Anime's Media Mix

Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan

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Media Mixes, Media Transformations

Since the 1980s, the term *media mix* has been the most widely used word to describe the phenomenon of transmedia communication, specifically, the development of a particular media franchise across multiple media types, over a particular period of time. In a word, it is the Japanese term for what is known in North America as *media convergence*. Yet, despite its importance for understanding the present and past of Japanese media, this term is undertheorized and suffers from a surprising lack of historicization. Although there are a few important exceptions, there has been little serious consideration of the term itself, much less any attempt to situate it in relation to its genealogical origins: postwar American and Japanese marketing discourse.[1] Though the term continues to be used within contemporary marketing discourse, it is greatly overshadowed by its popular use in describing the circulation of characters and narratives across media types—an essential part of the anime system.[2] Yet there has been almost no attempt to differentiate the two quite distinct uses of the term and little acknowledgment that this term originates in the realm of marketing theory.

Shifting focus from the close study of the emergence of the anime system that occupied the first part of this book, this chapter proposes to look at another key moment in the development of the anime media mix: the use of the media mix strategy by publisher Kadokawa Shoten (Kadokawa Books). Kadokawa Books is of key historical significance for transposing the methods of media connectivity practiced by television anime to the realms of film and the novel. It is also an important point of reference insofar as Kadokawa is also most frequently credited

with having invented the contemporary form of media mix practice.[3] Despite a degree of misplaced historical priority, however, Kadokawa *is* a key player in contemporary media mix practice and an important site from which to understand both the continuities and the transformations of the anime media mix since its emergence in the early 1960s.

This chapter will provide an analysis of the transformations of the term *media mix,* from its origins in postwar marketing discourse to its use, as of the 1980s, in describing the media mix developed around Kadokawa. A comparison of the two models of the media mix will not only reveal important differences between the two but will also make visible transformations in the media and social spheres that attend the rise of the anime media mix. Indeed, we will find that both the anime and Kadokawa media mixes are responsible for, and bound up with, the historical shift from a modern or Fordist social regime to a postmodern or post-Fordist one.

For the sake of clarity, I will distinguish two applications of the term *media mix* by referring to one as the *marketing media mix* and the other as the *anime media mix.*[4] Before introducing the marketing media mix, we must begin with a brief consideration of the history of marketing in postwar Japan and a sense of the context into which the practice was introduced.

Postwar Marketing and the Society of Mass Consumption

There is general consensus among historians that marketing developed in postwar Japan as a direct response to the importation of American-style marketing techniques beginning in 1955. Indeed, the term *marketing* itself only came into wide use in Japan around this date.[5] While advertising and forms of marketing certainly existed before this time—dating as far back as the Edo period (1603–1868) at least—marketing, which includes advertising as one of its techniques, is regarded as a more recent invention. The American style of marketing was, Kohara Hiroshi argues, a particular body of knowledge, practices, and discourses based around the provocation of consumer desire for a particular product through mass advertising as well as the quantitative or "scientific" research techniques for calculating the most effective means of doing so.[6]

The impetus for the introduction of American-style marketing was the September 1955 trip of top management executives from Japan to the

United States for the purpose of observing and learning from the business practices of U.S. companies. What they noted, among other things, was the importance that American enterprises placed on marketing, and they brought back to Japan an increased appreciation for the place of marketing within business. This sparked a sharp rise in interest in marketing across the Japanese industrial world.[7] It is worth noting here that while marketing had existed in the United States for some time, the "central tenets" of modern marketing "did not fully crystallize until the mid-1950s," as Philip Kotler has claimed.[8] Robert J. Keith, in his seminal article "The Marketing Revolution," similarly suggests that marketing underwent a "Copernican revolution" during the 1950s. During the "era of sales," which he dates to the 1930s, the product was at the center of marketing practice. By the 1950s, however, the consumer was put at the center of marketing: the product was replaced by the consumer as the center of the business universe.[9] Moreover, this Copernican revolution was accompanied by a reorganization of the company itself around the marketing department. Many firms reorganized their management structures to revolve around their marketing departments, reflecting the changing emphasis on the consumer rather than the product.[10] American companies were in the throes of this marketing revolution when the Japanese executives visited them in 1955. In light of the subsequent introduction of U.S.-style marketing theories and practices into Japan in the following years, it seems they too were convinced of the potential commercial benefits of this revolution.

The importation of the American marketing revolution into Japan in 1955 was one element in the formation of the postwar consumer society, but this year was also highly significant as it marked the beginning of a long high-growth trend that supported the consumption on which this society was founded. Marking the end of the period of postwar recovery (1945–54), 1955 is usually cited as the first year of the period of high growth (1955–73), when Japan left behind the period of poverty, reconstruction, and material want (malnutrition, lack of food, homelessness) that characterized the immediate postwar years. This was the beginning of the years of Japan's economic miracle, characterized by years of high economic growth and the development of a society of mass consumption.[11]

In this consumer society, the industrial-arena development of mass production had to be met with the market-arena development of mass

consumption. The indispensable tool for the connection of mass production to mass consumption was, Kohara notes, the newly systematized 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.[12] Marketing is a technology of relation that connects production to consumption. As such, it was a key element in the establishment of postwar Japanese consumer society and was essential to the development and sustenance of Japan's economic miracle.[13]

Marketing Discourse and the Media Mix

Given that marketing itself is a technology of relation, it is perhaps appropriate that one of the major trends in marketing discourse to emerge toward the end of the 1950s and early 1960s in Japan was an increased emphasis on *relationality (kanrensei).* The concept of relationality was used with growing regularity during this time and is found particularly frequently in two aspects of marketing practice. The first concerns the connection between company products: product–product relations and relations between the company brand and its individual products. For example, the relations between *individual brand* and *family brand* and the debated subject of the brand image were major topics covered in marketing journals of the time.[14]

The second aspect of the relationality discourse is more concerned with ensuring the interrelation of different aspects of a single product or product line's marketing campaign. A perfect example of this integration of multiple aspects of an ad campaign is the first Meiji marketing campaign, 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 (tōtaru māketingu), unified marketing administration (tōgō māketingu kanri), medium plan (baitai keikaku), echo strategy (ekō sakusen), marketing mix (māketingu mikkusu),* and *media mix (media mikkusu).*[15]

The term *media mix* broke into Japanese marketing discourse in a significant year for this book: 1963. Indeed, it is a major historical coincidence that the term *media mix* came into common circulation

in Japan in the very same year that witnessed the emergence of the anime system—the phenomenon that would later be known as the media mix. In this year, two articles used the term *media mix* in their titles.[16] Also, *media mix* was featured as one of the monthly key words in the "Contemporary Advertising Dictionary" column of the January 1963 issue of the ad journal *Senden kaigi* (Advertising Meeting). 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 increasing complexity of society, the development of communications [*tsūshin*], and the development of advertising techniques. In particular, with the spread of television sets, the appropriate use of each medium according to its particular properties has become absolutely necessary, and the media mix has come to occupy an important position within the advertising plan.[17]

Three elements worth noting in this definition of *media mix* are, first, its emphasis on the appearance of television as a key factor in the recognition of multiple avenues of advertising; second, its focus on medium specificity (which is defined within the marketing context by the number of viewers or readers, its circulation, and the chance of multiple viewings); and third, its emphasis on the "synthetic" use of the media toward a particular advertising goal. This advertising goal was, for the most part, quite simply to convince viewers to purchase the product being marketed by the given media mix ad campaign. Murata Shōji, editor of *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."[18]

The marketing media mix is thus best described as a method of advertising that used multiple media forms to deliver an advertising message to potential consumers. This method depended on a set of techniques, mathematical algorithms, and analytical tools that allowed ad planners to determine which among the four principal media of television, radio,

newspapers, and magazines to use for a particular product's ad campaign and decide how the message and the advertising budget should be distributed across these media forms. Cost effectiveness was one of the guiding principles of this choice, but other considerations included how wide or narrow the audience for the ads should be; how many people should see the ad and how many times they need to see it for it to be effective; which media give the widest coverage and which media have the greatest impact; what size or length of ads has the greatest impact within each medium; how long the ad campaign will run; and so on.

As the *Senden kaigi* definition suggests, this conceptualization of the media mix arose from an awakening on the part of marketing practitioners to the variety of possible media through which a product might be advertised and the increasing demand from 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. A dictionary of advertising describes the media mix as a way of "conducting advertising activities through the selection and combination of multiple mediums [*baitai*] via an advertising plan."[19] The ultimate goal of the multiple media distribution of these advertising messages was, of course, the consumer's purchase of the advertiser's product.

The marketing media mix is thus 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). Implicit here is a conception of media as the *vehicles* for the transmission of a message that is the content of the advertisement. However complicated some marketing media mix models become (developing various algorithms to account for the effects of the repetitive viewing of messages and the different strengths of various media), the conception of the medium remains a simple one: a vehicle for the transmission of a message. The marketing media mix assumes a vehicular conception of the medium; in its focus on the medium of transmission, we might say that this is a "medium" mix rather than a media mix. A passage from a 1966 article by American marketing researchers on the question of media selection makes this vehicular conception of the medium strikingly 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. *Thus, choices available include all media vehicles capable of carrying an advertisement. A vehicle is any possible carrier of an advertisement.*[20]

To sum up, a set of strict divisions subtends the conception of the marketing media mix: the separation between the medium as vehicle and the message as the vehicle's inert passenger; 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 or goal of the media mix message); and the distinction between immaterial media images and the material objects of consumption.

