Tokyo Pop Culture as A Transformative Culture

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Tokyo Pop Culture was informally established at the beginning of 1990's as a glocal subculture and has been developing through 1990's. At last in the middle of 2000's it has just emerged as a formal culture, because (1) lots of Japanese popular works(ex. H. Miyazaki's animation films, T. Murakami's works, etc.) were highly evaluated, (2) such cultural goods began to make huge economic profits for the general market, like Otaku Culture, and (3) Japanese government at last began to commit to support it. The situation around Tokyo Pop Culture is absolutely changing and changing. I am sure that such a change seems to be a great "transformation of culture." In this paper there are three parts. Firstly I would trace of the development of Tokyo Pop Culture. Concretely I would be mapping 1900's Tokyo culture. And then secondly I would deal with recent transformation since 2000's. I would point out its great transformation. Thirdly I would deal with the transformation itself. Maybe we can characterize our new Pop Culture as "A Transformative culture."

Key words: Tokyo Pop Culture, Cultural Industry, Cultural Policy, Transformative Culture, Creative City

1. Introduction

1. The Tokyo "Info-Middle" in 1990's

A new information culture or a new global culture had been generated since the latter half of 1980's and established actually among lots of advanced countries or OECD countries. With the development of both cultures, Info-Middle or Creative Class, who have carried on their shoulder, gradually have increased. In a global level at first since 1980's those kinds of culture had been established in most global cities, particularly in New York, London and Tokyo. The new cultures are consist of some hybrid combinations between popular culture and information culture (conglomerate culture both computer technology and communication technology). Here firstly I would trace an outline of the historical development in Tokyo, where has been a typical & central example of the global cities as one of Asian cities. At the same time we could divide the following two terms of the development. That is to say, 1990's and since 2000. Finally I try to generalize the example as a new type of culture, which has been performed under the social condition of Post modernity. I just call it as a "Transformative Culture" and would explain the characteristics. Whether one agree the hypothetical concept or not, no one could not imagine generativity of the new social structure and cultural system.

〈Tokyo "Info-Middle" in 1990's〉
(1) The Tokyo "Info-Middle"
(2) Globalization and Stratification: Information Rich and Information Poor
(3) The Need for a Sound and Fair-Spirited Info-Middle

1.1 Where was the Tokyo Info-Middle Located ?
1.1.1 The Info-Middle Towns: Shibuya, Jiyugaoka, Sangenjaya, Shimo-Kitazawa, Kichijoji

Where did the Info-Middle people live in Tokyo in 1990's? In which towns did they gather together? Let us begin by answering these basic questions.

Generally speaking, the Info-Middle people were scattered throughout the Tokyo metropolitan area. But, on a closer inspection, we found that they tended to live and gathered together in and around the areas where media, culture and information industries had been accumulated. According to a report by Dentsu Research Institute ("The Urban Concentration of Information-Media Industry: The Concentration of Information in Tokyo" 1998), the residential areas of the presidents and executives of the large companies (enlisted on the Tokyo Stock Exchange) were

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heavily concentrated in the southwest suburban areas in Tokyo; Setagaya ward (17.6%) had by far the largest share, followed by Suginami (8.8%) and Ota (7.5%). In Japan as a whole, Tokyo Metropolis (31.6%) had by far the largest share of the presidential residence, followed by the neighboring Kanagawa prefecture (11.8%), and Hyogo (9.9%) and Osaka (9.8%) in Kansai urban area. A similar pattern could be found for the industries such as film production, television and trading companies.

Although not concentrated in one or two areas, the kinds of places the Info-Middle tended to live in and gather together could be demonstrated on the metropolitan map. They tended to be found in the towns of Shibuya, Harajuku and Aoyama, and the residential areas alongside Route 246 and railway lines starting from and going through Shibuya (Tokyu Toyoko Line, Tokyu Shin-Tamagawa Line, Keio Inogashira Line, Subway Ginza Line, JR Yamanote Line, etc.). The towns which these Info-Middle people frequent were the typical middle class towns. For example, some of these people walked around Shibuya, Harajuku and Aoyama from home. Clockwise from the southwest, there was Jiyugaoka (which might be compared to Ashiya in Kansai) thriving on upper-middle and middle class women. Sangenjaya was just close to Shibuya, and known for its popular comfort in living and "artful" urban restructuring. Futago-Tamagawa was a quintessentially middle class suburbia, with a variety of consumer outlets fitted for driving-in. Shimo-Kitazawa was a town for college students and the youth, famous for its theaters and performing arts. Seijo-Gakuen was, like Den'en-Chofu, an exclusive residential district. Finally, there was Kichijoji at the end point of Inogashira line. Kichijoji was a center of Musashino Culture with its old-type liberalism, and was also a home to the new middle class residents around the area.

1.1.2 The Lifestyle of the Tokyo Info-Middle ─An Aesthetics of Mixed Co-existence─

How, then, could we describe the lifestyle of the Tokyo Info-Middle? In considering this question, we needed to keep in mind a cultural prototype which persists in the Tokyo Culture. The prototype was not something clear-cut and monolithic, but a pattern which might be called "an aesthetics of mixed co-existence." Such an "aesthetics" refers to certain modes of behavior, ways of thinking and tastes which appreciate the simultaneous presence (co-existence) of various cultural patterns. While mixing and combining various heterogeneous elements, this aesthetics just entertained them as they were, never trying to impose a systematic coherence among these elements.

