

# Archives Studies in Motion: Perspectives on the History of Television Documentaries in Japan

HIGASHINO Makoto and NANASAWA Kiyoshi

This report presents in digest form the proceedings of the workshop “Archives Studies Getting into Motion: Perspectives on the History of Television Documentaries in Japan,” held by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute (BCRI) over three and a half hours on March 15, 2010, at Chiyoda Hosokaido in Tokyo. The NHK archive goes back to 1957, four years after NHK first went on air as Japan’s only public television station in 1953. Initial archiving included only some of the broadcast works that had been shot on film. Three decades later, in the 1980s, NHK commenced preservation of all its videotaped and other programs. In 2003, the NHK Archives opened in Kawaguchi, Saitama prefecture, to house and utilize this ever-growing body of previously broadcast material. The largest in Japan, the archive currently stores approximately 700,000 television programs and 4.8 million items of news footage stored in digital videotape format.

**Figure 1.**  
NHK Archives building in Kawaguchi,  
Saitama prefecture.



Yet today, only about 7,000 programs out of this vast library can be viewed by the general public. This is because the archive was begun primarily to preserve works for their cultural value and to facilitate their

**Figure 2.**  
Shelves in the library vault, NHK  
Archives.

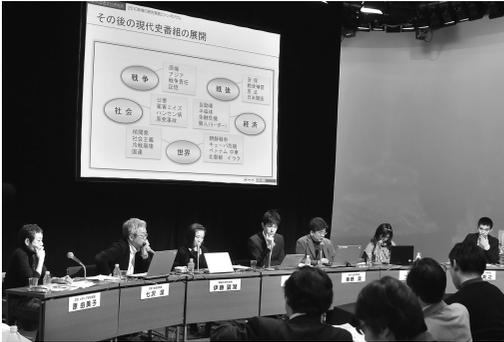


reuse and reference within the television industry, not necessarily to enable public or academic availability. Nevertheless, the recent surge of academic interest in broadcast archives has led to growing requests for access from researchers in a wide variety of fields. In November 2009, in response to this demand, NHK initiated the “Trial Studies for Academic Use of the NHK Archives” (hereafter, “Trial Studies”) program, which solicits research proposals from applicants satisfying certain eligibility requirements and gives program scholars access to archive materials. Participants search and view footage from NHK’s internal database using booths provided for them inside the NHK Archives in Kawaguchi; 5 projects have been selected for the first phase (March to August 2010) and 11 for the second (September 2010 to August 2011). As the name indicates, the program is still in the trial stages and aims in part to identify concerns in implementing academic use preliminary to its full-scale adoption. Indeed, research use of broadcast archives is only beginning in Japan.

Pilot efforts had begun even before this, including the archives-based study project initiated by BCRI in 2008 in collaboration with the University of Tokyo and the 2009 presentation session and international symposium “Video Archives Expand the Scope of Television” featuring a keynote speech by Jean-Michel Rodes, director of the Inathèque media research center in France, a leading country in the field.<sup>1</sup> The 2010 workshop built on these endeavors. Reports and discussion at the workshop centered on a new project that had begun in October 2009 as a collaboration between BCRI and Professor Niwa Yoshiyuki of the University of Tokyo Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies. In this project, entitled “Archives-based Studies on the History of Television Documentaries,” members shed light on the history of the television documentary from their individual perspectives, each exploring a different facet of television portrayals of Japan since World War II.

In part I of the workshop, project participants (three graduate students under Niwa and two BCRI senior researchers) briefly presented their findings, along with relevant video clips. They were joined in part II by members of the Trial Studies program for a roundtable discussion on the challenges and potential of using broadcast archives in academic research.

<sup>1</sup> For details on this event, see “Terebi bangumi kenkyu wa aratana jidai e: Shinpojiumu ‘Eizo akaibu wa terebi o kakucho suru’ yori” [Research on TV Programs Is Embarking on a New Era: From the Symposium “Video Archives Expand the Scope of Television”], *Hoso kenkyu to chosa*, July 2009.



**Figure 3.**  
Workshop held at Chiyoda Hoso Kaikan, March 15, 2010.

## PART I

### POST-WORLD WAR II JAPAN ON THE TELEVISION SCREEN

Moderator: NIWA Yoshiyuki (associate professor, Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies, University of Tokyo)

Presenters: NANASAWA Kiyoshi (senior researcher, NHK BCRI), ITO Natsumi (first-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, University of Tokyo), MATSUYAMA Hideaki (first-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, University of Tokyo), HIGASHINO Makoto (senior researcher, NHK BCRI), CHUNG Ji Hye (first-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, University of Tokyo)

Commentators: ITO Mamoru (professor, Waseda University), Tessa MORRIS-SUZUKI (professor, Australian National University)

#### Archives-based Studies on the History of Television Documentaries: An Overview

NIWA Yoshiyuki

Associate professor, Interfaculty Initiative in Information Studies,  
University of Tokyo

BCRI and my research team began our archives-based study project in October 2009, slightly ahead of the Trial Studies program. In the 10 years since I began my study of television programming, research conditions have changed considerably. When I started out, we couldn't readily view just any archived program we wanted to. I made use of various stratagems—for example, the NHK Museum of Broadcasting had a small booth where it had past

**Figure 4.**  
Niwa Yoshiyuki speaking  
at the workshop.



footage showing all the time, so I would secure seating from early in the morning and sit there all day scribbling in my notebook, or sometimes I would write directly to production staff and request to see a videotape. Efforts to organize the archiving of programs began in Japan some years later, and now, thanks also to the revolution in digital technology, the research environment has improved to a level that would have been completely unthinkable a decade ago. These advancements have at last made it possible to pursue projects like the one under discussion here. I think

we can justly call ours a landmark pilot study.