Toward the Anime Media Mix

So how do the marketing media mix and the anime media mix resemble each other or differ? The discourse on the former certainly emphasizes the multimedia strategy that characterizes the anime media mix. 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. Yet the two conceptions of the media mix differ strikingly in at least two ways. First, they differ in their respective models of synergy. The marketing media mix aims to use the synergetic effect of multiple media in concert to focus the consumer toward a *particular* goal—the purchase of the advertiser's product as the final endgame. The anime media mix, on the other hand, has no single goal or teleological end; the *general* consumption of any of the media mix's products will grow the entire enterprise. Since each media-commodity is also an advertisement for further products in the same franchise, this is a consumption that produces more consumption. In contrast to the pyramid structure of the marketing media mix, which presumes a single goal to which synergy is the means, the anime media mix regards synergy as a goal unto itself that will support its collective media life. Hence each instance of consumption must be regarded as a form of production that further develops the entire media franchise and the consumer desire that supports it.

Marketing discourse maintains a strict medium–message distinction even to this day.[21] The specificity of the anime–Kadokawa media mix, however, is precisely the indistinction or *mix* of message and medium, promotion and consumption, advertisement and commodity, image and object of consumption. The fuzzy, relational operations of the anime media mix are effectively incomprehensible to the vehicle–message epistemological grid of understanding proper to marketing discourse.[22] Indeed, this marketing discourse throws into relief the significant gap between the two conceptions of the media mix and the transformation in media practice that occurred in the 1960s.

From Atomu *to* Suzumiya Haruhi

The anime media mix within popular discourse refers to two intersecting phenomena: the translation or deployment of a single work, character, or narrative world across numerous mediums or platforms (also known as repurposing) and the synergetic use of multiple media works to sell other such works within the same franchise or group. Before turning to an historical examination of the transformations undergone at Kadokawa in the 1970s, let us look back to the 1960s for a review of what we have learned about the anime media mix through our analysis of *Tetsuwan Atomu* and also look forward to one of the most prominent examples of the anime media mix in Japan from the 2000s: *Suzumiya Haruhi* (*Haruhi Suzumiya,* 2003–).[23]

As we saw in chapters 2 and 3, one principle that the Atomu omake premium campaign and the mass media toy demonstrate is the convergence of media and object types around the character and the circulation of the character image in multiple media forms. When candy maker Meiji Seika's Marble Chocolates campaign shifted mascots from the young Uehara Yukari to Atomu, a significant transformation in the role and extent of circulation of the candy company's icon occurred. Uehara'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. Uehara seemed a celebrity, but one whose face and voice were linked exclusively to Meiji. Yet this was also a limitation: since she was everywhere sponsored by Meiji, she did not circulate without Meiji's direct intervention.

Things changed with Atomu. On 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 in the manga—embedded in specific material environments (the living room and the TV set for one, the manga book or magazine for the other)—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 or anime framework meant that the image gained an unprecedented degree of mobility.

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 on the character in ways it had not imagined—to the extent that the campaign's marketing directors began to feel as if the tail was wagging the dog.[24] This was a medium independence as well as a company–product independence (the character image was not exclusively tied to Meiji, its products, or its promotional campaigns). The Atomu image appeared on the TV show, in the manga, and, increasingly, in the numerous other products developed around the Atomu image or form—not the least of which were the many toys discussed in the previous chapter. From the synergetic nexus created by this continuous expansion of the Atomu world into diverse domains of children's culture, by the weekly appearance of Atomu on television in new situations, and by his monthly appearance in manga, the character of Atomu gained a dynamism that Uehara, 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 and design and powered by limited anime movement. The dynamic immobility of the image and the reuse of patterns of movement and poses in the anime were key to maintaining Atomu's consistency and communication across media forms. From anime to manga to stickers to toys, the physical immobility and consistency of the image ensured the synergetic intensification of desire and circulation.

Yet this minimal requirement of graphical consistency was offset by the perpetual introduction of novelty: new characters, new narratives, new products. What we find is thus a powerful combination of commercial repetition and difference. Interest in Atomu was sustained

both through the periodic introduction of novelty and through the repetitive patterns of movement, poses, and behaviors that maintained the recognizability of the character merchandise. This rhythm of novelty and repetition makes it somewhat imprecise to describe the *Tetsuwan Atomu* TV show as a thirty-minute commercial for Atomu merchandise, as many writers over the years have done.[25] The television commercial form brings to mind a static and unchangingly repetitive media object, an audiovisual jingle meant to stick in the minds of viewers whether they like it or not. Yet it was precisely the dynamic interaction between repetition and difference that was most important in the case of *Tetsuwan Atomu* and its successors. Every weekly episode of the TV series and monthly installment of the comic brought a novel situation that expanded the character's 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.

That said, it is true that there was a relative collapse in the distinction between program and promotion. Even if not a commercial, *Tetsuwan Atomu* the anime series undoubtedly accelerated, and indeed promoted, the purchase of Atomu-based products of all stripes. Inoue Masaru, in a 1964 article, suggestively dubbed this phenomenon the *echo strategy,* whereby the consumption of one product line echoes forward into consumption of further media or media-commodities of the same series.[26] In this sense, every episode of *Atomu* was indeed such a site for the promotional echo onto other Atomu products.[27] But as the term *echo* itself suggests, this is no mere repetition but a kind of differential expansion or reverberation of the character world. This echo effect and its expansion of the Atomu world led to its dynamism and effectiveness as a promotional tool for Meiji. The character-icon's autonomy from Meiji worked to the latter's benefit, even if its marketing campaign was increasingly controlled by the movements of the character rather than being controlled by the candy or its maker.

The consequences of this circulation of the character image resulted in more than the establishment of anime as a commercial medium capable of supplying marketing tools for candy companies. As we began to see in the first part of this book, the significance of anime's emergence is equally to be found in its transformations of the temporality and rhythms of media and commodity consumption. The

explosion of character goods subsequent to the Meiji sticker campaign eliminated the forced break between the consumptions of a TV show from one week to the next. With the proliferation of media and commodities carrying the image and narrative of the character, a continuous mode of character consumption became possible.

The stickers, fundamental to the establishment of the practice of character merchandising, quickly became one of the many elements of a continuous mode of consumption developed through the environmental diffusion of the character image. Other important elements included the manga itself, which could be read whenever one had a free moment. Aside from its monthly serialization in *Shōnen* magazine, Kappa Comics published volumes of the *Tetsuwan Atomu* manga in its collected, B5 size formats, which quickly became record best sellers—and which also, following Meiji Seika's lead, included Atomu stickers in every book (Figure 4.1).[28] Mushi Production released its own fan club magazine, *Tetsuwan Atomu kurabu* (Tetsuwan Atomu Club). Published monthly, *Atomu kurabu* included episodes of Atomu unavailable from other venues as well as a plethora of information about Tezuka Osamu and other subjects of interest (Figure 4.2). Also, records that featured the voice of Atomu and his uplifting theme song became readily available thanks to Asahi sono sheet records.[29] The toy was another important site for the development of this environmental consumption, as we saw in the preceding chapter. The amount and range of merchandising ballooned such that one could play with Atomu toys, build Atomu models, drink from an Atomu cup while wearing Atomu shoes, and write a letter with an Atomu pencil on a desk covered with Atomu stickers.[30]

In short, there was very little time in the day when the "Atomu child" had to be completely separated from his or her idol. This acceleration of the temporality of consumption, and the development of a quasi-continuous form of consumption, marks the kind of character commerce that emerges with *Tetsuwan Atomu,* carries over into subsequent television anime, and informs media consumption to this day. Indeed, one of the transformations evident from this time and through the explosion of digital media is the way that media become increasingly pervasive in the lived environment. As we see with the Atomu example, however, this development is dependent not only on physical technologies but on transformations in consumption that even low-tech innovations like the sticker bring about when combined with the character.

FIGURE 4.1. Advertisement for Kappa Comics's *Tetsuwan Atomu* comic books. The ad shows the cover images of the comics with the stickers featured on the upper and lower sections of the covers, and the ad copy exclaims that the books come with "Tezuka Osamu stickers that stick anywhere!" From *Shōnen* magazine, March 1964.

FIGURE 4.2. Cover of the November 1965 edition of *Tetsuwan Atomu kurabu* (Tetsuwan Atomu Club), produced by the Mushi Purodakushon tomo no kai (Association of the Friends of Mushi Production), a unit operating within Mushi Pro itself.

Turning, now, to the present, we might briefly consider a recent example of the self-styled "Kadokawa Media Mix": the Suzumiya Haruhi franchise.[31] The Haruhi franchise began in 2003 as a series of "light novels" written by Tanigawa Nagaru and illustrated by Ito Noizi. The novels are published by Kadokawa's Sneaker Bunko imprint (at the time of writing, there are eleven volumes), and information, tie-ins, and additional episodes have been published in Kadokawa's light novel magazine *The Sneaker*.[32] There have been manga versions of the Haruhi franchise (beginning in 2004 and published by Kadokawa's monthly manga magazine, *Shōnen ace*) and an "official" Kadokawa-sponsored four-frame parody gag manga version (2007), both of which were subsequently collected as book volumes. A highly popular anime series was broadcast in 2006 and subsequently released on DVD, and a second series was broadcast on television and YouTube in 2009. Seven video games were released for multiple gaming platforms between 2007 and 2011.