Why was it that this cultural pattern had been established in Tokyo? An answer to this question had to do with the fact that Tokyo (Edo) was originally established as a military and political capital by the warrior class (samurai). The military rule continued for 260 years under the Tokugawa regime, and although somewhat modified after Meiji Restoration, it reappeared in the 20th century and lasted for several decades. We should also note that, even after Meiji Restoration, large scale urban plannings could not be implemented in Tokyo. As a result, we had 1990's Tokyo Metropolis with various classes of people living and gathering in its complicated streets and lanes.

It was interesting to compare Tokyo with another global city, London, for the latter also was known for its complicated and tangled streets. The history of London dated far back in 43 A.D. when the Romans constructed a city named Londonium. They liked to use straight lines in their city construction, and today, only the well-known Oxford Street reminded us of the Roman design.

But in London, unlike in Tokyo, the architectural designs were unified and the parks were preserved street by street. Even now, there were royal or aristocratic landowners who had kept their large estate within the city of London since the medieval times, making it possible to unify the row of houses and buildings on a street. Evidently, this was not the case in Tokyo.

However, most of the Info-Middle's towns listed above are in the areas where urban plannings were implemented. For example, Den'en-Chofu, Jiyugaoka and Seijo-Gakuen were developed during Taisho and early Showa period. These towns had accumulated the experiences of civic culture since then. By contrast, there were some "mixed" residential areas in Shibuya or Minato ward. Walking around Roppongi, Azabu-Juban, Tameike-San'no or Hiro'o, we easily notice the mixed co-existence of various houses and buildings. We found, side by side, splendid mansions, luxury flats for the multinational executives, old temples or shops of traditional musical instruments (Shamisen etc.) and confectionary (Wagashi) which reminded us of the Edo period. We also encountered old wooden apartments.

Kyoichi Tsuzuki, a photographer known for his unique works, pointed out precisely this "mixed coexistence" as a distinctive feature of Tokyo Culture. His photobook, The Tokyo Style (Kyoto Shoin 1997), succeeded in positively depicting the kind of people who "enjoyed a comfortable living in a small room, packed with various things and ideas." In a sense, this was a reasonable lifestyle, since by giving up the physical space, they could enjoy Tokyo's cultural spaces more deeply. Consequently, it might be possible to characterize the contemporary Tokyo Culture in terms of both its suburban residential culture and the culture of "mixed co-existence" in the city center. These two cultures could be analyzed further in terms of two cultural axes. The first axis was internationalism vs. traditionalism, and the second axis was fine arts vs. popular culture. Let us take a brief look at each, in turn.

1.1.3 The First Axis of "Mixed Co-existence": Internationalism and Traditionalism

To be precise, internationalism and traditionalism were not necessarily opposed to each other in the reality of Tokyo life. Quite often, foreign (European-American) and traditional (Japanese of Edo or earlier periods) cultures coexisted in the same cultural object. Therefore, some objects could be high on both international and traditional scales, others might be low on both. It was important to keep this point in mind.

As for the residential area of the foreign population, there was a clear difference between the (upper) middle class and the non-middle class (foreign manual workers and students). The former included the diplomats, multinational corporate executives and professionals, professional athletes and artists, and they tended to live in Minato, Chiyoda and Shibuya wards where foreign embassies and corporate headquarters were concentrated. Many of them also lived in Meguro and Setagaya wards. A few decades ago, these (upper) middle class foreigners were mostly Americans and Britons, but in 1990's they are from a variety of international backgrounds.

As for the traditional flavor, Tokyo retained many historical constructions and remained associated with the Edo period. Although we were inclined to think that those historical sites were mostly found in the "downtown" areas such as Taito and Koto wards, it was not really the case. Rather, an area covering Minato and Shibuya wards, which was much more international than the downtown, retained many historical objects and a distinctively Edo-like flavor and scenery. The reason for this situation was complex. Generally speaking, the survival of Edo in Tokyo depended on whether the place was already densely populated in the latter half of Edo period when the city expanded, whether the place was inhabited by the tradesmen and artisans or by the samurai class, and whether the place was destroyed by the American air raids in the Second World War. In the case of the area covering Minato and Shibuya wards, these factors worked positively for its preservation of traditional Edo.

Let us take a look at Azabu and Hiro'o area. As was mentioned before, many of the upper-middle class foreigners lived in the places such as Moto-Azabu, Nishi-Azabu, Minami-Azabu in Minato ward and Hiro'o in Shibuya ward. With a lot of nice restaurants and luxury supermarkets, this whole area was famous for its internationalism. Yet, at the same time, there were an old town (Azabu-Juban, for example) and a circle for Buddhist temples (near Hiroo's station) which escaped bombing in the wartime. In this area, we found shops for traditional musical instruments, Japanese style confectionary with traditional tea rooms and various other sites which reminded us of the Edo culture. Furthermore, we encountered some cheap wooden apartments and ordinary mortared-frame collective housings alongside the mansions and luxury flats still in 1990's. It was this kind of "mixed co-existence" which characterized Tokyo.

A similar scene could be found in the area extending from Akasaka to Tameike-San'no. Famous for its recent urban restructuring, this area hosted the newly fashionable spots in and around the ANA Hotel, Asahi Television, Suntory Hall, Mori Buildings and the like. Nevertheless, close to these buildings, we noticed many first- or second-floor wooden houses, small fish stores, tofu manufacturers and tiny restaurants specialized in traditional Japanese cuisine. If you visited this area with its mixture of supermodern buildings and old constructions reminiscent of Taisho or early Showa era, you were bound to be struck by a sense of wonder.

1.1.4 The Second Axis of "Mixed Co-existence": Fine Arts and Popular Culture

In analyzing the Tokyo Culture, the distinction between fine arts and popular culture was also quite relevant. However, as was the case with

internationalism vs. traditionalism, we should note that these two cultures were not necessarily opposed to each other. A cultural object might be high on both scales, while another might be low on both.

Fine arts culture was mostly of European origin, including arts (drawings and paintings), classical music (orchestra and opera), performing arts (avant-guard theater and dance), and virtually every genre from European arts.

By contrast, popular culture was mainly of American origin. It was important here to examine the processes through which American popular culture was imported and diffused among the Japanese. A usual explanation had been that the Japanese had accepted American pop culture out of their admiration for and feelings of inferiority toward the Americans. This explanation might have been true for the older generations, but did no longer hold for the younger generations after the 1980's. Moreover, we had to pay attention to the fact that, in Japan, pop culture originated in and spread among not the working class (as in West Europe) nor the ethnic minority (as in the U.S.), but the urban new middle class as such. We should keep in mind this difference between Japan (and East/Southeast Asia) and the West in the making of pop culture.

1.2　Cultural Maps of Tokyo: Reading a Patchwork in 1990's

Let us look more closely into today's Tokyo Culture which was being created by the Tokyo Info-Middle. For this purpose, a report on the development of cultural industries in Tokyo by Denstu Research Institute was quite useful. According to this report, most of the old media establishments such as newspapers, publishers, printing, broadcasting stations and advertising agencies were and had been located in Chiyoda, Bunkyo, Taito and Chuo wards, that is, in and around the political capital, Kasumigaseki. But, the new cultural and information industries had been located outside of these central areas, and even the old media industries had begun to move away from them.

There were two major directions in this movement. One was a shift toward the Bayside area in the water front known as the Bayside Corridor, which includes Maihama, Makuhari and Chiba to the east and Yokohama's futuristic bayside area (Minato Mirai 21) to the south. The other was a shift toward a newly developed city center in Shinjuku. Yet, as we noted before, the areas in and around Minato and Shibuya wards had been by far the most salient in terms of their accumulation of Tokyo's cultural industries. There was no doubt that the new Tokyo Culture was being created in and transmitted through this Shibuya area.

1.2.1　The Bayside Corridor

Located at the waterfront, the Bayside areas comprised a lot of newly developed or reclaimed land, and offered much wider spaces and advanced facilities for the cultural industry. Being geographically closed to the city center (Kasumigaseki in Chuo ward etc.), some of the established cultural industries had begun to move into the Bayside Corridor. As a symbolic case, the Fuji Television moved from Kawadacho (Shinjuku ward) into Odaiba. Also, Dentsu, the world's largest advertising agency, was about to move from Tsukiji (Chuo ward) to the bayside area near Shinbashi.

This Bayside Corridor encompasses Makuhari in Chiba prefecture to the east, and Yokohama's new city center (Minato Mirai 21) in Kanagawa prefecture. Makuhari, with its giant exhibition hall, Makuhari Messe, had been quite successful in attracting various businesses into this area. The development of Minato Mirai was also expected to be completed by 2005, giving rise to a new urban bayside town even larger than Makuhari (Actually the two cases still have continued to complete their city planning).

In any case, the Bayside Corridor was increasingly becoming a center for various new cultural industries.

1.2.2　The West-Shinjuku High Technology Town

Another new center for the accumulation of cultural industries was the West-Shinjuku High Technology Town which extended from its newly developed city center to Hatsudai area. Shinjuku hosted the largest number of high-rise buildings in Japan, including those of Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office which had moved out from Yurakucho in the late 1980's. More recently, the headquarter of Japan Telephone and Telecommunications (NTT) and its affiliates moved into Hatsudai area close to the Metropolitan Government. The latter included a high-rise building called "Tokyo Opera City" and the Second National Theater. With a new style of museum, theater and other facilities, this area was becoming a

center of various artistic activities.

1.2.3 The Animation Corridor (Areas along the Seibu Shinjuku Line)

Also, we should not forget Tokyo's animation industry which represents contemporary Japanese culture overseas. Although located outside of the centers of cultural industry, there was an area called "Animation Corridor" in the western part of Tokyo where many of the influential animation production offices were concentrated. This area laid along the Seibu Ikebukuro Line, the Seibu Shinjuku Line and the JR Chuo Line, which connected the western suburbs with Shinjuku or Ikebukuro. There was a clear historical reason why such an area had been formed. The great masters of early Manga comics such as Osamu Tezuka and Fujio Fujiko lived along the Seibu Ikebukuro Line, and attracted by their artistic leadership, many of the Manga creators and artists came to study and work under them. Since then, the area had expanded to the Seibu Shinjuku Line and the JR Chuo Line.

1.2.4 The Shibuya Culture

Fashion, music and game softs, like the Manga animation, were representative of Japanese cultural industry today. These industries were heavily concentrated in the areas covering Minato, Shibuya and Setagaya wards. As is mentioned before, it was this whole area in and around Shibuya, or its Shibuya Culture, which turned out to be the most important for today's Tokyo Culture. Let us look into the Shibuya Culture in terms of its three dimensions: fashion, food and game softs, and entertainment.

(1) Fashion Towns (Shibuya, Minato and Setagaya wards)

It was notable that the fashion industry was overwhelmingly concentrated in Minato and Shibuya wards. In 1997, Minato and Shibuya occupied, respectively, 36％ and 24％ of the fashion stylists in Tokyo. For the fashion designers, the shares were 33％ and 18％. Similarly, both of these wards host 29％ of fashion modeling agencies.

In addition, the teenage fashion industry had been active and thriving in and around Harajuku. The teenage fashion industry in this area was probably the best in the world both in terms of its quantity and quality. In fact, global newspapers such as International Herald Tribune regularly had reported on what is going on in these fashion towns in Tokyo.

(2) Route 246 (Food and Game Softs)

Next is the area along the Route 246. In terms of the railway, it corresponded to the area along Subway Ginza Line, the Tokyu Shin-Tamagawa Line and the Tokyu Den'entoshi Line. We found many of the game soft producers and their associates living and working in this area. The best known, among others, is the Sony Computer Entertainment. According to our interviews, many of its game soft creators lived in the vicinity of the company. Such a pattern of working life was quite similar to those found in London's computer soft industry or New York's Silicon Alley (It was interesting to note that the case of Nintendo in Uji, Kyoto was quite the contrary to this pattern). As for the dietary culture, we found a variety of excellent restaurants all over the places like Roppongi, Azabu, Akasaka, Aoyama, Omote-Sando, Harajuku and Shibuya. The quality and the choice of the foods in these places were as good as those in New York, Paris or Milan.

(3) Entertainment and Music Industries

The last and the most important of the Shibuya Culture was its music industry. Shibuya stood as the center of popular music (including J-Pops＝Japanese Popular Music) in Japan. The music industry was packed in Shibuya, Minato, Meguro, Setagaya and Shinjuku wards. While 89％ of all the recording offices in Japan were located in Tokyo, they were heavily concentrated in Minato (35％), Shibuya (28％) and Meguro (13％). A similar pattern could be found for the music production offices and music-related publishers. In addition, 36％ of entertainment productions were located in Minato, 24％ in Shibuya.

Why Shibuya? Why not Ikebukuro or Shinjuku? We felt that there were basically two reasons for this. One was a cultural environment Shibuya was placed in. Shibuya and Minato hosted most of the foreign embassies and many of the multinational corporate headquarters in Japan. With a sizable people associated with these positions living in, this area had a distinctively international, upper or upper-middle class culture. Another factor was the existence of large suburban residential quarters connected with Shibuya along the Tokyu Lines. Organized and developed in Taisho and early Showa era, as was noted, these areas represented typical upper-middle class towns which were rather exceptional in Tokyo. While similar residential areas had been developed along the Chuo, Seibu and other railway lines,

they were not only much smaller in size but also lacking in the contacts with the international upper-middle class culture.

2.   Tokyo "Info-Middle" in 2000's

2.1   New Trends of Tokyo "Info-Middle" in 2000's

A new Tokyo Culture, which had been established in 1990's, how has it been changing since then and how did it enter into 21st century. It's a pity that cultural statistics themselves have not been arranged yet, not only in Japan but also most countries, and then we can deal with some parts of cultural phenomena and must integrate the total image of the new culture (Compared with "Cultural Trends" in England, it is clear that the statistical situations are different. Japanese case is a typical one and it shows that administrative statistics have ignored cultural statistics for a long time). However the statistics are under the poor condition, we can roughly grasp its outline of the data. Here firstly I would take some characteristics of the changing aspects and then pick up some important points, which show essentially epoch-making transformations.

In the beginning of 21st century, first characteristic is "Unipolar or highly heavy Concentration" into Metropolitan Tokyo Area by lots of kinds of cultural capitals and cultural industries, including creative clusters and the tendency has still continued until now. Also it apparently can apply to new contents industries in Tokyo. In other words, between Tokyo and other local cities there are clearly large distinctions in quantity. Particularly the most significant changing point is a corruption of competitive rival relationship between Tokyo culture and Kansai culture(including Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe), that had been dominating quite long Japanese history since medieval era. Kyoto, where was the old capitol for one thousand years, has become more and more local but historically still attractive city. For example, the number of foreign tourists have decreased the number in recent years and the significance of successor of Japanese old tradition might have gradually diminished. Osaka also, in different meaning, have become more and more local (partially "glocal"). The typical example is Yoshimoto Kogyo. The head office of Yoshimoto Kogyo transferred from Osaka to Tokyo several years ago. This example was similar past removals by big companies originally in Osaka like Matsushita Panasonic and

Sumitomo. They had adapted Tokyo competitive situation and changing their character toward "Tokyonization (東京化)". Yoshimoto's removal seems to be their dominance to Tokyo culture ("Osakanization (大阪化)" of Tokyo culture), but it would be artificial and temporary phenomena. Since first establishment of Edo(Premodern Tokyo) Tokyo has been international city and essentially "odorless" hybrid city. Tokyo has been accepting all the kinds of external cultures and making some hybrid cultures. Subsequently Tokyo culture after the acceptance tent to be more diverse, multiple, transformational. I would explain it later.

In recent Tokyo culture please pay attention to the following three.

(1)   Shibuya Culture
(2)   Animation Corridor
(3)   Akihabara (Akiba 秋葉原) Culture

Shibuya Culture is mainly consist of music industries, fashion industries, and contents business. It has developed since 1990's prosperous stage. Shibuya means only big terminal station(trains and undergrounds), but it is also a complex cultural place including neighbor Harajuku, Omotesanndo, Ebisu, and Aoyama. Next the Animation Corridor is distributed along the following three railway lines. Jr Chuo Line, Seibu Shinjuku Line, and Seibu Ikebukuro Line. Those places are residential areas who want to live by lots of animation creators. In the beginning of 21st century animation director Hayao Miyazaki and his Studio Giburi got several prizes in famous international film festivals like Berlin and Oscar. Then at last in Japan people's attentions and evaluations rapidly heightened. As a result, public support to the animation creators and productions began. For example within the animation corridor Suginami-ward in Tokyo began to support and finally declared to direct Animation & cultural industries' city. Thirdly we can list up Akihabara culture. Akihabara originally developed as a city of Electricity-exactly discount electricity shops and shops dealing with electric parts after W.W.2. But recently on the basis of electricity city, a different character "Otaku Culture" was just added. So many kinds of collectors who are searching for particular cultural goods and digital contents in Akihabara. Additionally contingent shops that tend to target to the Otaku people (collectors) are gathering around Akihabara (For example, they enjoy to stay at Maid Cafe). Such

a kind of special shops increase quite recently. Additionally in 2005 Tsukuba Express, the third sector railway line, opened and Yodobashi Camera, a giant digital contents shop, began to sell just in front of Akihabara station where has been going to redeveloped the front area in Akihabara. Public concern was really stimulated by the two.

On the one hand, Tokyo culture has been flourished heavily one-polar concentration and accumulation of cultural capital & cultural industries, on the other hand, it is a fact that lots of local culture in local cities have declined with Declining birthrate & aging. However I would point out, this means that almost all the cities—exept Nagoya, Fukuoka, etc.—have declined. Rather a new trend or a new development of some cities have already begun. For example, "Creative industries" or "Creative cities" have new basement for the regeneration and restructuring of such local cities. And the trend we can see distribute a wide range, from small population area like Yufuin (an Art Village in Oita) and Obuse (called Small Kyoto in Nagano) to large scale of cities like Osaka and Yokohama(both cities have creative cities project) as global cities. These kinds of successful cities share some accumulation of cultural resources. At the same time, on the base of them, three sectors—administration, industries and citizens—have corporate each together in order to direct cultural regeneration. Also most of their activities bring some fruitful outcomes.

Entering into 21st century last huge transformation is an issue on cultural policies. Key points are the following two. One is some new cultural policies on new area like popular culture and digital contents, that had never been related with traditional cultural policy in the long time. But after 2000 the situation just changed. Concretely speaking, in 1998 NPO Act was permitted and voluntaristic activities by NPO began to approve socially. Then after in 2001 firstly Geijutsubunka (芸術文化振興法) Fine Arts Act was established, in 2002 Intellectual Property Right Act passed in the Parliament. In 2003 the centre of intellectual property right under Prime Minister of Japan was established. These kinds of trials still started in other neighbor countries like South Korea and Taiwan more than five years ago. Another characteristic is degree by each government-central government and local government. There is clearly distinction between them. Nation state already began to tack with the project, but local

Table 1 A History of Contents Policy by Japanese Government

2000. 1	IT Basic Act
2001. 11	Promotional Act of Culture and Arts
2002. 11	Intellectual Property Act
2003. 3	Center of Intellectual Property Policy
2003. 7	Promotional Plan of Intellectual Property
2004. 5	Contents Promotional Act
2006. 11	Association of Contents Policy

(ASHI Newspaper, Evening 2005. 1. 6.)

government like Tokyo Metropolitan Government only has committed slightly.(See the above Table 1). We can easily interested in the difference.

2.1 Tokyo Pop Culture: From Glocal to Global

Here I would focus on Tokyo Pop Culture from the global context in macro sociological perspective. Tokyo Pop Culture has transformed since 1960's and particularly since the latter half of 80's, as a globalizing culture. In this section my purposes are the following three and would explain in turn.

(1) Social & cultural functions of Japanese Pop Culture in context of Globalization

(2) It's mediated meaning both for Western culture and for East Asian culture

(3) Intrinsic emergence and its creative aspects

2.2.1 J-Pop: First Asian Popular Culture: Popular Music

First I would take J-Pop. Exactly saying not J-Pop, but T-Pop (Tokyo-Pop). Because according to Mr. T. Masubuchi (2006), the accumulation to Tokyo from 1990's to 2000's in music industries has been more and more extremely high (More than 90% of the Japanese market).

T-Pop culture has the following two social background. One is Japanese Cultural. Capital Factor. Japanese music culture itself was Imported by Western Classic Music and Japanese government adopted a formal music subject in 1872. So we have had a long history about music culture. Now in 1990's there were 1.2 million music-educated population, educated by Western classic music. So for example, Ryuich Sakamoto, a first global popular musician in Japan, also was educated the classic music education. So it is easy that different with English case, T-Pop was originally born as middle class culture. Now more

than 25％ having a piano per Japanese household. In particular in university level most students had learn either having a lesson of piano or violin. So surprising! (T. Masubuchi, 2006).

Anyway extending to recent the Asian market according to Global Entertainment and Media Outlook 2005-2009, recorded music has moved from CD/DVD to mobile music sector. In Asia/ Pac mobile music stabilized total spending in 2003 and propelled the market to a 9.3 percent increase in 2004. On the strength of continued growth in that sector, overall spending will advance.

2.2.2　Animation: Animation Diffusion Process

Next on Japanese Animation, in 1990's both U.S.A. and Japan had huge market in each countries and had exported to the other markets. Recently the position do not change so much, but lots of new developing countries like South Korea have emerged in this market. An important point is the reason why Japanese animations and comics got successful position. First I am sure that some of Japanese animations and comics not like U.S. A. have been more that "Child things." And also they have huge variety of genre, in case their contents have included philosophy and historical analysis (For example, O. Tezuka sometimes referred to his philosophy and M.Yokoyama often dealt with Chinese ancient history).

In these years creative style just changed from manufacturing style like Japan to IT industries like U.S.A. Also a quite recently international style is emerging among new countries.

A recent trend is the following about filmed entertainment. "Filmed entertainment spending in EMEA will generate $41.3 billion in 2009, averaging 8.5 percent growth compounded annually." And "Japan is the dominant market in Asia/Pac, at $8.3 billion, 54 percent of total spending. Japan is particularly dominant in home video, constituting 63 percent of the region's spending. Rentals remain popular in Japan because limited storage space in homes dampens demand to build video libraries. DVD recorders are selling well in Japan, and piracy is not a serious problem" (Global Entertainment and Media Outlook 2005-2009).

2.2.3　Otaku Culture: "MOE" and a Transformation Culture

Lastly I would touch the third topic on recent Tokyo Pop Culture. The most amazing epoch is Otaku culture. It means that it contain the following two things: "MOE" and a Transformation Culture. Let us look at them. First Otaku culture is based on Taste culture and on individualistic value. This taste culture often concentrates on particular cultural things like digital contents. Moe means a strong attachment towards such cultural objects like animation, characters, and costumes. Otaku are almost prefer such things, collect lots of them and making a strong market. The number of Otaku have increase in these 20 years and particularly cultural industries began to pay attention to them.

According to Jiji Press (6th October 2005), Nomura Research Institute (NRI) reported a research on 〈OTAKU〉's basic statistics and commercialistic value. According to that, there are still 12 genre or their taste category, like comics, animations and railroad, etc. And their population are 1.72 million and supported to be 411 billion Japanese Yen about the market scale. They just become first people whether they adopt some commodities and also have influential power to other common people.

Cf. According to Price Waterhouse Coopers (2006,「Global Entertainment and Media Market 2005-2009」), there are the following 14 Genre about entertainment and media.
- Filmed Entertainment
- Television Networks: Broadcast and Cable
- Television Distribution: Station, Cable, and Satellite
- Recorded Music
- Radio and Out-of-Home Advertising
- Internet Advertising and Access Spending
- Video Games
- Business Information
- Magazine Publishing
- Newspaper Publishing
- Book Publishing
- Theme Parks and Amusement Parks
- Casino Gaming
- Sports

This is a typical classification in culture industries or creative industries. Actually this kind of definition of creative cluster sometimes accompany lots of difficulties. And there is no formal definition recognized by international or global substance.

2.2.4　Recent Tokyo Pop Culture and its Meanings

Finally I would provide the social meanings of

the above recent trends of Tokyo Pop Culture. Five points are listed up.

(1) Restructuring Urban Middle Culture

It is said that globalization has accelerated to collapse old middle class structure in most modern societies and has reconstructed new two divided class structure as lots of social scientists dealt with globalization issue like S. Sassen and D. Crane.

Because of late correspondence with globalization in Japan since 2000's, there still remained old modern middle class until recently, but new rich people began to emerge both in Tokyo and Nagoya (Toyota company!).

(2) Recent Contents Industries' Development

Creative industries and creative cities have developed in these 15 years and have produced a new class, for examples, creative Class (R. Florida), creative Cities (C. Landry), and Information Middle (K. Kawasaki). Tokyo Pop Culture is a typical example of this kind. However most of them have developed by their own privatizing efforts, not by the policies of central government.

(3) Particularistic Aspect: Childish/Withdral Culture?

There are two contrasted aspects, both particularistic and universalistic. In the past Japanese pop culture had been characterized as "childish/withdrawal culture." Every culture has such a tendency, I am sure. Rather I would point out Anti-Groupism tendency. Groupism has been most important value orientation in Japanese culture. And in these years the groupism transformed from functional groupism to post groupism. Such post-groupism has both positive and negative implications.

Positive: Various Violence Problems

Negative: Withdrawal Culture

In Japanese culture there remains one more serious tendency, that is to say "Pacifism Syndrome." Positively it means multiple and elaborated nature. Negatively speaking it seems to be childish, soft and sweet aspect. Nomura Research Institute (NRI) reported a research on 〈OTAKU〉's basic statistics and commercialistic value. According to that, there are still 12 genre or their taste category, like comics, animations and railroad, etc.. And the population are 1.72 million and supported to be 411 billion Japanese Yen about the market scale. They just become first people whether they adopt some commodities and also have influential power to other common people.

(4) Universalistic Aspect: Creative Cities & Industries!

On the contrary, I could point out universalistic both two aspects, that is to say, on creative cities and creative industries. The key issues are the following three.

①Key Issue 1: Creativity

Creativity is most essential aspect for creative cities and creative industries. Commonly "creativity" contains both "Art vs. Entertainment." In Tokyo case potentially this opposition had continued in these decades. But quiet recently. Entertainment industries (mainly popular culture) might be superior to fine-art culture. It must be crucial important turning point.

②Key Issue 2: Cultural Market

Next issue is about cultural market. In cultural market there exists "Commercialism vs. Essentialism" opposition scheme. In most societies cultural market has easily oriented towards commercialism. In Tokyo culture the similar tendency can be seen.

③Key Issue 3: What are Contents?

Last one is about the essential issue, "what are contents?" New contents will be consist of three components. 1) popular culture capitals, 2) fine-arts capitals, 3) digital contents. The problem is how to recreate or mix these kinds of different elements, and how to create a new type of contents culture. It means both competition among multinational companies and competition among nation state like movies industries and animation at the same time.

(5) Asian Perspective?

Lastly I would refer to the remaining problem, that is to say Asian perspectives. They relates with "value problems." Particularly the value problems include the following three issues.

①Asian Value

The first one is on Asian value. Tokyo culture are originally consist of traditional, Western, American and Asian culture. They have loved to import outside culture and then continue to mix those elements. Finally they used to coexist between indigenous and imported culture. Recent two decades additionally Western & American culture they eagerly import Asian objects. And in cultural industries the same tendency can be seen. Asian value is for them to tackle with contempo-

rary Tokyo culture.

②Transnational Value

The next problem concerns about transnational value. Exactly Tokyo culture in wider sense of the word belongs to East Asian area and next to Southeast Asian area. Compare with other areas like EU and EFTA, transnational issue begin to be problematic issue among our area. And ASEAN and APEC have already tackle with this kind of issue. Tokyo culture will have to solve and contain it.

③Cosmopolitan Value/Global Value

Lastly ultimate problem would be cosmopolitan or global issue. Tokyo culture surely has had a kind of cosmopolitan value, but because of "ordorlessness" the substance of cosmopolitanism might be often ambiguous and vague. So I am sure that Tokyo culture have to clear its contents and make their attitudes toward cultural identity more proudly or approval.

3.　A Tokyo Culture as a Transformative Culture

3.1　Transformative Society: its definition

A transformative society is consist of two elements. One is based on Modern system and another is Information system, which is consist of the following three characteristics.

(1) Transformation

Transformation is like a "Metamorphose" by Max Ernst(1891–1976). Original one are gradually changing both externally and internally, and finally become absolutely different things. Maybe its change bases on a kind of "plasticity" mentioned by C. Malabo, who is a famous philosopher and she points out a self consist of huge number of synapse collectivity (C. Malabou, 2004). She insists that our brain can make change our self itself creatively.

The essential point is what can maintain the system's consistency. In modern society, denial, division, and dissent are most adequate way of style. But post-modern society halfly the system maintain its consistency in the level of political meaning (identity issue) or economic interests.

One more important things might be "control revolution" and "importance of management." Computer/communication/contents technologies make be possible to control from physical things to informational world. So most significant functions of power shifts towards control function. At the same time, dominance by power and money changed management by power and money.

These changes seems to be very interesting modification. Knowledge management would be key issue under such conditions (J. R. Beniger, 1986).

Finally I would point out the contrasted duality of Transformation itself. In ideal level transformation often take some kind of "conservativeness," ant in another sentimental level it contain a kind of "self-preservation." In modern society most people pursued "innovation" and in postmodern society they prefer transformation.

(2) Hybridity

Next hybridity means a united function between two different element/system and actually working together or synchronically. For example hybrid car is a good one, which we can drive both by gasoline car and by electric car. Another example is mobile phone and Walkman (Sony). These information processing machines working different parts together. Ordinally they have made "Mobile phone-Complexity" and "Walkman-Complexity." They are very new style of man-machine relationship and serious influences towards human bodies.

(3) Self-Reflexivity

More important may be self-reflexivity. As some sociologists like A. Giddens mentioned before it firstly contain self-referential. It means that to their own outcomes the system itself give some kind of feedback. So if the degree of high academic career or elaborated cultural capitals increase the level among the members of social system, the degree of self-reflexiblity would advance and be more complex.

I would explain the above concepts in the following sections.

3.1.1　Two Elements of T.S.

Transformative Society (T.S.) have had both two elements, modern system and information system. Each has different components and I would trace the outline each sytem.

(1) Modern System

Modern social system, as lots of sociologists like T. Parsons and A. Giddens indicated before, has been differentiated into the following four subsystems.

①Economic System: e.g. trade system, security system, etc.

②Political System: democratic system, international system, etc.

③Societal System: Nation State system, National Law system, etc.

④Cultural System: National Education system,

UNESCO system, etc.

The most important change in post-modern age since the latter half of 70's has been restructuring his/her character and reorganizing into super- or trans- national nature. Multinational companies, international or transnational organizations, NGO, such new types of social organizations have promoted the tendency.

(2) Information System

Another element of transformative society began to establish since the latter half of 70's. There are three stages we can easily find out its development. First computer technology established. Next communication technology like internet followed around the end of 80's. The last stage was digital content technology quite recently. In other aspects I would point out the following three components the information system has had.