The project has three main objectives. The first is to examine the history of television. Japan will switch from analog to digital broadcasting in 2011, and now seems a more crucial time than ever to reevaluate what television has been communicating to its audience up to this point. We tend to discuss the digital switchover mostly in terms of its industrial or technological aspects, but I would like to stress television as culture and reflect on the more than half century of broadcasting that has been taking place in Japan.

The second objective is to assess methodologies. Archives-based study of television is only beginning, and many new methodologies and research themes are waiting to be proposed. Through actual research, we can help weigh the problems involved.

Third is the goal of cataloging our television-program assets. Countless programs have been aired throughout these 50 years and more—certainly no mean pool of knowledge. But we have not been managing this store. Taking inventory of exactly what has been broadcast will contribute to television and journalism studies as well as create a valuable database for use in many other fields. In the future, moreover, opportunities to utilize television programs in schools or in continuing education will likely grow—yet another reason to carefully index these valuable public assets.

These were the large goals toward which we embarked last October, and to start out, we narrowed our focus to documentaries. More specifically, we sought to study how television has portrayed postwar Japan by analyzing documentary programs available in the NHK Archives, the Broadcast Library in Yokohama, and the libraries of local NHK stations. Of course, “postwar Japan” is itself hardly a straightforward notion. When, for example, did “postwar” begin for Okinawa? Was it with its reversion to Japan in 1972? Or, considering the concentration of U.S. bases and the occupation-like state that still

prevails, should we say the war has really not even ended there yet? We decided, therefore, not to present a monolithic image of postwar Japan, but to reveal its many dimensions through diverse settings, themes, and topics.

In terms of methodology, we established three requirements, or conditions, for participants in the project to follow. We first decided that each member of the team would be free to choose his or her own setting, theme, and topic. The five presenters today have quite different interests. One narrows his focus to Okinawa alone, while another takes a broad look at the way people are portrayed on television, that is to say on the forms of expression. By this means, we sought to guarantee a variety of perspectives.

Second, we required ourselves to take a “warp-and-woof” approach. The NHK Archives alone contain some 700,000 programs, and we would be amiss if we did not take advantage of this volume to analyze the material quantitatively. That is the warp: a diachronic and statistics-based grasp of how a certain theme or locale has been treated on television, including any drastic increases or decreases in media exposure at certain times. To this we add detailed qualitative examination of program content in periods the researcher finds especially interesting—the woof. This warp-and-woof approach allows us to demonstrate the breadth of research made possible through broadcast archives.

Finally—although this might seem to go without saying—we called on members to actually view the programs under study. Up until now, scholars of television have rarely sat down and watched programs, especially old ones. And so we determined to do just that. Despite the enormous time and effort involved, we believe our method to be a significant improvement on the previously accepted practice of analyzing without viewing. In viewing the programs, we concentrate first on firmly understanding *what* is pictured on the screen. Then comes an investigation of *how* it is being shown and represented. From there we consider *why* it is being portrayed in the way that it is—what we might otherwise term its social context.

These, then, are the three conditions that loosely define the parameters of our research. We have only been working for about five months, and we are still far from achieving any final conclusions. The strictly interim reports that follow seek to offer for discussion a few interesting findings that have been obtained so far. I should also note that at this stage in our work our analyses are still largely limited to programs from NHK. We intend to eventually consider the programs of other broadcasters, too, of course, but NHK is all that we have had the time to cover as of the moment.

We hope our reports will give a taste of the interest and potential inherent in archives-based television studies.

**Report 1**  
**Okinawa in the 1960s and 1970s:**  
**Television Portrayals of the Reversion to Japan**

NANASAWA Kiyoshi  
 Senior researcher, NHK BCRI

**Figure 5.**  
**Nanasawa Kiyoshi speaking**  
**at the workshop.**



While working at NHK, I directed several television programs about Okinawa. Based on this experience, my study aims to gain a comprehensive understanding of how television documentaries have (and have not) portrayed Okinawa, and as a first step, I am analyzing coverage of the islands' reversion from U.S. to Japanese sovereignty on May 15, 1972, after 27 years of occupation since the end of World War II. Despite the reversion, Okinawa continued to have many U.S. military bases on its soil and to face many other unresolved problems, as is evident from the recent debates

surrounding the proposed relocation of the U.S. Marine Corps air station in Futenma.

I rely on mainly three sources: the NHK Archives, the roughly 30 Okinawa-related works directed by Moriguchi Katsu, formerly of Nippon Television, and programs from commercial Okinawan stations including Okinawa Television, Ryukyu Broadcasting, and Ryukyu Asahi Broadcasting. In this discussion, I will focus especially on three symbolic programs that were aired in the process leading up to the reversion.

The first is *Tokubetsu bangumi: Okinawa henkan kyotei choin* [Special Program: The Signing of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement],<sup>\*2</sup> a live broadcast of the ceremony on NHK General from 9 P.M. on June 17, 1971. The coverage opens with a rather curious split-screen image showing Japanese foreign minister Aichi Kiichi at the prime minister's official residence in Tokyo and U.S. secretary of state William P. Rogers in Washington placing their signatures while facing each other remotely on television. This was achieved by relaying signals via satellite from NHK cameras in Washington and Tokyo Broadcasting cameras in Japan; the footage was distributed to other commercial stations as well.

Involvement of television in the political scene, especially for a strictly diplomatic function like a treaty signing, may strike us as questionable in the

<sup>2</sup> Asterisk indicates programs that were shown in part during the presentation.



**Figure 6.** