guns and gloves (Maboroshi Tantei), masks (Shônen Jetto), swords (Akadô Suzunosuke), sunglasses (Gekkô Kamen) and so on. However, around the time of Atomu the mass media toy shifted from *paraphernalia* that allowed the child to masquerade as the character to *figurine replicas* of the character itself. The child's role shifted to playing with the character. And the toys themselves became character toys to play with: figurines, cars with Atomu in the driver's seat, and so on. As Saitô Ryôsuke writes:

> The main current of the "mass media toy" of the Showa 30s [1955-1964] was a small tool-like thing that was made to assist a child's play. For example, the sword toy was the tool for "Akadô Suzunosuke" sword-fighting play… Beginning in the Showa 40s [1965-1974] the situation changes completely. The background of this change was increasing urbanization, the shrinking of outside free play spaces in children's neighborhoods, as well as the decrease in play time due to the encroachment of television and review cram schools…
>
> The "mass media toy" reflected these changes. While there was no change in the use of television heros for these toys, there was a transformation from things that were the tools of play to, now, making a complete product through the toyification of the mass media character itself.[461]

While Saitô's general periodization does not capture the full importance Atomu had for this shift – which occurred in 1963-4 – the essence of his point is clear: there was a transformation in the nature of both toys and play that attended the new era of mass media toys. The older, character-based toys were only representative aspects of a particular character – its sword, glasses, or gloves – that allowed the player to become the character her or himself. The new mass media toy was the character in its entirety. Just as the human actor was cut out of the representational circuit of television drama with the emergence of *anime*, so the child, in being supplied with a complete "replica" of the onscreen image, cut out of the role of Atomu him or herself.

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[461] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 282. Saitô Jirô makes a similar point in *Kodomo tachi no genzai*, 43-52.

Saitô Jirô hypothesizes that this transformation play was due to Meiji Seika's pre-emptive transformation of Atomu into a marketing tool in the form of stickers and candy packages. Atomu-play or Atomu-imitation was pre-empted, Saitô writes, by Atomu becoming an "advertising boy for candy makers before becoming the hero within the world of children's play." "Children," Saitô surmises, "became absorbed in the game of 'consumption'" rather than the game of playing the characters.[462] Key to this shift, however, and to the game of consumption was a shift from the nature of play as becoming and masquerading, to playing-with and owning. This was a complicated transformation, however, insofar as it was dependent on the increased "communication" developed between the various image-forms of Atomu: onscreen, in *manga*, as *omake* premium, as toy. With Atomu and subsequent TV *anime*, children were taught not to *become* the hero characters, but to *consume* them across their particular trans-media communicational network – first as candy premiums, and then as toys. Yet, complementing the character's smooth transition from *manga* to the small screen, and its enthroning as the central figure in this new media environment – being the locus, that is, of a kind of communicative openness – we also find a particular kind of closure in which the toy becomes metal and plastic toy replica.

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[462] Saitô, *Kodomo tachi no genzai*, 49.

Toys, Open and Closed

In this replica we see a certain closure of the toy itself. The closure comes specifically in regard to the possibility for play. Though it is impossible to read their arguments without sensing a degree of nostalgia for toys before the age of mechanical reproduction, and a certain idealization of the “natural” toy over the mechanically reproduced one, I would like to turn to the comments of Roland Barthes and Walter Benjamin on the subject of toys. Both Barthes and Benjamin suggest that the more a toy functions according to a model of resemblance, the less room it leaves for imaginative play. Barthes, in *Mythologies*, writes that with complicated and detailed toys, “the child can only identify himself as owner, as user, never as creator; he does not invent the world, he uses it: there are, prepared for him, actions without adventure, without wonder, without joy.”[463] Toys based on imitation thus limit the possibilities for play. Benjamin similarly argues that although “Children’s play is everywhere permeated by mimetic modes of behavior,” toys based on the principles of mimesis or imitation deflate the possibilities for play itself.[464] As he writes, “the more [toys] are based on imitation, the further away they lead us from real, living play… Imitation (we may conclude) is at home in the playing, not in the plaything.”[465] A 1980 UNESCO report voices concern about the imitative toy in similar terms: “an industrial made toy, stereotyped and technically perfect, forfeits much of its value as a plaything. It is a *closed object*, setting up a barrier against creativity and imagination."[466] Stephen Kline echoes this sentiment in his critique of the ways the character-based toy limits and harnesses the child's imagination, "Watching television has therefore become a primer for learning the particular mental prerequisites for character play."[467]

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[463] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 54.

[464] Walter Benjamin, “On the Mimetic Faculty” in *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 720.

[465] Walter Benjamin, “The Cultural History of Toys,” in *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, Volume 2: 1927-1934*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 115-6.

To these passages I would like to juxtapose a passage by a Japanese toy collector and historian, Kumagai Nobuo, that directly addresses the transformation of *buriki* toys under the influence of the character-based mass media toy. While initially seeming to contradict the statements by Barthes, Benjamin, UNESCO and Kline cited above, I will suggest that this passage is in fact quite consonant with them. In *Buriki no omocha* (The Buriki Toy), Kumagai writes that, "Instead of the development of products based on the pursuit of real play and the selling of toys based on their capacity for enjoyment, toys fell under the influence of the TV age, of the age of mass communications. Producers stuck pictures of popular TV heros on toys… and toys were made according to fashion."[468] As Kumagai writes earlier in the same book, with the rise of the mass media toy, "no longer did the appeal of the toy come from the toy itself; rather the toy was made and sold through the appeal of the character, resulting in the gradual loss of the intrinsic appeal of the toy."[469]

At first glance, Kumagai would seem to contradict what the other writers suggest, to whit, that the closure of the toy grows insofar as its degree of imitation grows. What Kumagai seems to critique is the disagreeable *openness* of the mass communication toy.

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[466] "The Child and Play: Theoretical Approaches and Teaching Application," *Educational Studies and Documents* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 11, quoted in Brian Sutton-Smith, *Toys as Culture* (New York: Gardner Press, 1986). Emphasis mine.

[467] Kline, *Out of the Garden*, 323.

[468] Kumagai Nobuo, *Buriki no omocha* (Tokyo: Green Arrow, 2000 [originally published 1979]), 213.

[469] Kumagai, 141.

Instead of the intrinsic qualities of the toy itself, and the possibilities of play that lurk therein, what the mass media toy relies on is extrinsic interest: the appeal of the character and its mass media connectedness rather than the appeal of the toy itself; the temporality and expiration date of fashion rather than the inherent quality – the playability – of the toy itself. The defining characteristic of the mass media toy, for Kumagai, is not the "play-value" of the toy in-itself (which should be how toys are made and played), but the communication of the toy with its televisual counterpart, and the fashion of which it is a part. In short, Kumagai dislikes the mass media toy's openness. Yet the apparent contradiction between Kumagai and Barthes et al in fact reveals a real complimentarity. For all of these writers, the self-sufficiency or self-enclosure of the non-mimetic toy in fact render it open to imaginative play. By contrast, the mass media toy is open to communication between media instances and types, but closed or resistant to other types of play not written into the script. The television show, as Kline argues, teaches the child how to play with the character toy. We might also point to the different temporalities of the toys under discussion: the toy Kumagai idealizes is open to the passage of time precisely because it does not depend on a media fashion (the Atomu "boom") or narrative to keep it relevant. It opens onto forms of play that do not expire with the end of television series. The mass media toy, on the other hand, is playable only so long as the TV show character on which it is based is playing on television.[470]

What all writers bemoan in the mass media toy, then, is a certain *closure* to creative, lasting play on the one hand, and its *openness* to media and fashion that prevent creative interaction with the toy itself on the other. Put differently, the media toy is

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[470] The fashion-based, short-lived quality of the mass media toy was something Namekawa Michio remarked on in his early consideration of the character-based toy in *Omocha kyôikuron* (Theories of Toy Education) (Tokyo: Tokyo-dô Shuppan, 1969), 133.

resistant to creative play and *dependent* on media fashion. In this regard all the writers cited above are in agreement, and provide apt, if one-sided descriptions of the transformations that happen around the time of Atomu: a shift from tools of play to imitative objects of play – closed objects that resist real, creative play, but promote trans-media consumption. Indeed, it seems appropriate that toys and play, which many writers on childhood play argue function as children's "training ground" for adult culture, should undergo this transformation at a moment when adult culture itself was entering a new social formation: the society of mass consumption.

These "closed" Atomu toys not only function as the objects of consumer desire – teaching children to desire particular objects – but also reflect the institutionalized need for a renunciation of a creative relation to objects within the society of mass consumption that has as its obverse the renunciation of intrinsic playability. That is, despite the nostalgia palpable in Barthes, Benjamin et al's critiques of the mass media toy (as detailed, imitative object), their observations about the increasingly self-enclosed, alienable and fashion-based nature of objects in the society of mass consumption as well as its postmodern successor are right on the mark. As Kumagai implies the toy was increasingly dependent on fashion (the popularity of particular TV series or *manga* narratives) and thus on its modish belonging to a larger media network. Once the *Tetsuwan Atomu* show ended, the playability of the Atomu character toy presumably also expired.[471] Instead of acting/playing, children were taught to let their toys do the acting/playing. Children effectively become the spectators of the objects around them, allowing their objects to do the acting, or the talking. (One might see here a premonition of a technology of play to come: video games, which more than any toys before allow children to *play/with* their favorite characters within a visually representative narrative world. Moreover, as with the play with the simultaneously closed/open mass media figurines, video games similarly provide a feeling of control over the mobility of the character within game space, while in fact really circumscribing the degree of possible activity. Video games, after all, are all about providing a false sense of freedom of action.) Children learn, then, that actions happen through objects in the society of mass consumption, and that rather than speaking – or playing – themselves, they should let the playing be done for them, by their objects.

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[471] In fact the reverse can also be true; the exhaustion of a certain kind of play can also lead to the premature end of a television series. When children grow tired of playing with and consuming a particular character good, the end of that series in already in sight.

Yet even as we can agree with these writers in their critique of the mimetic toy's relation to mass culture, the limitations it imposed on play, and the ways that subjects became spectators to their objects' self-enclosed resistance to creative play – even so, we must also ask: what did the increased mediatic openness of the mass media toy allow? That is, we cannot assume that the character toy was merely (and hypodermically) imposed upon children, but that there was something in the media toy that evoked the child's desire. What was this something? What kinds of positive transformations did the toy bring along with it, such that it would become the object of a child's desire? Why would children *want* their objects to play for them? What did these character toys offer their children consumers?

We might say that part of the answer to these questions is to be found in the way that the mass communication toys gave children the pleasure of participation: participation in a communicative network or narrative world accessed through the materialized image of the character in its various media forms. The toy gained a particular communicational transitivity, an openness to media networks to the very degree that its shape become fixed by and tied to the image of a mass communications character. In so doing, the toy offered the child a particular access point to the communicational web formed around the character. With this access also came the promise of belonging to the character's narrative world.

I will develop this thesis about the importance of the promise of belonging for the consumption of character-based cross-media series in more fully in Chapter Five. Here, however, as a means of building up the conceptual armature by which to better understand the nature of the child's participation in the web of character communication, I will focus on the cross-media communication that occurs through materialized media objects of which the mass media toy is a representative form. That is, in order to understand how a desire for belonging in the character world can be generated, we must gain a more concrete understanding of how it is that the character develops a network of communication – how objects can communicate with other objects. As its name implies, the *masu komi gangu* is part of a communicative network in which various instances of the character image are put into communication with one another, each bringing something else to the network, and none being reducible to a single instance or object. In other works, this communicational network functions through and across the material differences of its media incarnations: each media instance of the character offers a particular and differential angle on the character and its world. Simply put, there would be no reason to consumer different manifestations of the character if there weren't real differences to be had in each of these manifestations. Despite the temptation to read the convergence of media around the character image as a reduction of media to sameness –

the resemblance of the character image – we must thus pay attention to the real differences within each media manifestation.

To this end I will turn here to the mass communication toy's particular transposition of the Atomu image in order to get at the specificity of the mass media toy. The *buriki* or tin toy series will be the specific object of attention here. Three reasons make this toy type a particularly appropriate object of focus. First, it is one of the principal forms the Atomu-character toy takes. Second, until this time, the *buriki* toy was produced almost exclusively for the export market and it is only with Atomu and TV *anime* that *buriki* manufacturers in particular and large article toy makers in general shift towards targeting a domestic market.[472] Third, these toys were formerly isolated from media trends and influence, something which changes with remarkable speed in the wake of the rise of television *anime*. The Atomu *buriki* toy thus provides us with a particularly suitable site for asking how the character transformed this particular line of toys, and, conversely, what the toys give back to the Atomu world.

Materializing the Image: The Atomu Toy

From early- to mid-1963, the majority of character toys that existed and were advertised for Atomu borrowed from two models: the Disney character-toy varieties (which included inflatable dolls, swimming pools, and general amusement toys [Figures 4.10 and 4.11]) and the earlier form of the mass communications commodity: masks and guns. It is not until an August 1963 advertisement for Asakusa Toys that we find the beginnings of a transformation in the metal *buriki* stream of toys. This is one of the first indications that the imitation-based character toys were catching on, and that the image of Atomu may have started to provide a model for the *buriki* toy industry.[473] The toy in question is Asakusa's "Sky-Flying Atomu" with a "wind-up propeller" on it, evidently designed to "propel" it into the air [Figure 4.12]. In September 1963 Asakusa Toys came out with another Atomu metal toy that doubled as a piggy bank: a rocket ship, that, though not in Atomu's form, had Atomu's image emblazoned across it [Figure 4.13]. And in December of the same year, the same Asakusa Toys released the "Might Atomu Super Express"; a high-speed train with Atomu and friends figures adorning it, and the "Atomu Car," a metal car and body with a vinyl Atomu head [Figures 4.14 and 4.15]. Not to be outdone, Tada Productions (one of the earliest holders of the rights to produce Atomu products) came out with the Atomu rocket, the "Atomu Candy Truck" (evidently picking up on the importance of candy for the distribution of the Atomu image), and an Atomu car (with the character himself in the driver's seat) – arrayed alongside Tada's selection of Atomu machine guns and rifles (4.16). In January 1964, Bandai – a young company that would later become one of the pillars of *anime* industry – entered the fray. Bandai introduced "Ignition, Tetsuwan Atomu," an Atomu in the flight position, with wheels on its belly to allow the child to Atomu literally "fly" across the room, albeit gliding on the floor [Figures 4.17 and 4.18]. Significantly, this and other Atomu products

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[472] Aside from the Akadô sword most pre-Atomu character goods were still small-article items, such as masks and so on.

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[473] An early exception to this is found in the August 1960 issue of *Gangu Shouhou*, where Nomura Toy announces a new product: a wind-up Tetsujin 28-gô robot, what is most likely the first Japanese character robot [Figure 18]. Two months later, in the October 1960 edition of *Shonen*, in the "Tetsujin 28-gô News" column, under the headline, "A moving Tetsujin 28," two models of the Nomura Tetsujin robot are described. The appearance of this Tetsujin 28 robot is attributable not only to the continuing popularity of the *manga* serialized in *Shônen*, but to the February 1960 start of a live-action Tetsujin TV show, which began broadcast on February 2nd, 1960 ("Shônen terebi nyûsu," in *Shônen* (March 1960), 198). Aside from this Tetsujin robot there seems to have been no further steps on the part of the metal toys industry to produce character-inspired toys – until 1963.

(including “Walking Atomu”) were introduced under the headline: *Bandai no masu komi toi* – “Bandai’s mass media toy.”

What is most notable about these and other metal or “*buriki*” Atomu toys is that they combined the image of Atomu with the pre-existing *buriki* toy “framework.” That is, the walking Atomu models are very much a take on the robot toys of the 1950s, most of which walked or had some special feature (such as flashing lights) [compare Figures 4.19 and 4.20]. The emphasis on the vehicular was also present in most *buriki* toys, with buses and trains and cars already being popular subjects for *buriki* makers during the 1950s [compare Figures 4.21, 4.22, 4.23 and 4.24]. Looking back at earlier *buriki* styles, we can see that the mass media toy entailed not so much the outright invention of a completely new toy form, as a grafting together of two previously distinct series – the *anime* character series and the *buriki* toy series. In one of the most significant examples of this – the case of the robot *buriki* – this involved a make-over that saw its rough, metallic face replaced with a vinyl head that more accurately captured Atomu’s rounded features, and its still-metal body tweaked to fit Atomu’s color and shape.[474] The body remained relatively continuous with earlier, 1950s-style robots, while the head betrayed the extent to which the Atomu image remade the previously existing tin toy framework. At other times, the remaking of the toy into a character toy merely involved the printing of Atomu-related graphics onto an already existent train toy body. Whichever was the case, this grafting is nonetheless of great significance for two reasons.

First, what I have called a grafting was in fact – as the term mass media toy suggests – the transformation of one object type (the *buriki*) through its encounter with the character. This may seem to us a natural development – looking back from the vantage point of the frenzied proliferation of American and Japanese character toys, from Gundam and G.I. Joe to Sailor Moon and Barbie. But at the time this was a highly significant development that saw a transformation of play, as we have seen above, and a transformation of the toy economy, insofar as it shifted from an export-based industry to one increasingly concerned with stimulating and developing the domestic market. Most importantly, this also saw a transformation in the nature of the relationship between the toy and the mass media, with toys themselves becoming a "mass communicating" medium. The *buriki* toy became the mass media or mass communicational toy through the integration of a line of toys into a regime of resemblance powered by the character image. We might call this the image-ization of the *buriki*: the transformation of the metal toy into an image toy open to communication with similar images from different media. This is much like what happened with the candy under the influence of the character-based premium in Chapter Two. Two separate entities came into relation, and communicated through the work of the character image. In the process the commodity became the image-based media-commodity.

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[474] This significant transformation of the metal toy into a hybrid metal-vinyl toy is never mentioned by toy histories, whose characterization of these toys as “metal” ignores their hybrid quality.

The second reason for its significance is that this very communication was predicated on the difference between the Atomu toy and its other media-commodity manifestations. Communication functioned through difference as much as resemblance. This is an essential aspect of *anime* seriality and trans-media relations. Trans-media relations are predicated on the differences and divergences between media forms, as much as on their convergences around the character image. The relation between one media instance and another operates through difference as much resemblance.

The *manga* and *anime* gave the toy a personality, a narrative setting, a group of characters, a series of set poses, even an imagined voice. In short, the *manga* and *anime* character gave the toy a "world." The robot-character-toy did not fail to offer a counter-gift. But what differential gift did the robot-toy give in return for the accession to a world? The toy gave matter, narrative openness, and movement. By matter I mean physical dimensionality, weight, proportions, texture, a smell, and eventually scratches, wear, and the material memory of past play in the form of the physical deterioration of the toy. The toy was the material basis for the play-ful participation in the character's world. The toy in turn expanded this world in its own particular ways, by being the material embodiment of an otherwise 2-dimensional drawing from the *manga* page, or a flitting image on the TV screen. For however material the televisual or *manga* images may be, they cannot be held, pushed, dropped; they cannot be turned around and looked behind unless the writer or animator wills it so; they cannot be played with. In a sense the toy was the character at its most materially real. It was the becoming-matter of the ephemeral televisual image – allowing the child a degree of control over this image. Just as the theatre, in Christian Metz's account of the creation of the impression of reality in cinema, threatens to break the "impression of reality" through its dangerous too-realness, the toy is also potentially past the peak of realism that keeps the narrative world alive.[475]

Yet rather than threatening to diminish the reality of the onscreen *anime* image, the character toy's physicality contributed a new dimension to the world constructed onscreen. Whatever the flaws of the toy robot – its stiffness, the disjuncture between its metal body and its vinyl head, the impossibility of real flight – it nonetheless opened the world of Atomu to play. The character toy's weight, feel and playability lent even greater reality to the narrative world, by allowing the child to physically participate in it, and regenerate it through play. The solidity and materiality of the toy added a whole new dimension (in fact three dimensions) to what was otherwise a flat character. Moreover, the materiality of the toy also offered something else the *anime* did not: physical immobility. The child could hold the physically immobile toy-image in her or his hands, lending solidity and density to the otherwise ephemeral media image. And with this extra dimension the character toy also provided the potential for play outside of the existing narrative of the *anime* and *manga*.

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[475] Christian Metz, "On the Impression of Reality in the Cinema" in *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, trans. Michael Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 9-10.

Dan Fleming, in one of the more theoretical accounts of toys whose merit is precisely in resisting the temptation to collapse the difference between film or TV show and toy, suggests that the difference between screen narrative and toy lies precisely in the way that toys keep narratives open, refusing closure. As Fleming writes in the context of a discussion of the initial *Star Wars* films and their toy figurines, "Where the films resettled all of [the narrative complexity] around the triumphalism of the white farm boy who saves the day, reducing otherness to difference-from-him, the toys perhaps sustain the opening out as part of the very condition of being toys rather than narratives looking for how to end."[476] While we have seen Barthes, Benjamin and Kumagai critique the mimetic or mass media toy for the way it closes down the possibilities of play, Fleming here points to another kind of openness that they neglect: the character toy's openness to non-scripted play. Its critics may be correct in suggesting that the very form of Atomu limits the imaginative possibilities of play to the personality of Atomu, to his stereotyped gestures and actions, and to the combatative narrative parameters of the Atomu world. Nonetheless, Fleming is also right to point to the openness of the toy to other kinds of narratives, or the expansion of the existing narrative world, even if the toy's very form mandates against the complete reorganization of the narrative world. Barthes, Benjamin, Kline and Kumagai are not wrong to point to the limitations of the too-mimetic toy; yet we also must understand that this very toy may offer a degree of agency to transform and transfigure an existing narrative world.

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[476] Dan Fleming, *Powerplay: Toys as Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 102.

In this sense the character toy *does* sustain a particular, if limited, form of narrative openness. While it was most likely used within the narrative world of Atomu, the Atomu toy gave the child the ability to construct new narratives within the Atomu framework, new adventures that lead to the expansion of the Atomu world. Playing, in short, is a little bit like the fan production so celebrated today: children were able to use the existing character to fashion new narratives for themselves. Like fan fiction, however, this play – far from being completely liberatory – already precluded a certain degree of narrative freedom, since habit would dictate that old narrative patterns always return.

In addition to physical immobility, solidity and an openess to new narratives, the Atomu character-toy also offered something else: movement. Movement had been an integral component of Japanese toys – particularly Japanese boys' toys, though to some degree part of girls' toys as well (albeit movement of a different kind: the walking doll, the milk-drinking dolls, and other mechanism-based operating dolls) throughout the postwar period. Movement was pervasive in *buriki* toys, with almost all these toys able to engage in some kind of autonomous, motor-dependent motion. "Action toys" or "movement toys" (*katsudô gangu*) were already the main current of metal toys as early as

1933, when “the wind-up spring that was the life-force of these toys was refined, giving birth to a variety of new works that lead metal toys to occupy the king’s throne of export items in the years 1933 to 1934; a breakthrough performance for metal toys.”[477] While the war years, as we have seen, reduced the state of the Japanese metal toy industry to the “zero point of the early Meiji period,”[478] that first toy produced in the postwar period – the metal jeep of the occupying army – was mobile, powered by an elastic band.[479] From this point on the Japanese toy industry was on the road to vehicular recovery, with friction-based and battery-powered motors following on the foot-heels of the rubber band.

What happens then, when this material series of moving, mobile toys, meets the *manga* or *anime* character series? Predictably, Atomu borrows the mobility of the car, train and rocket series to become Atomu cars, trains and rockets. In many cases the image of Atomu is simply painted on the existing toy vehicles. The most popular option was to borrow the actionability and movement of other vehicles: to paint Atomu across the vehicle’s exterior, or to have an Atomu figurine in the driving seat of a car, a jet, a bus or a motor boat. This borrowing of vehicular movement by the Atomu character was important – and overdetermined – in part because of the history of mobile toys, but also because of Atomu’s particular relation to movement. As we have seen, one of the most important aspects of the Atomu *anime* was that it brought the *manga* to life through onscreen movement. *Manga* was transposed to the TV screen through the kinetic dynamization of the Atomu image. The graphically still dynamism of the *anime* image was then transferred to the medium of the sticker which in turn moved the dynamism of the onscreen image to a different context: the everyday objects of the child fan.

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[477] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 46.
[478] From *Nihon kinzoku gangu-shi* [A history of Japanese metal toys] (1960) quoted in Saitô, *Showa gangu*, 161.
[479] Saitô, *Showa gangu bunkashi*, 177.

With the toy the Atomu character was transposed yet again, this time with a different kind of movement potential: the ability to move across the room. No longer confined to the *manga* page, the television screen, or the object to which the sticker image was affixed, Atomu could occupy real space through his vehicular movement in the form of the media toy. Thus Atomu borrowed the movement of the existing vehicle and celebrated his movement-potential in a different form. The vehicles lent the character of Atomu their movement-dynamism, their material weight and their presence in three-dimensional space. Through them Atomu was able to "race" across the room, almost as if he stepped out of the TV and into the living room. These metal cars, trains, planes and spaceships were literally vehicles for the realization of Atomu's movement-potential in a different medium, in a different space, and in a different form. Yet all the same, in spite of this physical movement, the form of Atomu as toy remained the same, immobile form that characterized the television image. The toy thus offered yet another – this time physical – form of the dynamic immobility, or mobile immobility that characterized the onscreen image.

In all these ways, the Atomu toy itself became literally a medium for materializing motion, and for giving dimension to the otherwise 2-dimensional character image. With the Atomu *masu komi gangu* the toy became a media commodity. The media-commodity is a commodity on the one hand – material, static, open to ownership, circulation in the market – and yet a medium on the other hand: in contact with other Atomu goods and images, communicating with other instances of the character.

Moreover, through this very communication, the network formed among character instances or media-commodity forms functioned as the surface on which other forms of communication – the interpersonal dialogues between children as they played with the toys, or as they discussed this play at school or with their parents – could take place. The material differences of character incarnations in concert with a particular regime of character-powered resemblance generated the surface on which other forms of communication were inscribed.

Communication, Materiality, Difference

But how far can we take this term "communication"? Can we really call the relation formed between toy and TV image "communication"? If so, is the phenomenon of the object functioning as a means of communication so new? Have not anthropologists been discussing the communicative powers of things for some time now?

Indeed, the problem of objects communicating or goods as means of communication is not new for anthropologists. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood write that it "is standard ethnographic practice to assume that all material possessions carry social meanings and to concentrate a main part of cultural analysis upon their use as communicators."[480] Yet even if goods have functioned as communicators within a variety of social formations, this does not negate the fact that things will communicate differently in different such formations. Moreover, while it is common to regard goods as communicators between people, it is far less common to feel the need to pay attention to how things communicate with other things. And the specificity of the *anime* system is precisely in the way commodities and media communicate within it.

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[480] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood. *World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), 38. Later, in a more structuralist vein, they write that "all goods carry meaning, but none by itself…. The meaning is in the relation between all the goods." Douglas and Isherwood, 49.

Marx is perhaps the first to point to the importance of looking at inter-object communication. Under capitalism, Marx has famously pointed out, commodities communicate with other commodities in a very particular manner: through their exchange value. "If commodities could speak, they would say this: our use value may interest men, but it does not belong to us as objects. What does belong to us as objects, however, is our value. Our own intercourse as commodities proves it. We relate to each other merely as exchange-values."[481] Within capitalism, that is, commodities communicate not through their material specificity but through their capacity for quantifiability and their abstraction from material form.[482] Price, and its corollary, the money form, becomes the medium of communication for commodities under capitalism.

Jean Baudrillard has reiterated and reformulated this argument about the communication of commodities in typically attenuated form:

> The commodity is legible, as opposed to the object, which never quite reveals its secret, and it manifests its visible essence – its price. It is the locus of transcription of all possible objects: through it, *objects communicate* – the merchant form is the first great medium of the modern world. But the message which the objects deliver is radically simplified and is always the same – their

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[481] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume One*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 176-177.

[482] Jason Read emphasizes the importance of the abstraction of commodity from their material form:

> Marx's materialism is not grounded on a simple dismissal of abstraction, or of form, in the name of concrete materiality of particular things, instead, it is on the recognition that abstraction itself has very real material conditions and effects. Case in point: What matters most about the commodity form, in terms of its effects on subjectivity, culture and politics is that it is *absolutely indifferent to its material content*. Its materiality and effectivity is in its abstraction.

Jason Read, *The Micro-Politics of Capital: Marx and the Prehistory of the Present* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 63, emphasis mine. Here, while recognizing the reality of abstraction and its effects, I would also like to emphasize the importance of considering the *material* aspect of the commodity. For it is this material aspect – for example the abstraction and mobility that the medium of the sticker allows – that in turn affects the circulation and communication of commodities, and the subjective effects they produce.

> exchange value. And so, deep down the message has already ceased to exist, it is the medium which imposes itself in its pure circulation.[483]

I would like to make two points about this passage. First, I would like to highlight Baudrillard's important presupposition that there can be communication without a message. This would seem to imply a fundamental shift in the concept of communication, which is most generally defined as the "social interaction through messages."[484] Indeed, most models of communication presume a sender-message-receiver model, differing only in the particulars of this basic formula all the while maintaining its basic form.[485] Yet in order to grasp the specificity of media communication in the *anime* system, we need a model of communication that does not presuppose the importance of message-transmission and the uni-directionality this model implies.

While it has its own share of problems, James Carey's ritual model of communication, which he developed in the 1970s, is one example of a theory that attempted to displace the primacy of the sender-message-receiver transmission paradigm inherited from cybernetic communication models.[486] As Carey explains,

> In a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as "sharing," "participation," "association," "fellowship," and "the possession of a common faith." This definition exploits the ancient identity and common roots of the terms "commonness," "communion," "community," and "communication," A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs.[487]

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[483] Jean Baudrillard, *Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. Bernard and Caroline Schutze, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1988), 23, emphasis mine.

[484] John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* (London: Routledge, 1990), 2.

[485] A useful summary of various models of communication is to be found in Denis McQuail and Sven Windahl, *Communication Models: For the Study of Mass Communication* (London: Longman, 1982).

[486] Denis McQuail and Sven Windahl, *Communication Models*, 54.

[487] James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (London: Routledge, 1989), 18. This quote comes from Carey's "A Cultural Approach to Communication," originally published in 1975, and collected in this volume.

This view of communication emphasizes the social maintenance function of communication over transmission. Its emphasis is on the network-forming aspect of communication; the way relations, networks and societies are re/produced through communication. If Carey fails to formulate this theory in a more critical manner – such as bringing in the question of power relations into this model of social reproduction – this failure is representative of the general failure of much of communication studies to develop in the direction of *critical* communication studies. Indeed, I would suggest that the ritual model of communication can most productively be re-read as an attempt to answer Louis Althusser's opening question to his famous essay on ideology: "What, then, is the *reproduction of the conditions of production*?"[488]

The answer we can offer through a critical re-reading of Carey is that the reproduction occurs through the network-forming function of communication. Communication, particularly in its character merchandising manifestation, is that function which creates connections between objects, and constitutes the basis for the reproduction of capitalist social relations – including first and foremost relations of production and consumption. Yet, communication occurs not merely between people but – in the case of character merchandising – first and foremost between objects or what we have called media-commodities. Moreover, as we have suggested in this chapter, this communication works through the differences between the media-commodities in question – the Atomu toy and the Atomu image onscreen – as much as through their resemblance. The reproduction of relations around the character image is based on difference *and* resemblance.

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[488] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 127.

This reformulated model of communication offers us a means of developing an understanding of communication between media-commodities and media based not on the transmission of messages (what an Atomu toy *says* to Atomu *manga*) but rather on the formation of a communicating "society" or network (how the Atomu toy and the Atomu *manga* image belong to the same "world" or trans-media series *through* their contact-forming communication). This network of relations formed through inter-object communication is the basis of the reproduction of character media and their circulation. This inter-object communication is also the basis for the formation of social relations around characters and their consumption. We can thus conceive of communication in the *anime* system as a particular mode of relation between things that possibilizes a form of communication between subjects. In some respects this is both similar to and different from Marx's remarks on commodity fetishism.[489]

Marx's argument on commodity fetishism involves exposing the seemingly autonomous existence of commodities as being in fact subtended by the relation between human laborers. The very nature of the commodity form is its abstract quantifiability. Yet its very ability to be quantified (and the determination of what amount of money it should be quantified as) depends on the equivalence and measure of abstract human labor. It is human labor that gives the commodity its value. And yet, under the effects of the capitalistic mode of production and its commodity fetishism, the commodity assumes an independent existence from its producers. The fundamental aspect of the commodity – its production by human labor – is mystified, and the commodity appears as an autonomously existing entity, rather than something whose very value arises through human labor.[490] Thus Marx writes that the commodity "is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things."[491] Commodities, that is, assume a fantastic relation between each other only insofar as the real relation operative here – the relation between human laborers – is under erasure.

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[489] Marx, *Capital 1*, 163-177.

Yet, in the case of the character and character merchandising, I would argue, things are not quite the same. The autonomy of the character, which we discussed in Chapter Two, is not to be understood only as a fictitious autonomy that betrays the real labor of humans beneath it. The autonomy of the character is not the effect of commodity fetishism, in which the seeming autonomy of the character is only an effect of the real investment of human labor. One of the reasons for this is a transformation in the relation between labor and value. At present the value or price of products is no longer determined solely by the human labor that goes into their production, but also according to the image networks to which these products belong – whether these networks are based around the image of the character, or of a particular brand. These image networks in turn rely on a production and involvement of desire in the generation of surplus value. It is in this sense that André Gorz has argued that whereas exploitation was until now defined by the exploitation of surplus work, it now must be rethought in light of the appearance of

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[490] As I imply in my language here – emphasizing the mystification of the real relations subtending the commodity form, and the appearance of the commodity's autonomy from its real producers – I read Marx's passage on commodity fetishism as a statement of a particular ideological warping of perception under the conditions of capitalism. This reading of the fetishism section of *Capital 1* has its critics. Althusser, for instance, argues that "fetishism is not a subjective phenomenon related either to the illusions or to the perceptions of the agents of the economic process," but is rather "objective through and through" (Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Verso, 1997), 191). I would nonetheless persist in reading Marx's passage as a comment on the structure of perception installed by capitalism, a structure that requires Marx's exposure in *Capital* in order to make this process visible for what it is: a perceptual warping of actual relations between men such that they appear as relations between things.

[491] Marx, *Capital 1*, 165.

"auto-exploitation" and "voluntary servitude." The production of surplus value, Gorz argues, depends more and more on "the original production of the self which each accomplishes outside and in addition to paid work, and which renders each capable of interacting, of communicating, of learning how to evolve" and which "play a role comparable to that of 'surplus work' from the moment that it is 'put to work' in the production of value."[492] As Gorz suggests, and as others have also argued, the basis for the production of value is no longer in the company or the factory, but in the larger social sphere and in particular in the realm that would normally be defined as that of consumption. Consumption – and indeed "life" itself – has become a form of production.[493]

Part of this transformation in the site of the production of value also includes a displacement of labor as the measure of the value of the commodity. There is no single measure by which to determine the price of the brand item or the character good – both key forms of intellectual property in a regime of accumulation that is increasingly based around the capture in monetary terms of entities that are in fundamental ways immaterial. That is, what subjects desire and purchase in the material form of Nike sweatshirts or Atomu robots are not only the material goods themselves but also their communicational relationships to other Nike and Atomu goods, and the immaterial entities of the Nike brand and the Atomu character. It is in this sense that Yann Moulier Boutang has written of immaterial labor:

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[492] André Gorz, "Économie de la Connaissance, Exploitation des Savoirs," in *Politiques des Multitudes: Démocratie, Intelligence Collective et Puissance de la Vie à l'Heure du Capitalisme Cognitif*, ed. Yann Moulier Boutang (Paris: Éditions Amsterdam, 2007), 535.

[493] In a brief but compelling essay, Antonella Corsani and Maurizio Lazzarato propose to start from the opposition between capital and life, rather than capital and labor, with labor included in the rubric of life. The practical basis for this theoretical shift is the acknowledgement that

> we are confronted by a capitalist accumulation that is no longer only founded on the exploitation of work in the industrial sense of the term, but on that of knowledge, of the living, of health, of free time, of culture, of the relational resources between individuals (communication, socialization, sex), of the imaginary, of schooling, of habitat, etc. What we produce and sell are not only material or immaterial goods, but forms of life, forms of communication, standards of socialization, education, perception, habitation, transport, etc.

Corsani and Lazzarato, "Le Revenu Garanti Comme Processus Constituant," in *Politiques des Multitudes: Démocratie, Intelligence Collective et Puissance de la Vie à l'Heure du Capitalisme Cognitif*, ed. Yann Moulier Boutang (Paris: Éditions Amsterdam, 2007), 487-8.

> When a pair of running shoes costs 4 to 5 Euros to make and 2 or 3 Euros to transport, but they sell for between 20 and 300 Euros when they have a Nike or Adidas label on them, we may say that the essential aspect of their exchange value or merchandise value comes from the value of the brand, which is an immaterial or intangible. It is equally clear that in terms of crystallized time, of average social time for capitalism, the brand is the result not only of the hours of work of the designers, but also of the stylists or of the lawyers from large law firms that protect intellectual property. It even incorporates taste, that is to say the acceptance… of the public to pay dozens, even hundreds of Euros for a branded product.[494]

What Boutang describes as the "acceptance" or consent of the public I would term rather desire. In order for the product to attain a price dozens of times its actual value (counting the material and immaterial labor of its producers) depends on a certain immaterial labor of desire and consumption on the part of its consumers. With immaterial commodities, as Adam Arvidsson writes in the context of the brand, the commodity's value is produced as much by the "free" labor of the consuming subjects as by the companies who supply the product and its branded world.[495]

It is the creation of communicational products and the desire for them that give branded or character goods their value – more than the physical human labor that went into producing these goods. Insofar as the circulation of the character generates its desireability, this circulation is also directly productive of value in contemporary capitalism. This is to say that the autonomy of the character in its circulation is not merely ideological, but fundamental to the production of value itself. This autonomy is objective as well as a subjective. The price of goods is increasingly based on the character's circulation, and this circulation is in a reciprocal relation to the generation of desire for the character. Hence, it is the objective circulation of the character as autonomous entity along with the subjective desire that keeps the circulation going that contribute to the generation of value.