The release of the anime series was a turning point in the Haruhi series as it greatly expanded its popularity, turning Haruhi into one of the most important Japanese franchises of the 2000s. The anime was guaranteed an existing fan base and broadened its audience by enticing many more readers to the Haruhi novel series and manga. The growth in the novels' popularity subsequent to the anime's television broadcast in turn ensured voluminous sales of the DVD versions of the series, and every ad for the TV series also increased the sales of the novels, not to mention those of the manga and video games. Small-article toy versions of the characters were sold in convenience stores, and the novels were prominently displayed in bookstores, media shops, and magazine stands, reminding consumers of the series at every turn. Each of these incarnations created an "in" whereby a potential consumer could be inducted into Haruhi's ever-expanding world.

The Haruhi franchise example shows how much has remained constant since the Atomu media mix and also how much has changed. Both Haruhi and Atomu feature three intersecting features that define the anime media mix: the deployment of a text across numerous media, among which anime plays a key role in popularizing the franchise; the dependence on other incarnations to sell works within the same franchise; and the use of the character as a means of connecting these media incarnations.[33] Conversely, the media landscape has shifted considerably since 1963, with the rise of the light novel genre and the video

game as increasingly central components to the anime media mix and the source for many anime series.[34] Also, the incorporation of official, Kadokawa-produced parodies of the main series is both a preemption of the explosion of the often parodic fan work that has marked the rise of the Komiketto (Comic Market) since the 1970s and an appeal to the sensibilities of a new generation raised on the parodic, amateur, secondary works of the Comic Market. Finally, we see the rise of media conglomerates like Kadokawa, a company organized around the media mix practice. Indeed, Kadokawa is a veritable media mix powerhouse that draws on its numerous magazines, book publishing houses and imprints, and media enterprises to produce, finance, or create media mixes. Let us turn now to the important period intervening between Atomu and Suzumiya Haruhi to examine the rise of Kadokawa Books and its expansion of media mix practice.

Kadokawa Books and the Media Mix

The promise of potential profits gained by media mix synergy encouraged the young, recently appointed president of Kadokawa Books, Kadokawa Haruki, to take the company down the path of media synergy in the mid-1970s. Kadokawa Haruki's father, Kadokawa Gen'yoshi, had founded the company soon after the end of the Pacific War. Under the direction of Gen'yoshi, Kadokawa Books grew to be a respected, second-tier publishing house that was known for its high-brow orientation, particularly for publishing literary classics from the Showa era (1926–89).[35] In the immediate postwar period, Kadokawa Gen'yoshi believed that publishing was "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.[36] When Gen'yoshi passed away in 1975, he ceded the helm of the company to his eldest son, Haruki. In stark contrast to his father's lofty vision for the company, Haruki's goal lay in transforming Kadokawa into a multimedia, mass-market, money-making enterprise.

Kadokawa Haruki had already begun to develop media mix strategies in the early 1970s. One of his earliest steps toward a wider media strategy lay in the translation and publication of popular American film novelizations. The first of these was *Love Story* (1970; translated into Japanese as *Aru ai no shi,* 1971), a novel by Erich Segal based on the

scenario for the film, which was released subsequently in 1971. Taking a hint from a rival publisher's financial success in publishing *The Graduate,* Kadokawa Books published the Japanese edition of *Love Story* half a year before the film opened, with novelizations of other American films following soon after.[37] These attempts (mostly successful) to piggyback on the popularity of films by publishing their novelizations led Kadokawa to be derogatorily referred to as the "cinema paperback."[38]

Another of Kadokawa Haruki's strategies involved the transformation of the paperback itself. Until this time, the paperback *(bunkobon)* in Japan had been the preserve of literary classics. But in reaction to the "paperback wars" ignited by the entry of publishing giant Kodansha into paperback publishing in 1971, Haruki reconceived the paperback along the lines of what he understood to be the American model: an entertainment-based book that would be quickly disposed of once read.[39] His vision of the book as disposable entertainment led him to turn the paperback itself into an advertising medium, using color images on the cover for the first time and including ads on the cover and on bookmarks enclosed within.[40] Media scholar Kogawa Tetsuo suggests that after this transformation, "the book was no longer based on its quality, but became information sold as a package."[41] The paperback was transformed from a repository of tradition and learning to a mere thing that, as many in the publishing world lamented at the time, had become as disposable as other commodities.[42]

Yet Kadokawa's most significant act, one that even his many detractors argue changed the publishing industry's direction permanently, was his 1976 founding of a film production company within Kadokawa Books. His goal was to further develop what he eventually would call the "holy trinity" *(sanmi ittai)* strategy—alluding here to Christian theology—of combining text, sound, and image in what became widely known as the Kadokawa business strategy *(Kadokawa shōhō)* and that later, in the mid-1980s, came to be called the media mix.[43] This strategy involved producing films based on the works of the major novelists published by Kadokawa, releasing the sound tracks of these films, and republishing all the writers' novels (often with new covers inspired by the films or using film production stills) alongside a massive publicity campaign for all three. The aim was to use the films themselves as ads for the novels; the novels as ads for the films; and the films' theme songs on the radio as ads for the records, films, and books. Yet to this three-in-one strategy

we must add a fourth, principal element: 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. Indeed, the advertising was as memorable as the works it promoted.

The decision as to which author and source material to use for this strategy was key. As Tsuchiya Shintarō points out, the goal was to choose the work of a prolific entertainment author whose entire catalog of books was owned by Kadokawa such that the synergetic effect of the Kadokawa business strategy would not only result in increased sales of the particular 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. This was particularly successful when, as with the first Kadokawa media mixes, the novels were part of a larger series that involved the same cast of characters.[44] Indeed, the reliance on characters that migrate across works to incite consumption of further novels by the same author is one of the points that ties this strategy's initial form closely to that developed in the character-based anime system.

These aspects of the strategy are all present in the first film produced by Kadokawa, *Inugamike no ichizoku* (The Inugami Clan), which was based on detective fiction writer Yokomizo Seishi's 1950 novel of the same title, directed by Ichikawa Kon, and released in theaters in 1976. Like much detective fiction, this work is one of more than twenty Yokomizo novels and dozens of shorter works that feature detective Kindaichi Kōsuke. With the critical and popular success of the film, and the massive publicity campaign mounted for both the film and the novel, *Inugamike no ichizoku* became a major best seller, selling over 2.4 million copies after the film's release—compared to the mere sixty thousand copies sold after the book's initial 1972 Kadokawa reprinting.[45] Highlighting this cinema–novel media mix's relations to the anime media mix, publishing industry critic Ueda Yasuo has suggested that the similarity of the main detective character, Kindaichi, to a manga character and the resemblance of Yokomizo's prose to a type of mature, *gekiga*-style manga were two of the major reasons for the success of this first Kadokawa media project. The consumers of the Kadokawa film and novels were, Ueda notes, members of the "manga generation."[46] Yet the connection to manga was not merely stylistic. There was in fact a popular *gekiga*-style manga serialization of one of Yokomizo's most renowned books, *Yatsuhakamura,* adapted by manga writer Kagemaru

Jōya.[47] Published in one of Japan's representative manga magazines of the time, *Shūkan shōnen* (Weekly Boys) magazine, this 1968–69 manga serialization is credited by some as the spark that lit the fuse of the Yokomizo revival.[48]

Ultimately, the resounding success of Kadokawa Books's first filmic foray vindicated Haruki 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.[49] It was with the following year's film—based on Morimura Sei'ichi's novel *Ningen no shōmei* (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)*.[50]

The continuous, serial consumption across media texts that characterizes the anime media mix is precisely what is being developed here, expressed in this catchy ad copy. From film to novel to sound track (or in reverse order), this is the verbal distillation of the logic behind the initially successful Kadokawa business strategy. Eventually, the sheen of Kadokawa's strategy faded, as the ballooning production and marketing costs of the media mix and the negative impact of failed films weighed the company down.[51] Yet this three-in-one strategy of selling novels, films, and sound tracks through the combination of image, sound, and text was nonetheless established as a main trend within the publishing and image-making industries, expanding the logic of the anime system to a general adult audience.

In 1978, one of the main topics of the Japanese publishing world was what *Shuppan nenkan* (Publishing Yearbook) termed the "joining of bestseller and image"[52]; most of the major sellers that year had some connection with image making—whether film or anime—as pioneered by Kadokawa two years earlier. By the mid-1980s, the synergetic combination of media texts had become common practice, and around 1986 or 1987, the term *media mix* began to displace earlier terms used to describe the phenomenon (such as *Kadokawa business strategy, trinity strategy, docking,* and *cross-media*[53]), and Kadokawa Haruki was enshrined as the founding father of this phenomenon.[54] By 1993, most of the numerous newspaper articles that accompanied the media furor surrounding Kadokawa Haruki's arrest on charges of drug trafficking retrospectively acknowledged his importance in the development of what was by that time commonly known as the media mix;[55] that is, in

enshrining the media mix as concept, practice, and common term within the Japanese media industries, Kadokawa Books came to be regarded as the very progenitor of the media mix in Japan.

There are many reasons to challenge the assumption that Kadokawa birthed the media mix, given that the anime system already exhibited many of the characteristics of media mix practice. Hence, although Haruki cites other models of inspiration for his transmedia business strategy—from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to American book media[56]—I would like to suggest that we see the anime system as an important precursor to (and influence on) the development of the Kadokawa media mix.[57] Kadokawa's audience was, as Ueda notes, the manga generation—the young adults who grew up following media across their multiple anime–manga–premium incarnations. No doubt many had been *Tetsuwan Atomu* fans in their childhood.

Not surprisingly, writers within the field of merchandising also detected similarities between Kadokawa and anime media strategies. In 1978, Kōno Akira, a regular contributor to the Japanese character merchandising trade journal *Merchandising Rights Report,* offered what is perhaps the clearest statement of the intersections between the anime and the Kadokawa media mix strategies:

> The success of Kadokawa Film is based on a kind of character 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] Popy's terms "Watch 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?"[58]

Yet, despite the historical precedence of the anime media mix strategy to Kadokawa's, the latter's media mix venture was nonetheless highly significant insofar as it expanded the media logic and continuous consumption found in anime media to film, the novel, and the sound track. Kadokawa thereby also expanded the range of media mix consumers from children to adults.[59] With Kadokawa, the media mix literally grew up. Kadokawa was thus an active agent in and also symptomatic of wider social and medial transformations that can be best described as a shift from a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of capital accumulation and media practice.

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

Kadokawa's deployment of the connectivity undergirding the anime media mix marked its extension into two realms that were 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 the Kadokawa business strategy, as Ueno Kōshi argues, was not in turning novels into films; filmic adaptations of novels are almost as old as film itself. Ueno writes, "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."[60] Previously, films and novels had maintained a degree of autonomy—even if only ideological—from the marketplace and from each other. They were esteemed based on their value as cultural goods. Content was supposed to have prevailed over packaging, its use or cultural value over its exchange value. Kadokawa Haruki's gambit was to treat films and novels as exchangeable, that is to say, as connected, communicating commodities, and as advertisements for each other. Much like the mass media toy did to the nonmedia toy, the Kadokawa business strategy downplayed the inherent cultural value of the book in favor of its value as a communicational medium: a packaged and exchangeable good with built-in relays to other commodified cultural forms such as the film or sound track.

Kadokawa downplayed each media object's internal consistency and specificity in favor of its connectivity. As one text advertised another, the advertising campaign itself participated as yet another text encouraging crossover consumption between the novel and the film ("Read it and then watch it? Or watch it and then read it?"). With Kadokawa, Ueno suggests, film, novel, and song each became advertisements for the other. This gave rise to a double shift marked, on one hand, by the centrality of the advertisement as a cultural form and, on the other hand, by the "phenomenon of the *culturization* of the commodity [*shōhin no bunka-ka*]."[61] Previously autonomous cultural forms lost their autonomy, became interrelated, and were organized around the form of the advertisement. The advertisement is in some ways the prototypical serial media form, insofar as it naturally points to a product outside itself ("buy *this*"). It is essentially a relay, constituting media as a relational network. Following

Ueno and early commentators on TV anime such as Yamakawa Hiroji, we might parse this transformation as the becoming-advertisement *(kōkoku-ka)* of the cultural or narrative object (whether it be manga, animation series, film, novel, song, or even toy)—the transformation of text into relay.

This shift also sees the cultural form become the prototypical commodity. Film-as-advertisement became *the* model of the commodity form in what Ueno presciently terms the *culturization of the commodity*—the elevation of the commodified cultural form into the preeminent commodity form. This transformation 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 here will put the rise of the media mix into historical perspective.

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

> capitalism . . . 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 wage relations, consumption norms, and state intervention that synchronize the overall social pre-requisites for the extraction and realization of surplus-value.[62]

What the Regulation School writers seek to describe, then, is "the entire set of social conditions" that enables a particular regime of capitalist accumulation to reproduce itself.[63] In the regime of accumulation known as Fordism, the Taylorist, or assembly-line-style, mass production of uniform commodities was paired with a "uniform mode of consumption of simplified production," otherwise known as *mass consumption*.[64] Standardization was key to both production and consumption, and all social activities from leisure time to sexual relations were standardized

with the aim of promoting worker productivity.[65] 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."[66]

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.[67] Japan is arguably a prototypical example of post-Fordism insofar as it was here that the flexible production system also known as Toyotism was developed.[68] Not surprisingly, it is also in contemporary Japan that workers are tasting the worst of flexibilization as job instability—resulting in part from changes to employment laws during the 1990s—has skyrocketed, along with increasing numbers of temporary workers, part-time workers, the unemployed, and the so-called working poor. If Japan provided a model of post-Fordist production avant la lettre, it also provided its new logic of consumption through the media mix.

This transformation of production, consumption, and leisure between Fordist and post-Fordist modes of accumulation brought with it a transformation in the nature of commodities themselves. For Martyn J. Lee, in fact, it is precisely through transformations in the commodity that wider historical shifts should be read. Lee suggests that we see 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."[69] Since "the commodity form can be said to be an objectification of a mode of production at a given phase of its development,"[70] each mode of production will give rise to a distinctive commodity form, what Lee calls "the *ideal-type* commodity-form of the regime of accumulation."[71]

Consumer durables were the "ideal-type commodity" and the mainstay of the Fordist era of production and consumption.[72] This is as true in postwar Japan as in the United States; 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 (1955–64) referred to the television set, the washing machine, and the refrigerator, and the "Three Cs" of

the Showa 40s (1965–74) were the color TV, air-conditioner (or *kūrā* in Japanese), and car. According to Lee, the distinguishing characteristics of consumer durables such as these were their

> 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 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.[73]

If the emphasis of the Fordist commodity was on durability, utility, and functionality, the salient characteristics of the post-Fordist commodity became flexibility, fluidization, miniturization, and increased portability. 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."[74]

These shifts led to an emphasis on what Lee calls "experiential commodities"[75]—commodities, such as films, video games, vacation packages, and fashions, whose value to the consumer lies in the experience they provide. 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."[76] There is thus a general shift away from commodities justified on the basis of their appeal to rational utility or need to commodities whose appeal lies in the promise of a certain kind of experience.

With post-Fordism also came a shift in the temporality and rhythm of consumption. 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.[77]

The anime media mix and its Kadokawa extension are exemplary of the shift to post-Fordist experiential commodities. What the anime system and Kadokawa offer are temporally brief—but potentially extendable—experiences in the form of media-commodities.

Character goods and media-commodities more generally are one major category of fashion-based nondurables that became increasingly important in Japan during the 1960s. But it was in the 1970s, with Kadokawa Books, in particular, that the strategy of the media mix began to be felt outside of the realm of anime media culture, extending to books, films, and sound tracks. And perhaps not coincidentally, it has been in the last ten years of Japan's prolonged economic downturn that character-based culture and the media mix strategy have been the subject of increased popular attention.[78] It is to the so-called contents industry, and specifically to the manga, film, anime, and character goods arena, that the Japanese government's attention has now turned to find a way out of its years of decline. As Anne Allison has recently noted, the Japanese government "is treating *manga* and *anime* like national treasures."[79] Of course, part of this interest has an eye to social prestige and cultural influence—the gain of so-called soft power or gross national cool.[80] But, as the abbreviation of gross national cool (GNC) implies, 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 (nineteen billion U.S. dollars) in the year 2000[81] and 2.5 trillion yen in 2003. Another estimate has put the total annual value of the contents industry on the whole (including the publishing industry, anime and live-action drama and film, video games, music, etc.) at 12.8 trillion yen.[82]

Whereas the consumption of consumer durables was the basis for the high-growth years of 1955–73 and figured large in the Japanese imaginary during this period, the anime-based contents industry and media consumption that developed in the 1960s and 1970s have become

increasingly important elements of both economic sustenance and national imaginary in the post-Fordist present. This shift also marks a transformation in the organization of desire. Desire was previously organized around consumer durables based on a certain concept of lifestyle ("the bright life"), technological progress, and the drive for social belonging within the national body. Since the 1960s and 1970s, however, desire has been organized around the consumption of experiential or cultural commodities that promote individual or microcollective (fan community) participation in narrative or character worlds and the social communication that develops through this.

Kadokawa Haruki, writing in 1977, presciently recognized this shift in the nature of commodities and, by implication, the basis of commodity culture:

> 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.[83]

Kadokawa's suggestion of 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. The comparison Kadokawa makes between the two types of commodities (cars vs. books) illustrates the larger shift at work as cultural goods and experiential commodities like books and films become increasingly central to the economy and to commercial practice—taking "active nihilist" businessmen like Kadokawa Haruki with them.

There is, however, another key point to be added to this discussion of the post-Fordist ideal commodity-form. To wit, the historical transition from Fordism to post-Fordism entailed not only a shift from one commodity type to another (i.e., durable to experiential) but also 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 or character

merchandising as a technology of connection). Alongside the culturization of the commodity noted by Ueno—profoundly resonant with Lee's concept of the experiential commodity—there was also a shift toward the development of transmedia relations. This emphasis on media relationality in turn points to a transformation in the nature of the media text itself: from a model of the text as a relatively self-enclosed entity to the text as a transmedia fragment.

Dissolution of the Work into Serial Fragments

Within the model of the anime media mix established by *Tetsuwan Atomu* and extended into film and literature by Kadokawa Books, the unity of a "work" as previously conceived was broken down into multiple, serialized fragments. The experience of the work was no longer based on the appreciation of a single, unified text, as it was to a greater degree with the film or the novel.[84] The experience of a work stretched across media types and genres, including narrative media (film, books), nonnarrative media (stickers, toys, music albums, advertisements), and information or gossip media.[85] Media mix ensembles required the consumer to read and consume across texts or textual fragments.

Two seismic shifts subtend this fragmentation and dispersion of the work. The first is the increasingly nonlocalizable nature of the "original." Manga and anime critic Sasakibara Gō has argued that the original work *(gensaku)* was formerly clearly defined as the first incarnation of a series of texts. For example, the manga was traditionally released first, followed by the anime or live-action version, followed by "related goods" *(kanren shōhin)* such as toys and candy products. Here the manga can still be regarded as the original work from which the other media and commodities are spun off. Sasakibara suggests that it is precisely the nonlocalizability of the original that defines the media mix. Accordingly, the media mix first appears when the original work becomes nonlocalizable and indeterminate.[86]

In point of fact, we should take Sasakibara's comments more broadly than he intends them. The media mix's erasure of origins does not only appear when the original becomes nonlocalizable but rather in every one of its incarnations. The media mix in all its forms effects an erasure of origins, whereby the primacy of the temporally original work is *always already* called into question by the serial spin-off. This

is equally true of those works that would seem to have an original on which later incarnations are based. As soon as 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: "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."[87] Replace the term *origin* by *iteration,* and we have a theory of seriality appropriate for the media mix.

With the appearance of a second iteration, the original text is retroactively reinscribed as one element of a series, its very status as original overturned. In the case of *Tetsuwan Atomu,* this transformation of origins quite literally is reflected in the level of narrative, where the title character's parents were created in a later episode, temporally subsequent to Atomu's own birth. As this episode clearly shows, the logic of seriality inherent to the media mix effects a retroactive transformation of the distinction between parent and progeny, original and secondary text. The first of the two seismic shifts underpinning the fragmentation of the work with the media mix thus sees a challenge to the unity of the work and to the schema of succession on which this unity depends.

Segmentation and Flow: Television and the Media Mix

The second seismic shift in this process of fragmentation is the rise of the textual logic of segmentation and flow, two concepts key to the field of television studies. Here I will provide a brief account of the concepts of segmentation and flow in Anglo-American television theory and point out their usefulness both for understanding Japanese television—which operates fairly closely to its American broadcasting system model—and for understanding the movement between textual fragments that informs the media mix.

In his 1974 book *Television: Technology and Cultural Form,* cultural theorist Raymond Williams introduces the concept of flow in an attempt to articulate the specificity of television.[88] For Williams, flow is the fundamental fact of television as it has developed along the commercial model: "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."[89] Williams proposed the concept of flow to explain the organization (by the broadcasting agency) and the experience (by 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.[90] Hence television requires a fundamental re-evaluation of the concept of the textual unit. "In all communications systems before broadcasting the essential items were discrete," writes Williams.[91] The novel, the play, and the film were all experienced as discrete units, hence "our most general modes of comprehension and judgment are . . . closely linked to these kinds of specific and isolated, temporary, forms of attention."[92]

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."[93] Yet the individuality of each unit remained, partly because a pause was inserted between these discreet units. However, the development of contemporary forms of broadcasting brought about the revaluation of the interval, with the "flow series" replacing the discrete units of the "programme series."[94] With this revaluation of the interval comes a different kind of connectivity between existing units. There is also 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's conception of the medium: whereas Williams focuses on flow, Ellis's interest is in the segment. Yet despite their seeming opposition—which Jane Feuer properly points out is more of a dialectic[95]—Ellis in fact builds heavily on Williams's emphasis on the transformation 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 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.[96]

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. With this group of elements and concepts, we can explain a new textual system. The segment is the basic building block, an image–sound–time segment that has its own internal unity, even as it is fundamentally open to connecting with other segments that precede or follow it. The logic of continuity between segments is provided by the serial or series forms, which work to manage the intervals between segments, thus giving rise to the experience of flow.

The transtextual connections found in television had a profound influence on the media environment on the whole and particularly on the commercial practices that permeate it. In the Japanese context, one of its most important effects was the development of a children's market, which most writers attribute to the advent of television, a significant number of whom suggest corresponds to the rise of TV anime in particular.[97] Television also established the particular cyclicality of consumption that enshrined the week as its temporal unit and a mode of textual crossing that finds its expression in the concepts of segmentation and flow.

Television's revaluation of the interval should, however, be understood to be occurring in concert with changes in the wider media environment. In his 1987 book *Television Culture,* John Fiske takes an important step in this direction when he calls for television studies to think outside the televisual box. TV studies, Fiske suggests, must account for the medium's intertextual 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.[98]

Fiske's proposition to consider the intertextual and transmedia relations surrounding television is right on the mark. Yet his general insistence on thinking about 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 about the production of intertextual connections themselves as a form of commodity relation. The production of transmedia series involves not only intertextual relations created through active reading practices (Atomu toys are not first and foremost the products of intelligent reading practices) but the very production of relations between commodities. The commodity in this particular media ecology is a fundamentally relational media-commodity. For this reason, we must keep focused on the ways media connections are produced rather than imagining these connections to be the product of a circulation of meanings of whom we are the primary producers.

It is in this sense that we can appreciate Rick Altman's suggestion that flow replaces discrete segments only under particular historical conditions of television broadcasting. For Altman, "flow is not related to the television experience itself . . . but to the commodification of the spectator in a capitalist, free enterprise society."[99] Building on Altman's argument, we might say that the particular form of transmedia communication that emphasized segmentation and flow becomes key to television and other media forms only within a specific (if emergent) capitalist regime: post-Fordism. Not surprisingly, then, the dialectic of flow and segmentation is not unique to television in this era. A transformation in the conception of the text as discrete unit is visible throughout the media ecology of Japan since the 1960s to such a degree that we must argue that the logic of segmentation and flow within television was developed concurrently with other media forms. This revaluation of the interval develops perhaps first and foremost within the realm of children's culture in the early 1960s, which includes televisual media like anime but also nontelevisual media like the comic magazine, the sticker, and the toy. In this sense, we can understand the Atomu media mix as itself a system of segmentation and flow, with the image of Atomu

as a minimal segmental unity that flows across and allows connections between different media and object forms, appearing as stickers, notebooks, toys, and manga. The emergence of anime and the logic of the character involve the revaluation of the transmedia interval and the emergence of a new kind of segmentation, serial interconnection, and consumer flow across these intervals.[100]

Indeed, it was anime, as a particular aesthetic and commercial form, that made perhaps the greatest difference in developing a kind of serial interconnection among commodities and media by establishing the character as a technology of connection and the rhythm of movement and stillness that appeared with it. Although the emergence of anime is inseparable from the medium of television, the form it assumed was also determined by a number of other media elements that were equally responsible for developing its mode of transmedia seriality: kamishibai and manga, the earlier Meiji–Atomu sticker campaign, and the diffusion of the media-commodity. Television was central to the development of the serial form through the further fragmentation of the text and the flow constructed across these fragments. Its mode of mass delivery also accelerated the consumption of the character and was in this sense instrumental in the formation of the anime system. Yet television was also part of a wider, more generalized shift in the logic of seriality toward the communication of media and commodities.

Environmentalization of Media

If transmedia seriality connects television to other media forms, it also connects these media to the realm of things or media-commodities. As we saw in part I of this book, the character transformed both media and things such that they became elements within an intercommunicating network that expanded throughout the lived environment of its consumers. Whereas one of the results of this expansion was the fragmentation and flow across media texts, another was their environmentalization: the proliferation of media-commodities into spaces and places that had formerly been outside of their reach.[101]

This expansion is reflected in the development of site-specific advertising outlets such as the store. In Japan, the 1960s saw what marketers called the "mediatization of the store" and the development of so-called point-of-purchase (POP), in-store displays.[102] In the case of

candy, these POP advertisements put both the candy and the character or personage (such as Uehara or Atomu) that advertised it on display. Corresponding to this mediatization of the store was the increased attention to the package design itself, which became a promotion for the product within.[103] In this regard, the important connections created between store display and television ads, between television ads and package design, and even between the omake premium and the candy package recommend thinking of the store itself as a total media environment.[104] The store housed both direct advertisements, in the form of POP displays and individual product packaging that called out for purchase, and indirect promotions for related media-commodities, such as the television program, manga, and toys.