①Information Processing System: Various levels of Computer Processing

②Information Net Work: Communication Network by Internet or e-networks

③Data Base: Various kinds of digital contents

In these system the most important discipline is balancing both software and hardware in each one. Cyclonic functioning usually guarantee effective working.

3.1.2 A Concept: "Transformation"

A concept "transformation" is originally defined as a word in information science. In it transformation means "process of transferring or converting from some information to another information." In other words, "an information system—a knowledge-based system—is self-reflecsively changing with some consistency."

Surely the meaning have a universalistic aspect, but at the same time it has had particularistic implication. It's based on Japanese value system which famous Japanese scholar Prof. Masao Maruyama (Political science). He pointed out the fundamental cultural pattern which has shared and continued all historic stages in Japan. It's 〈a power enabling transformation〉 (M. Maruyama, 1972).

3.1.3 "Transformation" as a Keyword

Next "transformation" itself has had a significant word history. I would trace it. I just pick up the following three examples, which place according the development of the history.

First of all, I would take D. Crane's famous work (She is a famous cultural sociologist in U.S.A. and I had a chance to collaborate with her

from 1996−2000). In her book (D. Crane, 1987), she analyzed a changing function of avant-garde artists in New York during 1945 to 80's. Her mentioned transformation has had a symbolic meaning of cultural system and transformation from limited function of art system to more industrialized and politicized function of it. Her book was the first example of the meaning of transformation.

Next I would list up "The Transformation of Intimacy (1992)" written by A. Giddens. His book was really epoch-making book. Because his analysis focused on the transformation of sexuality in post-modern society and insisted that 〈Equal Affective Relationship〉 had changed modern man & woman relationship fundamentally. This kind of transformation gradually is making serious transformation of social relationship and social order.

Lastly I would add D. Held's works. He is not sociologist, but continues to provide a total social system after post-modern stage. Particularly "Global Transformations (1999)" is most important book for discussing on "Transformative Society and Culture." In his edited book he explain the total transformation of economy, policy and culture historically very well.

And I would add the following two topics about Transformative society & culture.

3.1.4 Topic 1: Quality of Life and Economic System

First one is about global economic transformation. In March 2006 Oscar was presented and most interesting point in this year lots of minor but excellent films like "Good Night and Good Luck" (George Clooney Production) were nominated (Maybe Oscar's Message is also fit for "Munich" (S. Spielberg)). These phenomena was explained the following by IHT (IHT, 3rd March, 2006).

"Quality is now a niche market"

"Quality is now a genre"

So it means in U.S.A. elaborated & well-educated market is just established, and will be able to extend or grow bigger market from such niche market.

3.1.5 Topic 2−1: A New Subculture in London

Second topic of recent cultural transformation is on a new subculture both in Lodon and New York. Both examples is a contrasted acceptance into both two cities and very interesting cultural globalization.

In London Kashpoit—London's new club scene—is a new trend and spot for new subculture. It was reported by IHT (IHT, 1st March, 2006) that it was a kind of "Sleazenation" (London's cult fashion magazine). And it was analyzed "So, what to call the new subculture? You can't give it a name, because it's a mix of different things that is not defined." It's like Futurism or Dadaism.

I would point out that in London such a phenomena was dealt with one of subculture. But in Tokyo it's a new trend culture not a subculture.

3.1.6 Topic 2–2: The Significance of 〈Otaku Exhibition〉

I just take another interesting example in New York last year. It's a special exhibition "Otaku Exhibition" or "Little Boy Exhibition" held in May 2005 in Japan Exchange Association. A famous contemporary artist, Takashi Murakami directed it. He said that he wanted to present both Japanese popular culture and Japanese contemporary art at the same place. "Little Boy" means special two meaning. One is "childish" during American Occupation after W.W.2 lots of American thought Japanese like this. And also Little Boy was another name of Fist Atomic Bomb which was suffered in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. So the name Little Boy was ironically named here.

His analysis is intellectually very keen, but sometimes over expressed. He pointed out Japanese Otaku Culture has been based on Infant Super Individualism and making childish depowered(exhausted) society. He also said that Otaku culture has been expressed by Otaku-taste for seeking cute-orientedness (Kawaii-ness) and tough elaborated expression for seeking for love. Otaku Culture seems to be very strange, but has been created by artistic orientation of Japanese heavily tough Otaku.(Takashi Murakami, "Depowered Artistic Culture," Asahi Newspaper (Evening), 2005. 5. 16).

3.2 A Transformative Society

Summing up the most important characteristic of 21st cultural system would be 〈A Transformative Society〉. Radical development and conglomeritic between computer technology and communication technology have made seriously changed forms of social organizations since 1970's. 1970's as a divide, total society had changed (e.g. modern society/post-modern society etc.). The advance of information processing technology has been able to weight on informational transformation rather than social substance itself. As I predicted in my single book "Information Society and Contemporary Japanese Culture" (Tokyo U.P., 1994), in modern society power, based on physical violence, and authority, based on power itself, then face-to-face communication code have all structuralized their social system. In post-modern society the actor has been changing. Not face-to-face communication but display or remote communication, e-power expressed by objective imagination based on artificial language, and new authority based on popularity by e-collectivity. Those new ones begin to restructualize our social system.

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