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[494] Yann Moulier Boutang, *Le Capitalisme Cognitif: La Nouvelle Grande Transformation* (Paris: Editions Amsterdam, 2007), 50.

[495] Adam Arvidsson, *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006). I will return to Ardvisson's work at greater length in the next chapter. See also Tiziana Terranova, "Free Labor: Producing Culture for the Digital Economy," *Social Text*, 18:2, (Summer 2000).

There is thus a circular quality to the production of value in late capitalism. It is in this sense that we might refer to Boutang's description of what he calls "cognitive capitalism" – another term for the post-Fordist turn we discussed in the previous chapter. Boutang writes: "The virtualization of the economy, that is the role of the immaterial and of services tied to the production of this immaterial, is certainly one of the most conspicuous characteristics of cognitive capitalism."[496] The virtual, as Boutang defines it in a footnote to this passage, "is a potential present; it is thus a future, an estimation, a value of the future that modifies the present."[497] We can understand this circular or temporally convoluted causality most easily in the contemplation of stock market speculation, where the expectation of a future growth in stock value motivates the present purchase of shares. Yet this logic is also operative in character merchandising where the site occupied by future growth in the case of the stock market is occupied by desire for the character, which in turn works back on and propels the circulation and proliferation of the character across media-commodity forms. The character's circulation generates desire, and desire acts back on this circulation, generating more and more incarnations of the character.

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[496] Boutang, *Le Capitalisme Cognitif*, 77.

[497] Boutang, *Le Capitalisme Cognitif*, 77, n.11.

Thus, the medium-independence of the character – its autonomy from a specific physical form – cannot be reduced to the fetishistic misunderstanding of the role of labor. It is this objective circulation of the character along with the subjective investment of desire in it that enables the character's incarnation in different commodity forms. Desire is, moreover, stimulated not only through the general circulation of the character but also, equally, stimulated by the specific material incarnations of the character, and the way these incarnations permit a differential access to the character world. Each incarnation of the character allows a certain point of view onto the character and its world. This circulation of the character in its material incarnations is, in turn, key to the formation of the communicational network around the character. Finally, this network operates as the communicational surface for human relations. What we find here is thus not exactly the "definite social relation between men" assuming "the fantastic form of a relation between things" – Marx's definition of commodity fetishism. Rather, in a variation on Marx, we find that a communicative relation between things constitutes the infrastructure for communication between people.[498] What we might call the "character-form" or the "media-commodity form" – as a distinctly post-Fordist development of the commodity form – is best understood by taking seriously the autonomy of its circulation, its material embodiments and its networks of communication.

This last point brings us to the second point I would like to make regarding the Baudrillard passage quoted above. For Baudrillard, following Marx, communication only occurs through the *commodity form* itself, that is, through its exchange value. Exchange value is that quantifiable factor – its price – which is the least specific element about the objects, and which by nature ignores their material specificity – their "message" or their use value – in favor of their bare fact of exchangeability.[499] Much like Marx's critique of the commodity form, Baudrillard implies the complete disappearance of the object (the message) in favor of the "pure circulation" imposed by the medium of the commodity form – "deep down the message has already ceased to exist," Baudrillard writes, "it is the medium which imposes itself in its pure circulation."[500] The metaphysics of capitalist value and circulation have completely replaced the physics of the object in question.[501]

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[498] It is also possible, however, to read this as an attenuation of the process Marx describes, wherein the basis for human communication becomes (or rests on) the communication between objects.

However, there is a danger in thinking communication solely through the rubric of exchange value. That danger is that we are led to the utter denial of the material specificity of objects in communication and, even more importantly, to the constitutive role of this materiality in their very communication. This tendency is highlighted in Jonathan Beller's fascinating yet ultimately too-abstract account of the "cinematic mode of production." In a passage that evokes the work of Baudrillard, and exemplifies his approach to "cinema" and commodity production in this book, Beller writes:

> Today, because of the exponentially increased intensity of the image's circulation, the simulacrum produced by mass media is utterly emptied out and "means" only its own currency in circulation… Indeed, meaning is but a subroutine, a fine-tuning of the ballistic trajectories of social force delivered via the impact of the image… This emptying out of images and objects, what is called simulation, is the latest consequence of the long-term strategies of appropriation of alienated sensuous labor (that is, alienated attention) by the object in circulation.[502]

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[499] Marx, in the opening of *Capital*, emphasizes that "the exchange relation of commodities is characterized precisely by its abstraction from their use-values." Moreover, as use-values, "commodities differ above all in quality, while as exchange-values they can only differ in quantity, and therefore do not contain an atom of use-value." Marx, *Capital*, 127, 128.

[500] Baudrillard, *Ecstasy of Communication*, 23.

[501] Marx describes the commodity as "abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties." *Capital*, 163

[502] Jonathan Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), 211.

What we are left with, then, is a "ballistic" model of media consumption (the military model of ballistics replaces the medical model of hypodermic injection?) characterized by pure, mechanical circulation: "As significance is displaced and messages are depleted, we move from 'the medium is the message' to 'the medium is the medium.'"[503] Beller's attempt to characterize the circulation of goods by using a model that emphasizes circulation over message transmission is in some ways complimentary to my emphasis in this chapter on the function of communication in producing a kind of connectivity between objects that forms the surface on which human communication can occur. And his account is important for emphasizing the transpositional relation between objects and images that I have been emphasizing here.[504]

However Beller's emphasis on the "emptying out of images and objects" short-circuits any possibility of dealing with the specificity of these communicational networks, the images and objects that constitute them, and the forms of desire that invest them. Indeed, as I have emphasized in this chapter, these communicational networks function through the real heterogeneity between elements in the network. The paradox of Baudrillard and Beller's totalizing critiques of capital's processes of dematerialization and abstraction is that in their totalizing drive they dematerialize and abstract to an even greater degree than capital itself. In a dangerous race with a system that is always projected as being one step ahead, these writers try to abstract in a more radical manner than capital itself is willing to. Ultimately, Beller and Baudrillard abstract the world into total and imagistic immateriality.[505] In so doing they neglect the important ways that capital and consumption function as much through materiality as immateriality; as much through the heterogeneity of objects as through their homogeneity; and as much through the incitation of subjects' desire as their cybernetic incorporation as nodal points in a network. They not only get capital wrong by failing to grasp the material ways in which it operates; they also give up a politics that has the ability to undermine capital itself: the belief that the world and desire are really and vitally heterogeneous before being submitted to the principal of identity or homogeneity.

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[503] Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production*, 231.

[504] Beller writes: "At present, the object has a tendency to become the image (think, for example, of a Mercedes Benz or a television set), and the image, assembled like a commodity, elaborates and intensifies the character of the commodified object." Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production*, 47-8.

The more specific point here is that we can understand neither the trans-serial *anime* system nor the desires that emerge from it if we do not account for the material specificities and the real heterogeneities of the character instances as they appear across media and commodity forms.[506] The autonomous circulation of the character must be thought in relation to its specific incarnations in material forms. Moreover, paying attention to these material forms allow us to highlight the transformations in the social forms of interaction that occur around them. The material specificities of the character toy as it emerged in 1963-4, for example, have allowed us to understand transformations in the nature of play. In describing the mode of communication that occurs within the *anime* system – taking toys as a representative of its larger mode of operations – the aim has also been to point to the primacy of inter-media/commodity communication. Resituating the problematic of character communication in terms of a network constituted between media and commodities that forms the infrastructure on which inter-personal communication is built, has also allowed us to point out the sense in which the latter presupposes media transformations that give rise to the former.

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[505] Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* is characterized by a similar tendency, and not surprisingly is one of Beller's major influences.

[506] I should hedge this claim by saying that this heterogeneity, although based on material properties of the medium in question, is situated in a relational network; the Atomu toy is heterogeneous in relation to the Atomu image. As such, there is a far lesser degree of heterogeneity operating between different manifestations of the Atomu robot toy. Nonetheless, where a desire for heterogeneity drives the consumption of the first Atomu toy robot, a desire for collection kicks in to drive the consumption of subsequent Atomu toy robots. Yet even at this stage what matters for the collector is not only the aspect of belonging within a series (as Baudrillard emphasizes in works such as *The System of Objects*, trans. James Benedict [London: Verso, 1996]), but also the material differences between objects in the series. In contrast with Baudrillard's claim that all consumption is relational but based only on the differences in signs, we might argue that consumption is relational, but this very relationality is anchored in the material specificity of each object or media-commodity within the series.

The media transformations mapped in this chapter can be described as the imagization of the object and the objectization of the image, or, in Lash and Lury's terms, the "process of the mediation of things and the thingification of media."[507] As we have seen, this process involves the materialization of the image – complete with material differences – as much as the dematerialization of the object. In the last section of this chapter I would like to reflect once more on what it means for a toy to become a media-toy, a commodity to become a media-commodity. What is the nature of this media-tization? What is a medium?

The Media-Commodity and the Nature of the Medium

The toy became a media-commodity with the advent of the mass media toy. This is true in both senses of the term "media." The media toy (and the media-commodity in general) represents an expansion of "the media" – an expansion, that is, of the then pantheon of the four main media of television, radio, magazine, and the newspaper to include the toy as another of the key "mass media" of modern society. Indeed, this was an important transformation insofar as one of the destinies of the media toy was to return to the screen in the form of the video game. By becoming a media form, the toy entered into circuits of communication with other media – magazine serials, TV *anime*, and other new media objects like the sticker.

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[507] Scott Lash and Celia Lury, *Global Culture Industries: The Mediation of Things* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 25.

Arguably, one of the principal characteristics of media forms is the degree of abstraction the media-message complex of a particular medium (e.g. TV) has from its material support (e.g. the television set). That is, when it comes to defining the nature of television, one points less to its material apparatus (the television as a box of furniture in the living room) than the flow of images that passes through its screen (and that are both form and content, medium and message). There is a "transitive" quality to the image – in the sense that it is event-based, ephemeral and directional, in the sense of pointing to other media phenomena – that abstracts it from its material base, and forms the basis of its connection to other media forms.[508] When the commodity became a media-commodity it took on this dual character of the media: abstractness from technical base, and transitivity or relationality to other media and commodity types. In short, it became transitively communicative, and part of a larger communication network. But in so becoming the media-commodity also underwent transformations at the level of its "medium" – which invokes the second definition of the term "media."

By invoking the term "medium" I do not propose a return to the communications studies definition of the medium as a vehicle for the transmission of a certain message – a model that is inappropriate for developing an understanding of media-commodities within the media mix, and which would bring us back to the same problem of homogenization that we find in Baudrillard and Beller, if in inverse fashion. That is, if we argue that the toy is a medium or vehicle for the transmission of the Atomu message – then so, likewise, would be the *manga*, the TV *anime* and so on. This would effectively annul the differences between media and lead to the uniformity of content or message across media forms. That is, all media become equalized under the uniformity of the message: Atomu.[509] If Baudrillard and Beller emphasized the uniform circulation of forms, this model inversely assumes the uniform circulation of messages.

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[508] Brian Massumi articulates the characteristics of the media in terms of an "event-transitivity" in "The Political Economy of Belonging," *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 84-88. I should add that this abstraction is relative; as advocates of apparatus theory of film have argued, the image/sound flow is not so separate from the material apparatus of film as some would argued. On this, see Baudry. Nonetheless, as historical work on early cinema has shown, the cinema is not as deterministically bound up with conventions of perspective as Baudry argued. See, for example, Noel Burch, *Life to Those Shadows.*

Art historian and theorist Rosalind Krauss suggests an alternative framework that allows us to think both the historical specificity and the materiality of a medium. In an essay that considers the use of photography within the context of slide projection (as a particular deployment of a medium toward artistic use), Krauss defines the medium as "a set of conventions derived from (but not identical with) the material conditions of a given technical support, conventions out of which to develop a form of expressiveness that can be both projective and mnemonic."[510] Moreover, in Krauss's theorization of the artist James Coleman's work, she acknowledges that artistic convention "both aris[es] from the nature of the work's material support and invest[s] that materiality with expressiveness."[511] That is, the expressiveness is not simply developed from out of the material support, but acts back upon it, transforming the material support itself. The medium can thus be defined as the technical support and its material conditions, conventions that both act on the support and also arise out of it, and a form of artistic convention or expressiveness that works with and transforms the materiality of the technical support.

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[509] This model would see the media mix much along the lines of what the US entertainment industry calls "repurposing." Repurposing has been defined as "tak[ing] a 'property' from one medium and reus[ing] it in another," or as "pouring a familiar content into another media form." Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 45, 68. In this definition of repurposing the vessel would change (*manga*, toy, *anime*) but the message (Atomu) would remain the same; uniformity of content equalizing the difference between media. Bolter and Grusin are here pantomiming industry discourse; the definition they offer for repurposing – which they call "remediation" – is more complex.

[510] Rosalind E. Krauss, "Reinventing the Medium," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 25, No. 2, "Angelus Novus": Perspectives on Walter Benjamin. (Winter, 1999), 296.

[511] Krauss, "Reinventing," 300.

Though developed in the context of a particular artistic development of a medium, Krauss's definition of the medium offers a useful framework for thinking about the media formation of the *masu komi gangu*. In the case of the mass media toy, the conventions do not arise only from the technical support itself, but come from outside and transform this support, much in the way Krauss finds that artistic conventions invest materiality with expressiveness. The mass media toy is born of the confluence of, first, conventions proper to the materiality of the technical support and its historical manifestations (the particular lineage of the *buriki* toy; its emphasis on the vehicular and on movement; the forms of the robot toy that pre-existed Atomu, and so on) and, second, the external conventions that work back on the material support itself, transforming it. In the case of the mass media toy the external conventions are the shape, color and design of the mass media character, and the particular narratives or narrative fragments which accompany the visual image of this character. These conventions insert themselves into the particular material "series" of the *buriki* toy, and draw from its existing material conditions to gain a new kind of life – and media materiality – outside the TV screen. Yet, as we saw earlier, the design of Atomu required a degree of expressivity of the technical support that its tin materiality could not meet; hence the transformation of the material support itself from an all-tin object to a tin-vinyl hybrid. Here the body of the Atomu robot was made of the tin of *buriki* robots, and the face of molded vinyl that supplied the expressivity adequate for the Atomu image. The external conventions of the character negotiated with the internal conventions proper to the particular material support of the *buriki* toy.

What resulted was a new medium for the character – the mass media toy – that combined the communicative properties, expressiveness and conventions of the character image with preexisting conventions and forms proper to the material support of the *buriki* toy. This transformation not only brought together the two series of the character image and the *buriki* toy. It also greatly expanded the communicative range of the toy, and accelerated its transitive properties. If prior to this transformation, we could say that the *buriki* toy was in a certain kind of muted communication with other *buriki* of the same robot lineage, with the mass media toy, the range and quality of communication changed from intra-object series to trans-media series. The toy became communicative, and was inserted into a communicative network that included Atomu-based media forms such as the television show, the *manga* serial, the stickers, the running shoes, and all other non-robot toys the Atomu image adorned. Moreover, through this process, the TV image gained a new material embodiment complete with its own properties (of physical manipulability, narrative openness, and vehicular mobility). The outcome was a *buriki* toy transformed into a hybrid tin-vinyl toy that henceforth developed networks based on the communication of the heterogeneous aspects of the TV image with the mass media toy. The result of these communicational networks was, in turn, the fostering of a surface on which character-communication of all different kinds occur (peer-to-peer, adult-to-child, etc), and on which the consumption of character goods was based.

CHAPTER FIVE:

CHARACTER, WORLD, CONSUMPTION

In the last chapter I argued that we must assume that media do not only communicate with subjects – and that they are not only the communicational tools used by subjects – but that media communicate with themselves, form particular kinds of connections, and establish communicative environments where the objective is not the sending or receiving of messages (either among themselves or among subjects) but rather the continued act of communication itself. That is, these environments function not through the communication of a particular message or other (though messages are indeed a part of it), but through the creation of a kind of environment that is maintained by all its participants (media creators, media forms, physical objects, consuming subjects). This environment is ultimately functional and, to some degree, self-sustaining. As systems theorist Niklas Luhmann emphasizes, the aim of a communicative system is the continuation of communication itself: "communication bifurcates reality. It creates two versions – a yes version and a no version – and thereby forces selection. And it is precisely in the fact that something must happen (even if this is an explicitly communicated break-off of communication) that the autopoiesis of the system resides, guaranteeing for itself its own continuability."[512]

Yet, in order for media to communicate they need a particular communicative technology. The drawn or animated character is the communicative technology of the particular media environment that is the subject of this dissertation – the *anime* system and the media mix. It is the linchpin of this media assemblage, the facilitator and agent of communication, the medium by which media themselves communicate. The character, moreover, is also a key to understanding how this inter-media communication engages with subjects; it is the interface between subjects and this communicative system. Breaking with Luhmann, who isolates the functioning of a system from the subjects who participate in it, I would argue for the continuing need to consider the ways media make themselves consumable, how media generate desire in subjects, and how media promote their own consumption. The subject occupies a key site in the *anime* system – as in all media systems – insofar as it is the guarantee of its perpetuation. This point is made by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their discussion of modern power as it functions through the processes of subjection and enslavement:

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[512] Luhmann, "What is Communication?" in *Communication Theory* (1992:2), 255-6. The problem with Luhmann's approach is that he reifies disciplinary boundaries (politics, economics, media) and then argues that communication can only happen within the bounds of a particular system. This arbitrary limitation of the bounds of a system – and its communication – goes against the fundamental premise of this dissertation: that things – particularly characters – communicate across systems, and that one must follow this multi-serial (and transciplinary) communication.

> For example one is subjected to TV insofar as one uses it and consumes it, in the very particular situation of a subject of the statement that more or less mistakes itself for a subject of enunciation ("you, dear television viewers, who make TV what it is…"); the technical machine is the medium between two subjects. But one is enslaved by TV as a human machine insofar as the television viewers are no longer consumers or users, nor even subjects who supposedly "make" it, but intrinsic component pieces, "input" and "output," feedback or recurrences that are no longer connected to the machine in such a way as to produce or use it. In machinic enslavement, there is nothing but transformations and exchanges of information, some of which are mechanical, others human.[513]

This perspective on the modern function of power sees the human subject functioning as one element within a larger machinic or cybernetic ensemble, but also emphasizes the importance of procedures of interpellation or address (whether discursive, affective, or otherwise) that draw the subject into the ensemble in question.

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[513] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 458.

In the case of the *anime* system, a key figure for understanding how media within the *anime* system communicate *and* generate their conditions for their consumption is to be found in the particular entity of the character. The character both makes media communicate, and operates as a mechanism of subjection that draws the subject into engagement with and consumption of the *anime* system. Moreover, as we have seen in this dissertation and will see further here, this engagement is key to both the formation of subjects of contemporary capital, and for the very processes of accumulation of capital, which hinge on the consumption-as-production of subjects. The engagement of subjects in consumption practices increasingly relies on what has been called an "immaterial labor" of both production and consumption.[514] As we will emphasize in this concluding chapter, consumption has become immediately productive within the current configuration of late capitalism, and the *anime* system is a site where this form of production-consumption develops.

In order to get at these questions of consumption, it behooves us to ask two questions that we have addressed only briefly in other chapters: *what is the character?* And, *what does a character do?* Building on arguments I made in Chapter Two, I will discuss how the abstract body of the character acts as the immaterial means of communication between material instances or media. This understanding will in turn allow us to better comprehend the ways the character acts as a locus and generator of desire within the subject. How subjects are made to desire *the character and its worlds* will thus constitute one of the major concerns of this chapter, and the final problematic in our journey to understand the communicative and consumptive mechanisms of the *anime* system that has been one of the goals of this dissertation.

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[514] Thomas Lamarre has first discussed the relation between labor and consumption in relation to the subtitling activies of *anime* fans in terms of immaterial labor in "Otaku Movement," *Japan After Japan*. The term immaterial labor was developed by Antonio Negri and Maurizzio Lazzarato.

Character Law

Legal theory is one place to look for the rudiments of a theory of the character. Ushiki Ri'ichi, a legal theorist and practitioner who specializes in character commerce, asserts that the basic requirements for the legal protection of the character are a recognizable name and a particular visual design. While other elements such as oral elements (i.e. manner of speaking, set phrases) and personality are also elements cited as key to the designation and legal protection of a character, Ushiki argues that name and visual design are the minimal and principal requirements of what we define as a character.[515] Interestingly enough, despite the term "merchandizing rights" (*shôhin kaken*, referring to the rights of use of a character image) being in use in Japan since 1965,[516] and despite the prevalence of character merchandizing in Japan, there is no law dedicated to the maintenance and protection of the character image, or character merchandizing rights.[517] Rather, the legal defense of the rights of use of the character image must be made by negotiating between two main categories of law: copyright law and design law. The way the character falls through the cracks of both provides an interesting illustration of the peculiar entity that is the character.

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[515] Ushiki Ri'ichi, *Kyarakutâ senryaku to shôhin kaken* [Character Strategy and Merchandizing Rights] (Tokyo: Hatsumei Kyoukai, 2000), 23; 42. This book is an excellent resource on the legal theory – and case history – of character merchandizing, by a writer who was involved from the early stages in debates and development of character merchandizing law in Japan, in the dedicated character studies journal *Merchandizing Rights Report* as well as law journals. Another useful work on the subject is Chiteki Shoyûken Jitsumu Henshû Kaigi ed., *Shôhin kaken* (Character Merchandising) (Tokyo: Ito, 1994).

[516] The term was first used by the Japanese TV network TBS around the year 1965 in an overhauled contract for *anime* shows that included the term *shôhin kaken*, replacing the term that was formerly in use: *chosakuken* (author's copyright). The term was first invented in 1965 as a translation of the English term "merchandising rights" that had been used in negotiations around the question of merchandising rights for the American broadcast of Japanese *anime*. See the roundtable discussion of the issue, "'Shôhin kaken' to iu kotoba ga umareta koro"[At the time of the birth of the term 'merchandizing rights'] in *Mâchan Repôto: MD/Merchandizing Rights Reports* (April 1979).

[517] In fact the same is true for all countries around the world. As a 1994 report on character merchandising by the World Intellectual Property Organization states, "no country has enacted sui generis legislation on the protection of character merchandising. Furthermore, there exists no international treaty dealing

Copyright law – in particular author's copyright law – protects the unauthorized use of a copyrighted image. The basis for this protection is the distinction between original and copy, and the reliance on the former to determine the status of the latter. For a character to be protected under this law, an original drawing of the character must be submitted, to which other drawings or version would be considered copies. An immediate objection to the logic of this law for defending characters would be that this original-copy model is best suited for book manuscripts or paintings whose subsequent copies would be guaranteed by the existence of the original. Characters, on the other hand, generally have no definitive "original" instances but rather are produced in a succession of innumerable versionings, even across a single *manga* episode, none which are either original or copies per se. A second objection would involve the question of how to account for the transformation of the "original" character drawing to three-dimensional objects. Surely a figurine cannot be considered a "copy" properly speaking? Interestingly, copyright law does include a provision for "metamorphosis rights." While not a copy per se, the figurine produced on the basis of a *manga* image can be argued to be a transformation of a two-dimensional picture into a three-dimensional object, and therefore fall under the provisions of copyright. However, as Ushiki notes, this interpretation of copyright law is

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specifically with that topic. Therefore, any person or entity must rely on different forms of protection and, consequently, different legal texts." WIPO, "Character Merchandising" WO/INF/108 (1994) www.wipo.int/copyright/en/activities/pdf/wo_inf_108.pdf (accessed January 15, 2008). Ushiki makes the same point in *Kyarakutâ senryaku*, 22.

fairly recent, and there are limitations to how widely metamorphosis rights can be applied.[518]

A second way to protect character goods is through the use of design law (*ishouhou*), a means that is particularly suitable for protecting three-dimensional character goods. Whereas copyright law judges a copy based on its relation to an original drawing, design law protects only those objects created as specific products based on a particular design that is registered at the time of manufacture. In registering a design (or pattern) one registers the blueprints for a specific product, shown in all of its 6 dimensions. Thus, unlike copyright law, which can apply to any object that bears a likeness to an original drawing, design law only protects those manifestations of a particular design object (a particular size, shape and color of a particular doll, for example). The design, moreover, does not exist separately from the product.[519] The parameters of what can be protected under design registration are thus far more restricted than under copyright. In brief, as Ushiki sums it up, design law is product-centric, based on the edict that, "In the beginning there was the product." Author's copyright, on the other hand, is character-centric, focused on the original character image and name, and corresponds to the edict, "In the beginning there was the work."[520]

What is most interesting here is the way Ushiki must work to produce a group of laws that can apply to – yet ultimately somehow fail to fully grasp – the entity of the character. Indeed, as Ushiki makes clear in his conclusion, his ultimate desire is for an as yet unrealized "merchandizing rights law" that would protect character commerce – without having to jump through the legal hoops and creative interpretations of existing laws that Ushiki demonstrates in his book, *Kyarakutâ senryaku to shôhin kaken*. For ultimately these laws "fail to cover the appearance of new merchandised [character] goods."[521] Indeed the character is not the "original drawing" or the "original work" of copyright law, nor is it the material reproduction of a set material design as is the case for design law. The character can neither be defined as the serial copies of a single, original artistic instance, nor reduced to the reproduction of a purely material form.

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[518] Ushiki, *Kyarakutâ senryaku*, 65, 123.

[519] Ushiki, *Kyarakutâ senryaku*, 212.

[520] Ushiki, *Kyarakutâ senryaku*, 230. The term "work"[sakuhin] here refers to "work of art" or work in the artistic sense of produced material. A third way that the character image can be protected is through trademark law. However this law applies more to the company-specific logos (like the Lacoste crocodile), though it can also be used to protect *manga* characters.

In fact, what the legal discourse demonstrates so clearly in its very inadequacy is that the character is a material/immaterial composite that slips through the legal and conceptual cracks. It is that which is found in material incarnations, and also that which travels across the spaces between these material objects. So perhaps we should define the character not only in terms of its visual characteristics and name – to which we might add narrative setting or world – but also as something that travels between. As I briefly discussed in Chapter Two, the character is an abstract device that allows for the communication across media series (and media materialities) to take place. The character is abstract because it is always in excess of its particular material incarnations. That is to say, the character cannot be reduced to any one of its incarnations, but must be thought both in its material incarnations and in the ways that it exceeds them. It is in fact this very excess that allows different media and different material instances to communicate, even as it is the material differences among the different instances that shape the form this communication takes.[522] In this vein, Kôno Akira gives a very suggestive definition of the character: "At present what is generally called a character is a point of contact that connects a product and a consumer, and that can acquire ever more consumers the more popular it is."[523] This statement can be understood in two senses.

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[521] Ushiki, *Kyarakutâ senryaku*, 556.

First, we can read the character as an entity that ensures the safe passage between production and consumption. It is a technology that ensures the regulation of the two, and thereby assures the continued accumulation of capital. Celia Lury has written that, "The brand is thus a mechanism – or a medium – for the co-construction of supply and demand."[524] The same, Kôno seems to be implying, can be said about the character. Here we might expand on this suggestion by drawing on the work of the French "Regulation School" of thought which, as we saw in Chapter Three, emphasizes the importance of the balancing of production and consumption within a particular regime of accumulation. In their emphasis on consumption within a particular regime of accumulation – such as Fordism or in more recent analyses post-Fordism – these writers cite the importance of "norms, habits, laws, regulating networks an so on that ensure the unity of the process" of continual and orderly accumulation.[525] As David Harvey emphasizes in his account of the regulation school paradigm, "Postwar Fordism has to be seen, therefore, less as a mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life. Mass production meant standardization of product as well as mass consumption; and that meant a whole new aesthetic and a commodification of culture."[526] As a recent account of the paradigm puts it, "Market society's success therefore depends on its ability to find a 'regime of accumulation' – a set of economic, political, social, and cultural arrangements that walks the tightrope between these contradictory requirements, holding production and consumption in equilibrium."[527] One of the principal "regulating networks" that ensured the equilibrium of production and consumption is marketing. As we saw in Chapter Three, marketing is a technology that works to guarantee the equilibrium of production and consumption in the production of the society of mass consumption.[528]

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[522] Azuma Hiroki emphasizes the importance of the character as an entity that gathers together comics, *anime*, video games, novels, figurines and so on within the 1990s media mix. Azuma Hiroki, *Doubutsuka suru posutomodan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001), especially 76-77. However, as I have been working to show in this dissertation, this phenomenon does not just start in the 1990s, as Azuma implies, but goes back at least to the early 1960s emergence of television *anime*. Moreover, Azuma's emphasis on the non-narrative aspect of the character downplays the continuing importance of narrative – and the character-world relation – that I will discuss in this chapter. These two aspects of Azuma's work stem from his project which is to consider the rise of character media within the context of postmodernization, which he defines in narrowly culturalist fashion as the age of the decline of grand narratives. This leads to a neglect of the ways the development of character media preceded formal postmodernization, and of the economic transformations that accompany the growing prominence of the media mix.

[523] Kôno Akira, "Shôhin kaken shiyô kyodaku gyômu, dai 3 kai" [The licensing business for the use of merchandizing rights, #3] in *Mâchan Repôto: MD/Merchandizing Rights Reports* (March 1980), 23.

[524] Celia Lury *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy* (London: Routledge, 2004), 27.

[525] Lipietz, cited in David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 122.

When capitalism experiences a general crisis in the 1970s, the prior transformations in the media sphere that I have been charting in this dissertation supply the antidote to this crisis in capitalist accumulation. The character and the media mix are taken up as new means of regulating the relation between production and consumption, even as the emphasis on consumption itself shifts from consumer durables to experiential commodities, or what we have been calling media-commodities. The character displaces the earlier marketing paradigm (the marketing of a particular product) by the marketing of the serial relations between members of a family of products. The novelty of the character as a technology of regulation lies, moreover, in its indeterminate nature. As we saw in Chapter Three in our discussion of the media mix, the character and character-associated goods are advertisement and product at one and the same time. There is a collapse in the distinction between the promotion of consumption – the marketing message – and the object of consumption. During the Fordist era, the dominant mode of advertising emphasized the kinds of lifestyle norms and ideals that gave the viewing subject the impetus to consume the object in question – the refrigerator, or the television as in the famous "bright life" campaigns of early postwar Japan. With the character, however, every form that it takes constitutes an "advertisement" for another character form (the Atomu television show for the chocolates, the chocolates for the Atomu shoes, and so on). Merely watching the television show itself becomes a form of consumption, and in turn, a form of productive activity or labor for a formation of capital that increasingly relies on the activity of *looking* as itself the basis for a new model of accumulation.[529]

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[526] Harvey, 135.

[527] Stephen Kline, Nick Dyer-Witherford and Greig Peuter, *Digital Play: The Interaction of Technology, Culture and Marketing* (Montreal and Kingson: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 62.

[528] Kohara Hiroshi, "Nihon no mâketingu: Dounyû to tenkai" [Japanese Marketing: Its Introduction and Development] in *Nihon no mâketingu: Dounyû to tenkai* [Japanese Marketing: Its Introduction and Development] Mâketingu-shi Kenkyû-kai ed. (Tokyo: Doubunkan, 1995), 11

There was also, as we saw in Chapter Three, a transformation in the nature of products themselves from the Fordist to the post-Fordist eras. In their study of the industry and consumption of video games, Stephen Kline, Nick Dyer-Witherford and Greig de Peuter draw on Martyn Lee's suggestion that "for each phase in the development of capitalism it is possible to identify an 'ideal-type commodity form' – one that embodies its most powerful economic, social, and cultural tendencies."[530] With the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism comes a shift in the characteristics of the (ideal) commodity itself:

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[529] On looking as a form of value-production within late capitalism, see Jonathan Beller, *The Cinematic Mode of Production: Attention Economy and the Society of the Spectacle* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006) and Adam Arvidsson, *Brands: Meaning and Value in Media Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[530] Kline, Dyer-Witherford and de Peuter, *Digital Play*, 29 (Referencing Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*).

> Fordist commodities were governed by a "metalogic" of massification, durability, solidity, structure, standardization, fixity, longevity, and utility. Post-Fordism's "metalogic," in contrast, is one of intensification and innovation; its typical commodities are instantaneous, experiential, fluid, flexible, heterogeneous, customized, portable, and permeated by a fashion with form and style.[531]

The ideal commodity of post-Fordism, Kline et al argue, is the interactive video game. The video game would certainly appear to be a perfect example of the post-Fordist commodity, as defined by Martyn Lee and adopted by Kline et al. With its fast turnover, its cycles of obsolescence, its experiential and customizable qualities, and its blurring of the boundaries between work and play[532] – the video game would indeed seem to be post-Fordism's "ideal commodity." Within this framework we would perhaps see the character as the marketing counterpart to this ideal commodity – should we call it the "ideal marketing tool"? – insofar as many video games are based around and marketed through the figure of the character.

Yet, as I have pointed out time and again throughout this dissertation, it is impossible to isolate the character to the realm of marketing, just as it is equally impossible to confine it to the realm of commodities. The character is a media-commodity of communication, a figure or technology that passes into and between different media types and promotes consumption across them all. Taking the character into account as a principal figure of a new regime of consumption requires us to regard it as more than just a new marketing tool that regulates the balance between consumption and production. The character cannot be reduced to the position of marketer and promoter of a new type of "ideal commodity."

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[531] Kline et al, *Digital Play*, 74.

[532] Kline et al, *Digital Play*, 201. See also Greig de Peuter and Nick Dyer-Witheford, "A Playful Multitude? Mobilising and Counter-Mobilising Immaterial Game Labour" in *Fibreculture* 5 (2005). Yann Moulier Boutang writes, "The development of video games (which has become one of the premier industries of the world) are to attention what stitching was for the development of the dexterity of workers assembling transistors during the period of the 1950s to 1980s." Just as stitching trained the dexterity of later chip-assemblers, so the attention-training of video games are to the present period of what Boutang terms "cognitive capitalism." *Le Capitalisme Cognitif: La Nouvelle Grande Transformation* (Paris: Editions Amsterdam, 2007), 107.

The radical shift from a Fordist to post-Fordist mode of consumption – and its "total way of life" – should not, then, be conceived as the shift from one ideal commodity to another. Rather, what we find is the shift from a regime based around a core *commodity* which is advertised through media and marketing to a regime based around the *media-commodity*, which functions to create relations between multiple media and commodities types, drawing them into particular media worlds through which this media-commodity circulates. This implies shifts in the nature of production and consumption that preclude seeing this historical transformation from Fordism to post-Fordism only in terms of different commodity types and speeds. Rather, this transformation implies entirely new organizations of media, things, desire and power that see a tightening in the relation between labor and consumption wherein consumption itself becomes a mode of value-production. There is not merely an emergence of a new ideal commodity, but a general displacement of the commodity by a media-commodity that circulates not only in the realm of consumption, but also in the realm of production as well as that intermediary realm of marketing. The character, in short, is a new media technology that generates serial relations between image-based commodities, or media-commodities. The character, as I argued in Chapter Two, is a technology of relation, a device or mechanism that allows audio-visual media and other tie-in objects and media to connect.

The brand is another such technology of relation. Adam Arvidsson's work on the brand is apposite here. In a book that in many ways undertakes an analysis complimentary to that undertaken here but on the subject of the brand rather than the character, Arvidsson suggests “brands should be understood as an institutional embodiment of the logic of a new form of informational capital – much like the factory embodied the logic of industrial capital.”[533] The brand is a “relational nexus”[534] that links together objects and services of a variety of kinds under the banner of a particular brand and its associated image. “However, brands do not only consist in relations between things, but in relations between things, people, images, texts and physical and informational environments. This way brands embody the cross-mediality that marks informational capital in general.”[535] The brand – much like the character – is a relational nexus that allow for the communication of media texts and things. Arvidsson’s emphasis on the abstract or “virtual”[536] nature of the “relational nexus” that is the brand, and his situation of the brand within the consumption environment of postfordist media culture is suggestive for the ways it pushes us to rethink the transformation of the “ideal commodity” within post-Fordism from a specific commodity (whether it be automobile or videogame) to a media-commodity nexus, an abstract means of linking multiple commodities.

The brand and the character are two principal technologies of relation operating within post-Fordist capitalism, and are representative of the kinds of connections between commodities that characterize it. Anne Allison suggests this relation between brands and characters in her *Millenial Monsters*, where she writes: "These play characters are brands used, in turn, to brand other commodities… yet they also function as transmitters of enchantment and fun as well as intimacy and identity.[537] This "also" is significant. While brands and characters are certainly very similar entities, I will nonetheless diverge from Allison in perceiving the need to differentiate the one from the other. While having similar roles in the late capitalism economy of media-commodity relation, they nonetheless differ significantly in some respects that I propose to elaborate in this chapter.

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[533] Arvidsson, *Brands*, vii. Arvidsson cites two main characteristics of “informational capitalism” – which he also glosses as digital capitalism or, using Yann Moulier Boutang’s term, “cognitive capitalism”: First, the “blurring of the distinction between ‘production’ and ‘consumption’ or ‘circulation’, that was central the theories of industrial society”; and second “the putting to work of communication” or what Maurizio Lazzarato has referred to as “immaterial labor.” Arvidsson, *Brands*, 9-10. For Lazzarato’s classic formulation of the immaterial labor hypothesis, see Maurizio Lazzarato, “Immaterial Labor,” in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, ed., *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[534] Arvidsson, *Brands*, 126.

[535] Arvidsson, *Brands*, 126.

[536] Arvidsson, *Brands*, 8.

Virtual Objects

In light of the argument made above, we come to the second possible interpretation of Kôno's definition of the character as "a point of contact that connects a product and a consumer"[538]: the character is a communicator that connects media, object and consumer series, an abstract technology of relation. Another word for "abstract" might be "virtual." Here we might cite the work of another theorist of brands, Celia Lury, who writes: "The brand is simultaneously virtual and actual, abstract and concrete, a means of relativity and a medium of relationality. This is undoubtedly what makes it so effective as a mode of capital accumulation; but the incompleteness or openness of the brand also provides opportunities for consumers, sociologists and others to ask: 'Just do *what*?'"[539] In deploying the terms "virtual" and "actual" Lury is referring to philosopher Gilles Deleuze's development of these concepts through and beyond his work on Henri

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[537] Anne Allison, *Millenial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
[538] Kôno Akira, "Shôhin kaken shiyou kyodaku gyômu, dai 3 kai," 23.
[539] Lury *Brands*, 15. Arvidsson also has a discussion of the brand as a virtual entity.

Bergson. As Brian Massumi writes, the virtual is "that which is maximally abstract yet real, whose reality is that of potential – pure relationality, the interval of change, the in-itself of transformation."[540] Deleuze, in *Difference and Repetition*, defines the word as follows:

> The virtual is opposed not the real but to the actual. *The virtual is fully real in so far as it is virtual*. Exactly what Proust said of states of resonance must be said of the virtual: "Real without being actual, ideal without being abstract"; and symbolic without being fictional. Indeed, the virtual must be defined as strictly a part of the real object – as though the object had one part of itself in the virtual into which it plunged as though into an objective dimension.[541]

It is clear how the virtual might be a useful theoretical category to help us understand the particular "object" called the brand, or the character for that matter. The character or brand object is both a thing – a toy, a sticker, a pair of shoes – *and* a potential "point of contact" (Kôno) between product and consumer, product and product, consumer and consumer.

The character or brand connects various material instances by being both embodied as them or emblazoned on them (the Atomu-shaped toy, the shoes with the Atomu image) and being in excess of them. The character or brand is both lodged within a particular material incarnation, and consistently in excess of it. This is what Miyamoto Hirohito, in a short but incisive essay refers to as "the independence or quasi-actuality of the character."[542] It is this quasi-actuality or virtuality that in turn allows different media and different material instances to communicate. The virtual is one word that describes this surplus or excessive aspect of the character, its quasi-actuality. The virtuality of the character is what enables its multiple embodiments, its trans-material embodiment in multiple physical forms, and multiple media environments. It is what prevents the character from ever being confused with a single one of its manifestations. And it is what keeps it ever open to new and subsequent transformations. The character is the subject of a transformational embodiment that includes a continually unspent potential for future embodiment. The only unity of the character is thus what Gilbert Simondon would call a "transductive" one – a unity only conceivable across the character's various transformations.[543] Ushiki's dissatisfaction with the existing legal framework for character merchandising is thus important for the ways it symptomatically points the nature of the character as an "object" that exceeds its material or actual incarnations; for the ways that it functions as a "virtual object."[544]

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[540] Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Duke UP, 2002), 58.

[541] Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 208-9. I should note that while Deleuze's definition here – drawing on Proust – mitigates against thinking the virtual as "abstract" in fact the term abstract is used to define the virtual or virtual elements in other instances and in Deleuze's later work – such as the "abstract machine" and so on.

[542] Miyamoto Hirohito, "*Manga* ni oite kyarakutâ ga 'tatsu' to wa dô iu koto ka" [What does it mean to say that the character "stands" in *manga*?] in *Nihon jidô bungaku* 3-4 (2003), 48. Itou Gou, taking up Miyamoto's definition of the character, substitutes the homophonic term "autonomy" (*jiritsusei*) for "independence" (*jiritsusei*), and develops Miyamoto's theses further in his *Tezuka izu deddo: Hirakareta*

The Communication of Incompossibles

A better understanding of Deleuze's concept of the virtual object will further suggest why this term is a particularly pertinent one for our understanding of the character and the functioning of the *anime* system – even as we will of necessity point to the limitations of this usage. The "virtual object" is a conceptual figure that appears with

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manga hyôgenron e [Tezuka is Dead: Towards an Expanded Theory of *Manga* Expression] (Tokyo: NTT, 2005).

[543] Explaining this term as it was developed into a concept by Gilbert Simondon, Muriel Combes writes that transduction "is the mode of unity of being across its diverse phases, its multiple individuations." Combes, *Simondon: Individu et collectivité* (Paris: PUF, 1999), 15. The character, as an abstract entity, can thus be said to have a transductive unity (rather than a stable identity) across its multiple incarnations.

[544] I owe my understanding of the brand and character as "virtual objects" to personal communications with Shinji Ôyama. Celia Lury calls brands "(abstract) objects" – the closest point she comes to referring to the brand as a virtual object. Lury, *Brands*, 131.

particular frequency in Deleuze's work of the late 1960s, and particularly in two of his most engaging works that mark a break from an earlier period of his work: *Difference and Repetition* (1968) and *The Logic of Sense* (1969).[545] These two books differ significantly in their subject matter. The project of *Difference and Repetition* is to work towards a conception of difference that does not reduce it to a predication upon the same (suggesting that the different can only be known by comparing to the similar from which it differs), and to think repetition itself as always being repetition of the different. The project of *The Logic of Sense* is to develop a theory of the genesis of meaning or sense through the work of non-sense. It is aimed at understanding the relations between the series of things and the series of propositions through the theorization of a metaphysical surface where they meet. If these two works differ thematically, they also differ in their topological frameworks: *Difference and Repetition* emphasizes the importance of depth, whereas the entire project of *The Logic of Sense* is to develop a theory of language and things that works through a topology of the surface.[546] Yet both works share an interest in the concept of the serial (*The Logic of Sense* more explicitly than *Difference and Repetition*), and in the theorization of this "virtual object" (which appears under various names including object=x, the dark precursor, the paradoxical element or entity, nonsense, the differenciator of difference, etc.) in relation to the development of a theory of serial relation. I will work across these two books to develop an understanding of Deleuze's theory of serial logic that will in turn allow us to return to and further supplement the theory of the character I am developing here.

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[545] Deleuze draws on various writers to develop the concept of the virtual object, but most influential is perhaps Lacan, whose essay on Poe's "Puloined Letter" remains for Deleuze one of the best theories of seriality. Hence at various points Deleuze also refers to this virtual object as Lacan's "*objet a*." See for instance *Difference and Repetition*, 101. Insofar as Lacan's *objet a* can be taken to refer to a phantasmatic or virtual aspect of a real object – its "sublime body" to use Slavoj Zizek's phraseology – the influence of Lacan's theory on Deleuze is clear.

[546] Deleuze himself emphasizes the difference between the topologies of the two books: "*Difference and Repetition* still aspired nonetheless toward a sort of classical height and even toward an archaic depth. The theory of intensity which I was drafting was marked by depth, false or true… In *Logic of Sense*, the novelty for me lay in the act of learning something about surfaces." "Author's Note for the Italian Edition of *Logic of Sense*" in *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975-1995*, ed., David Lapoujade, trans. Ames Hodges and Mike Taormina (New York: Semiotext(e), 2006), 65.

Deleuze first introduces the virtual object or the dark precursor in *Difference and Repetition* as a way of accounting for the means by which differences can simultaneously both differ and relate – as difference, rather than resemblance. The dark precursor is that (non)thing which differentiates difference, that which keeps the different different. In a passage that signals his project as a critique of representation and representation's tie to the principle of identity, as well as suggest the logic of differentiation (and the virtual object) as being that of the divergence of series, Deleuze writes:

> The predix RE- in the word representation signifies this conceptual form of the identical which subordinates differences. The immediate, defined as 'sub-representative', is therefore not attained by multiplying representations and points of view. On the contrary, each composing representation must be distorted, diverted and torn from its center… Difference must become the element, the ultimate unity; it must therefore refer to other differences which never identify it but rather differentiate it. Each term of a series, being already a difference, must be put into a variable relation with other terms, thereby constituting other series devoid of centre and convergence. Divergence and decentering must be affirmed in the series itself… We know that modern art tends to realize these conditions.[547]

We find in this passage some of the principal elements of Deleuze's thought. First, a critique of representation and of an understanding of the world based around the primacy of identity, in favor of an understanding of the world based on the primacy of difference. Second, this understanding of the world as being girded by difference (rather than sameness) is premised on the "work" of art, that is, the labor of art that "leaves the domain of representation in order to become 'experience', transcendental empiricism or science of the sensible."[548] The practice of art is in turn a "science" based on the exploration of the sensible. Pushing the limits of the sensed, art arrives at the pre-representational domain where the divergence of difference – sensed as "difference in intensity"[549] – can be experienced, and experimented with. Third, this affirmation of difference is in turn based on the rejection of the philosopher Leibniz's principle of compossibility.

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[547] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 56.

Leibniz developed a philosophy of a particular form of "simple substances" – what he called "monads" – which enter into composites, and each of which is necessarily different from the other. Each monad, moreover, has its own perspective on the world: "And as one and the same town viewed from different sides looks altogether different, and is, as it were, *perspectivally* multiplied, it similarly happens that, through the infinite multitude of simple substances, there are, as it were, just as many universes, which however are only the perspectives of a single one according to the different *points of view* of each monad."[550] The entity that guaranteed the compossibility (the possibility of their co-existence within the same world) of each world and each point of view of the world of each monad was, for Leibniz, none other than God. God was the guarantor of the convergence of multiple monadic series, the reason that there was world without contradiction, and the one who maintained the "*pre-established harmony* among all substances" such that they "are all representations of the selfsame universe."[551]

Now, what is key to Leibniz's theory of compossibility is not just the relation between one monad and another; but also the relation between a monad and the world it inhabits. To use an example often invoked by Deleuze, Adam the sinner must be paired with the world in which Adam sinned; similarly Adam the sinner must exist within the same world in which Caesar crosses the Rubicon. Incompossibility could thus involve not the difference between Adam the sinner and Adam the nonsinner – that is, two divergent Adams – but in the divergence (or "vice-diction") between Adam the nonsinner and the world in which Adam sinned; or that between the world in which Adam sinned and the world in which Caesar did not cross the Rubicon. Deleuze summarizes this succinctly:

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[548] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* 56.
[549] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* 57.
[550] G.W. Leibniz, *Monadology*, in Nicholas Rescher, *G.W. Leibniz's* Monadology: *An Edition for Students* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), #57, pg 24.
[551] Leibniz, *Monadology* #78 in Rescher, *G.W. Leibniz's* Monadology, 27.

> Compossibles can be called (1) the totality of converging and extensive series that constitute the world, (2) the totality of monads that convey the same world (Adam the sinner, Caesar the emperor, Christ the savior…). Incompossibles can be called (1) the series that diverge, and that from then on belong to two possible worlds, and (2) monads of which each expresses a world different from the other (Caesar the emperor and Adam the nonsinner).[552]

Compossibility, then, ensures the non-contradictory co-existence of worlds and monads – preventing a scenario where in "my" world Adam did not sin, whereas in "your" world Adam did in fact sin.

For Deleuze, the guarantee of the compossibility of the world and the convergence of series this requires was Leibniz's error. "Leibniz's only error was to have linked difference to the negative of limitation, because he maintained the dominance of the old principle, because he linked the series to a principle of convergence, without seeing that divergence itself was an object of affirmation, or that the incompossibles belonged to the same world."[553] Deleuze reads this Baroque attempt to contain the multiplicity of possible worlds through the concept of compossibility as a last attempt to reign in the chaos of the approaching modern, following the toppling of Classical reason.[554] And yet this "reconstitution" of classical reason could only be temporary – and was destined to be followed by the neo-Baroque emphasis on incompossibles, "the dissipation in tonality" and "an opening onto a polytonality"[555] that Deleuze finds exemplified in the music of Boulez, the fiction of Witold Gombrowicz and Jorges Luis Borges, and the philosophy of Nietzsche and Alfred North Whitehead.

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[552] Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 60. Deleuze returns to the problem of seriality and the communication of series in his later works of the mid to late 1980s, particularly in *Cinema 2: Time-Image* and in *The Fold*, both of which are concerned with the production and theorization of incompossible worlds.

[553] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 51.

The aesthetico-philosophical system Deleuze elaborates in *Difference and Repetition* remains with him through this late work on Leibniz in which he again affirms the "irruption of incompossibilities on the same stage" against the attempt to contain these incompossibles seen in Leibniz, and in his work on cinema, where in *Cinema 2* he once again affirms the importance of incompossible series, multiple co-existing worlds, and the divergence between image and sound tracks.[556] But a fourth element from the *Difference and Repetition* passage cited above is something more particular to his work of this earlier period: difference as an element which differentiates differences. Of course, being the principle of differentiation, this element cannot have an identity unto itself. It is what Deleuze calls the "virtual object." "The virtual object is a *partial* object – not simply because it lacks a part which remains in the real, but in itself and for itself because it is cleaved or doubled into two virtual parts, one of which is always missing from the other."[557] This cleavage in the virtual object is what allows it to both be and not be where it is, "at once excess and deficiency, never equal, missing its own resemblance, its own identity, its own origin, its own *place*, and always displaced in relation to itself."[558] And this split internal to the virtual object is what enables it to perform the principal role Deleuze has assigned it: the communication in and among diverging series. Indeed, it is its attribute of being inhererently split that allows the virtual object to participate in multiple series, being both where it is (in a particular series) and elsewhere, within another series.

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[554] Deleuze, *The Fold*, 81.

[555] Deleuze, *The Fold* 82.

[556] Gilles Deleuze, Cinema 2: The Time-Image, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).

[557] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 100.

Here we might turn to Deleuze's discussion of the serial form in the context of his theory of the relation between language and things in *The Logic of Sense*. "The serial form," he writes, "is thus essentially multi-serial," depending on the "*simultaneity of at least two series.*"[559] The multi-serial form, as Deleuze defines it, has three characteristics:

> First, the terms of each series are in perpetual relative displacement in relation to those of the other… There is an essential lack of correspondence… There is thus a double sliding of one series over or under the other, which constitutes both, in a perpetual disequilibrium vis-à-vis each other. Second, this disequilibrium must itself be oriented: one of the two series – the one determined as signifying, to be precise, presents an excess over the other… Finally, we reach the most important point, a very special and paradoxical case, which ensures the relative displacement of the two series, the excess of one over the other, without being reducible to any of the terms of the series or any relation between these terms.[560]

This paradoxical case or element – elsewhere known as the virtual object – "guarantees, therefore, the convergence of the two series which it traverses, but precisely on the condition that it makes them endlessly diverge."[561] The paradoxical element simultaneously allows for the communication of the two series – signifying and signified – all the while maintaining their distinctness and ensuring that one does not collapse onto the other. Elsewhere, in discussing the minimal elements of a structure, Deleuze suggests that this paradoxical element or virtual object is the element "which makes everything function."[562] The virtual object is also called the "mobile element" for good reason: it circulates through the series or structure without ever being bound to any one stratum of it. As Deleuze writes, "This element belongs to no series; or rather, it belongs to bother series at once and never ceases to circulate throughout them."[563] This element dynamizes the structure by ensuring that that terms of the series are in perpetual relative displacement (i.e. one series never collapses onto another, nor can one series ever be equal to another) and constant disequilibrium. And, finally, since it "constitutes the differenciating element of difference itself," the virtual object works through "[d]istributing the differences through the entire structure, making the differential relations vary with its displacements."[564]

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[558] Gilles Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, trans. Mark Lester, ed. Constantin V. Boundas (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 228.
[559] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 37, 36.
[560] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 39-40.
[561] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 40.

Incompossible Worlds

Deleuze develops his account of the serial form, cited above, as a way of accounting for the relation between words and things (or, as Deleuze cites Lewis Carroll, the multiplication table and the dinner table[565]), and as an intervention into the structuralist understanding of language. However this account also elucidates the phenomenon of trans-media seriality within the *anime* system and our theorization of the character. First, the *anime* system exhibits a multiplicity of series – at least two, as Deleuze emphasizes – each of which sustain their differences despite being brought into communication. The "terms of each series" in the *anime* system "are in perpetual relative displacement in relation to those of the other" – just as they are in Deleuze's account; the *anime* series can never be collapsed onto the *manga* series, or the toy. Yet, unlike the case of language, in the *anime* system the series are not characterized by the signifier/signified distinction. This is to say that the excess and lack that Deleuze finds in the relation between words and things does not function in the same way in the case of *anime*. Rather, in the latter case the series are differentiated by their particular material specificities, the conventions of their use, and the particular material and historical circumstances in which they are found.

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[562] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 51.
[563] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 51.
[564] Deleuze, "How Do We Recognize Structuralism?" in *Desert Islands and Other Texts*, 186.
[565] Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* 64.

Second, what brings these series into communication is indeed a "virtual" entity: the character. The character is what puts the particular toy series into communication with the *anime* series, even as the material and historical differences maintain the distinction between the two. Moreover, the character both exists in each material series, and also is not fully part of any of them; it is *and* is not in its place. It is in this sense that the character brings attributes of one series into another. This is what, in our discussion of the phenomenon of synergy in Chapter Two, we have theorized as the presence of the synergetic whole in each of the parts. That is, each individual series benefits from the synergetic qualities and material specificities of the other series through the work of the character. The character not only connects series, it also imports the qualities of one series into another – through its very mobility and its simulataneous belonging and not-belonging to each and every series. The character here functions in a similar way to mobile element or the virtual object: it is a virtual body that enables the communication of disparate series.

Third, through the multiplication of narrative series in particular, a dissonance or incompossibility between series begins to develop. This incompossibility can be found at the level of detail when an existing *manga* text is transposed and translated into the medium of *anime*: differences in shot composition, multiplication of frames, addition or subtraction of narrative elements such as subplots, the addition of visual gags, and the transformation of drawing styles. There is also, however, the disjuncture between the serialized *manga* version and the weekly televised version: different adventures are experienced at different times, in different media. Presumably, at least initially, these differences could be reconciled by considering them as different accounts or episodes of Atomu's adventures. However, the divergence of the series in the case of *Tetsuwan Atomu* became truly unmistakable at the moment when – in January 1966 – the *anime* series was brought to an end, and Atomu with it. Atomu was destroyed in the 193rd episode of the *anime*, broadcast on January 1st 1966.

In this episode, Atomu rides a rocket into the sun in order to save Earth from deadly sun-flares that were threatening the entire planet earth with destruction. In the *manga*, however, a very different series of events were taking place: Atomu was engaging with the "Blue Knight" – a robot who advocated for the liberation of robots from their bondage to humans. In the February 1966 edition of *Shônen* Atomu was "broken" by the Blue Knight during a battle against him, as Atomu fought to protect humans. This was a shocking time for Atomu fans – as one fan turned critic, Takeuchi Osamu confesses.[566] Two Atomu death scenes in the space of a month. Yet the very difference in the types of death between the two marked a divergence – or incompossibility – of the worlds of Atomu: in one series Atomu dies by riding a rocket into the sun; in the other Atomu dies trying to save a human from the rage of the Blue Knight. This bifurcation in fact presented an interesting opportunity for Tezuka. On the one hand he continued to serialize the Atomu *manga* in the magazine *Shônen*, eventually resurrecting Atomu from his at first un-reparable "death" at the hands of the Blue Knight. Indeed, the Atomu *manga* continued to be serialized until the end of *Shônen* magazine itself, in 1968. On the other hand, Tezuka began serializing another set of Atomu stories in 1967 (continuing until 1969) in the *Sankei Shinbun*, one of the five main newspapers of Japan. The narratives serialized here – under the title of *Atomu konjyaku monogatari* (Atomu: Tales of Times Now Past) – begin from the point at which the television series ended. In this series the Atomu that died from his fatal meeting with the sun is resurrected by aliens, and then proceeds to travel through time.

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[566] Takeuchi Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu-ron* [On Tezuka Osamu] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 40.

Thus from 1967 through 1968 there were two concurrent Atomu *manga* serializations, one which involved a world in which Atomu had died saving the earth from sun-flares and was then resurrected by aliens; the other which involved a world in which Atomu had been killed by the Blue Knight but then was resurrected by Doctor Tenma. At this point the two *manga* series had reached a point of divergence and incompossiblity, even as they were nonetheless held together by the character of Atomu. Even mass culture would seem to be inflected by a logic not of sameness but of divergence of series and the generation of incompossible worlds.[567]

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[567] Angela Ndalianis makes a similar point, also referencing Deleuze's reading of Leibniz in terms of the neo-Baroque in her *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (MIT Press, 2004). Her aim in doing so is to argue against the view that mass culture is all about "sterile repetition" and to show the ways that the very objects of mass culture are in fact engaging in the production of divergent series. However, I believe she makes too strong a case for the divergence of worlds within contemporary culture. Rather, as I will suggest below, the differential quality of mass culture is nonetheless sustained by a power of convergence exerted elsewhere.

Limiting the Virtual Object

Based on the elements noted above we might be led to believe that the term "virtual object" may indeed accurately describe the functioning of the character. There is this real production of incompossible worlds, particularly towards the end of the Atomu series; and the character does indeed circulate like a "virtual object," participating within particular material or narrative series and yet refusing to be bound to any one of them. Yet it would seem premature to celebrate the character as a "differentiator of difference" and an agent of the virtual, defined by Massumi above as "pure relationality, the interval of change, the in-itself of transformation."[568]

The first point to be made in this respect is that the character *has* a degree of unity across incarnations – what we have called, following Simondon, a transductive unity – even if it is not self-identical. While undeniably never fully present to itself – always possessing the independence and internal schism needed to maintain its quasi-actuality or virtuality – the character nonetheless does evoke a singular if not completely self-identical "image." This image may be aural as much as visual, but it is a certain concretion of all the images of Atomu that have come before, whose accumulation also, in turn, functions as a prescription for what can be called "Atomu" henceforth. As we saw in Chapter Two, the consistency of the image of Atomu across media types is precisely what differentiates it from previous media serializations. It was this consistency that lent particular energy to the Atomu media mix, and led to the effectiveness of subsequent character-based synergetic media strategies. The abstract Atomu image thus functioned as a prescription for future media incarnations. Repetition of the similar (if not the same) became a condition of the character, satisfied and strengthened by each material incarnation. Thus, the character image brought disparate media and material series into relation in a way that forced a convergence of the series, rather than maintaining their divergence.

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[568] Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 58.

We have seen this in the case of the toy. Previously removed from the circulation of the image, toys were a relatively autonomous domain only affected by wider fashions such as the space craze or the Western boom. With Atomu and subsequent *anime*, the toy came to revolve around the character image. In the case of the robot figure, this entailed a negotiation of its form with that of the Atomu character, involving a transformation of its materiality itself, as a vinyl head was substituted for the presumably unexpressive metal one. Differences remained, of course, from other materializations of the *anime* character – whether in the *manga*, in sticker form, or as shoes – and these differences were an important motivator for the toy's consumption, as I suggested in the last chapter. Yet the formerly heterogeneous domain of the toy was firmly brought into alignment with the particular representational paradigm of the character. And the toy submitted to the requirement of visual consistency demanded by the character. Rather than functioning as a means to break the "iron shackles of representation" through the function of a object that maintains the communication between divergent series – Deleuze's understanding of incompossibility – the character in fact expanded the logic of representation through the particular regime of resemblance dictated by the iconic sign of the character. Multiplication of imagistic self-resemblance (in spite of and indeed through material difference) was the real effect of the character-based *anime* system. Divergence and disjunction were not affirmed but rather reduced.

Character-based media would thus seem to function along a model analogous to that of compossibility that Leibniz developed.[569] (I would suggest that the same could be said for the brand as well.) The character as virtual object, we might say, has replaced the Leibnizian God as the center and guarantor of the compossibility of worlds. Indeed, Maurizio Lazzarato has made a remarkably similar point about the role of the enterprise within contemporary capitalism: "The enterprise thus tries to construct a correspondence, an intertwining, a chiasm between monads (consumer and worker) and world (the enterprise). This is exactly the place that God occupied in the philosophy of Leibniz!"[570] Yet this compossibility of character worlds no longer depends on the pre-established harmony between worlds this character inhabits. As we have seen above, the incompossibility of worlds and their events is an unavoidable characteristic of the multi-serial development of character-based narrative media – and not necessarily evidence of their creativity, as some have suggested.[571] This would seem to point to a new logic of non-contradiction different from that of compossibility. The character, we might say, guarantees (and requires) the *consistency* of worlds, a consistency that is not incompatible with narrative incompossibility of worlds. In one media series the character may have died when it flew into the sun, and was later resurrected by aliens; in another media series the character may have died at the hands of the Blue Knight, later resurrected by Doctor Tenma. What marks both series is the visual consistency of the character's manifestations and its setting or world. Another way to describe this would be to say that each local manifestation maintains the compossibility of the character-world relation; Atomu is consistent in each of his worlds. This consistency, moreover, extends not only across narrative series but also across product series: each instance of the character requires visual consistency and representational accuracy.

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[569] Deleuze writes: "compossibility itself is a circle of convergence on which are distributed all the *points of view*, all the presents of which the world is composed." *Difference and Repetition*, 273.

[570] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme* (Paris: Les Empecheurs de Penser en Rond, 2004), 95. I will come the position of the consumer below; for now, differing from Lazzarato's formulation, I will consider the relation between the actualized character and the world, with the character as virtual object occupying the place of Leibnizian God.

[571] Here I refer again to the work of Ndalianis, whose *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* is nonetheless highly valuable for exploring parallel forms of media seriality to those under consideration in this dissertation, if in the Western or Hollywood context.

Thus local (or intramedia) compossibility and each trans-media actualization of visual consistency leads to a sense of global consistency, even if two distinct manifestations are in fact narratively incompossible. In effect, this requirement of consistency maintained by the character as abstract object re-affirms the logic of representation – and the principle of a "convergent and monocentric world"[572] – through a higher-level resolution of incompossibility through character-to-character consistency, and the local consistency of the character-world. This consistency, moreover, is not only a quality of these worlds, but also a goal for the consumer: consistency of character worlds develops through their consumption. The more one consumes, the greater consistency these worlds attain.

The character, as I suggested in Chapter Two, functions as an "attractor" around which products series – and worlds – are organized. But – and this is the second point regarding the limitation of the application of the concept of virtual object to the *anime* system – the character does not only attract media and things, it also attracts consuming subjects. Just as objects and narratives become organized around the character in a convergent manner, so consuming subjects are also attracted and generated by the character. Saitô Tamaki, a practicing psychoanalyst and cultural theorist, has argued in his discussion of the fetishistic love of male otaku for a particular kind of character – the

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[572] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 263.

sentô bishôjo or "armored cutie" as Saitô proposes to translate the term[573] – that this character functions as a "medium" for the attraction of the spectator's desire. These armored cuties or "phallic girls," as Saitô also refers to them, "are the nodal points of desire that bring reality to Japanese fictional space. The desire directed towards these girls is the fundamental power that supports the reality of this [fictional] world. In this sense these girls' existence resembles that of a decoy or lure."[574] For Saitô it is the desire of the (male) spectators that "electrifies" the world: "For the world to be real, it must be sufficiently charged [electrified] by desire."[575] The armored cutie is thus the lure that invites the charge of desire that gives the fictional world a degree of reality – or what I have just termed "consistency."[576]

Saitô's work is important for the way it emphasizes the operation of the character as a gendered attractor of desire. What Saitô does not account for is the way that the character is also a *gendering* generator of desire. That is, the character does not only attract desire but produces it, and in doing so encodes it according to gendered norms (something to which I will return below). Strangely, perhaps due to his normalizing relationship towards psychoanalysis stemming from his own practice, Saitô is more concerned with explaining why desiring fictional entities such as *anime* characters is neither perverse nor unhealthy but rather quite "normal." Indeed, it seems that it is the normality of this desire that Saitô finds most appealing about "otaku sexuality." Breaking with Saitô's naturalization of otaku desire, I would argue that this constitution of subjectivity through the consumption of character media teaches subjects how – and what – to desire.

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[573] Saitô Tamaki, "Otaku Sexuality," translated Christopher Bolton in *Robot Ghosts and Wired Dreams: Japanese Science Fiction from Origins to Anime*, ed. Christopher Bolton, Istvan Csicsery-Ronay Jr. and Takayuki Tatsumi (Minneapolis, Minnesota University Press, 2007), 226.

[574] Saitô Tamaki, *Sentô bishôjo no seishin bunseki* (The psychoanalysis of fighting girls) (Tokyo: Ôta shuppan, 2000), 267.

[575] Saitô, *Sentô bishôjo*, 266

[576] Saitô, *Sentô bishôjo*, 36. Saitô is, however, emphatic that the reality of this fictional world is never confused with the real world; the otaku are not interested in the actualization of the fiction, and contrary to what people claim, do not confuse fiction and reality. This is an important point for Saitô to make since part of subtext of this book is to emphasize the "safeness" of otaku perversion: since it is isolated to highly consciously fictionalized contexts, otaku perversion has no danger in irrupting in anti-societal behavior of the gruesome sort otaku were associated with in the 1990s, namely through the murderous activities of serial killer and otaku Miyazaki Tsutomu.

Indeed, this point is best made by the playful yet scathing critique developed by Saitô Minako (no relation to the above Saitô Tamaki) in her book, *Kôittenron*, where she divides the worlds of *anime* (including both television animation and the live-action tokusatsu or special effects films and serials) along gendered lines, into two distinct "cultural spheres": boys' country vs. girls' country, each with their own particular generic patterns and gender roles.[577] Her point is that each *anime* "country" can be said to be a model or is in many ways a miniature of the gendered adult world; a kind of habituation for life in the real world. *Anime* does not only channel "normal" kinds of desire, as Saitô Tamaki implies, but works to generate normalized modes of gendered desire suitable for adult social life, as Saitô Minako properly emphasizes:

> Well-ordered organization. Absolute chain of command. Embrace of modern science and industrial technologies. Directorate of operations as the towering structure of a building. Cutting edge mechanics [*mecha*]. As these elements of boys' *anime* will have made you realize, boys' country is formed in the image of the corporate society premised on self-sacrifice for the sake of one's country that governs postwar Japan. If you replace team by "company," and war by "job" then we are left with the society in which the children's fathers live in. The spirit of "loyalty and corporatism" (rather than loyalty and patriotism [a wartime slogan]) of these corporate warriors has supported Japan's economics for the last fifty years. Every morning Father "transforms" [*henshin*] or "arms" himself with suit and necktie, and charges into the battlefield of business.
>
> On the other hand, girls' country is the private realm where value is placed on fashion and love (and marriage and the household as their extensions). Disorderly aggregates. The attachment to heterosexual love. The entangled

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[577] Saitô adds that *anime* by no means invented these gendered roles and gendering of narratives, but rather continues the tradition of these narratives as they appeared first in children's stories, particularly fairy tales and legends. Saitô Minako, *Kôittenron* (Theories of the Only Girl in the Group) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2001), 12.

> condition of dream and reality. The consciousness of Mother is perhaps strangely reflected here.[578]

As Saitô Minako concludes, "*anime* country has been a super-media that provides a simulated experience of the adult society to which boys and girls will eventually belong."[579]

Objections can be raised to the simplicity of Saitô Minako's critique of the logic governing boys' and girls' *anime* countries – female spectators, as feminist film theory as well as audience studies have taught us, do not only identify with female characters; girls also watch boys' *anime* and vice-versa. Many of the *anime* texts in question also contain internal critiques of the "corporate wars" enacted therein (for boys' country) or similar critiques of the make-up-based transformations of girls into figures of their choosing. Yet Saitô's paralleling of *anime* country to adult country is not only important for providing a critique of the gender politics of many *anime*, it also points to the way that the alternate worlds offered by various *anime* series are in fact governed by a similar set of regulations that inform the adult world they are supposedly providing an alternate to. Moreover, Saitô Minako implies, these worlds function in some ways as the training grounds for the adult world. They educate children in the roles that can be adopted within the world in question (who gets to be the hero that will save the world or the princess, what will be the gender of the sidekick helpers or love interest, and so on).[580] And yet, as we have seen in our discussion of consumption as labor, consumption here not only provides a site to inculcate social and behavioral norms – it is also immediately a site of production. The children are not only training to be adult producers; they are already producers through their very consumption.

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[578] Saitô, *Kôittenron*, 35.
[579] Saitô, *Kôittenron*, 36.
[580] In this point Saitô implicitly agrees with North American critics of children's culture such as Stephen Kline and Susan Willis.

Anime, that is, teaches particular practices of consumption – through and across media – that are developed and encouraged in the consumption of *anime* characters. This consumption of characters includes not only the post-pubescent male-oriented armored cutie that Saitô Tamaki is concerned with, but also the consumption of “cute” characters such as Hello Kitty by middle- and high-school girls, and that of pre-school-oriented Pokémon characters. Indeed, much as children’s culture theorists have argued that children’s consumption forms the training ground for adult modes of consumption, so the consumption of infant and pre-school-oriented characters establishes the groundwork for character consumption that in Japan extends all the way through life, and support the ubiquity of characters in contemporary Japan.[581] Children, in learning to consume the trans-media relational object of the character, build thereby the foundation on which other forms of consumption of relational objects – such as the brand – will be based. In this regard the logic behind the otherwise incongruent sight of high school girls carrying Louis Vuitton bags adorned with key-chain figurines of cute characters can be more properly grasped. If one of the major forms of consumption within post-Fordist economies is, as I suggested above, through relational entities like the character or the brand, it is arguably the consumption of the former which constitutes the arena of the first encounter with and development of the consumptive participation in the contemporary regime of capital accumulation.

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[581] As the Bandai research group shows, characters continue to be consumed across all age groups in contemporary Japan. See Kayama Rika and Bandai Kyarakutâ Kenkyûjo, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutâ wo suki na riyû* (The Reason 87% of Japanese Love Characters), (Tokyo: Gakken, 2001).

Character Versus Brand: A Note

Of course, it is important to recognize the differences between brands and characters. Brands work through "marks" or logos, such as the Nike swoosh or the Starbucks circle. Of course these are not the only things that define a brand – they are more globally defined as a whole multi-sensory ensemble.[582] However the logo is the most recognizable mark of a brand, and, in cases such as Nike which extend across a wide range of products, the only thing that marks an item as a Nike good. Characters, on the other hand, are face-body ensembles, sometimes robots, sometimes human-animal hybrids, sometimes entirely human (and sexualized, as in the case of the armored cuties Saitô describes), sometimes animals endowed with sentiment ("droopiness" like the tired-looking Tare-panda popular in the late 1990s). The most popular characters of postwar Japan – such as Atomu, Doraemon, Hello Kitty, and Pikachu – possess large, expressive yet vaguely blank eyes, colorful bodies often composed through the use of coinciding circles, and are both child-like and (with the exception of Atomu, the robot) animal-like in appearance. They are part of the regime of faciality as described by Deleuze in his work with Felix Guattari – and also outside it. That is, insofar as they are facialized they would seem to invoke the regime of modern subjectivity suggested by Deleuze and Guattari in their discussion of faciality. Yet, insofar as their eyes are blank, impenetrable surfaces (rather than subjectivizing holes) these characters would seem to work contrary to the modern signifying regime that Deleuze and Guattari align faciality with.[583]

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[582] On this issue I refer the reader to the work of Shinji Ôyama.

[583] I address this aspect of the character in my "Facing Deformation: Character-commodities, Murakami Takashi, and our Posthuman Condition," in *Orientations: Transcultural Perspectives on Asia* #5 (Fall 2003).

Another significant difference between the brand and the character is the way the character can be flush with the product in ways that the brand cannot. The brand must work through the logic of association – the sweater with the Nike logo on it is a Nike product. The character also works at times through this logic of association – where Atomu shoes are Atomu products insofar as they have the image of the character printed on them. Here the character itself functions as a "logo" emblazoned on a product. However, unlike the brand, the character can also generate products that are flush with the character itself: Atomu robots, inflatable dolls or stickers being prime examples. As the authors of a character merchandising handbook put it, "The most significant difference [between characters and brands] is that whereas the brand is a means to symbolically convey a company or a product, the character is made to be consumed in itself; in other words, the character becomes the commodity."[584] The character can be consumed in itself, by being embodied in the product – being given dimensional embodiment through it.[585]

The final, and perhaps most fundamental difference between the brand and the character is that the latter is eminently narrativizable; it is bound up with the creation of narrative worlds. The character is open to narrative in a fundamental sense that the brand is not. Even characters that were initially merchandized without any narrative support – such as Hello Kitty – are often accompanied with a setting or world, and are often, as Hello Kitty was, later incorporated into animated series, video games or other narrative media. Saitô Tamaki's suggestion that the armored cutie "functions as a nucleus that endlessly allows narratives to emerge"[586] is thus equally true of characters in general. Brands, on the other hand, are resistant to narrativization.[587] Nonetheless, brands and characters converge in being positioned in relation to particular worlds (even if not narratives). The work of much branding is in fact the creation of the worlds – or lifestyles – that go along with the particular brand. Hence the affective charge of the brand advertisement (image-value) supercedes in importance the discussion of the product itself (its use-value); the development of the world of which the product is part supercedes the description of the product.

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[584] Kyarakutâ Mâketingu Purojekuto, *Zukai de wakaru kyarakutâ mâketingu* [Understanding character marketing through diagrams] (Tokyo: Nihon Nôritsu Kyôkai Manejimento Sentâ, 2002), 172.

[585] A brand such as Louis Vuitton comes the closest to this aspect of the character, insofar as the LV logo is used as a repeated pattern that covers the surface of their goods. This still operates, however, as an emblazoning rather than an embodying of the logo.

Capitalism and the Creation of Worlds

Italian theorist Maurizio Lazzarato, corroborates this point, suggesting that one of the fundamental qualities of contemporary capitalism is its creation not only of products but of worlds. In *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, Lazzarato writes that the contemporary enterprise "creates not the object (the merchandise) but the world where the object exists. It creates not the subject (worker or consumer) but the world where the subject exists."[588] Capitalist valorization within what, following Deleuze, Lazzarato refers to as "control societies" is subordinated to the condition of the development of worlds.[589] Thus, Lazzarato continues, "In reversing the Marxist definition, we can say that capitalism is not a mode of production but a production of modes or fashions, a production of worlds [*une production de mo(n)des*]… The expression and the effectuation of worlds and of the subjectivities which are included therein, and the creation and realization of the sensible… precedes economic production."[590] The relation between consumption and production must be rethought in a world where "consumption consists not in buying or destroying a service or product as political economy and its critique teaches us, but means first and foremost belonging to a world."[591]

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[586] Saitô, *Sentô bishôjo*, 204.

[587] BMW's commissioning of Wong Kar Wai to make a promotional film featuring a BMW car is a case in point of the limitations of bringing brand into narrative. While pursuit – or "Following" as the film was titled – was the theme of the film short, and the BMW car was certainly one means used in this following, the film's fundamental focus lay in the relationship between followed and follower. The car (the BMW) was the mere vehicle of this pursuit. The car was thus positioned as a subsidiary element of this narrative world. This position differs significantly from that of the character within its narratives.

[588] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme* (Paris: Les Empecheurs de Penser en Rond, 2004), 94.

[589] Deleuze develops the concept of control societies as a means of explaining transformations in power and enclosure that follow from Michel Foucault's theorization of disciplinary societies. See Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Control Societies," in *Negotiations: 1972-1990*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia UP, 1995).

Lazzarato discusses the generation of worlds by contemporary capitalism in the context of his extended meditation on the nature of production and consumption within control societies. Lazzarato builds on Deleuze's suggestion that the era of disciplinary enclosures and molds has been replaced by an era of modulation and control. He goes on to suggest that while disciplinary power works on bodies and corporeal memory, and while biopower works on life or the bios, societies of control or "noo-politics"[592] take "spiritual memory" or brains and their *conatus* – the force of "attention" – as their object of power. As Lazzarato summarizes:

> There is thus a molding of bodies secured by the disciplines (prisons, school, factory, etc.), the management of life organized by biopower (the welfare state, the politics of health, etc.), and a modulation of memory and its virtual powers [*puissances*] regulated by noo-politics (hertz networks, audiovisuals, telematics and the constitution of public opinion, perception and collective intelligence).[593]

While Lazzarato is quick to add that this is not a succession but a co-functioning – "It is the aggregate of these apparatuses [*dispositifs*], and not only the last one that constitutes the society of control"[594] – there has nonetheless been a fundamental transformation in the nature of capitalism. This transformation requires the elaboration of a new theoretical paradigm emphasizing the importance of the production of novelty and difference through the cooperation of brains. Of course Lazzarato makes it clear that the productivity of collective subjects itself is not new; what is new, rather, is the way that capitalism has taken to profiting from this productivity, rather than trying to confine it.

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[590] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 96.
[591] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 96.
[592] Lazzarato explains that this neologism refers to both the Aristotelian meaning of the soul or intellect, and the name for a French internet provider. Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 85 n. 1.
[593] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 86.

In disciplinary regimes – whose model for Lazzarato is the Fordist/Taylorist factory – power worked to contain the potential of its subjects: "disciplinary societies operate like the God of Leibniz; they only let one single world become reality… They block and control becoming and difference."[595] Now, however, "[t]he series constituted by the monads no longer converge towards the same disciplinary world, but diverge here and now. The world has becoming effectively difference, bifurcations of bifurcations, like in the tales of Borges where all possibles coexist."[596] For power, then, the problem is no longer to firmly enclose the virtual but to modulate these differences. Enterprises, as we saw above, draw on the creative capacity of cooperative brains (both workers *and* consumers; the difference between the two, and the temporal sequence of production-market-consumption no longer structures the capitalist economy to the extent it used to[597]). It is these brains that then create the multiple worlds through which consumption operates. The productive power of the cooperation of brains, Lazzarato emphasizes, following a fundamental tenet of the Italian Autonomist Marxist movement in which he has his theoretical roots, is ontologically prior to their capture by capital.[598] Yet, as enterprises capture and modulate the cooperative work of brains and the differences they create they also neutralize them. Control societies are characterized by a multiplicity of worlds, but these worlds are "smooth, banal, and formatted because these are the worlds of the majority, void of all singularity. They are therefore worlds for no-one."[599]

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[594] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 86.

[595] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 69. In the Fordist factory this is experienced as the deskilling of workers, and the repetition of mundane tasks; in the arena of consumption, the standardization of goods limit the possibilities for individual modulation. In short, within Fordism, both production and consumption are characterized by the strict delimitation of room for the singular. For a comparison of the Fordist and the post-Fordist factory, see Martin Kennedy and Richard Florida, *Beyond Mass Production: The Japanese System and its Transfer to the U.S.* (Oxord: Oxford UP, 1993). This is not to say, however, that under post-Fordism we see the full blossoming of singularity in its full glory; what we see rather is an increased dependence on the proliferation of differences, even as these differences (much like the incompossibilities of narrative worlds) are ultimately contained through certain mechanisms (such as the character, in the case of the *anime* system).

[596] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 70. While this would seem to contradict his claim that I cited above to the effect that corporations take the role of God in societies of control, I would suggest that this statement is in sync with my earlier suggestion that contemporary character worlds function both through incompossibility (between and within character worlds) and through the principle of identity or resemblance reaffirmed by the central position of the character. Where this state differs from disciplinary societies is that in the former there was not the degree of proliferation of media worlds (or corporate worlds) that there is at present.

And yet people consume them. Lazzarato is right to critique the diversion of the virtuality of worlds through the modulation of contemporary capitalist modes of power. Yet his explanation for why consumers participate in the worlds offered by enterprises – an implantation of desires into the brain that is later followed by the actualization of these desires in the body – relies on too broad a conception of media operations, and too little a consideration of how media consumption itself has a particular materiality, and involves a very material consumption. Images and sounds, that is, do not only work on brains but also work on bodies. Moreover, the implantation of desires is not of necessity followed by the consumption of a physical product (the tennis racket advertised on the commercial) but, as in the mode of consumption under consideration in this dissertation, often involves further consumption of media texts. That is, in his differentiation between media consumption and material consumption Lazzarato assumes an earlier model of marketing that the media mix undermines. There is no strict distinction between the consumption of media and the consumption of things; moreover the media themselves function in ways that are both material and immaterial. How media texts incite consumption, and how this consumption is related to the consumption of media worlds, is something that requires more elaboration than Lazzarato's nonetheless highly suggestive remarks have given us. Contemporary capitalism functions through the creation of products and their worlds – but how do these two relate? And how do the worlds impel the consumption of the products – or vice versa? Why lies behind the consumption of characters and their worlds? To answer these questions we might turn back to theorists of the *anime* character and its relation to its particular narrative world.

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[597] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 116.

[598] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 116. While this is an important thesis, it is also impossible to disregard the ways in which productive activity itself operates within pre-conditions that effectively *pre-configure* the type of cooperation and creation that is possible. To take the example of Tezuka, once he began working within the monthly system of *manga* production he was effectively submitting his creative production to a set of limits defined by the form: narrative and page length limits; content limits, as Tezuka appealed to his primary audience of children (boys or girls, depending on the magazine in question), etc. One cannot disregard the ways these limits may have been productive limits, but at the same time one cannot but acknowledge the ways these limits were "ontologically prior" to Tezuka's creative activity, and worked to shape it. Capital's capture of creation – particularly within the framework of mass culture – does not only work *ex post-facto*, but modulates its very production. Nonetheless, it is important not to disregard the Autonomist thesis, insofar as Tezuka's work – or any other work for that matter, even when from within the apparatus of mass culture – cannot be reduced to the production of capital itself.

[599] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 98.

Narrative Consumption

The concept of the world has been given short shrift in certain recent theoretical discussions of *anime*. Saitô Tamaki, as we have seen, places greater analytical importance on the figure of the character, which he nonetheless acknowledges is key to "electrifying" the world it inhabits. Yet when it comes to explaining the relation between the character and the world in more specific terms, or thinking through the relation between character and world in the consumption of this character itself, Saitô leaves us little to work with. Azuma Hiroki, for his part, pays even less attention to the world, emphasizing instead the relationship between the character and the database – a term which he substitutes for the character-world relationship, and which he defines as the open series of possible elements from which the character may be composed. This substitution is in large part motivated by his investment in linking otaku consumption patterns to discourses on the postmodern – most especially to the claim that the postmodern sees the decline of grand narratives. The database of character elements, and the consumption of the database through the character, Azuma argues, replaces an earlier model of consumption of the world, as described in the work of Ôtsuka Eiji.[600] In his drive to link contemporary forms of consumption to a narrow theorization of the postmodern (the decline of grand narratives) Azuma neglects the extent to which the world-character relation continues to be of driving importance in the consumption patterns of *anime* culture.[601] Azuma's emphasis on the Lyotardian "decline of grand narratives" thesis sidelines all other aspects of postmodernity, including its grounding in the cultural and economic changes emphasized by Fredric Jameson, who underlines the importance of thinking postmodernity in the context of late capitalism.[602] Indeed, this refusal to address the question of capitalism and its transformations is a debilitating aspect of Azuma's work (and is one that puts his work in line with the culturalist interpretations of postmodernity characteristic of 1980s Japanese theoretical discouse[603]). It is to the work of Azuma's initial interlocutor – Ôtsuka Eiji – that we must turn for a more adequate theorization of the character-world relation. I would argue, moreover, that while Azuma's transformation of this relation in the first volume of the *The Animalizing Postmodern* is useful, there is nonetheless a greater degree of continuity in the nature of this relationship between character and world from the time of Tezuka (in which this relation is visible, if incipiently) to its contemporary manifestations than Azuma's argument would allow.

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[600] See Azuma Hiroki, *Dôbutsuka suru posutomodan* (The Animalizing Postmodern) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2001).

[601] The appearance of the genre of *anime* termed *sekai-kei* ("world-series" or "world-ist") suggests the continuing importance of the character-world relationship for thinking about *anime* and its consumption. While there is much debate over what exactly defines *sekai-kei*, it is considered to refer to *anime* where the balance of the world (the macrocosm) hinges on the relationship between a boy and a girl (a microcosm). While the world in this sense is the more narrowly defined physical world (or the universe), the definition of this new genre underlines the importance of the character-world relationship in the more expanded sense of scene, setting and narrative world that I am using it here. The world, in this latter sense, is characterized by this unmediated relationship between global catastrophe (or salvation) and the actions of a young couple in which the girl is usually the principle actant. The very definition of this emergent genre on the character-world relationship thus suggests the continuing importance of the character-world relation in the consumption of *anime*. For an excellent essay on the genre of *sekai-kei*, see Motonaga Masaki, "Paburikku enemî nanba wan" (Public Enemy Number One) in *Faust*, vol. 5 (Spring 2005), 220-246.

[602] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

Ôtsuka strikes an impressive figure in contemporary Japanese cultural landscape for straddling the worlds of creation and criticism, academic and journalistic writing, and for developing an increasingly leftist analysis of *manga* and animation – a position relatively rare in the Japanese world of *manga* criticism. Ôtsuka emerged during the 1980s as a critic and editor of subcultural *manga* magazines. More recently he has become known for his critical work on *manga* – beginning with his award-winning book, *Sengo manga no hyôgen kûkan* [The Expressive Space of Postwar *Manga*] in 1994 and continuing through his more recent analysis of what might be termed the political unconscious of postwar *manga* and Tezuka's influence in establishing it in his *Atomu no meidai: Tezuka Osamu to sengo manga no shudai* [The Atomu Thesis: Tezuka Osamu and the Central Theme of Postwar *Manga*] (2003). In the intervening years he has also become known as the scriptwriter for many *manga* series, one of the most influential of which – *MDP Psycho* – was also made into a television series directed by Miike Takashi. He also writes novels, particularly those based around his *manga* works, and within the genre of "light novels" which have become an important new vehicle for trans-media storytelling since the late 1990s. Along with his interest in the writing of light novels, Ôtsuka has also been one of the earlier theorists of this new genre of mass literature, celebrating it for the ways it challenges the classic form of the Japanese "I-novel" in works such as the "manual" of light novel writing that also lays out his theory of this new form of literature, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikara* [How to Make Character Novels] (2003) as well as the massive *Sabukaruchâ bungaku ron* [Theories of Subculture Literature] (2004).

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[603] The work of Karatani Kôjin on the connections between the Japanese premodern Edo period and the postmodern are pre-eminent in this regard. See Karatani Kôjin, "One Spirit, Two Nineteenth Centuries," in *Postmodernism and Japan*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989).

It is to Ôtsuka's earlier work from the late 1980s that I would first like to turn, however. In a 1989 book called *Monogatari shôhiron* [On the Consumption of Narrative] Ôtsuka developed a theory of the relation of consumption to narrative worlds through the semiotic analysis of children's culture. Ôtsuka has complained that at the time of its initial publication this work's largest readership was composed of people from advertising firms – within which the practice of "story marketing" was being seriously investigated.[604] However this work has since been resurrected by a new generation of cultural critics – headed by Azuma – invested in understanding contemporary modes of consumption. Indeed, this work provides fertile ground not only for thinking forms of consumption in the late 1990s (Azuma's concern), but also for grasping the logic of character consumption as we see developing within the *anime* system from the early days of television animation.

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[604] Ôtsuka, "Afterword" in *Teihon Monogatari shôhiron* [On the Consumption of Narrative: Standard Edition] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2001), 323. As Ôtsuka himself notes earlier in the book, this phenomenon was by no means rare; during the 1980s the works of "contemporary thought" – by which he refers principally to the influx of poststructuralist theory and its popularization by figures like Asada Akira – were "consumed as sourcebooks for marketing theory." Ôtsuka, *Teihon*, 48. On the commercialization of theory in the 1980s, see also Marilyn Ivy's classic essay on the Asada phenomenon, " Critical Texts, Mass Artifacts: The Consumption of Knowledge in Postmodern Japan," in *Postmodernism and Japan*, ed. Masao Miyoshi and Harry D. Harootunian (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989). For one of the early texts on narrative marketing by a marketing practitioner, see Fukuda Toshihiko, *Monogatari mâketingu* (Narrative Marketing) (Tokyo: Takeuchi Shoten, 1990).

Ôtsuka bases his analysis in the title essay of this work on a phenomenon raging through children's culture at the time of his writing; a phenomenon that has a familiar ring to us: the consumption of stickers included as *omake* or premiums within a particular brand of chocolates: "Bikkuriman Chocolates" [literally "surprise man chocolates"]. Bikkuriman Chocolates were explosively popular during the years of 1987-88, and were an example of the phenomenon whereby the chocolate becomes a mere "medium" or "container" for the consumption of the stickers, which are the "main product."[605] There have been several other trends like this, with that of Meiji-Atomu stickers and the contemporaneous Glico-Tetsujin 28 badges being one of the first cases of this; the 1971-1974 *Kamen Raidâ* [Masked Rider] snacks being another. The difference between these earlier examples and the case of Bikkuriman Chocolates is that whereas Atomu and Kamen Raidâ premiums were based on already existing *anime* and live-action TV series respectively, the Bikkuriman stickers were not based on any pre-existing narrative. Rather, the narrative of the Bikkuriman stickers was consumed sticker by sticker – with each one giving a small image- and text-based segment or picture of the larger Bikkuriman world. The following is Ôtsuka's five-point breakdown of the mechanisms behind the Bikkuriman phenomenon:

1. On each sticker was the drawing one character, and on the reverse side of this was inscribed a short bit of information called "Rumors of the Devil World," describing the character drawn on the front of the sticker.

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[605] Ôtsuka, *Teihon* 8.

2. While with one sticker alone this information amounted to nothing more than noise, once one had collected a number of them and put them together, one began to vaguely perceive a "small narrative" – the rivalry between characters A and B, the betrayal of D by C, and so on.
3. This unexpected appearance of "narrative" functioned as a trigger to accelerate children's collection activities.
4. Furthermore, with the accumulation of these "small narratives," a "large narrative" reminding one of a mythological epic began to appear.
5. Children consumers were attracted by this "grand narrative," and tried to gain further access to it through the continued purchase of chocolates.[606]

As Ôtsuka concludes, the fundamental drive behind children's consumption of the Bikkuriman commodity was thus "neither the chocolate, nor the sticker. It was the 'grand narrative' itself."[607]

The children were lead to believe that through the repetition of the consumptive act they were growing increasingly close to the total image of the "large narrative." In the realm of animation, Ôtsuka notes, this "grand narrative" or "order" (*chitsujo*) is known as the "world-view" (*sekaikan*). Indeed, the consumption of stickers one by one is similar to the serial consumption of fragments of the *anime* world, episode by episode, series by series.[608] The consumption of each individual product or episode is equivalent to the consumption of a "small narrative," a mere detail or a segment, to recall the language of television theory invoked in Chapter Three. Yet through the accumulated consumption of these small narratives or details, the consumer gets closer and closer to the "grand narrative," setting, or "worldview" that is the totality lurking behind these fragments.

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[606] Ôtsuka, *Teihon* 10.

[607] Ôtsuka, *Teihon* 10-11.

[608] Ôtsuka uses *Gundam* as an example, a series that began in 1981 and has a particularly complex and involved narrative and narrative world which spans across innumerable *anime*, *manga*, and novel series that continue to proliferate to this day. *Teihon*, 11. For an English-language description of the sprawling *Gundam* world, see Mark Simmons, Benjamin Wright and the Editors of *Anime*rica Magazine, *Gundam: Official Guide* (San Francisco: Viz Communications, 2002).

Furthermore, on the basis of their access to this grand narrative, consumers can begin to be producers in themselves, producing “small narratives” of their own.[609] In a word: fan production. This is what really interests Ôtsuka: through the increasing access to the grand narrative consumers can begin to produce their own Bikkuriman characters or small narratives, which through their relation to the grand narrative render the distinction between original and fake untenable. At the basis of narrative consumption thus lies the potential for fan production, or the production of other small narratives by drawing on the same world-view as the “official” versions. What Ôtsuka has in mind is of course the phenomenon of the “Komiketto” or Comic Market wherein fans of a particular series produce their own – generally parodic and exaggerated – versions of an existing *manga* or *anime* series. So within the narrative consumption that the Bikkuriman commodity produces, Ôtsuka sees a kind of movement of return whereby the Bikkuriman children consumers gain progressive access to the world-view, knowledge of which in turns allows them to participate in the creation of the small-narratives they so avidly consume. With this the producers of commodities lose control over their goods, and we begin to see “a state of affairs where, in the final stages of ‘narrative consumption’, the making of the commodity and the consuming of it become unified.”[610]

The concern with consumers as producers as well as the utopian note struck by Ôtsuka about the eventual convergence of consumption and production has a familiar ring to it, after years of reception studies with television, cultural studies and fan studies in the British, Australian and North American academy, which see the productivity of the viewer or fan as a mode of resistance to the dominant messages in the original texts.

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[609] Ôtsuka, *Teihon*, 15.
[610] Ôtsuka, *Teihon* 20.

What I would like to highlight here, however, are two aspects of Ôtsuka's treatment of narrative consumption: first, the relation between the small narratives and the grand narrative or world-view; and second, the thesis that consumption is itself a form of participation in the production of texts, and in the active construction of the world-view. While Ôtsuka only hints at this aspect, I would like to suggest that the consumption of Bikkuriman Chocolates is based on a model of participation in the world of the text. Within this framework of participation-through-consumption, the production on the part of the consumer of various narratives based on the world-view of a particular body of text can be repositioned less as a revolutionary development or form of resistance than as an attenuated version of a type of consumption that has existed for some time before the Comic Market emerged.

Character, World-View, Worlds

Let us begin with the question of the world-view. Ôtsuka recalls first hearing the term used the context of the *anime*-*manga* industries during the mid-1980s.[611] For Ôtsuka, having been trained in ethnography, the term had a familiar ring. As a technical term from the field of ethnography "world-view" refers to a particular tribe or people's "way of 'view'-ing the 'world'."[612] "With *anime*, *manga*, character novels and so on, this [definition] does not change. The only difference is that the 'world' in question is not the 'world' of XX-tribe from New Guinea, but the 'world' within the narrative."[613] Moreover, Ôtsuka writes, the reason that the term "world-view" has been substituted for the erstwhile term “setting” is that “the reader must ‘view’ the ‘world’ through the eyes of the character.”[614] Here Ôtsuka emphasizes – in a manner that might be called Leibnizian – the importance of the relation between the character and the world. The world is not only an abstract setting, but is a way of seeing and being that is channeled through a particular character.

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[611] Ôtsuka, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata* (How to Make Character Novels) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2003), 219.
[612] Ôtsuka, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata*, 219.
[613] Ôtsuka, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata*, 220. Earlier Ôtsuka describes "world-view" as the "environment" for "narrative." *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata*, 183.

> To make readers feel that an imaginary “world” is real, it is indispensable to have a character whose way of seeing things and acting is deeply entrenched within this “world.” Conversely, to express a character in a realistic manner the author must express not the character’s relation to the author’s real world, but rather the character’s relation to its imaginary “world.” People who say that they can’t create a good “world-view,” or they can’t create a good “character” have forgotten this type of relationship between the “world” and the “character.”[615]

The expressive relationship between the world and the character is indispensable for the creation of *anime*-styled “light novels” – a type of novel that whose characters are not real people, Ôtsuka emphasizes, but *anime* characters. Yet the relation between character and world is not only key to the creation of light novels, it is also indispensable for the type of consumption that has grown out of *anime* culture.

Just as a world must be seen through the eyes of the character, so it is that the world is consumed through the consumption of the character. Consumers buy character goods not only to possess the character, but also to better access the world in which the character exists. The character good provides a site of differential access to the character world, as I suggested in Chapter Four. Put another way, the character good functions as a *medium* through which the consumer can pass into the character’s world. Thus, paraphrasing Lazzarato’s apt recognition that the contemporary enterprise “creates not the object (the merchandise) but the world where the object exists,” we might say that the modality of contemporary character consumption is based not only the generation of an attractive character, but on the construction of a world to which the character belongs. As Ôtsuka emphasized in his comments on the Bikkuriman phenomenon, it is the access provided by the character good to its world that is one of the principle motivating factors driving consumption.

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[614] Ôtsuka, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata*, 221.
[615] Ôtsuka, *Kyarakutâ shôsetsu no tsukurikata*, 223.

Now, this understanding of the experience of the character world through the character has its limits – particularly when thinking about the mechanism of spectatorship and readership in the *anime* and *manga*. Film theorists – particularly Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry – have rightly argued that the experience of cinema is not based solely on the matching of the spectatorial look with that of the character (what they refer to as secondary identification) but rather with the look of the camera itself (or primary identification). This is as true of the *anime* as it is of the *manga*: perception occurs predominantly from a position that is *not* aligned with the character's look. Take the case of Atomu, for example. Takeuchi Osamu has argued that the main innovation of Tezuka's work was to introduce the point-of-view shot into *manga*, aligning the look of the reader with the look of the character.[616] However, POV shots in Atomu *manga* and *anime* are not all that frequent. Rather the look of the "camera" sometimes bears out the discursive attempt in *Shônen* magazine to position the child spectator as Atomu's friend by situating the camera beside or alongside Atomu, "as if" part of the scene him or herself. Yet equally often awkward or impossible angles are used, such as from the ground between a character's legs, or from the ceiling looking down on the action, and regularly, during battle scenes, from the point of view of the enemy about to be punched by Atomu (Atomu's fist flying in to the point of occupying the entire screen – a rupturing of the fourth wall that is common in animation from the 1930s on). Rare, however, is the look that is aligned with that of Atomu in either *manga* or *anime*.

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[616] What I am referring to as the POV shot is what Takeuchi terms the "identification technique" (*dôitsuka gihô*). See Takeuchi Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu-ron* 224-251. Takeuchi's argument has been criticized, particularly on historical grounds. For a critique of Takeuchi see in particular Itô Gô, *Tezuka izu deddo*, 161-198.

Nonetheless, Ôtsuka's suggestion that the look passes through the character to the world is useful for thinking about the consumption of goods auxiliary to the *manga* and *anime*: toys, stickers, Atomu pencils, and so on. Here the character image functions as a mode of access to the character and through it, to its world. This world encompasses this character, as well as the diegetic and extra-diegetic characteristics of the character world: the theme song, the bright future of technological advance, the empowered position of Atomu within this world, the narratives that have occurred in this world, the other characters that inhabit it. In a passage from *The Imaginary Signifier* where he considers how the spectator's look coincides with the look of an out-of-frame character, Metz offers an account which might help us understand the mechanism at work here:

> [T]he spectator's look (= the basic identification), before dispersing all over the surface of the screen in a variety of intersecting lines (= looks of the characters in the frame = second duplication), must first "go through" – as one goes through a town on a journey, or a mountain pass – the look of the character out-of-frame (= first duplication), himself a spectator and hence the first delegate of the true spectator, but not to be confused with the latter since he is inside if not the frame then at least the fiction. The invisible character, supposed (like the spectator) to be seeing, will collide obliquely with the latter's look and play the part of an obligatory intermediary.[617]

Metz's emphasis here is on the way the look of the spectator coincides with the look of the offscreen character who functions as an "intermediary" or a "crossing" for the spectator's look. The character is present even in his or her visual absence. With *anime*'s expansion of the world outside of the screen and the bounded narrative of cinema, we arrive at an opposite effect. In this case the “world” is what is absent; the narrative and the setting are outside the consumer’s visual field. Yet in consuming the character good, the subject consumes both the character *and*, through an alignment of the subject’s “look” with that of the character, consumes the character’s (absent) world. Put differently, the character’s absent world is made present through the intermediary medium of the character good itself. The subject both looks *at* the character – as the character’s “friend” – and *through* the character, to its world. The character good is the “crossing” that allows the consumer-spectator to access the character’s world.

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[617] Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, trans. Celia Britton, Annwyl Williams, Ben Brewster and Alfred Guzzetti (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 55-56.

Consumption within the *anime* system is thus based not only on the having (looking) of the character, but the relaying of this look and the desire that informs it to the world to which the character belongs. The character good is the medium of participation in the character’s world. Just as in the case of a particular brand the consumption of products is a way of participating in the possible world (or “lifestyle”) created by the brand in question, so the consumption of the character good is a means of *participating* (by a kind of seeing-through) in the world to which it belongs. Thus – and this is an important point that Ôtsuka passes over – the consumption of character-world is not based solely on an epistemophilic drive, or a drive for the accumulation of knowledge about the particular character world, a desire for increasingly total knowledge of and access to the grand narrative or world-view.[618] It is also based on the increased possibility of participation in the particular world in question. Yet, this very participation in the fictional world of the *anime* or novel is predicated, as we have seen in Ôtsuka and Metz, on the passage into this world *through* the character; it is a way of view-ing it that is premised on the character – or character good – as an intermediary. The character good, like Leibniz's monad, offers a particular, materially grounded perspective on the character's world. Each character good within a particular series offers a differential access to the world in question.

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[618] Epistemophilia is, nonetheless, important. Anne Allison offers a brilliant analysis of the ways epistemophilia – or the drive to accumulate knowledge – forms one of the motivating drives within the world of Pokémon. See Anne Allison, *Millenial Monsters: Japanese Toys and the Global Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 206-215. However, I would emphasize that this impulse is not limited to Pokémon – even if the latter may offer an attenuated example of it – but is present in some form in many popular works within the *anime* system, whose magazine culture supplies background information about popular series, their writers and artists, and forthcoming products.

This world, it should be added, is not a static one, but is constantly expanding and becoming ever more defined over the course of the particular series in question, and through the consumption of the multiple, fragmentary "small narratives" by which it is composed. Insofar as the production of spin-offs and further narrative or product series continues, the totality of the world can never be apprehended *in toto*, but only approximated or approached. Totality of world-knowledge or world-participation only exists as an object of desire that fuels further consumption, and is not an attainable goal. In this regard Ôtsuka's analysis of the Bikkuriman phenomenon can be extended back to describe the mode of consumption developed in 1963 around *Tetsuwan Atomu*. This was a consumption of fragments each of which offered a different perspective on the world, each of which added a little to the growing picture or world-view that governed it, or, alternatively, provided access to this world through the collection and consumption of character goods. It should be added, moreover, that despite the emphasis on the term "narrative" within Ôtsuka's work, these small narratives include what we might call "micro-narrative" elements. In the case of the toy, for example, micro-narrative elements such as the ability to move, or to simulate flight allow the child to recreate existing narratives or to generate new narratives around the figure of Atomu that effectively expand Atomu's narrative world. Thus, the Atomu toy can itself be regarded as a "small narrative" in the sense that, first, it possessed its own "micro-narrative elements" – such as movement or flight that were so essential to the *Tetsuwan Atomu manga* and *anime* series; and second, it functioned as the means of a participatory re-creation of existing narratives or creation of new ones through the activity of play.

Each character good is one instance or fragment that brings the consumer closer to the world-view, but also permits her or his participation in the character's world. The materiality of the commodity inflects the kind of participation possible. Each material commodity is like a particular, inflected viewpoint on the character-world, a viewpoint which in turn possibilizes different modes of participation in this world on the part of the consumer. The character, as we have seen in this dissertation, is a virtual-material combine. As material entity the character provides a differential perspective on the character-world relation. As a virtual object it connects one media-commodity to another. It ensures the communication between material instances, and, in turn, acts as what Lacan has called *objet a* – the virtual object-cause of desire. Yet this virtual character promotes consumption precisely insofar as its links together objects in its image, and engages the consumer's desire to participate in the worlds to which the character is tied. Participation is, in turn, tied to the consumption of the material incarnations of the character itself. Desire for the character is thus developed through the co-functioning of the character as virtual object (which ties together material incarnations of the character; TV show, *manga*, toy, sticker, etc) and the character as material incarnation (each of which offers access to the character world to which it is related). The character good functions as the passageway or medium through which the consumer enters the character world. This world is the particular setting, qualities, and narrative components that are developed across media and commodity incarnations. The character good or medium is the image (or "view") through which the consumer-spectator passes into the character world.

The questions that we are then faced with are: What is the motivation for character consumption? Why do subjects desire to participate in the character worlds?

Participation and the Utopian Impulse Underlying Character Consumption

The basis for a formulation of answers to these questions lies in Lazzarato's invocation of the term "world." This invocation of the term is inspired not only by Leibniz's theorization of worlds, but by the refrain of the Seattle protests with which he begins his account of contemporary capitalism: "Another world is possible." While Lazzarato nowhere makes the connection explicit, there is the sense that the desire to participate in alternative worlds and the desire to imagine the existing world differently inform both the modality of resistance and the logic of corporate capitalism in the post-Fordist era he describes. Where the two can be said to differ is in their degree of incompossibility – in the degree by which the world offers the possibility of self-differing, singularity. The company image or logo guarantees compossibility and the consistency of the capitalist world in the corporate sphere – just as the character does in the *anime* system. These are worlds for no-one, Lazzarato suggests.[619] Yet how can we explain this participation in these worlds for no-one, except by supposing that these "smooth, banal, and formatted… worlds of the majority"[620] in fact also contain the promise of alterity, of singularity; that these world for no-one in fact contain the very promise that informed Seattle – that "another world is possible"? Behind this evocation of worlds lies a desire to participate in alternative worlds on the part of the subject. Whether for the world of Nike or the world of a post-capitalist world order, there is a subject whose desire to participate in an alternate world corresponds to and supports the existence of this world. This desire is a utopian one.

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[619] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 98.
[620] Lazzarato, *Les Revolutions du Capitalisme*, 98.

Of course, one site where this participatory relation to the *anime* world is developed is in the discursive positioning of the spectator.[621] As we noted earlier, the child spectator was addressed as Atomu's "friend," a particular way of situating the child not as an external observer of the *anime* or *manga* series, but rather as a participant in the drama, who "cheered on" Atomu every week for the duration of the TV show, and whom Atomu accompanied for the rest of the time in stickers, toys and the *manga* serial. One participated, that is, through the very act of consumption – whether of the TV show or of other Atomu goods. Participation and indeed friendship itself (with Atomu and with other child consumers) were thus predicated on the consumptive relation to Atomu products. One gained greater and greater access to the Atomu world through the increased consumption of Atomu goods – each good of which gave further material access to this world. Participation in the case of Atomu came through the *expansion* of the Atomu world by both acquiring more and more knowledge of this world, and by achieving increasingly greater material access to it through Atomu goods.

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[621] We find here a participatory relation to the character world, in the case of the *anime* system – rather than, say, a spectatorial relation which presumes a certain degree of exteriority to the world in question, a position closer to that of the cinematic spectator, for instance. Doreen Maitre, in *Literature and Possible Worlds*, has distinguished spectator from participant in the following manned: "One is a spectator of a state of affairs if one experiences it without contributing to its change or resolution… One is a participant in a state of affairs if one experiences it and does contribute to its change or resolution." Doreen Maitre, *Literature and Possible Worlds* (London: Pembridge Press, 1983), 45-46.

However, if participation is in part encouraged through discursive means, one might also infer here the presence of a utopian impulse towards the participation in alternative worlds, worlds that differ from the existing one. A utopian desire to participate and belong to alternative worlds informs the consumption of character worlds and the character goods that are their conduits. “All desire is revolutionary” was the mantra of Deleuze and Guattari’s collaborative work, and particularly in *Anti-Oedipus*.[622] Put differently, we might say that all desire is a desire for a world different from the present one, always exceeding the bounds of the present world. Yet, as Deleuze and Guattari emphasize, the project of Anti-Oedipus equally arises out of a need to understand how subjects can invest in systems that go against their interests; how revolutionary desire can be lead to invest in counter-revolutionary causes. “That is why,” they write, “the fundamental problem of political philosophy is still precisely the one that Spinoza saw so clearly, and that Wilhelm Reich rediscovered: ‘Why do men fight *for* their servitude as stubbornly as though it were for their salvation?’”[623]

The answer to this difficult question, in light of the work presented in this dissertation, might be to suggest that the utopian desire – or, desire as utopia – is shunted into obeisance to a narrow, limited vision of a possible world. The other world offered to desire, and, through the character, generative of it, is one whose limits are often circumscribed by the very boundaries present in the existing world. The *anime* world and the character which offers access to it is often presented as a world apart from the existing one, and yet it replicates the logic and boundedness of this one. Thus, while the participation in *anime* worlds may be motivated in part by a utopian impulse, it is also turned towards other ends as it is captured by the particular system of consumption that informs the *anime* worlds.

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[622] “[D]esire is revolutionary in its essence… Desire does not ‘want’ revolution, it is revolutionary in its own right.” Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans., Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 116.

[623] Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 29.

There thus is a political valence to the construction and participation in worlds, a utopian striving for another possible world. Yet we must acknowledge the ways this very participation implicates the subject in worlds that are regulated by the parameters of the existing set of norms governing the existing world. The utopian desire for participation in another world is mobilized to lure subjects into forms of participation whose ultimate effect is to inculcate the subject in the existing social and economic norms of the "real" world. The very basis of the participation in the consumption of worlds is based on economic exchange, and thereby fundamental to the support – and increasingly, the growth – of the dominant capitalist order. That this order bases itself on the very utopian desire for the participation in a different form of social order attests to the ingenious quality of the capitalist order to incorporate the desire for its overthrow into the very process of its own auto-constitution through modes of consumption-based accumulation. But this utopian impulse is also itself limited by the types of worlds that the subject consumes: worlds that are not only governed by and implicated in processes of exchange, but worlds that also reaffirm the gendered divisions of labor that underpin a certain mode of the capitalist order, as we have seen in Saitô Minako's critique cited above.[624] Not only does the character function as a form of regulation of the possible, the very worlds and world-views constructed bear witness to a gendered regulation of the actual.

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[624] Of course we should again recognize that it does not always function this way; and that the rise of the *anime*-phile or *otaku* in fact raises the specter of a subject whose consumption of sexualized worlds replaces its reproductive activities in the actual world. The otaku presents the threat that consumption will somehow replace social reproduction, leading to the popularity of narratives (such as *Densha otoko* or Train Man) that figure the "redemption" of the otaku through its integration into "normal, healthy, and needless to say, heterosexual sexuality." See Thomas Lamarre's comments on *Densha otoko* and the perceived threat of otaku "perversion" and its social threat to heterosexual reproduction, in "Platonic Sex: Perversion and Shôjo *Anime* (Part Two)" in *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 2(1), 9–25.

There are other senses too, as I have suggested in this dissertation, that the consumption of these narrative worlds leads to the reproduction of capital. The consumption of worlds is one form of the production of subjectivity in late capitalism, a form of production which is tightly tied to the reproduction of capital itself. As I suggested in Chapter Three, contemporary capitalism operates increasingly through the voluntary or "free" labor – and biological existence – of its subjects. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri write that "In the biopolitical context of Empire… the production of capital converges ever more with the production and reproduction of social life itself; it thus becomes ever more difficult to maintain distinctions among productive, reproductive and unproductive labor."[625] What results is a situation in which it is "increasingly difficult to maintain the fiction of any measure of the working day and thus separate the time of production from the time of reproduction, or work time from leisure time."[626]

The media sphere is a key cite of this growing inseparability of work and leisure, and the imbrication of consumption itself into processes of production. As Paolo Virno suggests, the communications apparatuses of the contemporary media occupy a central place within postfordist capitalism: "the matrix of post-Fordism can be found in the industrial sectors in which there is 'production of communication by means of communication'; hence, in the culture industry."[627] The culture industry is no longer a complement to the theatre of production, as it was in the time of Adorno and

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[625] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 402.
[626] Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, 402.
[627] Paolo Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*, trans. Isabella Bertoletti, James Cascaito, and Andrea Casson (New York: Semiotext(e), 2004), 57.

Horkheimer's formulation. Rather, the culture industry – and the consumption of the serially inter-related "cultural" or "experiential" media-commodities whose analysis has been at the heart of this dissertation – is the site of the production of subjectivity, and the valorization of capital.[628]

The consumption of the serial media forms of the *anime* system effectuates not only an inculcation of economic and gender roles that maintain capitalist society; this consumption is also a major form of production within post-Fordism. The *anime* system provides consumers with communicative products; commodities whose basis is their trans-media communication, and whose consumption involves the production and transformation of the consumers' subjectivities. The connections developed among media and media-commodities encourage consumers – as active "prosumers" – to follow the series and reconstruct (through their consumption) the character-worlds of the *anime* system. This form of consumption activates the subject's utopian desire to engage it in the participation in character-worlds, and encourages the formation of communities of consumers around these worlds.[629] The end product – much as Ôtsuka predicted, and looking ahead from the incipient communities that formed around Atomu to the later communities that formed around the production of "fan-fiction" comics – is a form of fan community formation whose members are active producers of the very worlds they consume. But very much as Adam Arvidsson noted in the context of the brand economy, this form of fan activity does not necessarily go contrary to the needs of the commodity producers, but rather *adds* value to them. As he writes, “The immaterial productivity that consumers engage in is ‘free’, not only in the sense that it is unpaid, but also in the sense that it is generally beyond the direct control of capital. It is this creative autonomy that makes it valuable.”[630] Valuable, as he points out in his analysis of the free work of consumers in the construction of brand worlds, to the corporations involved in the production of goods.

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[628] Lazzarato draws out this link between communication, subjectivity and capitalist production in his discussion of "immaterial labor," where he writes: "The process of social communication (and its principal content, the production of subjectivity) becomes here directly productive because in a certain way it 'produces' production." Maurizio Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," translated by Paul Colilli and Ed Edmory in Michael Hardt and Paolo Virno, ed., *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 143.

[629] Two recent trans-media enterprises in particular encourage the formation of communities of interest around them: Pokémon, in which the trading and sharing of characters is, as Allison documents, an essential aspect of the game; and *The Matrix* series, which, in its ambiguity, encouraged the formation of "knowledge communities" of detectives searching for and sharing further clues that would elucidate a world filled with ellipses and partial clues, as Henry Jenkins details. See Allison, *Millenial Monsters*, 197-206; and Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 93-130.

Now, lest my description of the anime system in this dissertation seem too totalizing, and lest it imply a complete, systematic, operational effectivity, it must be said that there are certainly radical *anime* texts and worlds. There are *anime* texts that attack the very systemic basis on which it is built, and construct worlds that undermine themselves, that visually and narratively present expanded worlds that challenge the tenets and principles of the existing one, that truly do suggest that another world is possible. There are texts that expand the parameters of the serial form outside the limitations presented by the character – in its serially immobile and communicative form – and by the limitative worlds it inhabits. There have been works such as Chiba Tetsuya and Takamori Asao’s *Ashita no Jô* (Tomorrow’s Joe) whose ties to the student movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s have often been evoked. Shirato Sanpei’s works such as *Ninja bugeichô* (Handbook of the Ninja Arts) which effect a displacement of the central character in favor of a collective led it to become a textbook for student Marxists of the 1960s; and Ôtsuka Eiji’s own recent *MDP Psycho* (with Tajima Shô) evinces a destabilization of the central character through his multiple personality disorder and the proliferation of conflicting characters, personalities and narratives that follow from this. Works such as the *anime* and art project *Tamala2010* mimetically reproduce the trans-media *anime* ensemble (complete with its multiple character goods) and the centrality of a stable character only to critique its basis in the capitalist logic of consumption and destruction. In a more recent trend, figurines themselves have increasingly become the site of experimentation; a new realm of artistic production has arisen around the creation of figurines, suggesting the possibility of material objects themselves opening onto alternative worlds.[631] If, as we saw in this dissertation, the material objects in the *anime* ensemble offer differential perspectives on a media mix world nonetheless governed by the principle of resemblance, might we also imagine the possibility of material objects such as these art-figurines themselves opening onto other possible worlds?

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[630] Adam Arvidsson, “Brands: A Critical Perspective,” in *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5:2 (2005), 242.

I have suggested in this dissertation that it is necessary first to understand the development and operations of the *anime* system in its complicity with the auto-valorization of capital through the consumption of visual media before we can appreciate the possibilities these media present for resistance – resistance to the serial consumption they promote, and the post-Fordist form of capitalist visual culture of which the *anime* system is a generative element. Yet if this project has been concerned with exploring the complicity of the *anime* in its trans-media, systemic incarnation with changes in capitalism and with the emergence of the logic of post-Fordist consumer culture, it is my hope that the understanding of the *anime* system and its material-immaterial operations will nonetheless lay the basis for analyses of texts and practices of consumption that run counter to these systemic properties of *anime* and its media mix. If many *anime* texts and surrounding media-commodities tend to pre-structure the ways we as subjects relate to them and circumscribe the possible worlds they invoke, they also bear the possibilities of alternative uses and conceptions of media connectivity, alternative developments of trans-media narratives, and material and immaterial media-objects that open onto singular, rather than banal worlds. As *anime* has become a global force of institutionalized consumption-production, it has also, for that very reason, become a most fertile ground for emerging, alternative conceptions and practices of *anime* and trans-media production.

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[631] See, for example, the collection "experimental" figurines in Peter Thaler and Lars Denicke eds., *Pictoplasma: The Character Encyclopaedia* (Berlin : Pictoplasma Publishing, 2006).

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FIGURES

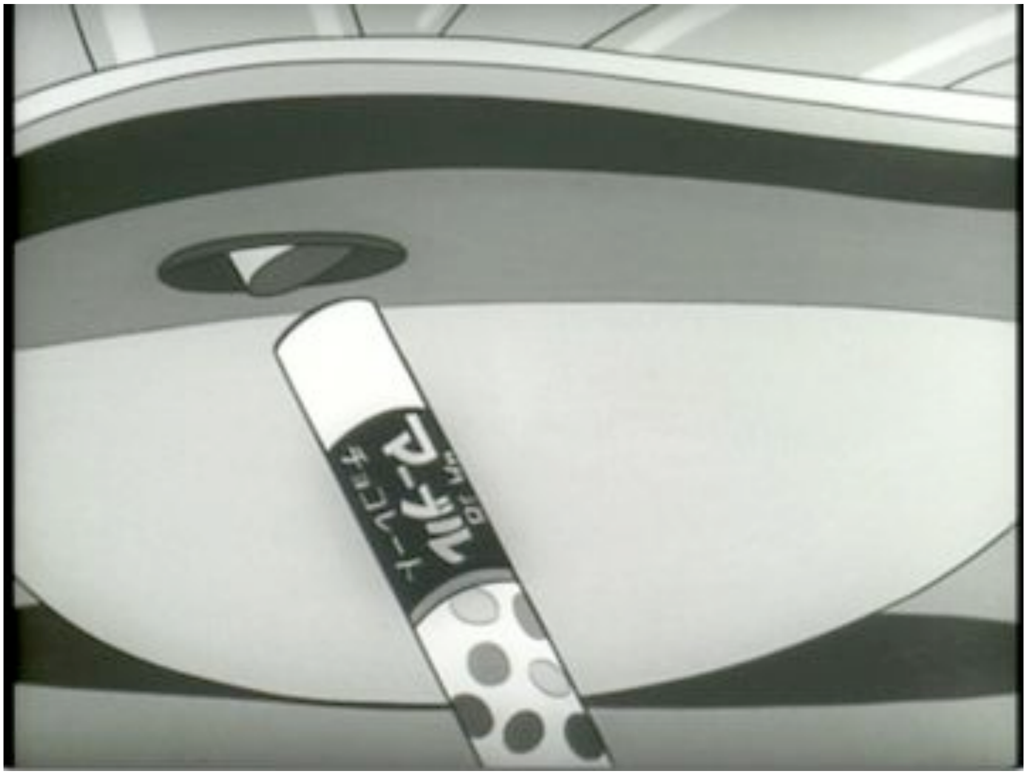
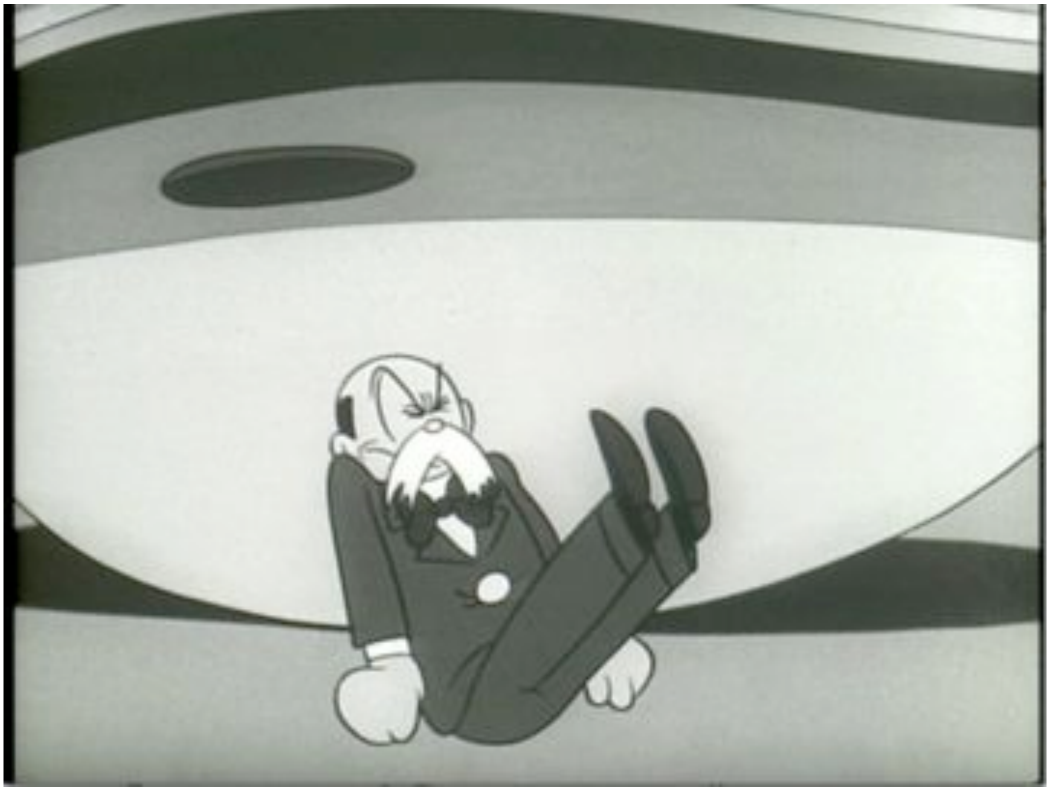

Meiji
マーブル
チョコレート

Figure 2.1

Figure 2.2



Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3: Stills from “Episode 11: The Time Machine Episode,” *Tetsuwan Atomu* television animation series.

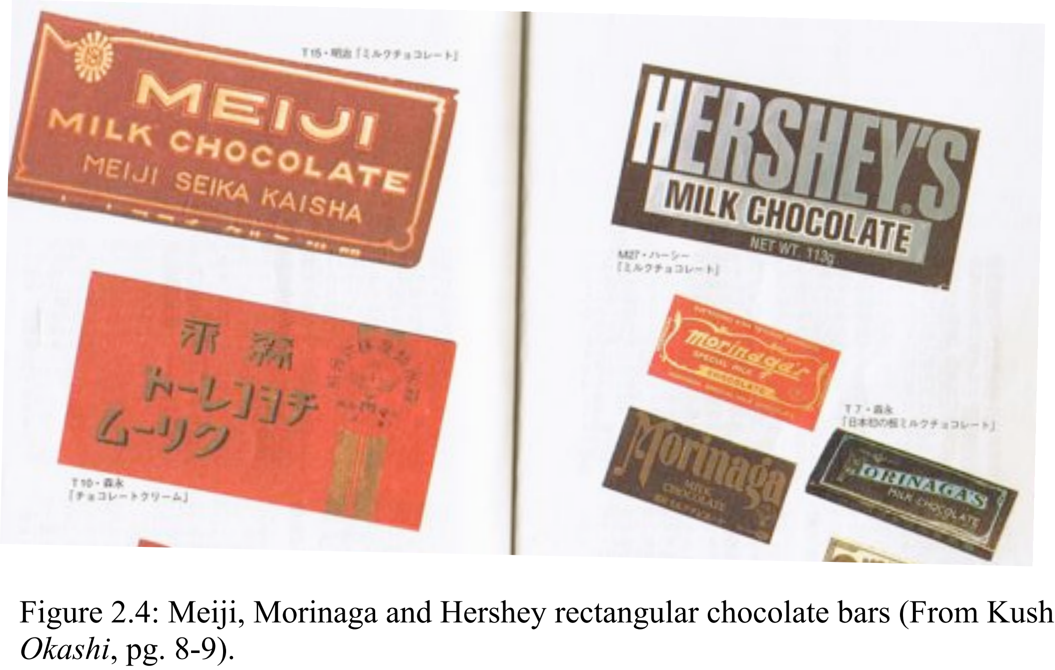

T15・明治「ミルクチョコレート」
MEIJI
MILK CHOCOLATE
MEIJI SEIKA KAISHA
T10・森永「チョコレートクリーム」
HERSHEY'S
MILK CHOCOLATE
NET WT. 113g
M27・ハーシー「ミルクチョコレート」
Morinaga's
Morinaga
MILK CHOCOLATE
T7・森永「日本初の板ミルクチョコレート」
MORINAGA'S
MILK CHOCOLATE

Figure 2.4: Meiji, Morinaga and Hershey rectangular chocolate bars (From Kushima, *Za Okashi*, pg. 8-9).

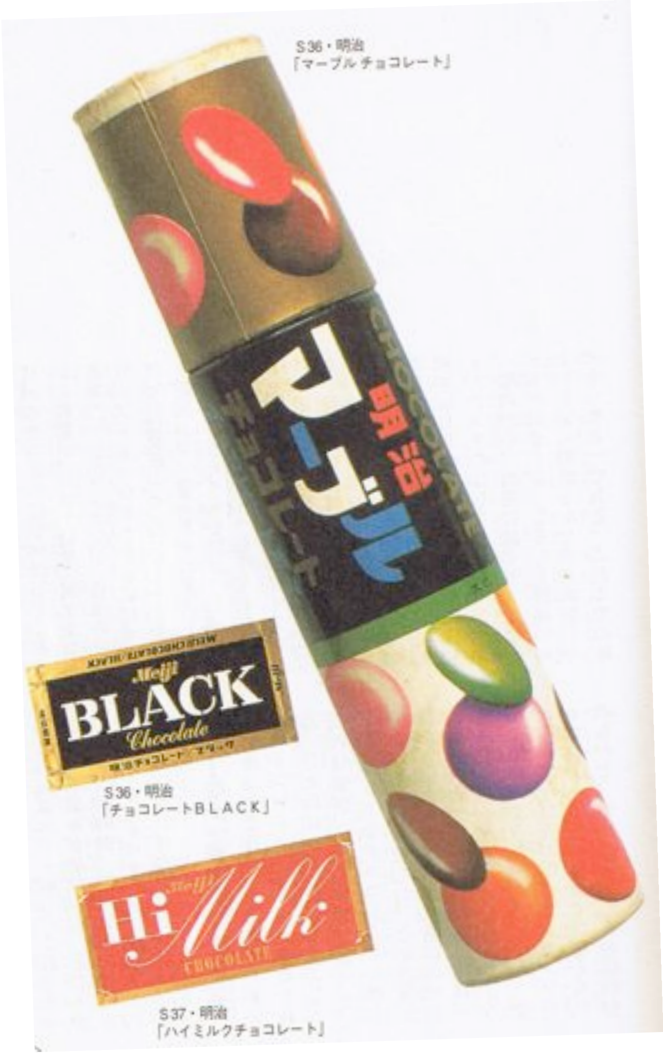
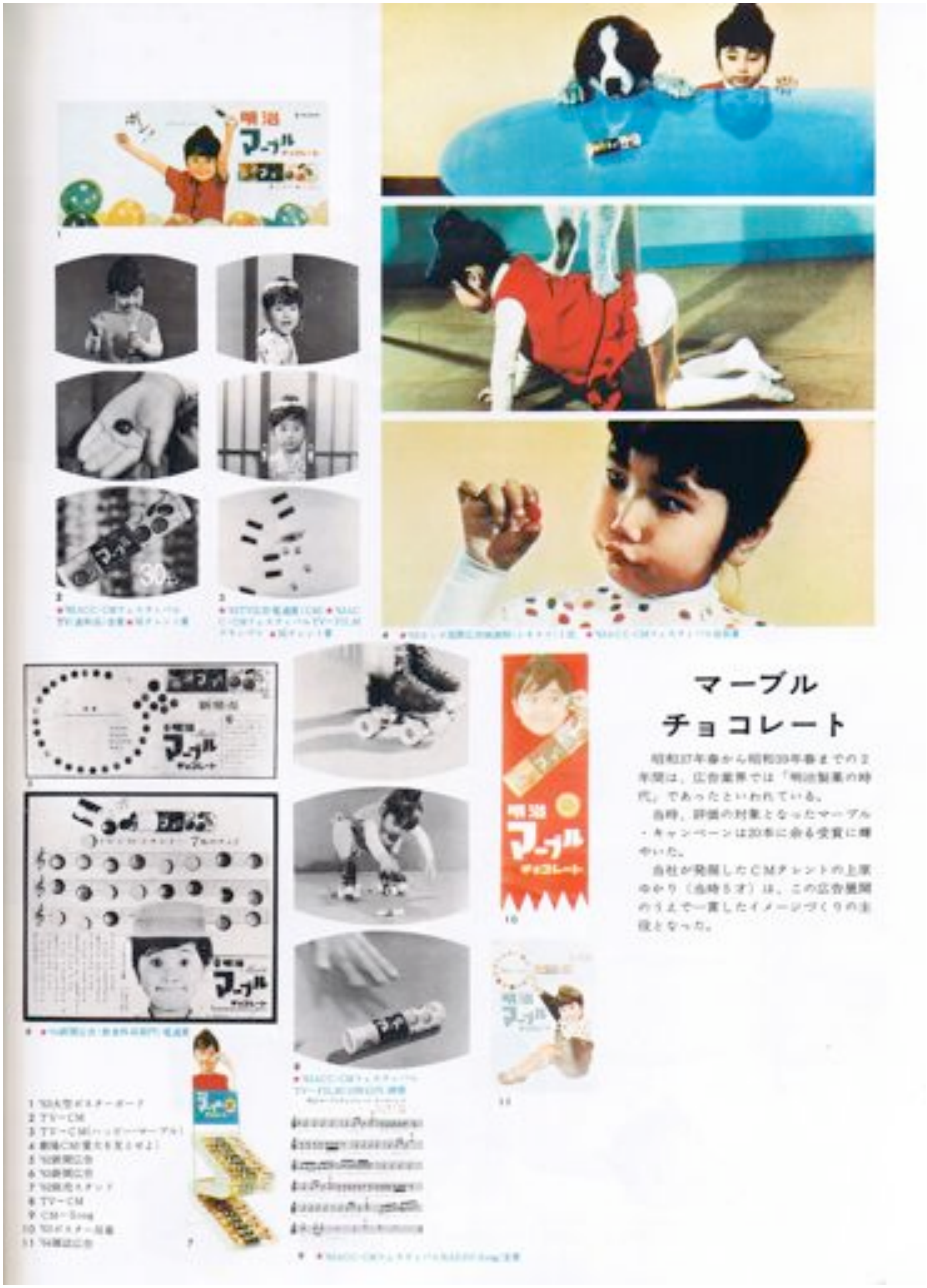

S36・明治
「マーブル チョコレート」
明治
マーブル
チョコレート
CHOCOLATE
Meiji
BLACK
Chocolate
S36・明治
「チョコレートBLACK」
Meiji
Hi Milk
CHOCOLATE
S37・明治
「ハイミルクチョコレート」

Figure 2.5: 1961 Marble Chocolate cylinder. (From Kushima, *Za Okashi*, pg. 13).



マーブル
チョコレート

昭和37年春から昭和39年春までの2年間は、広告業界では「明治製菓の時代」であったといわれている。

当時、評価の対象となったマーブル・キャンペーンは20本に余る受賞に輝やいた。

当社が発掘したCMタレントの上原ゆかり（当時5才）は、この広告展開のうえで一貫したイメージづくりの主役となった。

1 '63大型ポスターボード
2 TV−CM
3 TV−CM（ハッピーマーブル）
4 劇場CM（[illegible]）
5 '62新聞広告
6 '63新聞広告
7 '62販売スタンド
8 TV−CM
9 CM−Song
10 '63ポスター原画
11 '64雑誌広告

Figure 2.6: Examples of various types of media ads, from television commercial stills (#2, 3+8), to POP displays (#7), to newspaper (#5+#6), magazine (#11) and billboard (#1) ads, to the radio song (#9). (From Meiji Seika's *Meiji Seika no ayumi*, pg. 275).

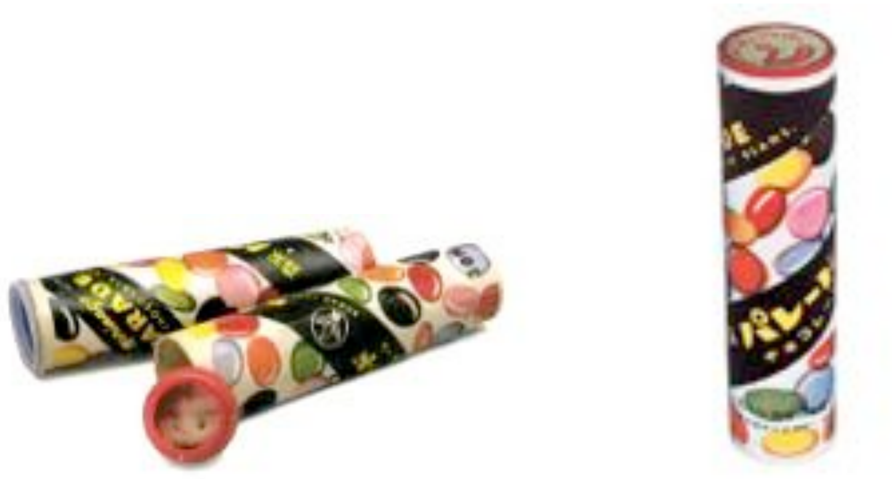


Figure 2.7: Morinaga Parade Chocolate Box, circa 1962, with the *omake* cap.

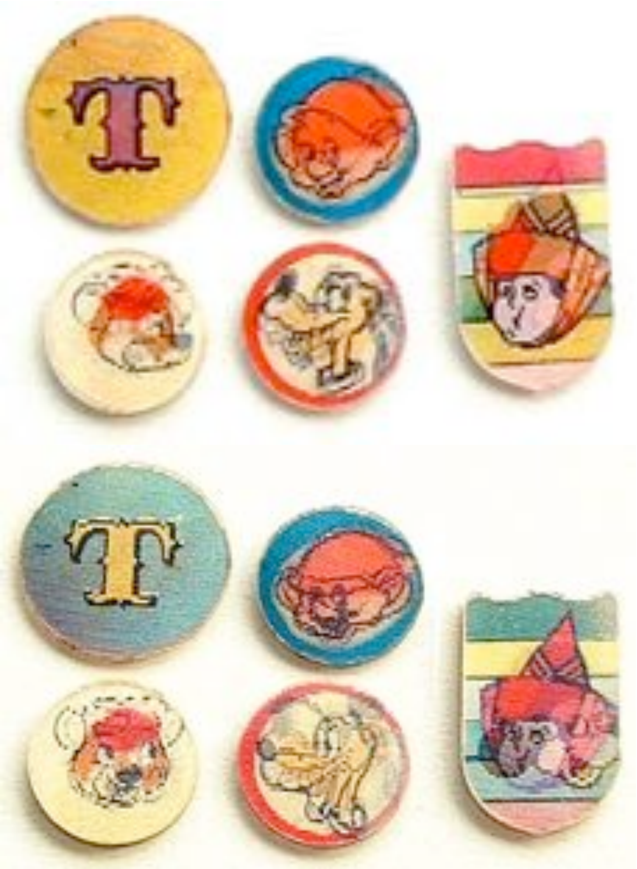


Figure 2.8: Parade Chocolate *omake* premiums; two series of the same sample caps photographed from different angles.

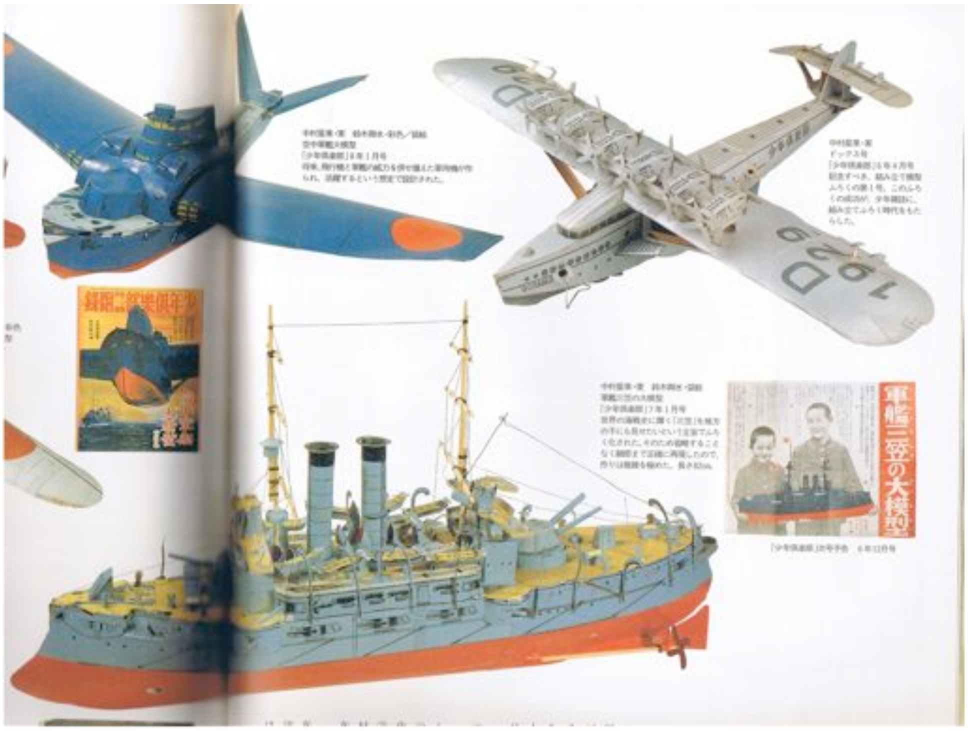


Figure 2.9: Examples of build-it-yourself paper *furoku* included in the magazine *Shonen*, from 1931 to 1933. From *Omake to furoku*, pg. 130-1.

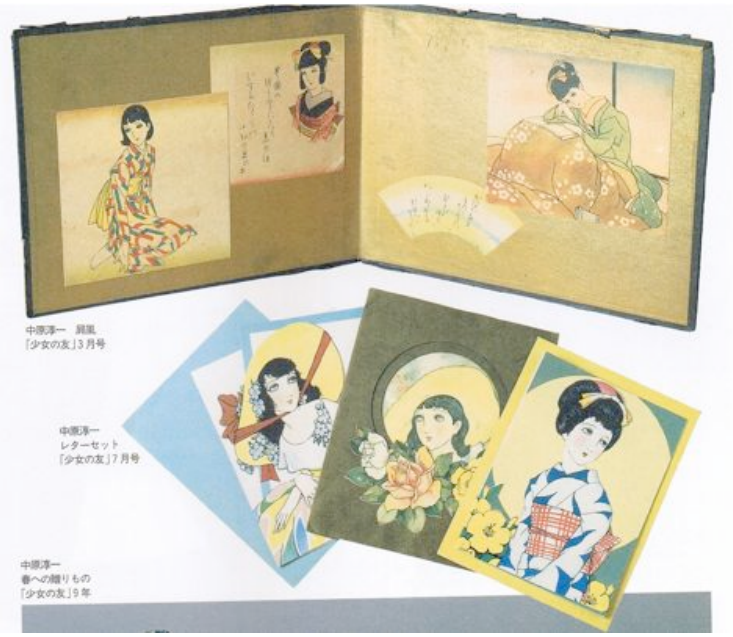

中原淳一　屏風
「少女の友」3月号
中原淳一
レターセット
「少女の友」7月号
中原淳一
春への贈りもの
「少女の友」9年

Figure 2.10: Examples of *furoku* for girls, with illustrations by Nakahara Jun'ichi; included in the March, July and September issues of *Shojo no tomo* in 1934. From *Omake to furoku*, pg 144.

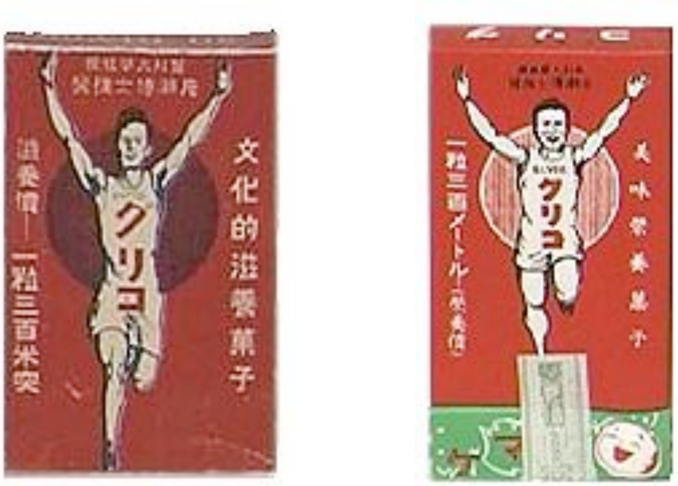

文化的滋養菓子
グリコ
滋養價——一粒三百米突
美味栄養菓子
グリコ
一粒三百メートル

Figure 2.11: Glico Caramel boxes; the one on the left is from 1922; the one on the right is from 1929, and includes a separate “omake box” – the green box below the main box. (From the Glico website.)

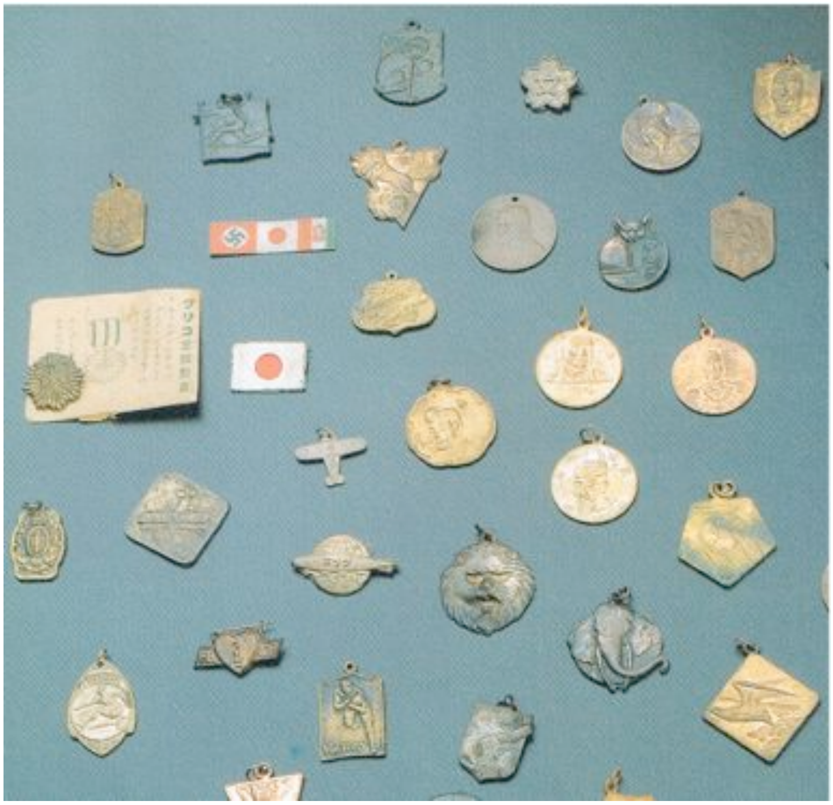


Figure 2.12: Examples of early Glico omake from the 1930s.

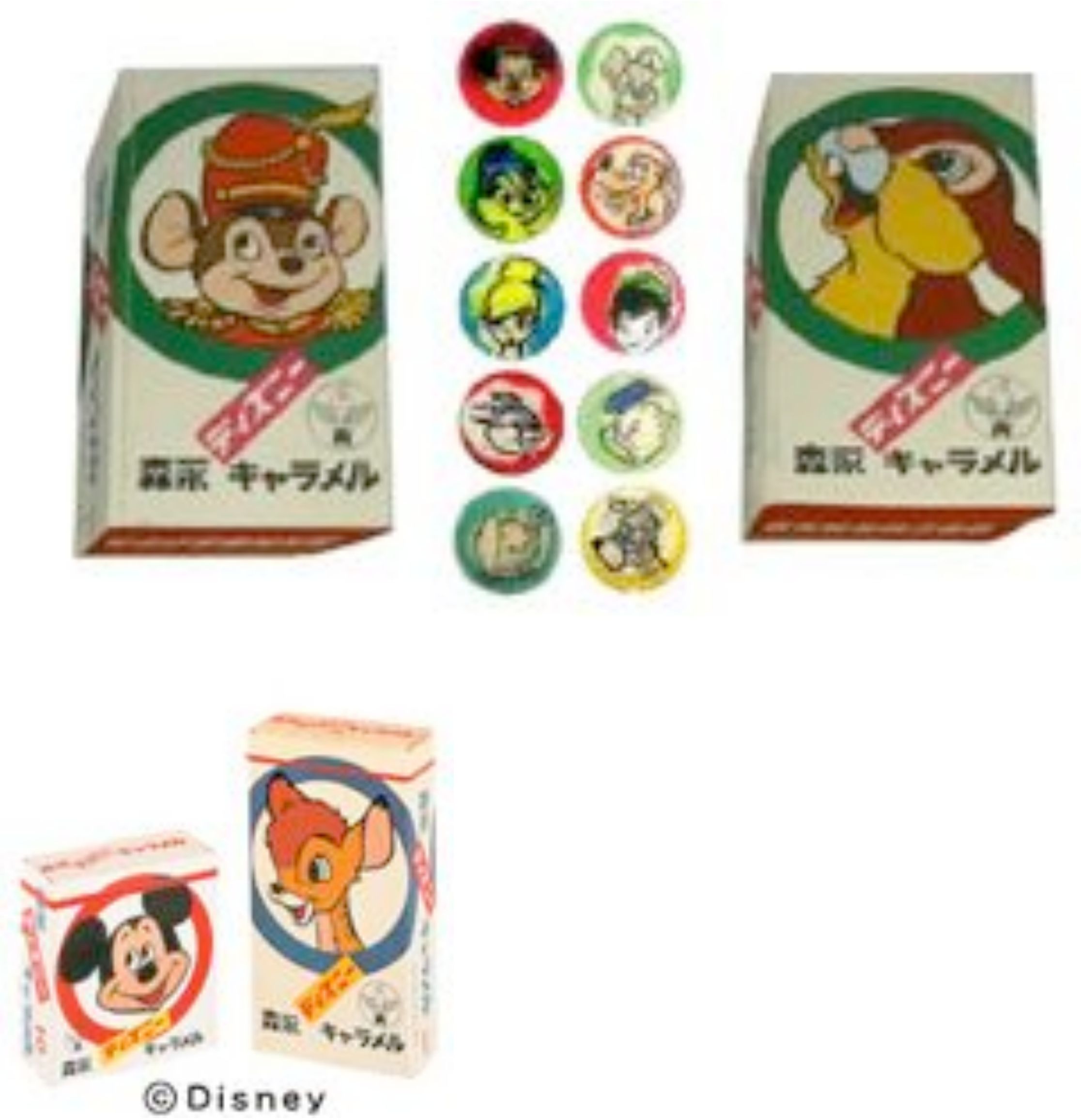

ディズニー
森永 キャラメル
ディズニー
森永 キャラメル
ディズニー
森永 キャラメル
ディズニー
森永 キャラメル
©Disney

Figure 2.13: Four examples of Morinaga Disney Caramel packages, including the Disney-character “moving badge” premiums they came with.

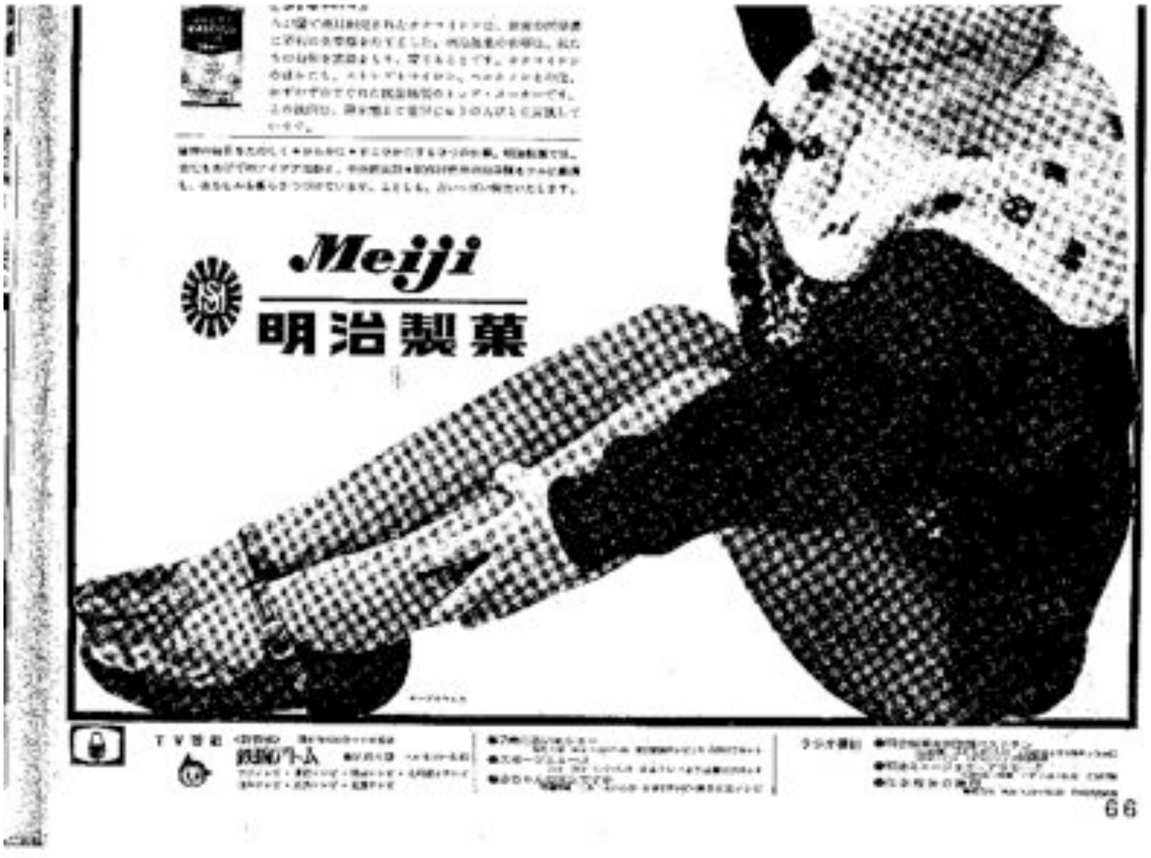
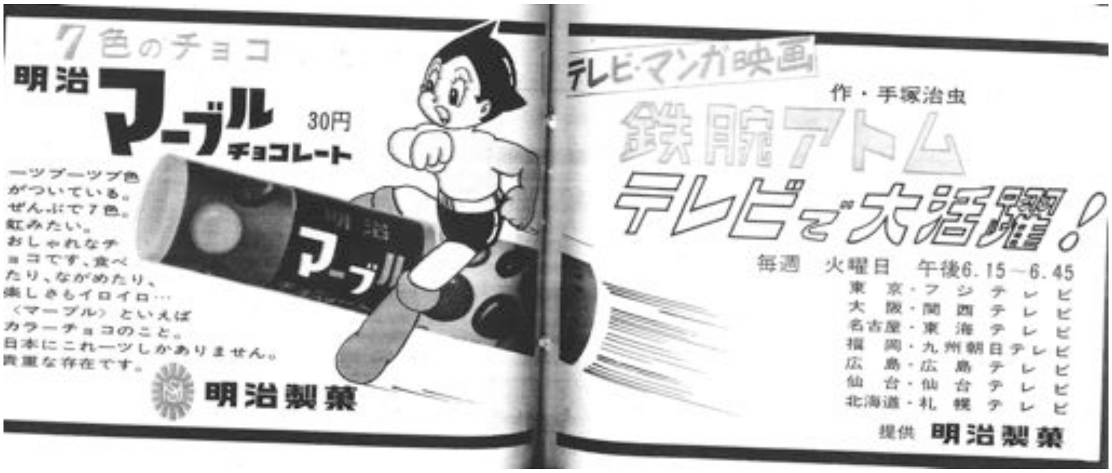

Meiji
明治製菓
鉄腕アトム
66

Figure 2.14: January 4th, 1963 Meiji advertisement in *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper, January 1st, 1963, page 6.


7色のチョコ
明治
マーブル
30円
チョコレート
明治
マーブル

一ツブ一ツブ色
がついている。
ぜんぶで７色。
虹みたい。
おしゃれなチ
ョコです、食べ
たり、ながめたり、
楽しさもイロイロ…
〈マーブル〉といえば
カラーチョコのこと。
日本にこれ一ツしかありません。
貴重な存在です。

明治製菓

テレビ・マンガ映画

作・手塚治虫

鉄腕アトム

テレビで大活躍！

毎週　火曜日　午後6.15―6.45

東　京・フジテレビ
大　阪・関西テレビ
名古屋・東海テレビ
福　岡・九州朝日テレビ
広　島・広島テレビ
仙　台・仙台テレビ
北海道・札幌テレビ

提供　明治製菓

Figure 2.15: Meiji-Atomu advertisement in *Shônen* magazine, February 1963.

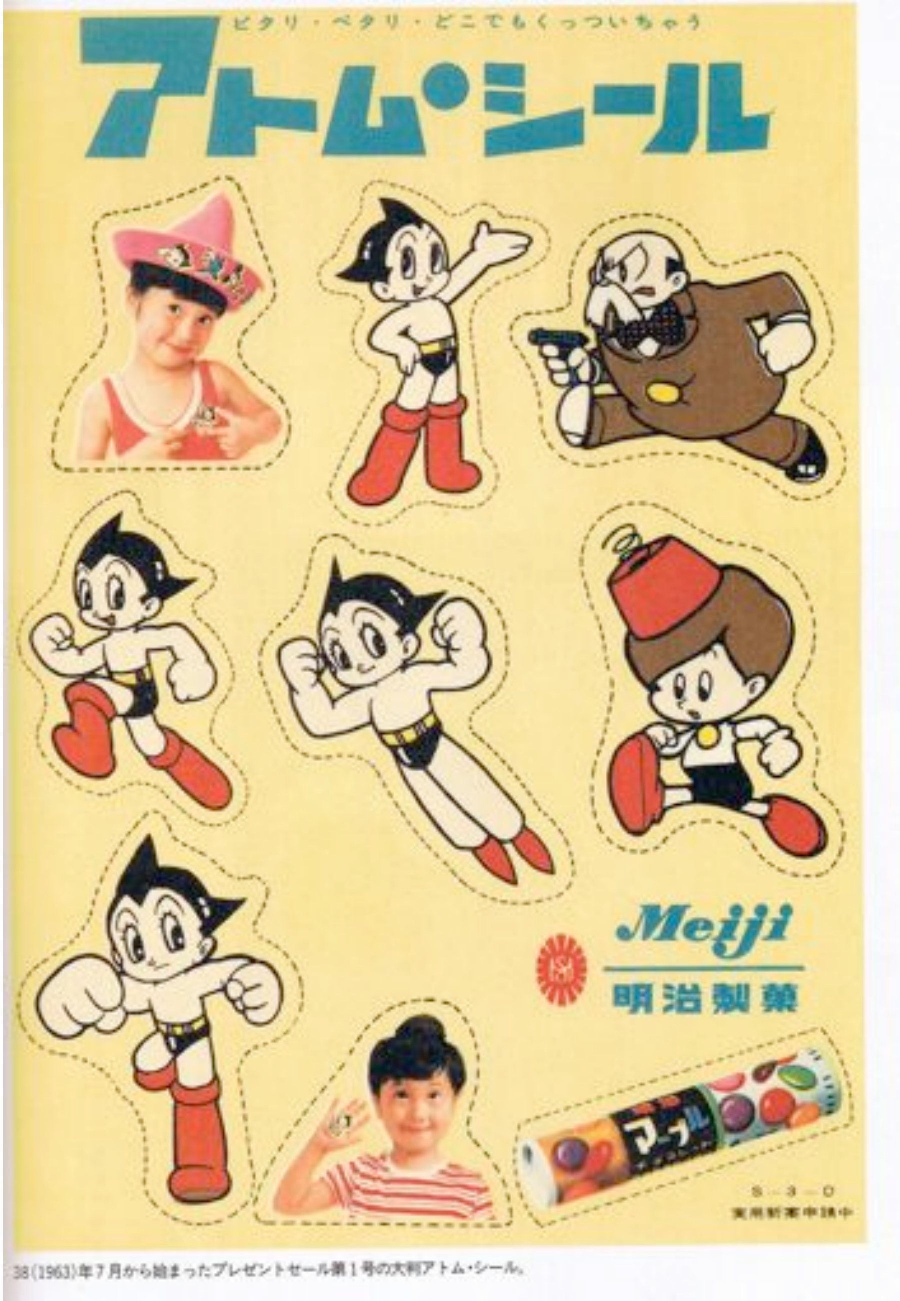
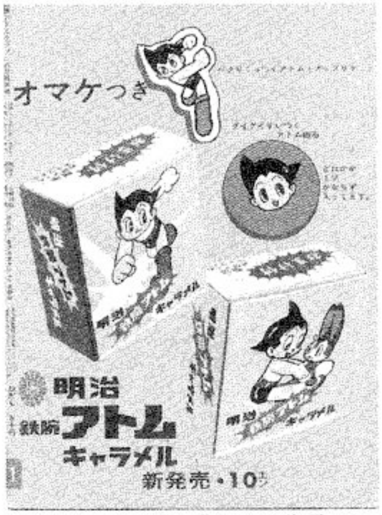

ピタリ・ペタリ・どこでもくっついちゃう
アトム・シール
Meiji
明治製菓
マーブル
S-3-0
実用新案申請中
38(1963)年7月から始まったプレゼントセール第1号の大判アトム・シール。

Figure 2.16: The first send-away sticker sheet for the Meiji-Atomu sticker campaign, July to September 1963 (From *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan*)


オマケつき
明治
鉄腕アトム
キャラメル
新発売・10円

▲“アトム・アップリケ”“アトム磁石”いり「おまけ付　鉄腕アトムキャラメル」広告。1964年7月20日創刊の「鉄腕アトムクラブ」裏表紙。

Figure 2.17: Advertisement for “Meiji Tetsuwan Atomu Caramel” also known as “*Omake*-tsuki [Premium-Included] Tetsuwan Atomu Caramel,” released in July 1964.

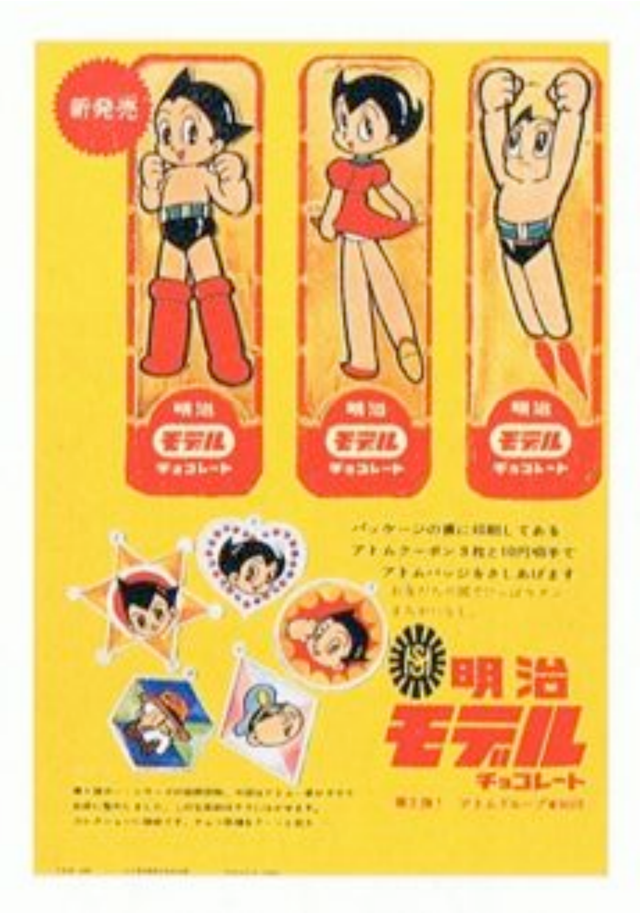

新発売
明治
モデル
チョコレート
明治
モデル
チョコレート

Figure 2.18: Advertisement for “Meiji Model Chocolates” (From *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan*).

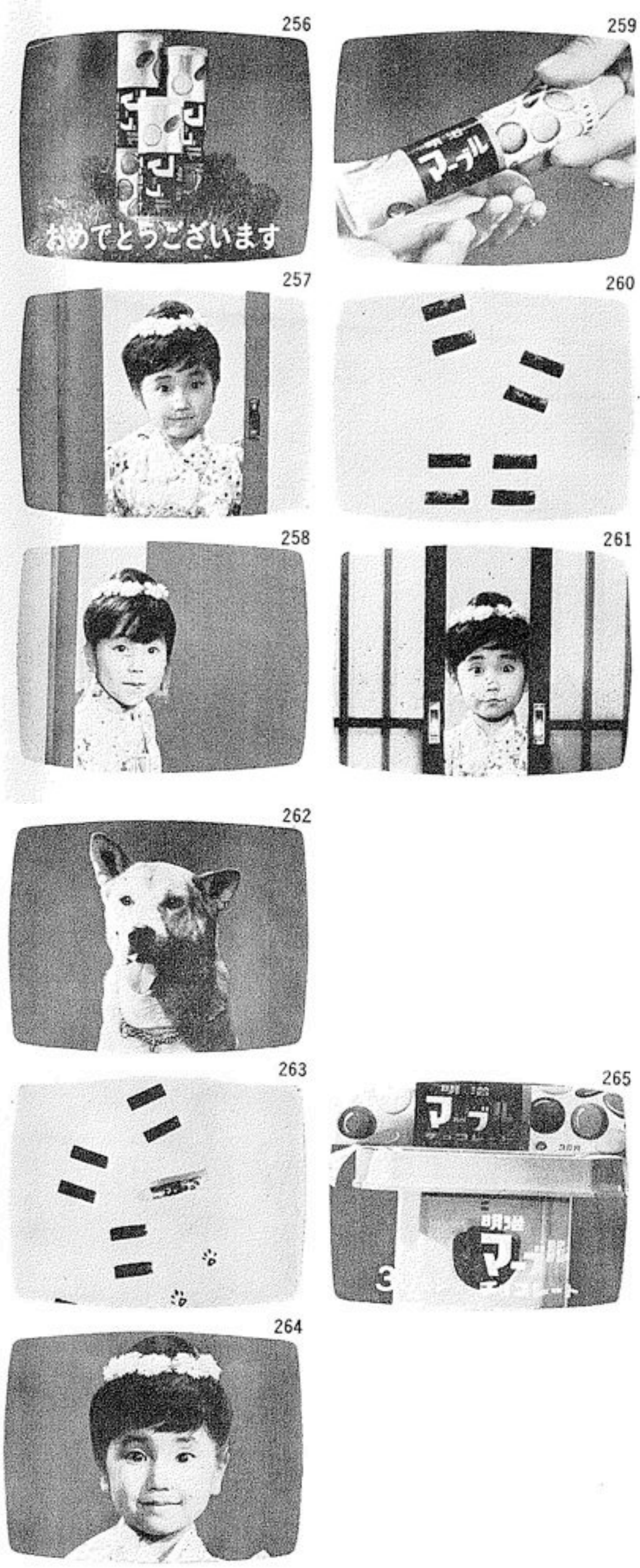

256
おめでとうございます
259
マーブル
257
260
258
261
262
263
265
マーブル
264

Figure 2.19: Stills from the New Year's season 1962-3 "Happy Marble" TV commercial (From *ACC-CM nenkan '61-'63*).

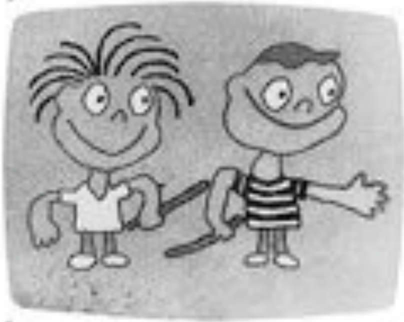
1

2

SE
（ポン）

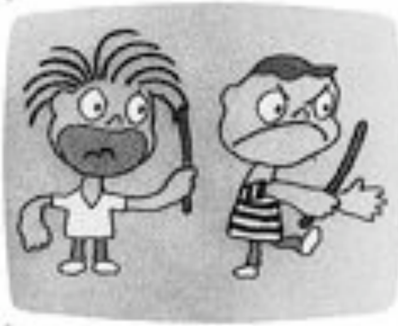
おなじみのマーブルチョコに新
しいおマケが仲間入りしました

3

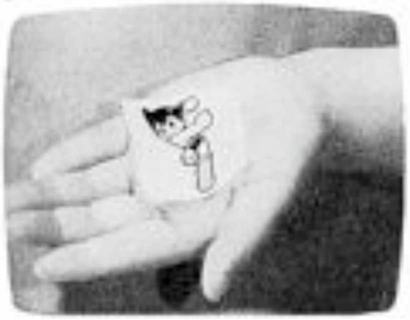


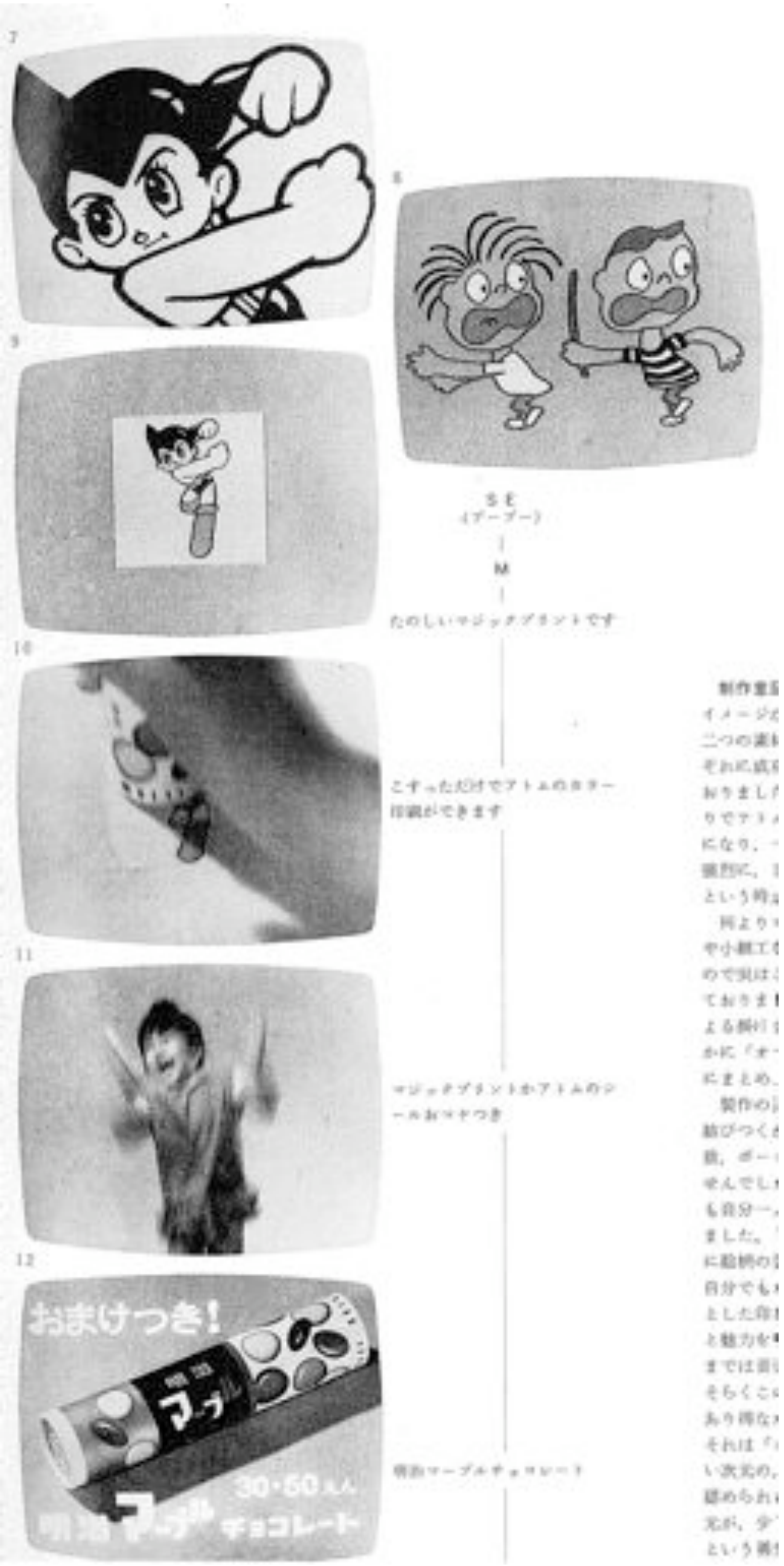
4

5



6




7
8
9
10
11
12
おまけつき!
明治
マーブル
30・50えん
明治マーブルチョコレート

SE
(ブーブー)
M

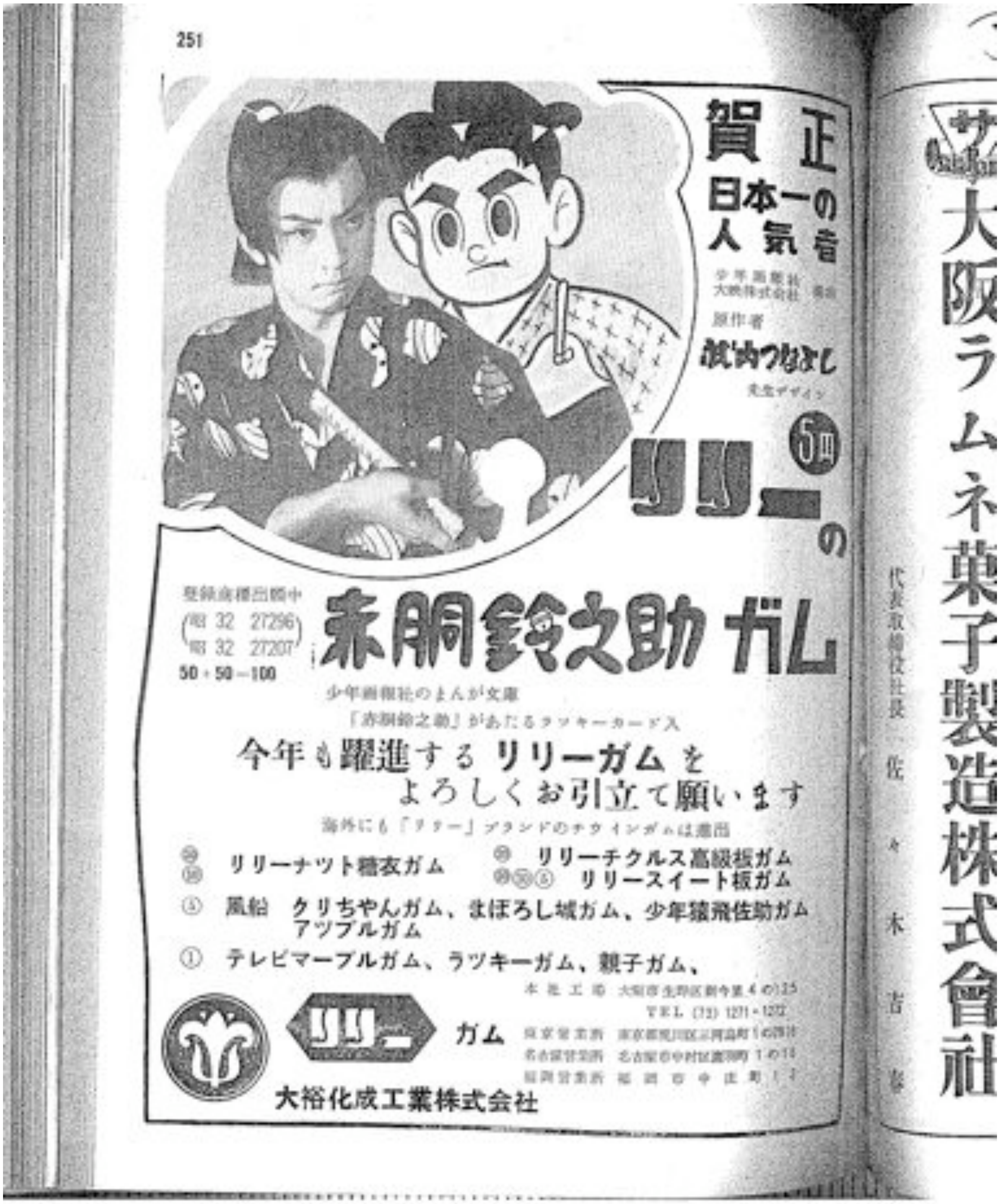
たのしいマジックプリントです

こすっただけでアトムのカラー印刷ができます

マジックプリントかアトムのシールおマケつき

明治マーブルチョコレート

Figures 2.20 and 2.21: Stills showing each shot composing the Meiji-Atomu omake commercial (From *ACC-CM nenkan '64*).



251

賀正
日本一の
人気者
少年画報社
大映株式会社
原作者
武内つなよし
先生デザイン
5円
リリーの
登録商標出願中
(昭 32 27296
昭 32 27207)
50＋50−100
赤胴鈴之助ガム
少年画報社のまんが文庫
「赤胴鈴之助」があたるラツキーカード入
今年も躍進するリリーガムを
よろしくお引立て願います
海外にも「リリー」ブランドのチウインガムは進出
リリーナツト糖衣ガム
リリーチクルス高級板ガム
リリースイート板ガム
風船 クリちやんガム、まぼろし城ガム、少年猿飛佐助ガム
アツプルガム
① テレビマーブルガム、ラツキーガム、親子ガム、
リリーガム
大裕化成工業株式会社

大阪ラムネ菓子製造株式會社
代表取締役社長 佐々木吉泰

Figure 2.22: The two Akadôs: *manga* and live-action versions in a gum advertisement printed in Gangu Shôhô, January 1958.

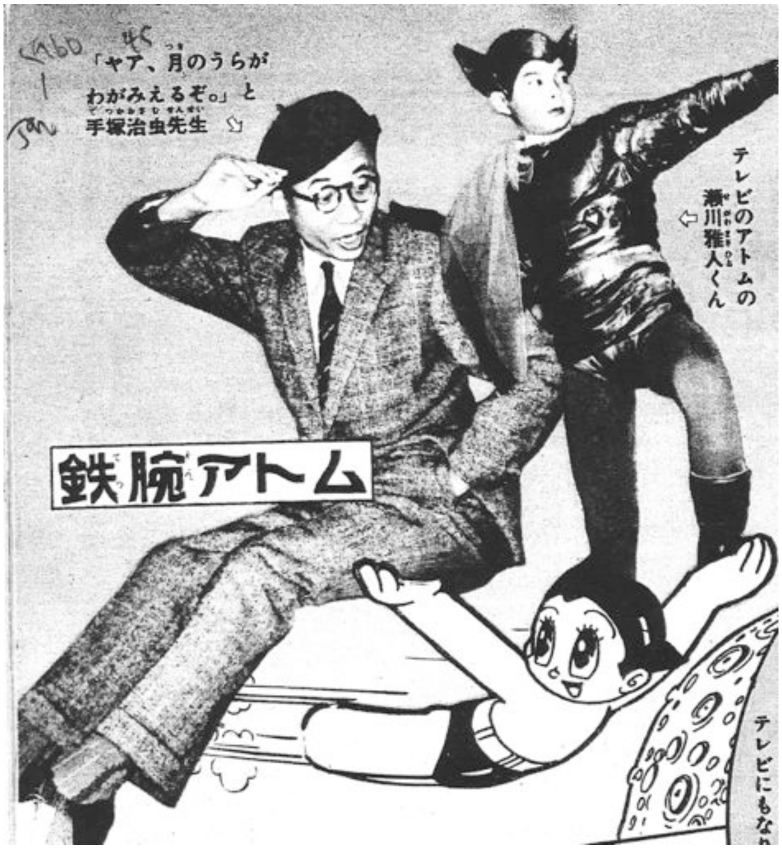

1960
1
Jan
「ヤア、月のうらがわがみえるぞ。」と
手塚治虫先生
テレビのアトムの
瀬川雅人くん
鉄腕アトム
テレビにもなり

Figure 2.23: Atomu doubled: *manga* and live-action versions of Atomu with the creator of the series, Tezuka Osamu on the left. From an article in *Shônen* magazine about the 1959-1960 live-action *Tetsuwan Atomu* television series. (From *Shônen*, January 1960).

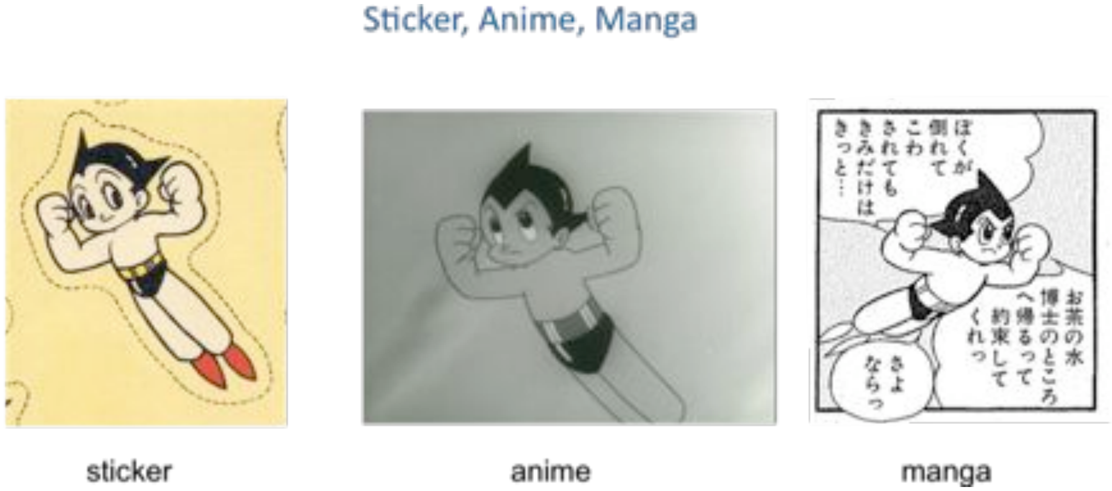
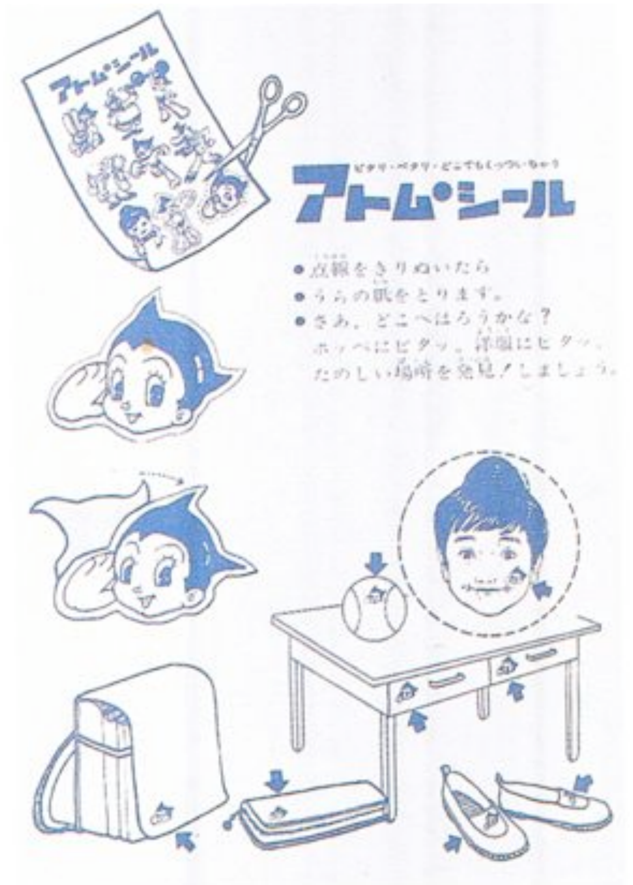

Sticker, Anime, Manga
ぼくが倒れてこわされても
きみだけはきっと…
お茶の水博士のところへ帰るって約束してくれっ
さよならっ
sticker
anime
manga

Figure 2.24: Atomu flying through the sky in Meiji *omake* sticker, anime (still) and manga. (Sticker from *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan*; *anime* from episode two; manga from “Robotto uchûten no maki” *Tetsuwan Atomu #13*, 161).



ピタリ・ペタリ・どこでもくっつい・ちゃう

アトム・シール

- 点線をきりぬいたら
- うらの紙をとります。
- さあ、どこへはろうかな？
  ホッペにピタッ。洋服にピタッ。
  たのしい場所を発見！しましょう。

初代大判アトム・シールについていた説明書。

Figure 2.25: Instruction sheet accompanying the Meiji stickers (From *Kodomo no Showa-shi: Omake to furoku daizuhan*).

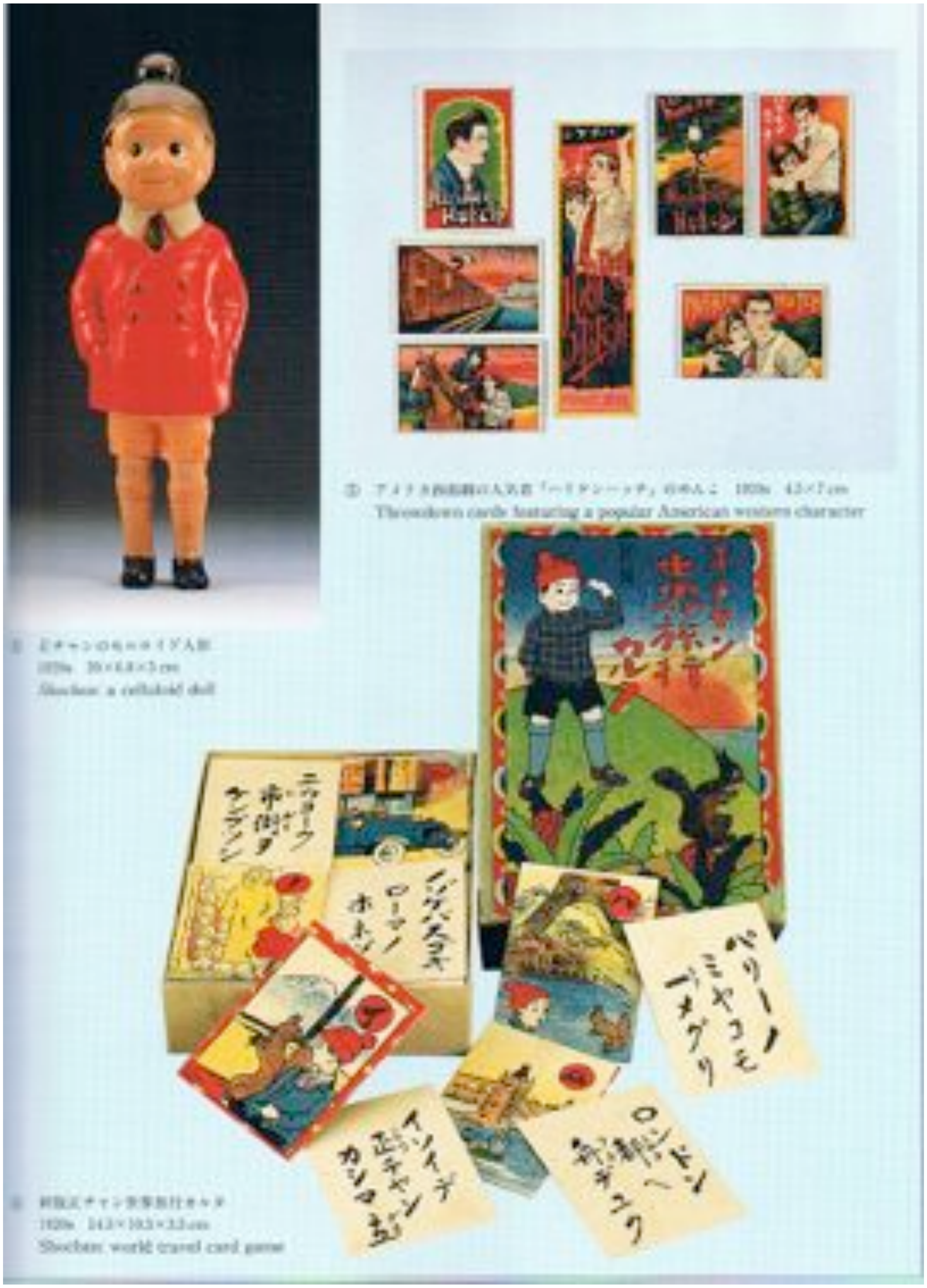
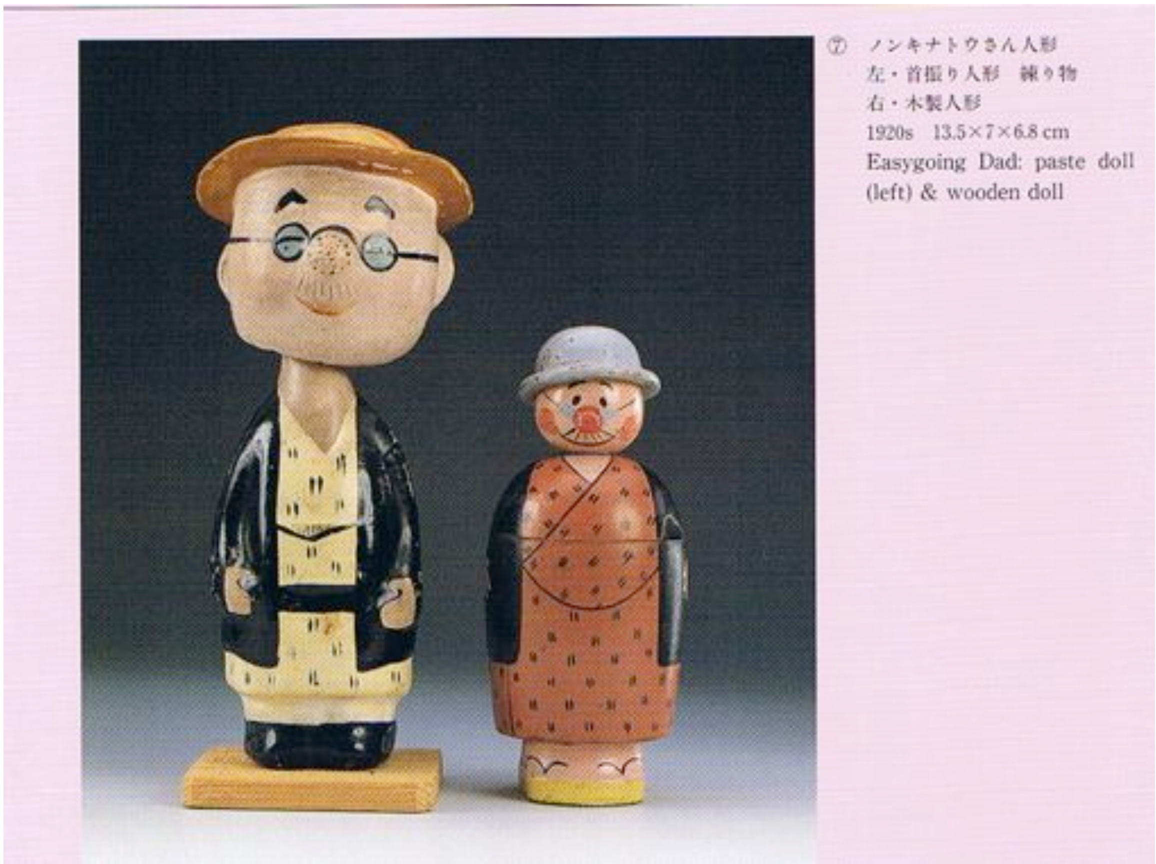

Throwdown cards featuring a popular American western character
Shochan: a celluloid doll
Shochan: world travel card game

Figure 4.1: Shou-chan: the first character goods in Japan? From the 1920s. Image from Toshikatsu Tada, ed., *The Toy Museum: Character Toys* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1992), 9.