Whereas the store was one key site for the expansion of the media image, the home and its domestic space was another. In chapter 2, we saw how children, consumed by the mobility of the Atomu stickers, affixed Atomu images to desks, books, baseballs, refrigerators, and any other items within domestic, play, and school spaces. The stickering of things previously devoted to study (notebooks), family welfare (refrigerators), or leisure (baseballs) incorporated all these objects and the activities with which they were associated into an Atomu world. This covering over of the child's environment with Atomu images led to what might be called, following recent rereadings 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 an increase in productivity and valorization under capitalist conditions of production. In formal subsumption, the precapitalist mode of work is maintained intact: "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."[105] Under these conditions, "surplus-value can be created only by lengthening the working day."[106] Real subsumption involves not the temporal lengthening of existing labor but rather its 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."[107]

Recent interpretations, particularly those associated with the Italian Autonomist Marxist school, have read the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism in terms of a shift from formal to real subsumption.[108]

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."[109]

The four dense points that Massumi refers to here are the four elements of the capitalist relation: *commodity–consumer* and *worker–capitalist.* Massumi writes that "'postmodernity' is the presence of the consumer/commodity axis of the capitalist relation in every point of social space-time: endocolonization accomplished."[110] The expansion of character media-commodities within children's culture in the 1960s and within general media culture in the 1970s can be seen as a particularly visible instantiation of this combination of exocolonization (extensive expansion) and endocolonization (intensive expansion).

Television anime and the sticker brought about an *extensive* expansion of capital, incorporating into the sphere of mass consumption a new market segment: the child. As I noted earlier, the child's emergence as a new market segment in Japan is usually dated to the proliferation of television sets in the early 1960s and was accelerated by the rise of anime and the consumption of character goods—particularly those tied to *Tetsuwan Atomu.* Exocolonization or extensive expansion initiated ever-growing numbers of children into the ranks of consuming subjects. Stickers and the accompanying explosion of character goods such as the mass media toy also brought about an *intensive* expansion through the proliferation of character media-commodities within a child's environment. Endocolonization or intensive expansion brought about an increased 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, colonizing interior space 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, a process that occurs with the

environmentalization of the character image that accompanies the rise of the anime media mix. Consumption itself becomes a kind of work within post-Fordism, in which the act of looking itself produces value, as writers from Dallas Smythe to Nick Browne to Jonathan Beller have argued.[111] And this work of consuming happens everywhere, and at all times, with the increasing environmental ubiquity of character media. With the dissolution of the distinction between promotion and program exemplified by texts like *Tetsuwan Atomu,* the very image of Atomu became a promotion for other Atomu goods. This is to say, then, that every time children saw the Atomu image, they were in fact working to follow and produce connections, organizing their relations to media-commodities, and thereby extending the life of the character and its narrative.[112] 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. The work of consuming was extended across the child's living space and waking life, which in turn accelerated the environmentalization of media within the lives of these child consumers.

Conclusion

The transition from Fordism to post-Fordism was, therefore, in reciprocal presupposition with transformations in the media environment and in the nature of commodities and their interrelations—transformations in which the anime and Kadokawa media mixes of the 1960s and 1970s were instrumental. It was these transformations in media-commodities around Atomu, and later Kadokawa, that inform and indeed make possible the particular combination of exocolonization and endocolonization that distinguishes post-Fordism. Even in the years generally considered the height of Japanese Fordism—the 1960s economic miracle and the rise of mass consumption—the seeds for the post-Fordist media sphere and an emphasis on the serial consumption of experiential commodities were being sown. These years also saw a transformation in the how media operate—a transformation that becomes most clear when we contrast the marketing media mix to the anime media mix. Though both conceptions of the media mix emerged at the same time, each implies a fundamentally heterogeneous conception of the medium–message relationship.

The principal transformations that characterize this anime media mix can thus be summed up as follows: (1) the dissolution of the strict division between medium and message upheld by the marketing media mix but done away with in its anime manifestation; (2) the convergence of commodity and advertisement or program and promotion; (3) the serial intercommunication of media texts and things; (4) the displacement of the text as unified totality by the text as a series of transmedia fragments; (5) the expansion from media text to media environment, entailing the wider circulation of the image; (6) the rise of the child as an increasingly important new consumer category, one whose logic of consumption was to lead to transformations in the entire media sphere; and (7) the reconceptualization of consumption as a form of productive activity or work, entailing the real subsumption of life, work, and consumption under a post-Fordist regime of image circulation and capital accumulation.

Some of these transformations were already under way in earlier decades, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, and once again in the 1950s, as we have seen in earlier chapters. Yet it was in the 1960s for anime media and the 1970s for the film and novel that these transformations were consolidated and a new, stable regime of media interconnection emerged. The emergence and expansion of this media mix and the medial transformations described in this book were in turn vital to the constitution of a new model of capitalist accumulation and to the social transformations that accompany it.

97 Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies,* 2.

98 See McQuail and Windahl, *Communication Model,* for a useful overview of various models of communication. Clarke, "Communication," offers a critically engaging account of communication theory.

99 Marx, *Capital,* 1.176–77.

100 Jason Read emphasizes the importance of abstraction when he writes, "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." Read, *Micro-politics of Capital,* 63; emphasis added. While recognizing the reality of abstraction and its effects (indeed, as Read suggests in his convincing reading, the materiality *of* abstraction), we should also consider the *material* or physical aspect of the commodity. Abstractions not only have material effects; materials such as the sticker, the toy, etc., have effects on their abstractions, for the materiality of the commodity informs its circulation and communication and the effects these produce.

101 Baudrillard, *Ecstasy of Communication,* 23; emphasis added.

102 Marx, in the opening to *Capital,* emphasizes that "the exchange relation of commodities is characterized precisely by its abstraction from their use-values" (1.127).

103 Baudrillard, *Ecstasy of Communication,* 23.

104 Marx, *Capital,* 1.163, famously describes the commodity as "abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties."

105 Beller, *Cinematic Mode of Production,* 211.

106 Ibid., 231.

107 Lash and Lury, *Global Culture Industries,* 25.

4. Media Mixes, Media Transformations

1 There are two recent exceptions to this: Uchida Hitoshi, "Hyōgen to shite no media mikkusu," 89, briefly notes that "the word media mix originally referred to a business or advertising method" and Kawasaki and Iikura, "Ranobe kyara wa tajū sakuhin sekai no yume o miru ka," 18, equally briefly suggest the term's origins lie in marketing discourse. For general discussions of the media mix practice, see the works of Yokohama, "'Shinseiki Evangelion' ni okeru monogatari seikai no kōsei" and "Fukusūkei de miru koto"; Azuma in his two-volume work *Dōbutsuka suru posutomodan* (the first volume translated into English as *Otaku*); Allison, who usefully links the media mix of the 1990s to transformations

in capitalism in *Millennial Monsters*; and Lamarre's theorization of transmedia seriality in *Anime Machine*.

2 For an example of the term's use in a recent marketing textbook, see Shimamura, *Atarashii kōkoku,* 156–58.

3 For an excellent consideration of the place of Kadokawa in relation to Japanese film practice that takes account of its media mix initiatives and similarly puts into question the common presumption that Kadokawa originated this practice, see Alexander Zahlten's dissertation "The Role of Genre in Film from Japan." This work is an important resource that situates Kadokawa more closely in relation to developments in independent film production.

4 This term is used with some caution. The anime media mix is to be sure not limited to anime but rather prominently includes live-action TV series and films. However, two reasons justify this usage: first, I contend that this mode of linking media together coalesced 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 non-anime media mixes as well. A final note of caution: *marketing media mix* should not be confused with the *marketing mix,* one of the most fundamental concepts of modern marketing, which refers to the four *P*s of product, price, place, and promotion. Advertising (and hence the marketing media mix) is a component of promotion.

5 Ishikawa, *Yokubō no sengo shi,* 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.

6 Kohara, *Nihon māketingu shi,* 68. See also Shimokawa, *Māketingu,* 120.

7 Kohara, "Nihon no māketingu," 11–12. The prior 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 predating this 1955 trip. However, it is striking how most marketing journals begin to be published in 1956 or thereafter, with *Dentsū kōkoku ronshi* (1955–) and *Marketing to kōkoku* (1956–) being two good examples.

8 Kotler, *Marketing Management,* 20.

9 Keith, "Marketing Revolution," 35. Not surprisingly, this shift brought with it an increasing concern for the study of the consumer, and the 1950s saw the "development of an academic discipline of consumer behavior within the marketing departments of colleges of commerce

and business." Belk, "Studies in the New Consumer Behaviour," 58. For a discussion of the increasingly nuanced approach to the consumer and the importance of the brand as of the 1960s, see Lury, *Brands,* 22–25.

10 Keith, "Marketing Revolution," 38.

11 Kohara, "Nihon no māketingu," 6.

12 Ibid., 11.

13 This point can be illustrated by looking at the example of the electronics industry. The electronics industry was a fundamental 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 television production was domestic rather than foreign consumption (at least at first). And for this, as Simon Partner argues, good marketing was key. Partner suggests that 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. Partner, *Assembled in Japan,* 138–39, 4.

14 This tendency and the next are evident in leading marketing journals such as *Senden kaigi, CM kenkyū, Dentsū kōkoku ronshi* and *Marketing to kōkoku.*

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

16 These two articles are Shiraishi, "Media mikkusu ni yoru kōkoku no kōka," and Kobayashi, "Media mikkusu ni, san no jirei."

17 *Senden kaigi,* "Gendai kōkoku jiten," 109.

18 Quoted in Suzuki, "Shakai shinrigakuteki media mikkusu kenkyū josetsu," 76. This article provides a useful review of marketing media mix theory; another useful article in this regard is Nakajō and Mitsumoto, "Media mikkusu no riron to shuhō."

19 Nikkei Kōkoku Kenkyūjo, *Kōkoku yōgo jiten,* 175. Here it is worth noting the existence of three words in Japanese that designate the English term *media.* The two loanwords *media* or *masu komi* are used in the English sense of the "(mass) media"; *baitai* is closer to the English term "medium."

20 Bass and Lonsdale, "An Exploration of Linear Programming in Media Selection," 179; emphasis added.

21 With the recent rise of the concept of "cross-media marketing," marketing discourse would seem to bring the marketing media mix closer to the anime media mix—albeit under a different name. With cross-media marketing, the movement from one medium to another would initially seem to be the goal, as when, to use a typical example, a fragmentary narrative on television asks viewers to use their cell phones or computers to access a website that will complete the narrative. In some sense, this is much closer to what the anime media mix has practiced since the 1960s. And yet, as Tanaka Hiroshi's overview of the concept suggests, the initial media crossing is only meant to be the foreplay to a final venture into the store where an object will be purchased. In short, this differs little from the marketing media mix after all because the consumption of a final material good distinct from the advertisement is posited as the goal. Tanaka, "'Kurosu media kenkyūkai' hōkoku 2," 4.

22 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, which militates against recognizing the fuzziness of real media operations.

23 *Suzumiya Haruhi* in fact goes under different names, depending on the novel, video game, or anime series in question: *Suzumiya Haruhi no yū'utsu* (The Melancholy of Suzumiya Haruhi), *Suzumiya Haruhi no taikutsu* (The Boredom of Suzumiya Haruhi), *Suzumiya Haruhi no sōshitsu* (The Disappearance of Suzumiya Haruhi), etc. I will follow common protocol and refer to the entire series as the Suzumiya Haruhi series.

24 "Tetsuwan Atomu, Tetsujin 28-gō to otonatachi," 22.

25 As early as 1964, the advertising critic Yamakawa Hiroji wrote 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?" Yamakawa, "'Bangumi' to 'komāsharu' no *aidagara*," 53. The suggestion that the program has itself become a commercial is also put forward in American and Canadian critics' discussions of what, with the deregulation of the 1980s, were known as "toy-based programs" (such as *G.I. Joe* and *Jem*). 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 Kline, *Out of the Garden*; Seiter, *Sold Separately*; and Schneider, *Children's Television.*

26 Inoue, "Hanbai sokushin no tame no 'ekō sakusen,'" 104–7.

27 Yamakawa stresses the function of this echo strategy in the context of children's television anime in "Shōhinka keikaku ni tsunagaru terebi manga no būmu" and "'Bangumi' to 'komāsharu' no *aidagara.*"

28 Mori, *Zusetsu: Tetsuwan Atomu,* 93.

29 Sono sheets were very thin, flexible records that could be played on a real record player or a cheap toy record player and, in the case of Atomu, often came with Atomu story or picture books. After the Atomu sono sheet's popularity, subsequent children's TV shows were also released as sono sheets. Nakano, "Subarashiki Showa 30 nendai, Dai 7 kai," 16.

30 Kodansha, *Atomu Book,* highlights the incredible diversity of Atomu-based media-commodities.

31 The release of Suzumiya Haruhi works were often promoted in the "Media Mix" section of Kadokawa's Japanese Web site: http://www.kadokawa.co.jp/media/.

32 The light novel is variously defined as a genre or meta-genre of literature that is best described as a novel written in simple prose (hence the adjective *light*) and is accompanied by periodic illustrations. The illustrations are done in the style of anime or manga characters, and light novels are an increasingly important source for manga and anime narratives. The narratives are often steeped in genres such as the detective genre, the fantasy genre, or science fiction. For two theoretical considerations of the light novel meta-genre, see Ōtsuka, *Kyarakutā shōsetsu no tsukurikata,* and Azuma, *Gēmu teki riarizumu no tanjō.*

33 As this broad definition implies, the media mix is not limited to the goals of maximum sales but also presents new possibilities not extant in the individual media works alone—possibilities, e.g., for a reconceptualization of narrative and for the creation of experimentally transmedial works. In this regard, too, the Haruhi franchise is of interest as the anime version is a nonlinear, cut up, and reordered version of the linear series of events recounted in the first novel. Narrative and visual divergence of series becomes a creative possibility open to media mix works. The tendency to take advantage of this creative possibility is precisely what defines later incarnations of the media mix, an issue to which I will return in chapter 5.

34 On the light novel as an increasingly important element of the anime media mix, see Hirota, "Raitonoberu wa *anime* kai no kyūseishu na noka."

35 The first tier—in terms of sales and size—was occupied by the three publishing giants Kodansha, Shueisha, and Shogakukan. I take the liberty of referring to Kadokawa Gen'yoshi and Kadokawa Haruki by their given names to differentiate them more succinctly. I follow the same practice in the next chapter, when I discuss Haruki's younger brother Kadokawa Tsuguhiko.

36 The first Kadokawa Gen'yoshi passage is quoted in *Asahi Shinbun Yūkan* (Asahi Newspaper, Evening Edition), August 28, 1993; the second comes from a one-page declaration by Gen'yoshi written in 1949, titled "On the Occasion of the Launching of Kadokawa Paperbacks," published in the back pages of every Kadokawa paperback edition to this day.

37 Higuchi, *"Suna no utsuwa" to "Nihon chinbotsu,"* 211. The strategy of combining novel with film also took off in the United States in the 1970s. This and the importance of *Love Story* for Hollywood are detailed in Justin Wyatt's fine work, *High Concept.* 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* films.

38 Kadokawa Haruki discusses this in his autobiography, *Wa ga tōsō,* 132. If the title of his autobiography (My Struggle) seems to overlap with Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), this is no accident: Kadokawa has provocatively expressed his admiration for Hitler's book, which he claimed was his "most important textbook" for his media strategy. In fact, he reads Hitler's use of uniforms, music, Rilke's poetry, and Nietzsche's thought as elements of a wider media strategy key to total mobilization. See Kadokawa, "Wa ga tōsō," 80–81.

39 Sotooka, "Baburu bunka no hate," 6.

40 On the use of color for the first time on paperback covers and its American inspiration, see Kadokawa, *Wa ga tōsō,* 133; on advertisements in paperback editions, see Yamakita, *Kadokawa Haruki no kōzai,* 110.

41 Kogawa Tetsuo, as quoted by Sotooka, "Baburu bunka no hate," 9.

42 Yamakita, *Kadokawa Haruki no kōzai,* 111. Kadokawa Haruki is dismissed as someone who "ran the publishing with the sense of a fashion event" in the roundtable discussion between Ijiri Kazuo, Tayama Rikiya, and Kasuya Kazuki, "Kadokawa Haruki no mita yume," 310.

43 Ueno, "Shōhin no bunka-ka arui wa kōkoku to shite no eiga," 10, suggests

that the "business 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." Kōno, "Raisensaa to raisenshii no setten #4," 45, used the very term *trinity (sanmi ittai) strategy* to describe the anime media mix (in this case, TV–magazine–commodity) as early as 1976, demonstrating the proximity between the Kadokawa strategy and the anime media mix from the start.

44 Tsuchiya, *Kyarakutā bijinesu,* 121.

45 Kawai, "Shoseki," 48. The Yokomizo revival was also helped along by ATG's 1975 release of another film version of the author's Kindaichi series: *Honjin satsujin jiken.* In a page ripped from the 1976 media mix, Kadokawa released a remake of the film *Inugamike no ichizoku* in 2006 and simultaneously re-released all novels in the Kindaichi Kōsuke series, advertising in the back matter of the *Inugamike* novel that this is "Japan's ultimate bestseller series, with over 55 million copies printed."

46 Ueda, *Besutoserā kōgengaku,* 180. 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. Ibid., 181.

47 This serialization was reissued as Yokomizo and Kagemaru, *Yatsuhakamura.* Shochiku released a film version of *Yatsuhakamura* in 1977.

48 Ōno, *Sunday to Magazine,* 243. Ōno argues that it was under the influence of the popularity of Kagemaru's manga that Kadokawa started re-releasing Yokomizo's books in paperback.

49 Kadokawa, *Wa ga tosō,* 140, describes these rumors.

50 *Shuppan nenkan* (Publishing Yearbook) lists Kadokawa's second film as being number four of the year 1977's ten most newsworthy events, noting the effectiveness of this new ad slogan. "Shuppan/dokushokai 10 dai nyūsu," 54.

51 Ueno, "Shōhin no bunka-ka," 10, 13, 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.

52 *Shuppan nenkan 1979,* 53.

53 These earlier terms for the media mix are listed by Yamakita, *Kadokawa Haruki no kōzai* (originally published in 1982), 33, 202, and Ueda, *Besutoserā kōgengaku* (published in 1992), 178, though neither of these authors use the later term *media mix.*

54 One of the earliest articles I have come across that uses the term *media mix* in its present sense of the anime media mix—referring to its present

as the "media mix age"—is Utagawa, "Manga (anime) osoru beshi!," 130. Another article that refers both to the anime media mix and to Kadokawa marketing is Noda, "Goraku gata shuppansha no media mix."

55 E.g., Sotooka, "Baburu bunka no hate," 6, and Ijiri et al., "Kadokawa Haruki no mita yume," 304, 309.

56 Kadokawa, "Wa ga tōsō," 80–81; Kadokawa, *Wa ga tōsō,* 133. We should also note that the connections between literature and film in Japan go back to the beginnings of Japanese cinema (albeit in a less coordinated fashion than Kadokawa), and the connections between film and music similarly go back before Kadokawa's time, symbolized by the career of singer-actress Misora Hibari and the *kayō eiga* or "pop song films" that, according to Fujii, *Gosanke kayo eiga no ōgon jidai,* had their golden era in the mid-1960s. Kadokawa's feat was thus not so much the invention of relations between media as their systematic deployment.

57 Zahlten, "Role of Genre in Film From Japan," 255–56, also suggests that we see *Tetsuwan Atomu* as an important precursor to Kadokawa's media mix strategy. A parallel case for the importance of television for developing cross-media strategies later used in the film world has been made in the American context by Caldwell, "Welcome to the Viral Future of Cinema (Television)," 95, who writes, "The 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 post-classical, '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" (96).

58 Kōno, "Atarashii kyarakurā senryaku no riron to jissen, #1," 39. Tsuchiya, *Kyarakutā bujinesu,* 51, also remarks on the similarities between Popy's and Kadokawa's media mix strategies.

59 By this time, anime no longer solely appealed to children but also appealed to young adults with series like *Uchū senkan Yamato* (Space Battleship Yamato, 1976) and *Kidō senshi Gundam* (Mobile Suits Gundam, 1979). Still, this was a relatively specific audience, whereas Kadokawa appealed to a mass audience.

60 Ueno, "Shōhin no bunka-ka," 11.

61 Ibid., 12. Here we see the phenomenon observed earlier in this chapter with respect to the *Tetsuwan Atomu* television series and its products: its operation as a kind of promotional relay to other media forms.

62 Dyer-Witherford, *Cyber-Marx,* 55.
63 Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* 155. See also Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity,* 121–22.
64 Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* 154.
65 See ibid., 158–61; Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism," 300–6, discusses this standardization of sexual and other norms.
66 Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity,* 135.
67 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, *The Condition of Postmodernity,* provides one of the most informative accounts of the transition to and transformations seen under post-Fordism.
68 Kennedy and Florida, *Beyond Mass Production.*
69 Lee, *Consumer Culture Reborn*, 119.
70 Ibid., 120.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid., 130–31.
73 Ibid.
74 Ibid., 135.
75 Ibid.
76 Kline et al., *Digital Play*, 74. It should be added that even "Fordist" ideal commodities like the car are influenced by this metalogic, as can be seen in the increasingly rapid development of new models, the emphasis on the *experience* the car provides in their promotion, and the replacement of long-term ownership with short-term leasing arrangements.
77 Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity*, 156.
78 Ōtsuka Eiji has remarked on the coincidence of economic downturn or recession and the vitality or resurgence of character-based media and commodity forms, citing the 1930s, 1970s, and 1990s character booms as examples of character proliferation accompanying depressive economic times. See his "Shūshū suru shutai" (The collecting subject), in *"Otaku" no seishinshi*, 193–95.
79 Allison, *Millennial Monsters*, 6. For a Japan External Trade Organization report pointing in this direction, see "Japan Animation Industry Trends."
80 The concept of "soft power" was developed by Joseph S. Nye in the 1990s and refers to the cultural power or prestige a country may have, in distinction from hard power, which is understood as military might. The

term *gross national cool* (GNC) was coined by McGray, "Japan's Gross National Cool," and refers to the economic benefits that soft power—or "coolness"—might bring. Kadokawa Haruki's brother Kadokawa Tsuguhiko—the current president of the media conglomerate Kadokawa Holdings, which I will discuss in greater detail in chapter 5—has recently written on the importance of the contents industry and "Cool Japan" from a business perspective in his *Kuraudo jidai to "kūru kakumei*." Condry offers a critical take on the GNC in "Anime Creativity."

81 Kayama and Bandai Kyarakutā Kenkyujo, *87% no nihonjin ga kyarakutā o suki na riyū*, 196.

82 Onouchi, "Sūji de yomitoku kontentsu bijinesu, dai ikkai."

83 Kadokawa, "Waga tōsō," 81.

84 Even here, however, films were often already part of film serials or informal series that extended over time and a body of works, and novels were often first serialized in newspapers and magazines before being bound into single book volumes. As I have noted here, with anime and Kadokawa's film–novel project, there was more of an acceleration and systematization of an existing practice than a total transformation.

85 In a fascinating analysis of what he at the time (1977) calls the "multimedia" environment, Tamura, "Maruchi media ni yoru zōfuku no mechanizumu," 6–9, points to the importance of magazines and other information media for amplifying messages transmitted elsewhere and for developing topics *(wadai)* that are then picked up and transformed by other media.

86 Sasakibara and Ōtsuka, *Kyōyō to shite no <manga/anime>*, 248–49.

87 Deleuze, *Desert Islands and Other Texts*, 13.

88 Two useful overviews of the concept of flow and the debates around it are White, "Flows and Other Close Encounters with Television," and the first chapter of Dienst, *Still Life in Real Time*.

89 Williams, *Television*, 86.

90 Ibid., 97.

91 Ibid., 86.

92 Ibid., 87.

93 Ibid., 88.

94 Ibid., 93.

95 Feuer, "Concept of Live Television," 15–16.

96 Ellis, *Visible Fictions*, 112.

97 The importance of television, and TV anime, in particular, for the development of the children's market and the incorporation of the child into

the society of mass consumption has been underscored by Yamakawa, "Shōhinka keikaku ni tsunagaru terebi manga no būmu," 46–50; Akiya and Takayama, "Fureagaru 'kodomo shijō,'" 57; Takayama, "Kodomo shijōron," 311–14; and Saitō, *Kodomotachi no genzai*, 49–52.

98 Fiske, *Television Culture*, 118.

99 Altman, "Television Sound," 567.

100 Celia Lury, in her theoretical analysis of the brand, similarly suggests the importance of the concept of televisual flow for thinking the revaluation of the interval that accompanies the brand logic. "The logo," she writes, "is a mark of this new operationality of the interval in relation to the broadcast distribution of the commodity." Lury, *Brands*, 89. Here I understand Lury's remarks as being applicable to the discussion of the character as well, but with the significant caveat that the logic of segmentation and flow must be seen in the wider context of transformations in the Japanese media ecology of the 1960s and not merely in the context of televisual form.

101 Christopher Anderson has written about the role of Disney and its pioneering *Disneyland* television show (broadcast as of 1954) in the creation, in the U.S. context, of an "all-encompassing consumer environment," or what Disney himself called "total merchandising." Anderson, "Disneyland," 18. Once again, we may note the pioneering role Disney had in developing transmedia connections and the inspiration Tezuka and Mushi Production found in Disney's industrial practices, even as they were transformed in the development of the Japanese media mix.

102 On the "mediatization of the store," see Komiya, "Tentō baitaika no tame no hitotsu no teian," 18–19.

103 Taking this development as her starting point, Willis, *A Primer for Daily Life*, 1–22, proposes to substitute the Marxist analysis of the commodity with an analysis of the package when dealing with contemporary consumer culture.

104 On the relations between television anime characters, omake premiums, and package design, see the roundtable discussion Kubota, "Shōdō kai Shōhin/sokyū no kichō no kibi."

105 Marx, *Capital,* 1.1021.

106 Ibid., 1021.

107 Ibid., 1035.

108 Major figures in the movement include Antonio Negri, Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, and Maurizio Lazzarato; prominent North American writers associated with autonomist Marxism include

Harry Cleaver, Nick Dyer-Witherford, Jason Read, and Michael Hardt.

109 Massumi, *A User's Guide to Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, 132.

110 Ibid., 133.

111 Smythe, "On the Audience Commodity and Its Work"; Browne, "Political Economy of the Television (Super) Text"; Beller, *Cinematic Mode of Production.* Maurizio Lazzarato develops this understanding of consumption as production in his "Immaterial Labor" essay. Negri similarly develops this approach in his theorization of the *social factory*, wherein all acts, particularly those that involve communication, become directly productive for capital: "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." Negri, *Politics of Subversion*, 204. Terranova offers a superb account of the voluntary labor of consumers in "Free Labor."

112 This was arguably an early development of what Kücklich, "Precarious Playbour," has termed, in the context of video game modders, *playbour.*

5. Character, World, Consumption

1 This export of the marketing and media practice from children's culture into a wider cultural milieu is a phenomenon that one also sees in the context of North American media production of film and other texts from the mid-1970s onward. See Marshall, "New Intertextual Commodity," 71–73.

2 Zahlten, "Role of Genre in Film from Japan," 295.

3 A recent book on a media mix phenomena describes the Kadokawa Group as the "representative media conglomerate of Japan." Yawaraka Sensha Rengōgun, *Yawaraka sensha ryū,* 194.

4 Matsutani, "Jissha eiga," 61, notes that publishers began participating in the committee production system as of 2001. See also Matsutani, "Manga no media mikkusu to seisaku iinkai hōshiki." Tada, *Kore ga anime bijinesu da,* 101, suggests that the production committee system is a "recent trend" (at least with regard to anime production). Thanks to Alexander Zahlten for additional information on the history of the committee system.

5 Matsutani, "Jissha eiga," 75, suggests that we should differentiate the Kadokawa media mix from the production committee system media mix—insofar as the former has the media mix as its goal and the latter has the media mix as its effect. Yet the similarities outweigh the