⑦ ノンキナトウさん人形
左・首振り人形　練り物
右・木製人形
1920s　13.5×7×6.8 cm
Easygoing Dad: paste doll (left) & wooden doll

Figure 4.2: Nonki na tousan character goods. From Tada, *The Toy Museum: Character Toys*, 10.

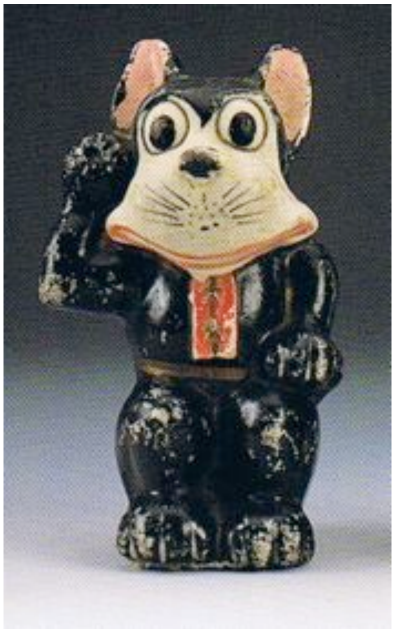
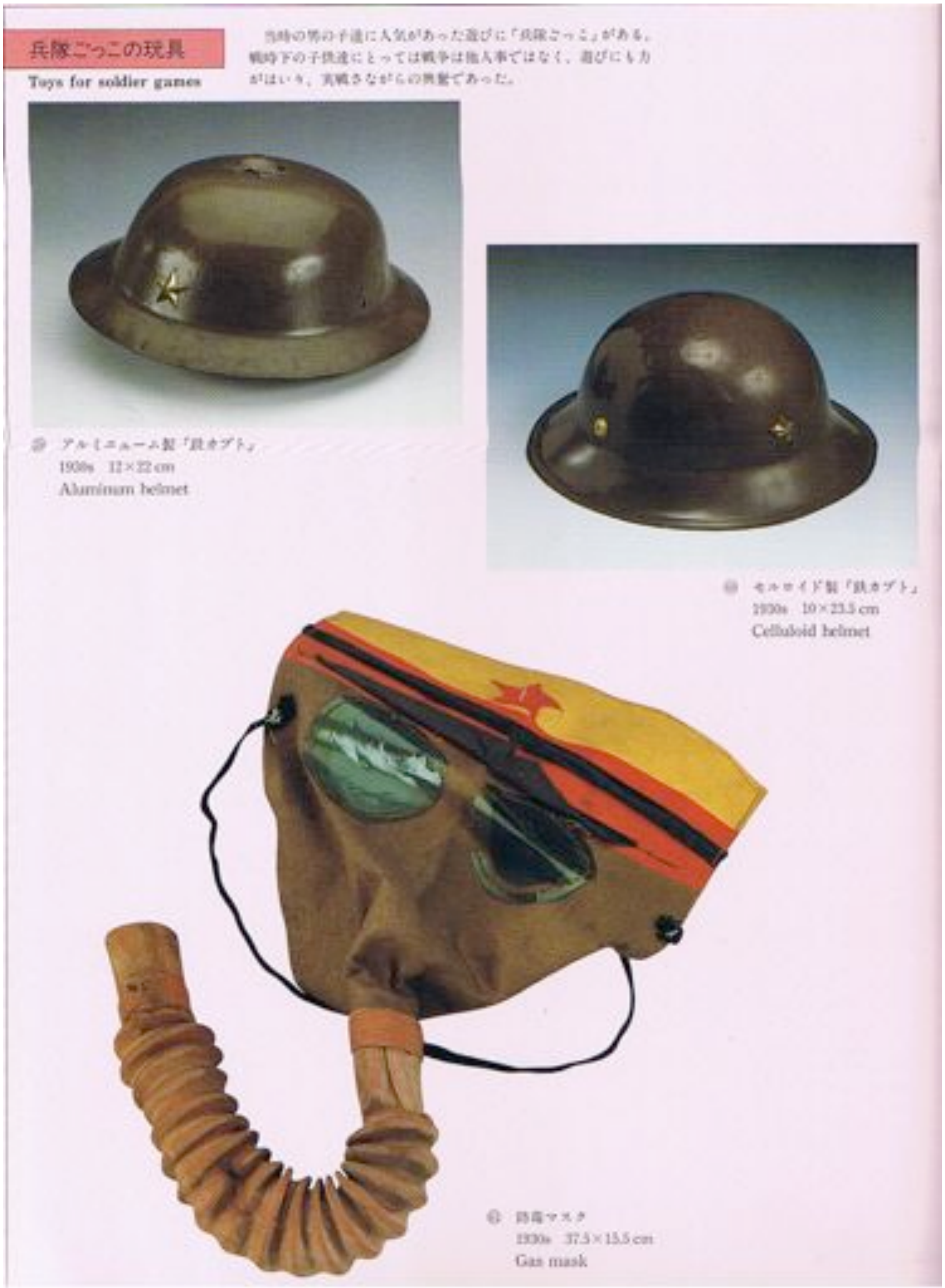


Figure 4.3: Norakuro (1930s); From Tada, *The Toy Museum: Character Toys*, 13.



兵隊ごっこの玩具

Toys for soldier games

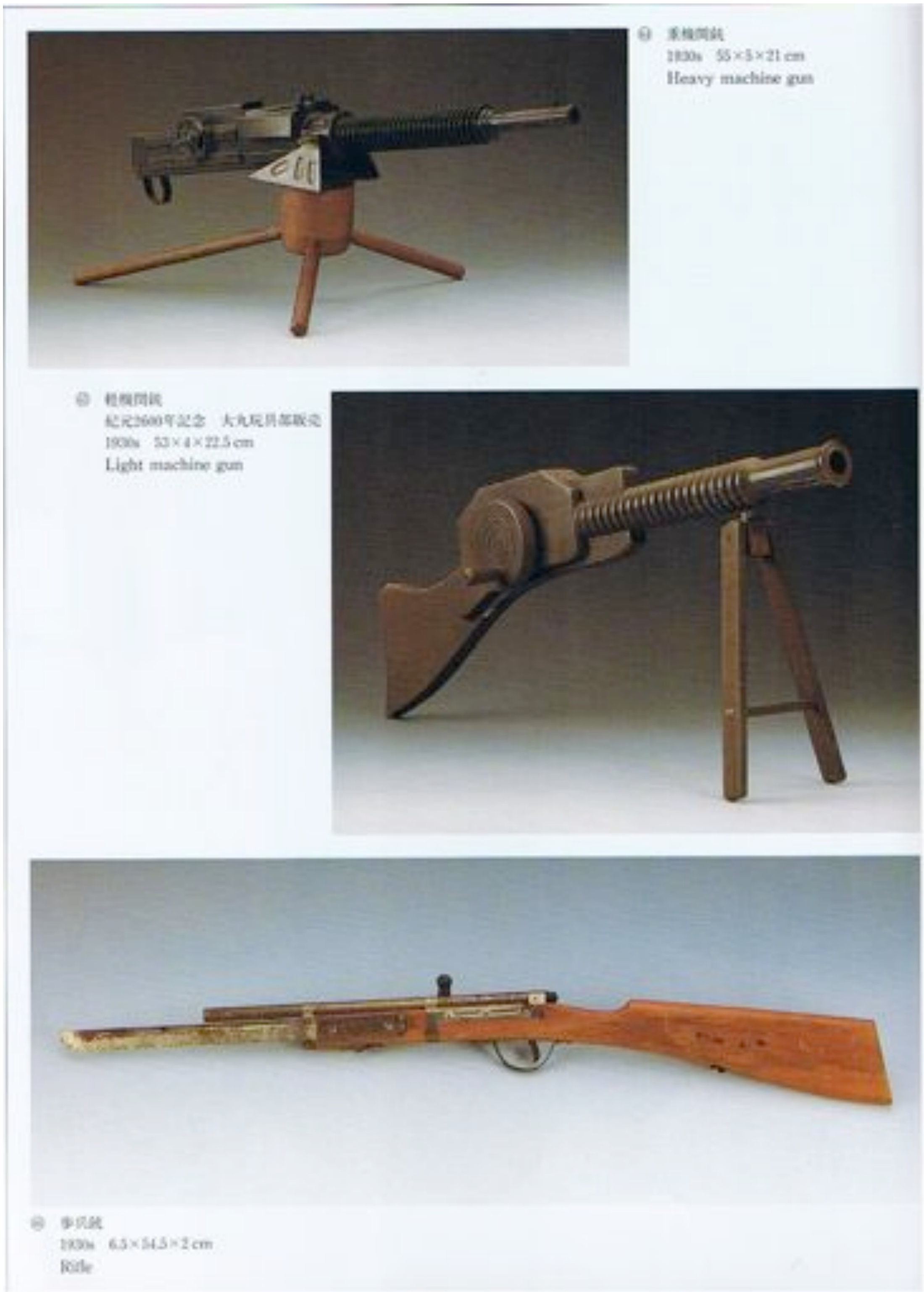
当時の男の子達に人気があった遊びに「兵隊ごっこ」がある。戦時下の子供達にとっては戦争は他人事ではなく、遊びにも力がはいり、実戦さながらの興奮であった。

アルミニューム製「鉄カブト」
1930s 12×22 cm
Aluminum helmet

セルロイド製「鉄カブト」
1930s 10×23.5 cm
Celluloid helmet

防毒マスク
1930s 37.5×15.5 cm
Gas mask

Figure 4.4: The turn towards militaristic toys: Toy gas maks and military helmets from the 1930s. From Toshikatsu Tada ed., *The Toy Museum: A Short Historical Survey of Japanese Toys* (Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin, 1992), 30.

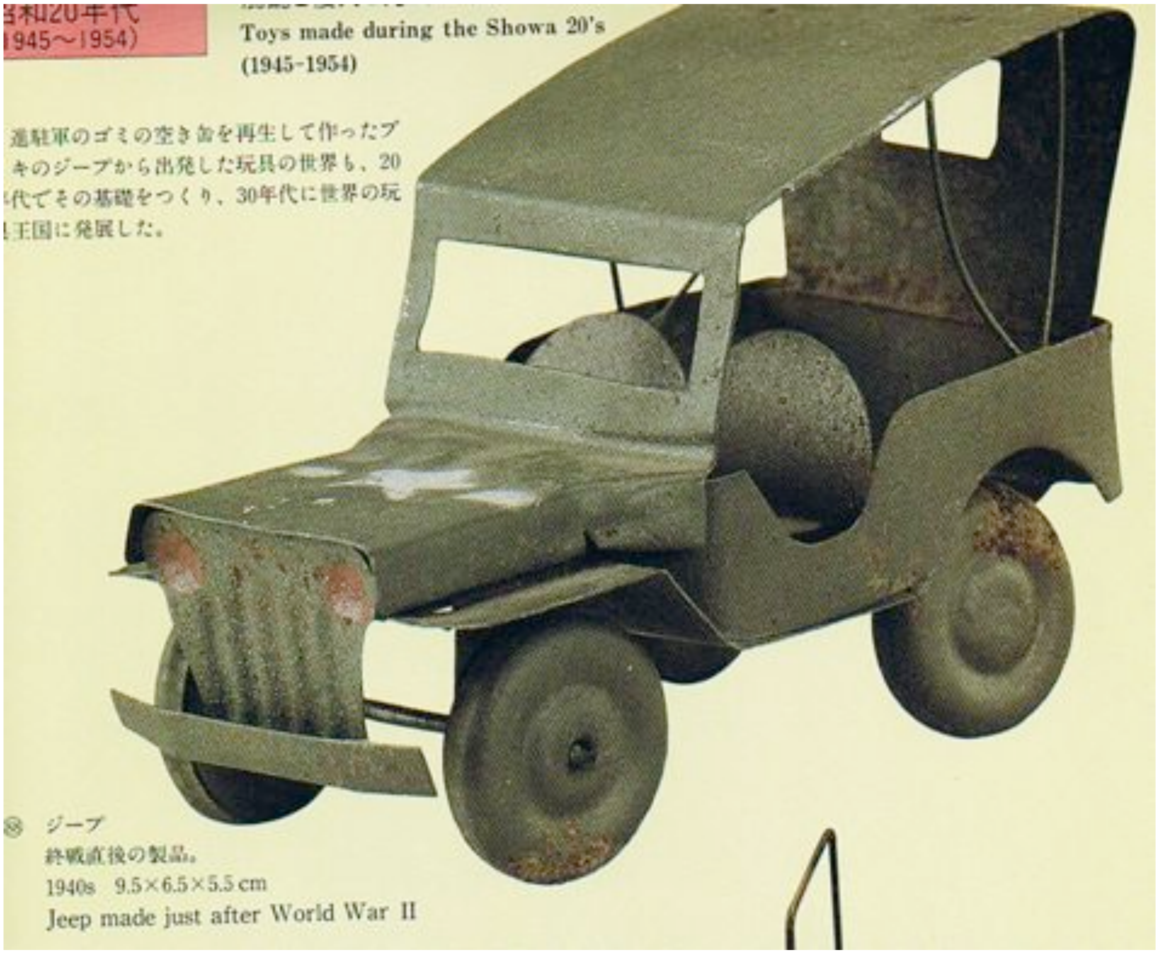


重機関銃
1930s 55×5×21 cm
Heavy machine gun

軽機関銃
紀元2600年記念 大丸玩具部販売
1930s 53×4×22.5 cm
Light machine gun

歩兵銃
1930s 6.5×54.5×2 cm
Rifle

Figure 4.5: Guns from the 1930s. Tada ed., *The Toy Museum: A Short Historical Survey of Japanese Toys*, 32.



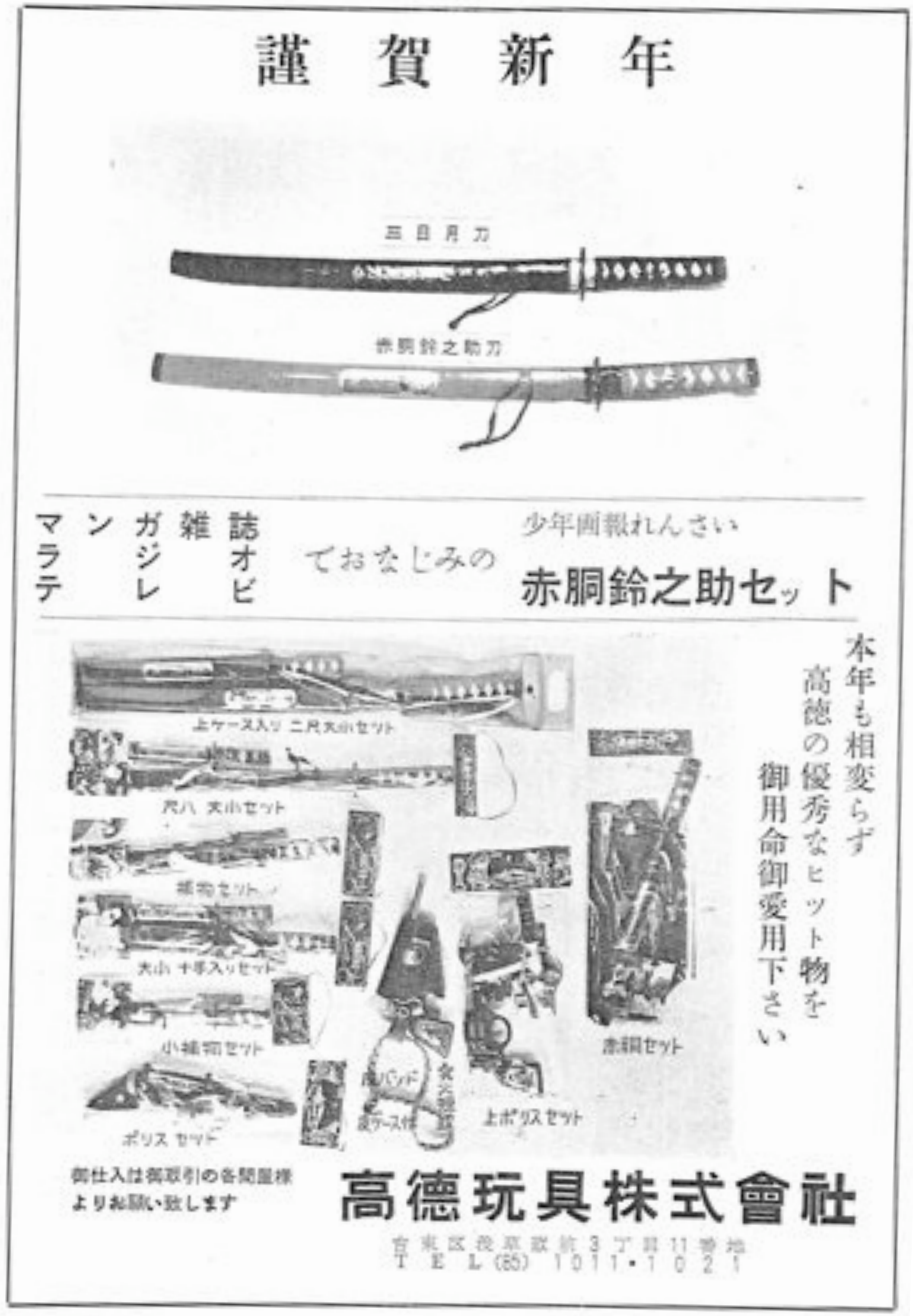
昭和20年代
(1945～1954)

Toys made during the Showa 20's
(1945-1954)

進駐軍のゴミの空き缶を再生して作ったブキのジープから出発した玩具の世界も、20年代でその基礎をつくり、30年代に世界の玩具王国に発展した。

⑱ ジープ
終戦直後の製品。
1940s 9.5×6.5×5.5 cm
Jeep made just after World War II

Figure 4.6: The first postwar toy: the military jeep. From Tada ed., *The Toy Museum: A Short Historical Survey of Japanese Toys*, 43.



謹賀新年

マンガ雑誌
ラジオ
テレビ
でおなじみの

少年画報れんさい
赤胴鈴之助セット

本年も相変らず
高徳の優秀なヒット物を
御用命御愛用下さい

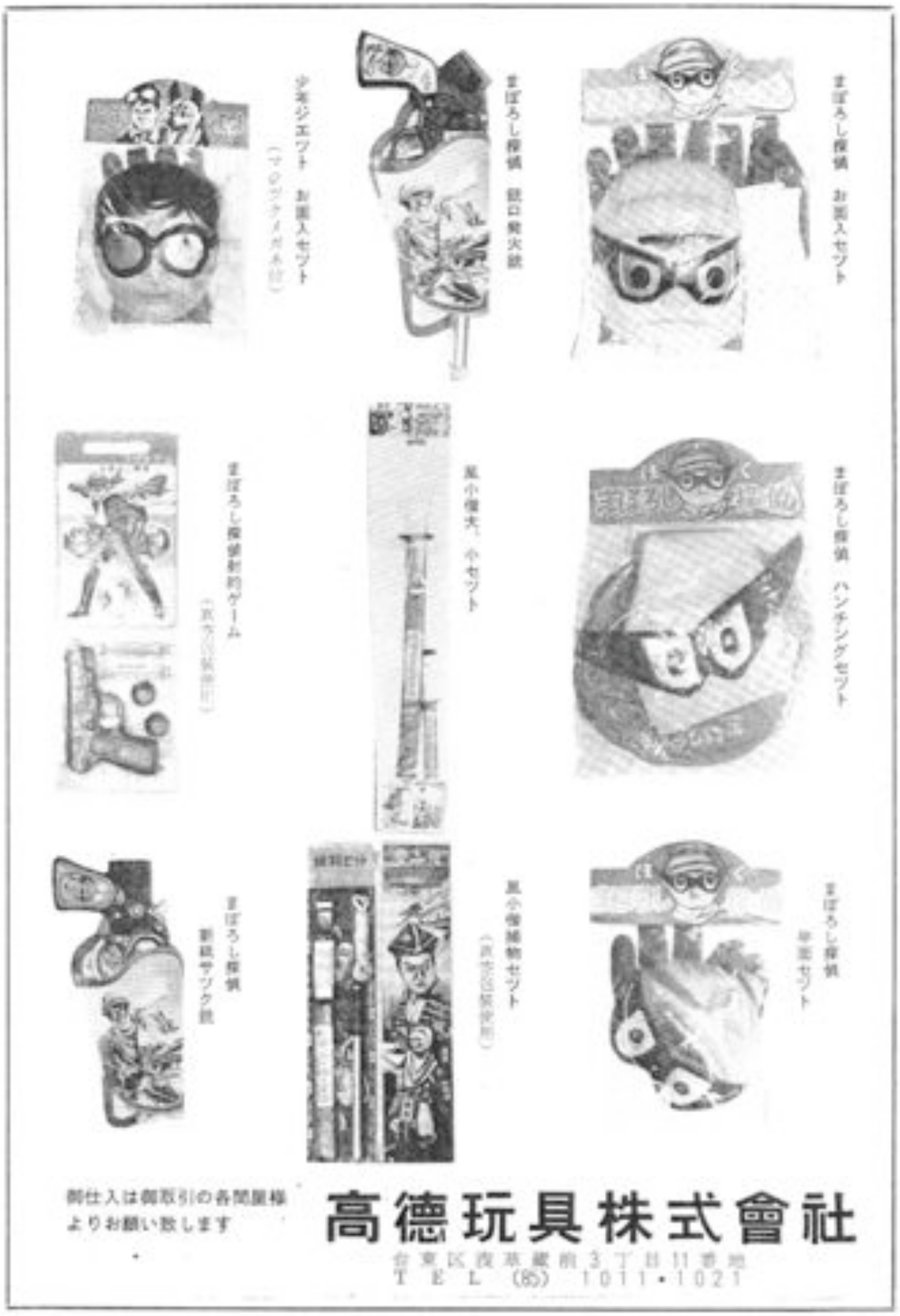
御仕入は御取引の各問屋様
よりお願い致します

高德玩具株式會社

台東区浅草蔵前3丁目11番地
TEL (85) 1011・1021

三日月刀
赤胴鈴之助刀
上ケース入り 二尺大小セット
尺八 大小セット
捕物セット
大小 十手入りセット
小捕物セット
ポリス セット
皮バンド
皮ケース付
上ポリスセット
赤胴セット

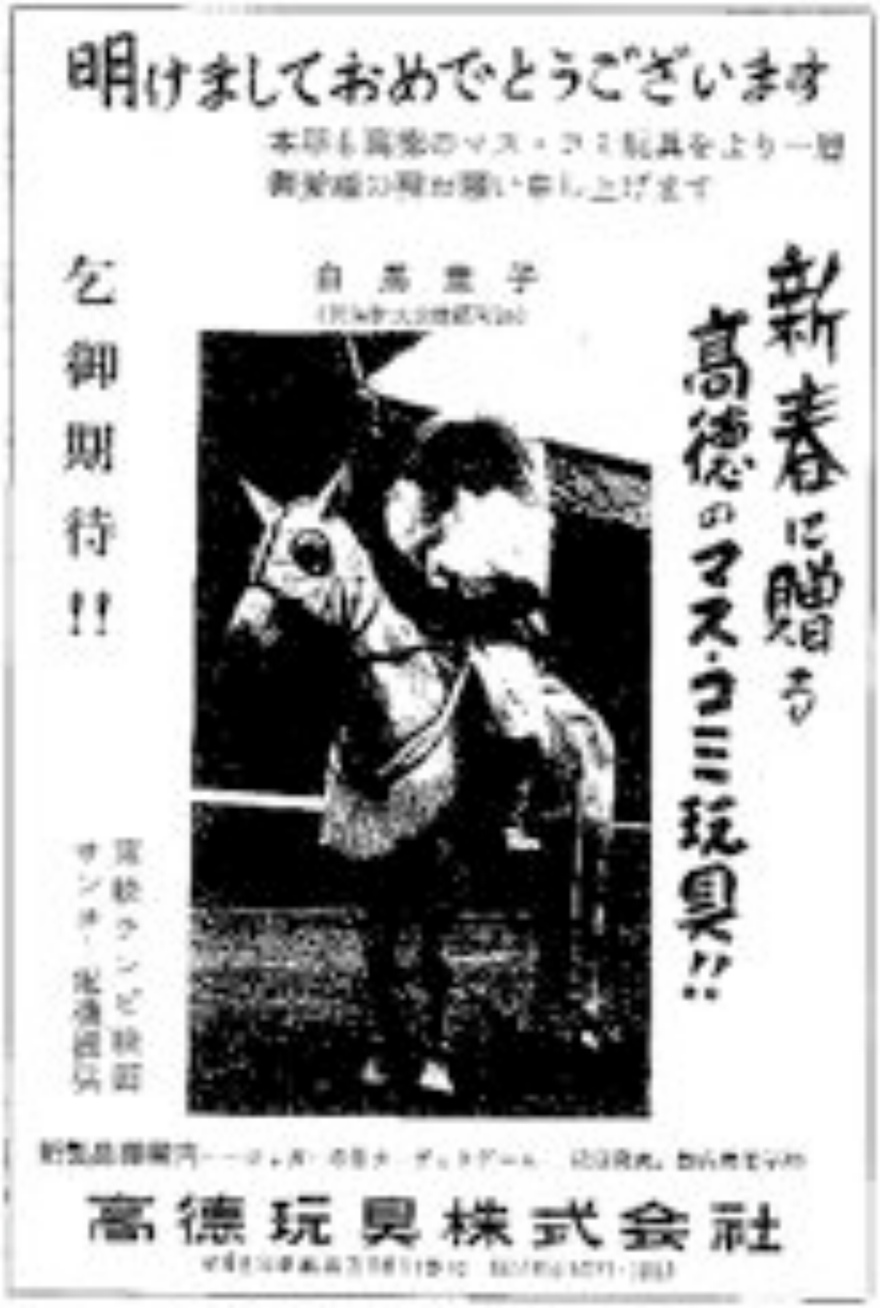
Figure 4.7: January 1959 *Gangu Shôhô* ad for Takatoku Gangu’s Akadô Suzunosuke sword sets.


まぼろし探偵　お面入セット
まぼろし探偵　銃口発火銃
少年ジエツト　お面入セット
まぼろし探偵　ハンチングセット
風小僧大、小セット
まぼろし探偵射的ゲーム
まぼろし探偵　手袋セット
風小僧捕物セット
まぼろし探偵　新型サツク銃

御仕入は御取引の各問屋様
よりお願い致します

高徳玩具株式會社
台東区浅草蔵前3丁目11番地
TEL (85) 1011・1021

Figure 4.8: November 1959 *Gangu Shôhô* ad for Takatoku Gangu toys: top row from left to right: Shônen Jet Mask Set; Maboroshi Tantei Gun; Maboroshi Tantei Mask Set.



明けましておめでとうございます

本年も高徳のマス・コミ玩具をより一層
御愛顧の程お願い申し上げます

新春に贈る高徳のマス・コミ玩具!!

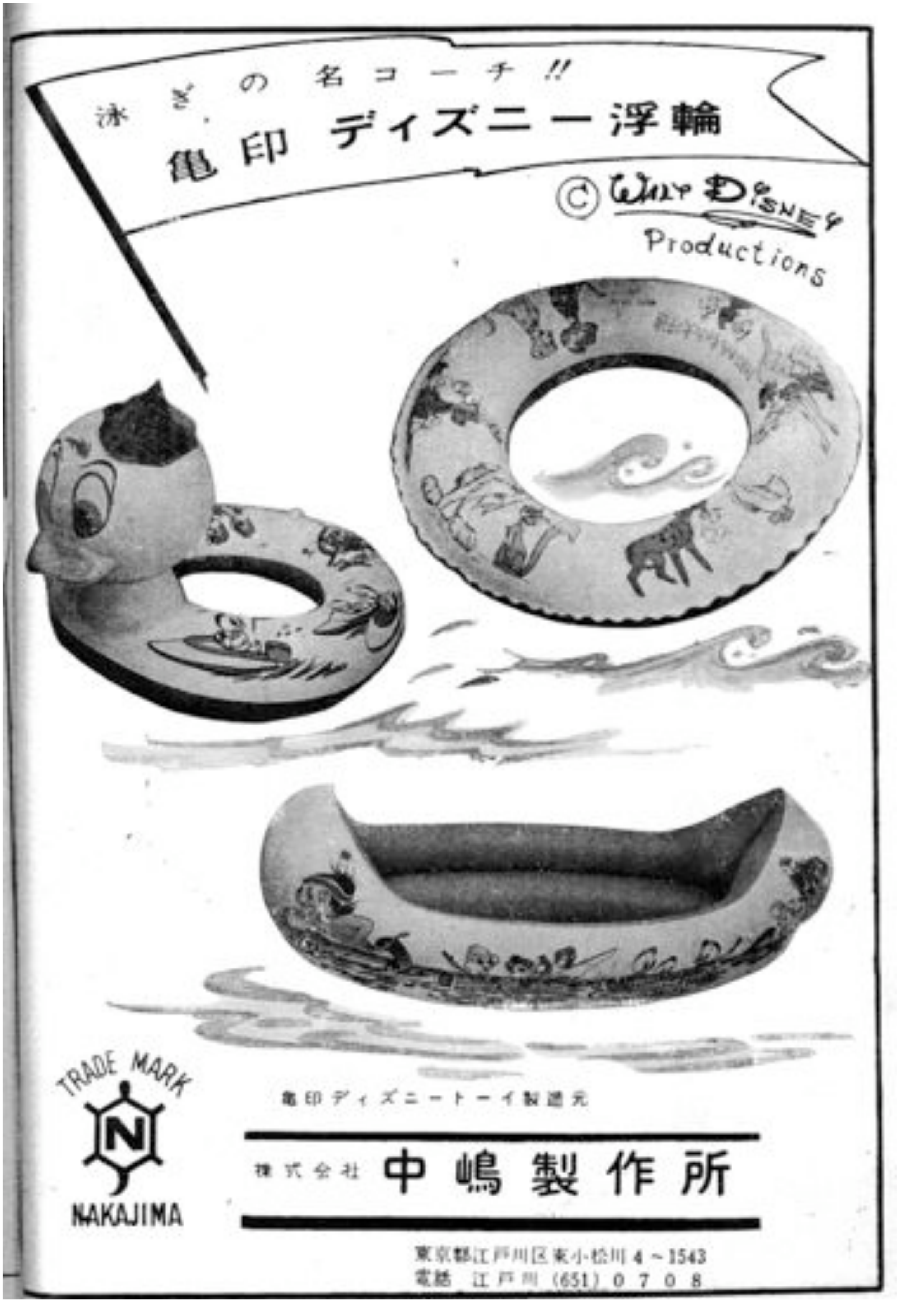
乞御期待!!

白馬童子

東映テレビ映画

高徳玩具株式会社

Figure 4.9: January 1960 Takatoku “Masu komi gangu” adverstisement in *Tokyo Gangu Shôhô*.

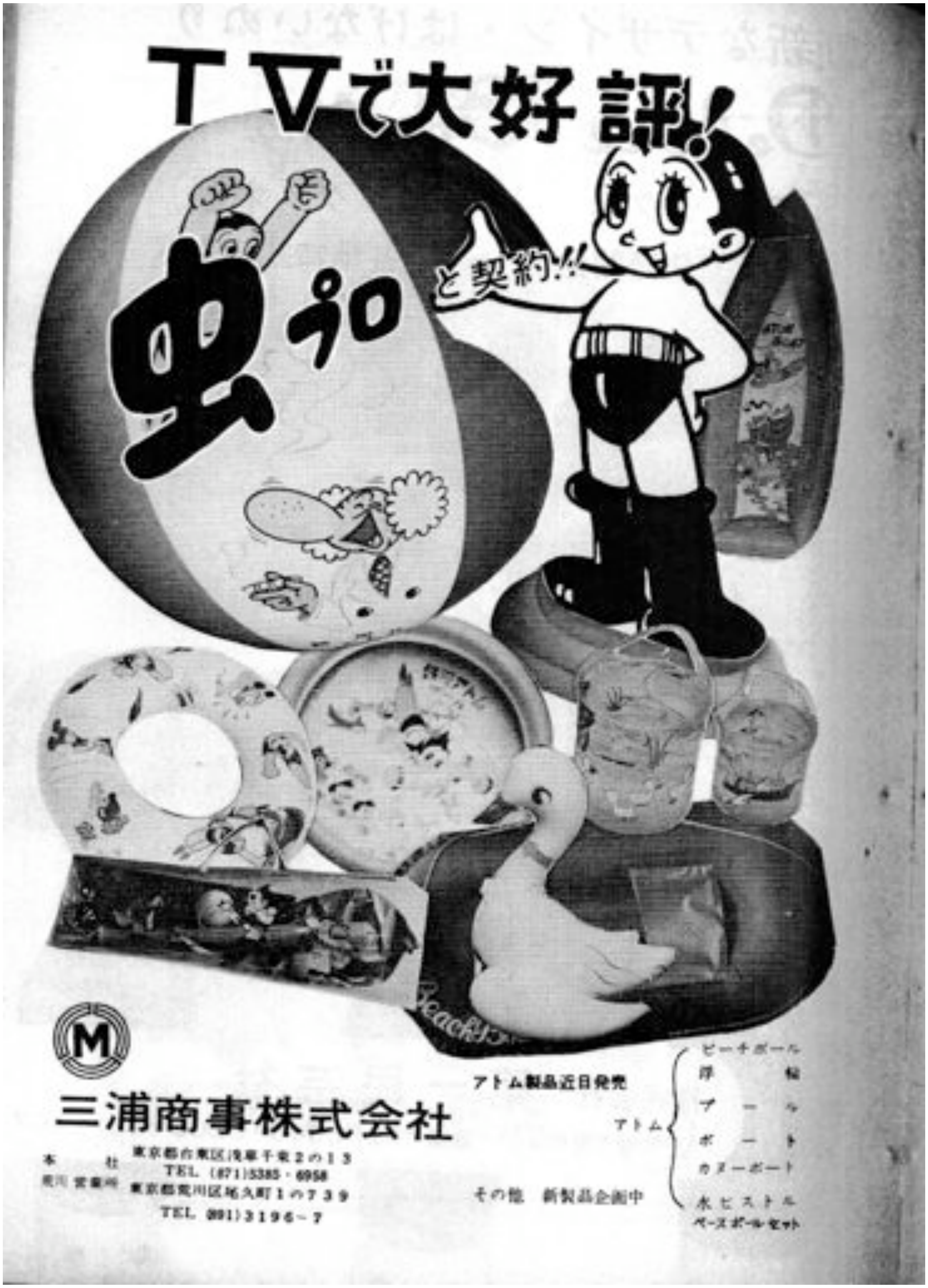

泳ぎの名コーチ!!
亀印 ディズニー浮輪
© Walt Disney Productions
TRADE MARK
N
NAKAJIMA

亀印ディズニートーイ製造元

株式会社 中嶋製作所

東京都江戸川区東小松川 4～1543
電話 江戸川 (651) 0 7 0 8

Figure 4.10: *Gangu Shôhô*, July 1962; Disney inflatable's.


TVで大好評!

虫プロと契約!!

三浦商事株式会社

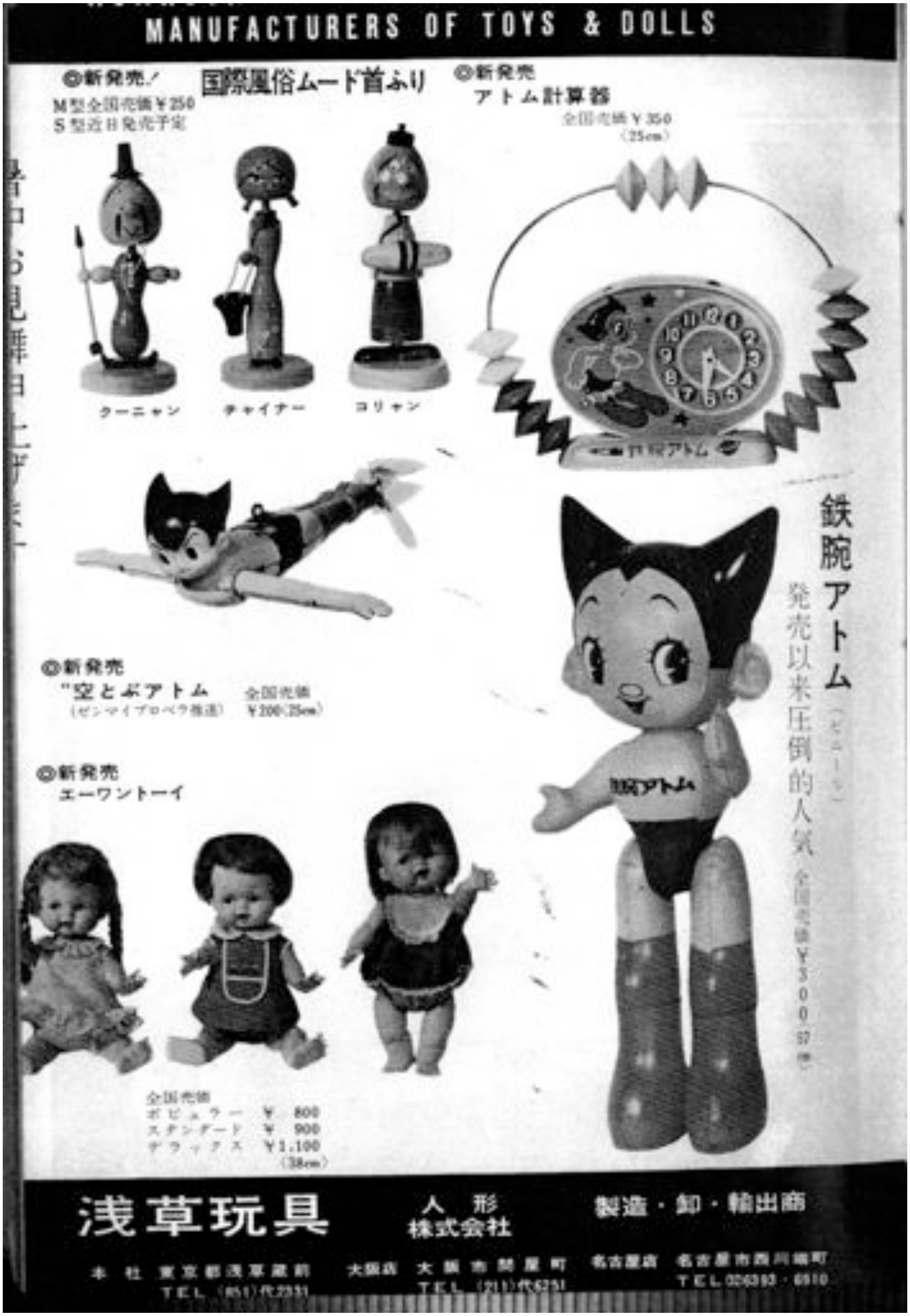
本　社　東京都台東区浅草千束2の13
TEL (871)5385・6958
荒川営業所　東京都荒川区尾久町1の739
TEL (891)3196〜7

アトム製品近日発売

アトム
- ビーチボール
- 浮輪
- プール
- ボート
- カヌーボート
- 水ピストル
- ベースボールセット

その他　新製品企画中

Figure 4.11: Atomu inflatables, *Gangu Shôhô* 1963.



MANUFACTURERS OF TOYS & DOLLS

◎新発売！
M型全国売価￥250
S型近日発売予定

国際風俗ムード首ふり

クーニャン
チャイナー
コリャン

◎新発売
アトム計算器
全国売価￥350
（25cm）

◎新発売
"空とぶアトム
（ゼンマイプロペラ推進）
全国売価
￥200（25cm）

◎新発売
エーワントーイ

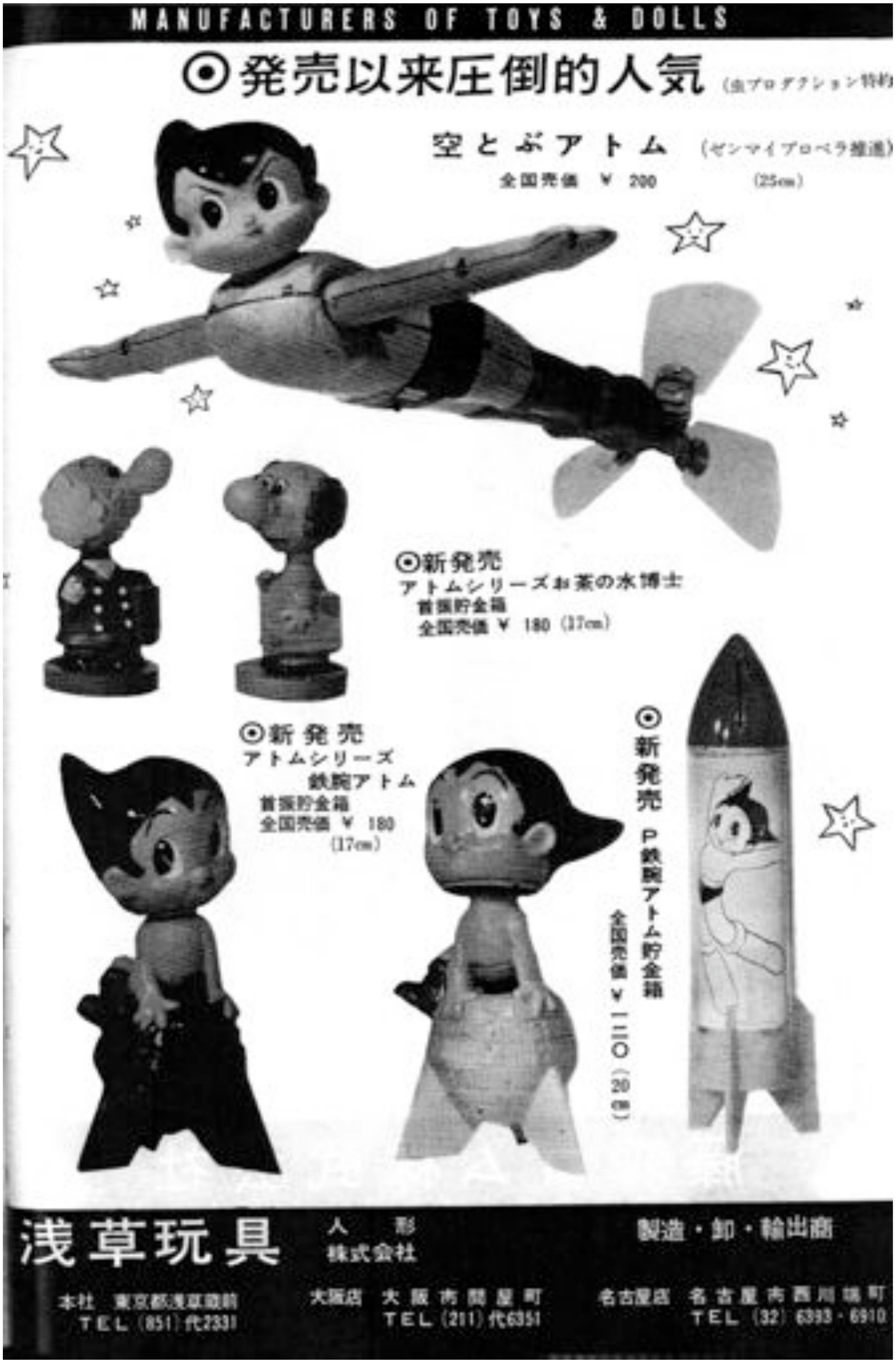
全国売価
ポピュラー ￥ 800
スタンダード ￥ 900
デラックス ￥1.100
（38cm）

鉄腕アトム（ビニール）
発売以来圧倒的人気
全国売価￥300（57cm）

浅草玩具
人形
株式会社
製造・卸・輸出商

本社 東京都浅草蔵前 TEL (851)代2331
大阪店 大阪市問屋町 TEL (211)代6251
名古屋店 名古屋市西川端町 TEL (2)0393・6910

Figure 4.12: August 1963 issue of *Gangu Shôhô*.



MANUFACTURERS OF TOYS & DOLLS

⊙発売以来圧倒的人気 (虫プロダクション特約

空とぶアトム (ゼンマイプロペラ推進)
全国売価 ¥ 200 (25cm)

⊙新発売
アトムシリーズお茶の水博士
首振貯金箱
全国売価 ¥ 180 (17cm)

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Figure 4.13: September 1963 issue of *Gangu Shôhô*; Asakusa Toys; the “Atomu, Flying through the sky” toy, at the top of the ad.

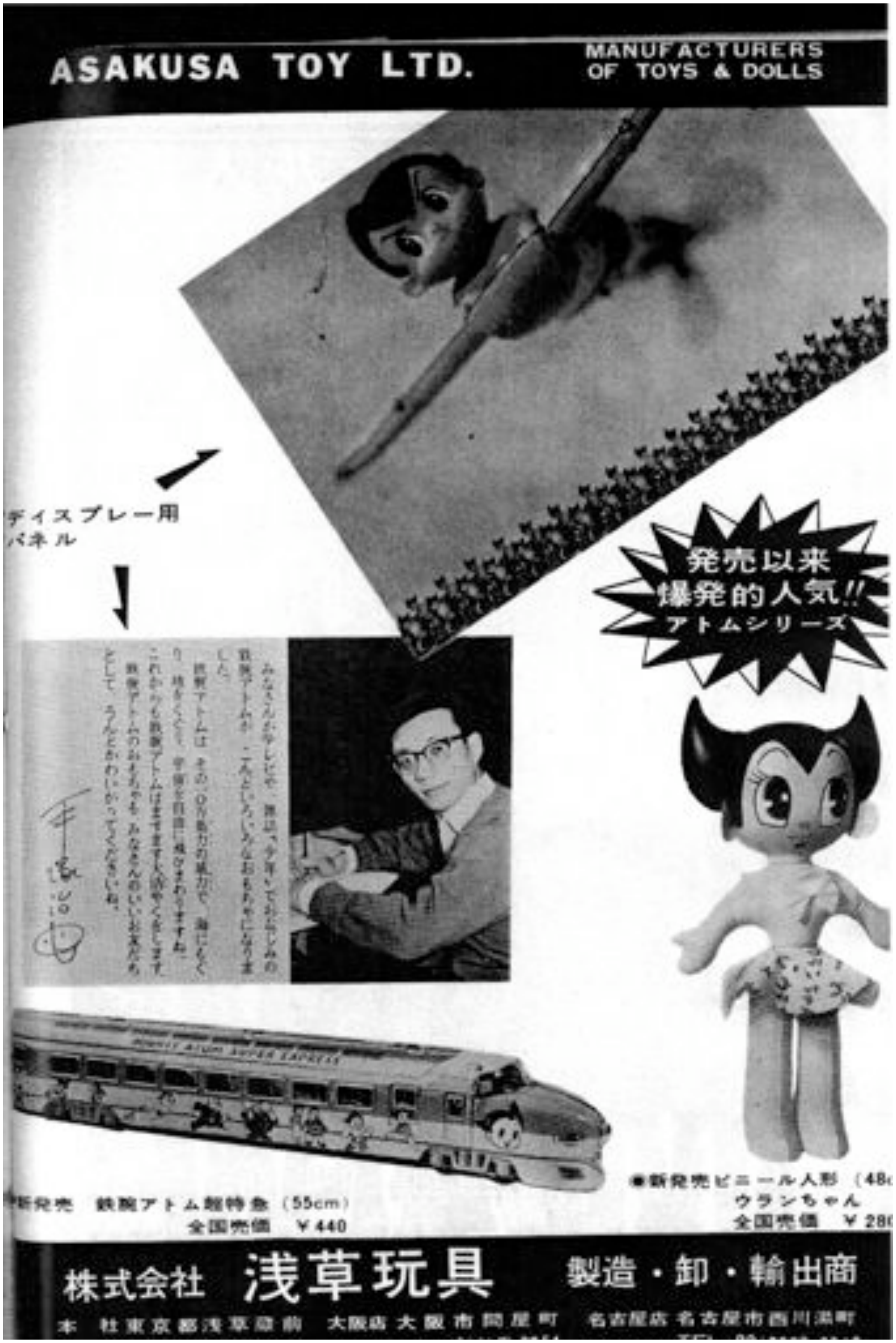

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Figure 4.14: December 1963 issue of *Gangu Shôhô*; another Asakusa Toys ad that features “Atomu, Flying through the Sky,” along with a message from and picture of Tezuka, and two new Atomu toys: Uran-chan, Atomu’s sister, and the “Might Atomu Super Express” train.

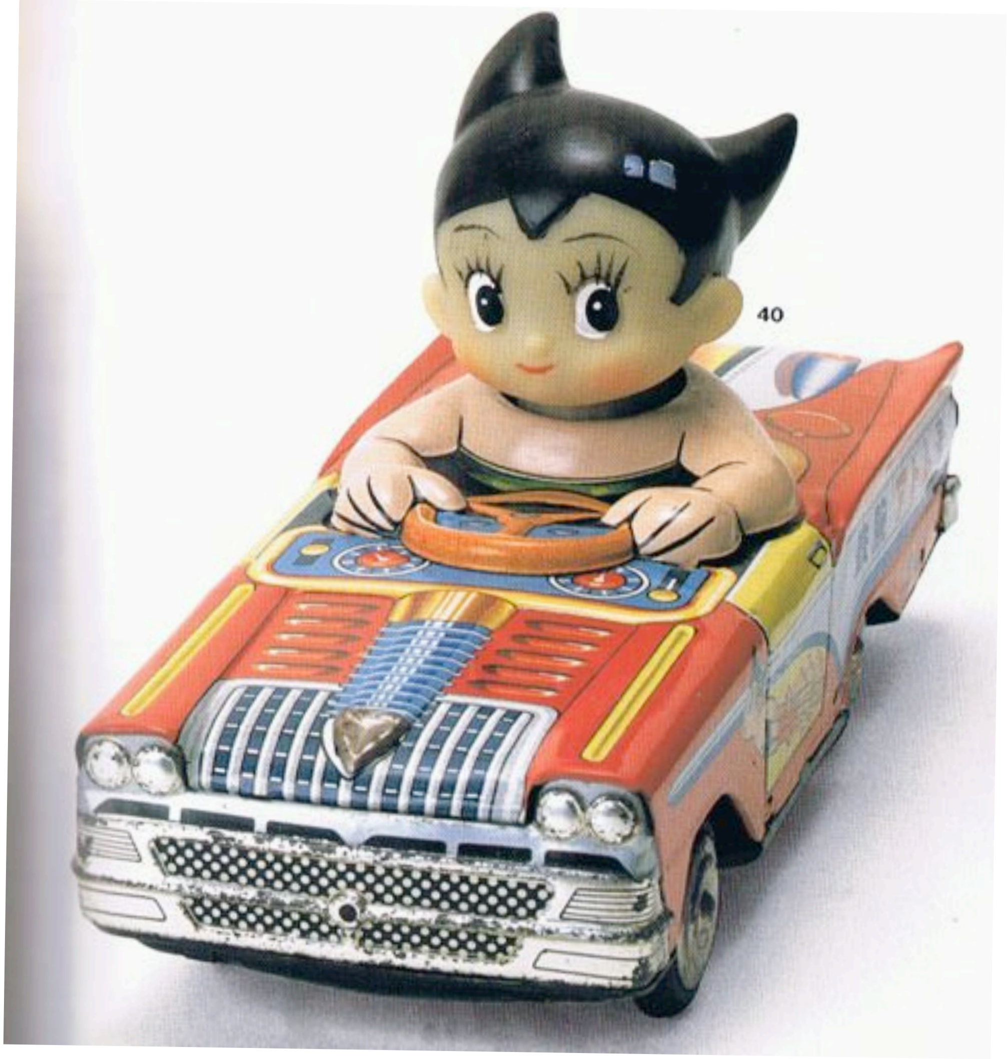

Figure 4.15: “Atomu Car,” from *Tin Toy Museum #3*.

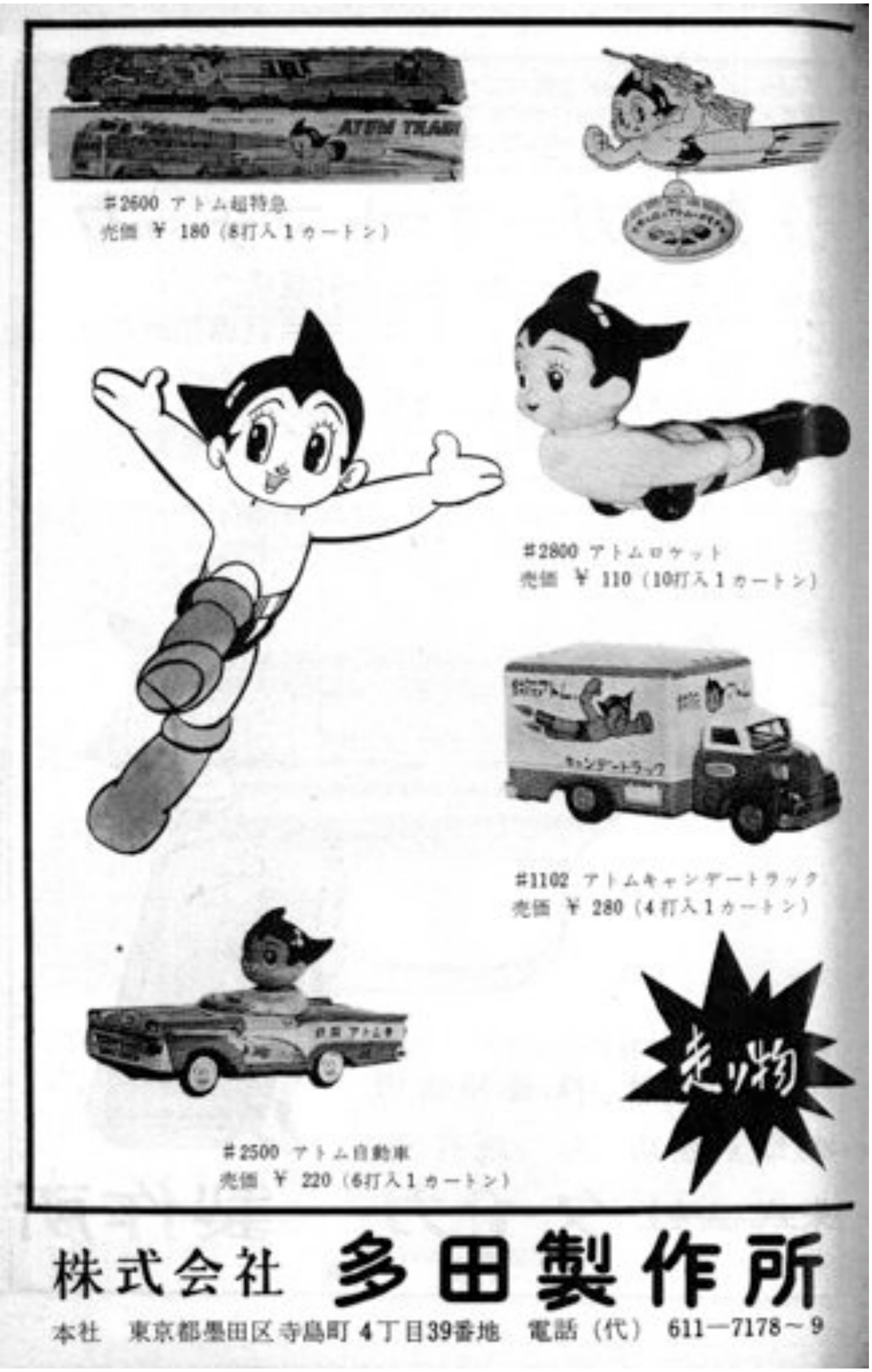

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Figure 4.16: December 1963 issue of *Gangu Shôhô*; Tada Atomu toys, including "Atomu Rocket."

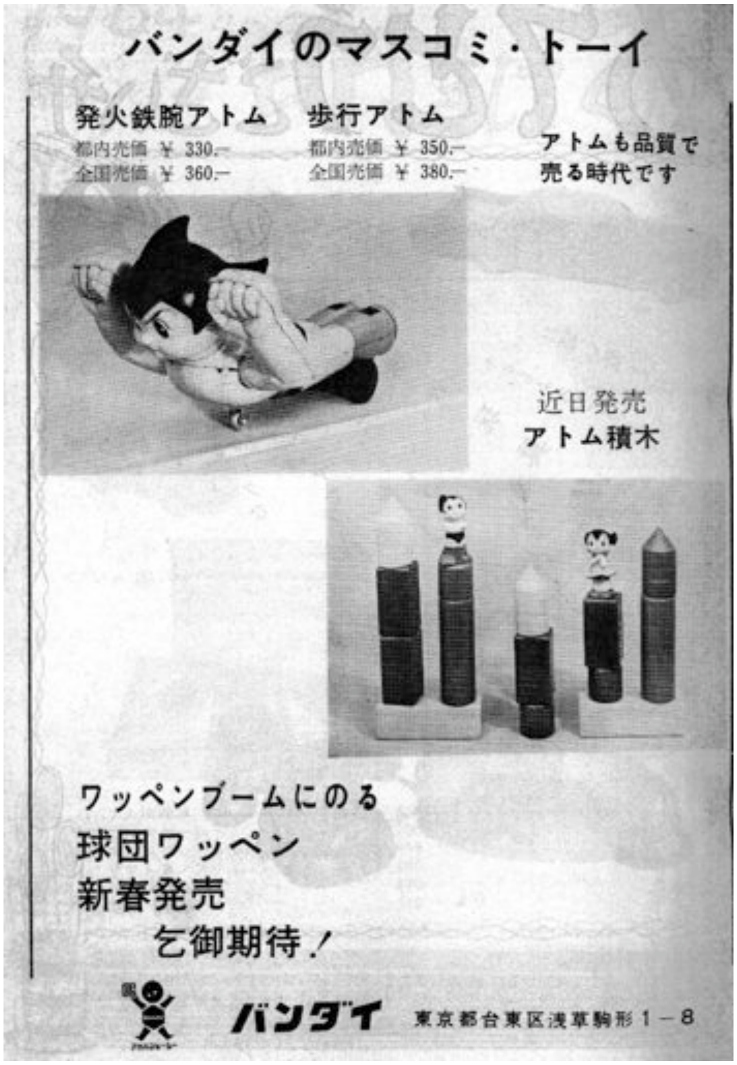

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Figure 4.17: January 1964 issue of *Gangu Shôhô*; including "Ignition, Tetsuwan Atomu" at the top left.

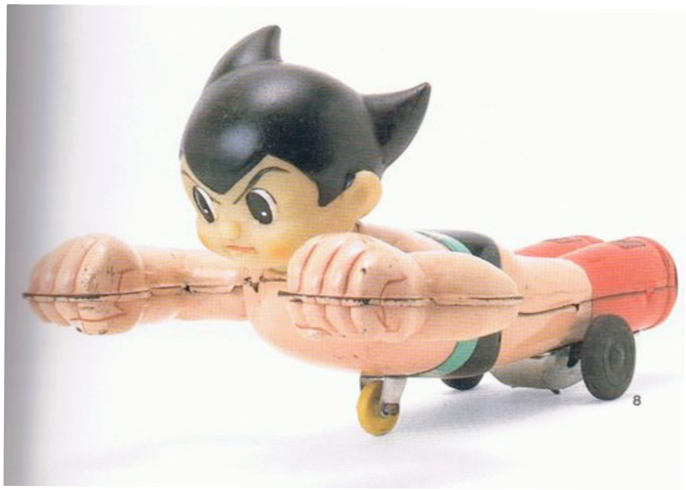


Figure 4.18: Color photograph of "Ignition, Tetsuwan Atomu" from *Atomu no omocha*, 12.

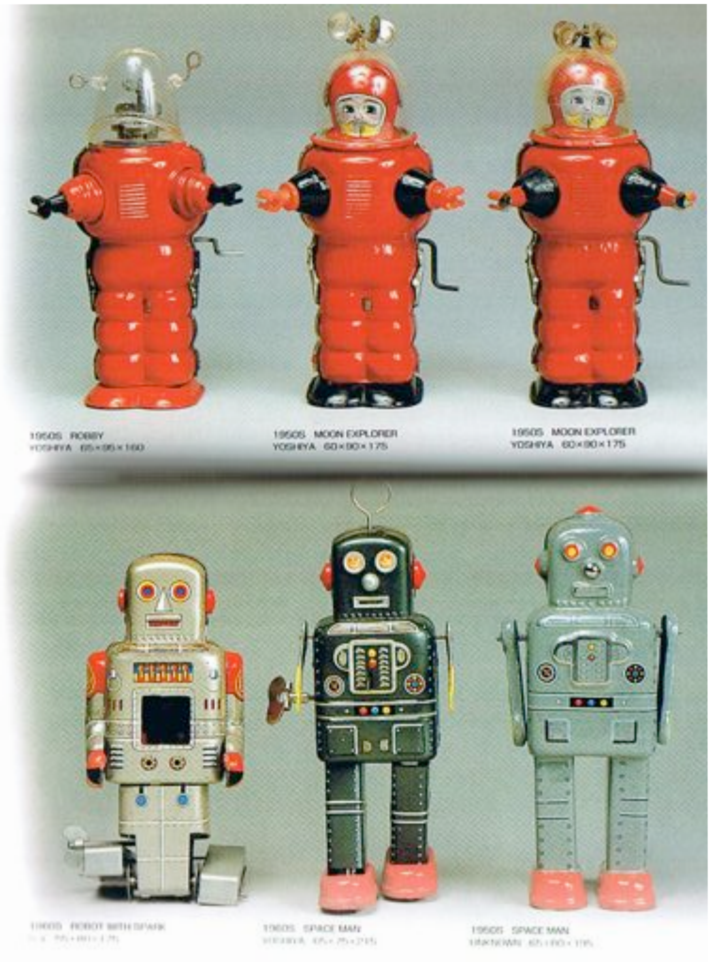

1950S ROBBY
YOSHIYA 65×95×160
1950S MOON EXPLORER
YOSHIYA 60×90×175
1950S MOON EXPLORER
YOSHIYA 60×90×175
1960S ROBOT WITH SPARK
1960S SPACE MAN
YOSHIYA 65×75×215
1950S SPACE MAN
UNKNOWN 65×80×195

Figure 4.19: tin robots from 1950s, *Tin Toy Museum #3*,

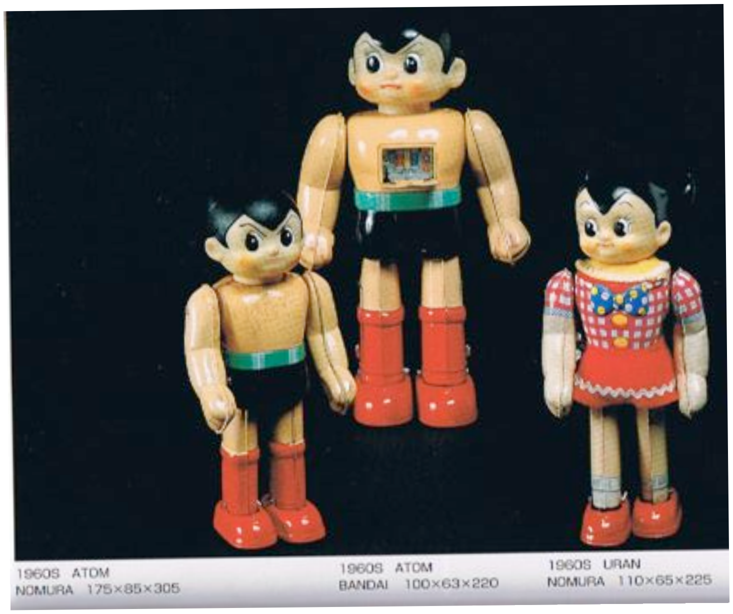
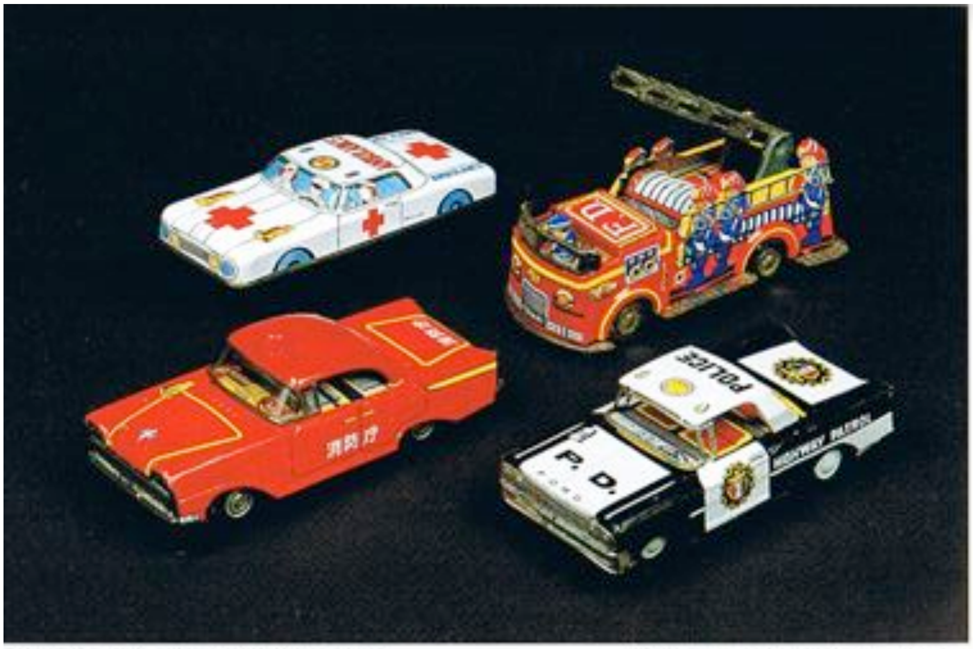

1960S ATOM
NOMURA 175×85×305
1960S ATOM
BANDAI 100×63×220
1960S URAN
NOMURA 110×65×225

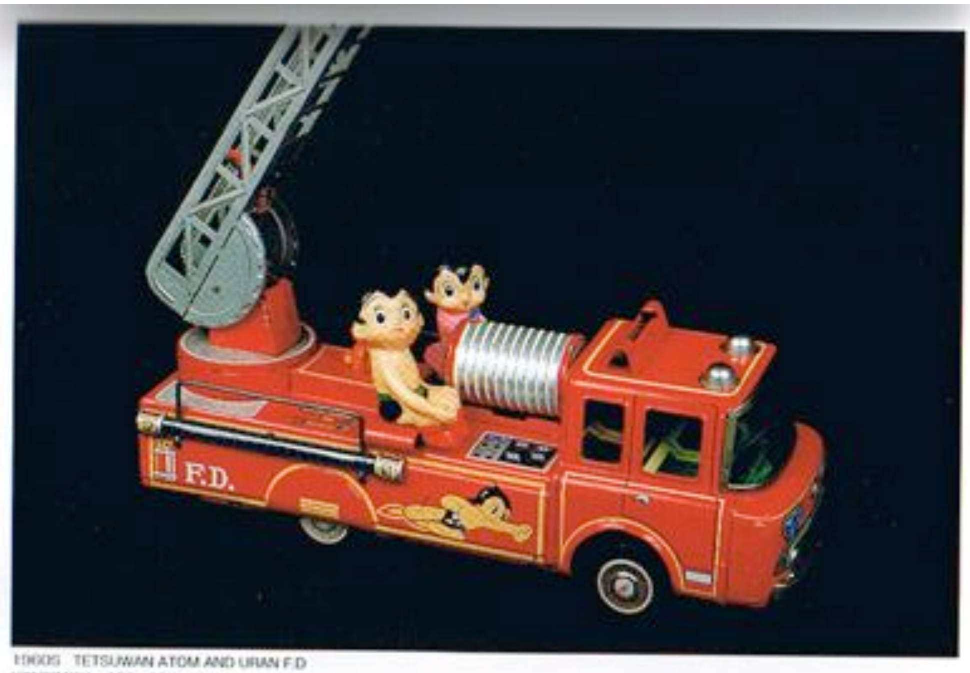
Figure 4.20: Atomu and Uran tin robots from 1963-5; *Tin Toy Museum#3*, 86.



1970S AMBULANCE CAR UNKNOWN 75×180×40
1950S OLDSMOBILE F.D N.T. 75×180×70

1950S FIRE ENGINE CAR K.S. 80×165×85
1960S FORD HIGHWAY PATROL SHUDO 75×165×55

Figure 4.21: Vehicle buriki from the 1950s; *Tin Toy Museum#3*, 35.



1960S TETSUWAN ATOM AND URAN F.D
YONEZAWA 130×375×150

Figure 4.22: Atomu and Uran fire truck; the transformation of the fire truck buriki into a mass communications toy; *Tin Toy Museum#3*, 53.

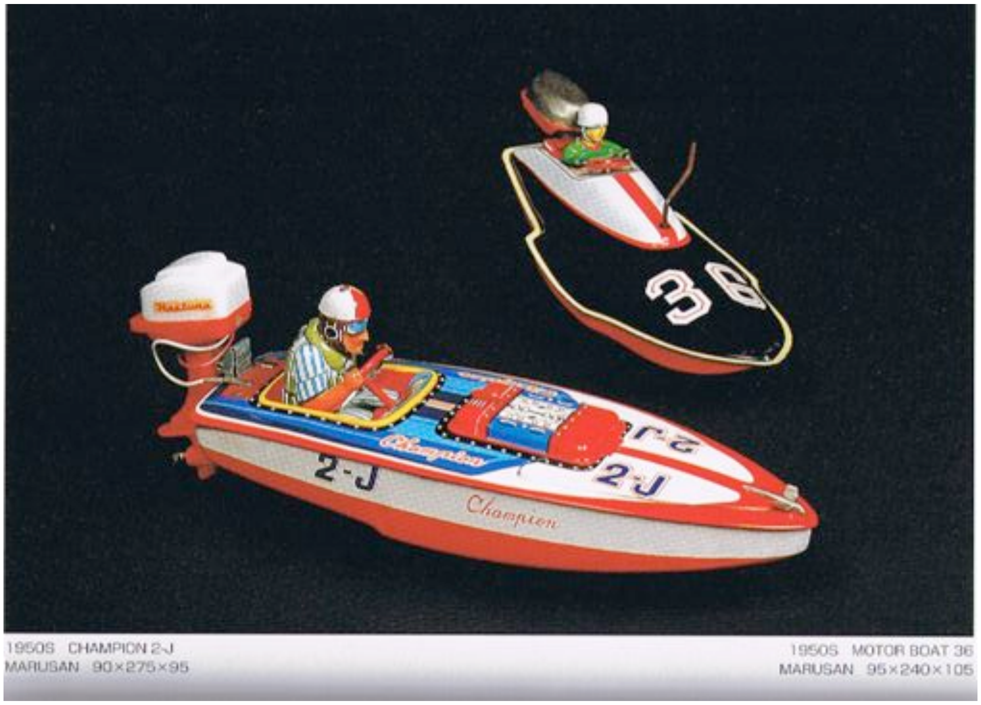

2-J
Champion
2-J
36
1950S CHAMPION 2-J
MARUSAN 90×275×95
1950S MOTOR BOAT 36
MARUSAN 95×240×105

Figure 4.23: Buriki boats from the 1950s.

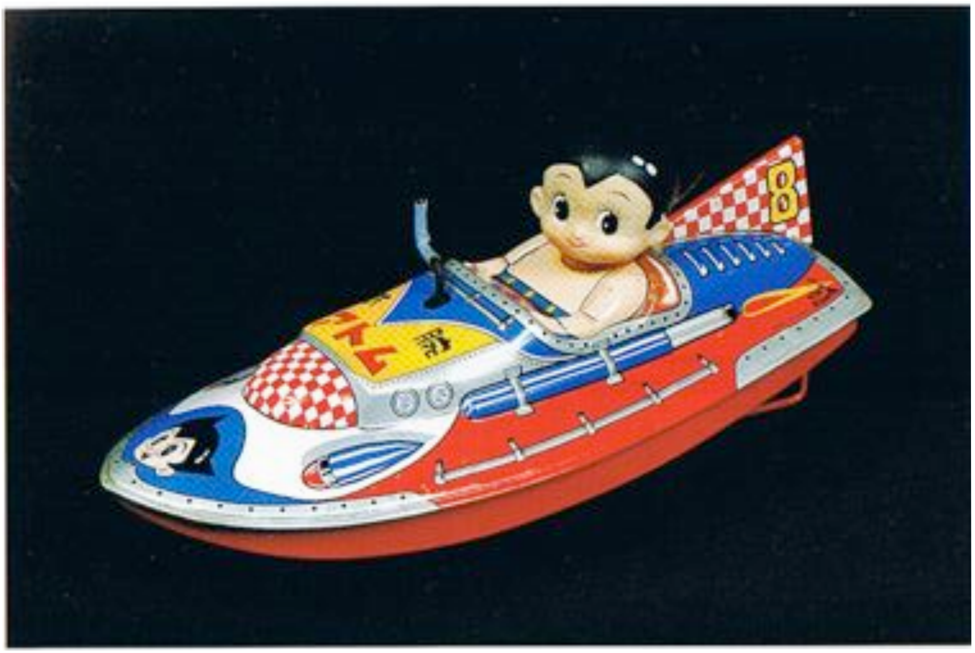


Figure 4.24: Atomu Boat, image from Toyoji Takayama, *The Tin Toy Museum*, 130.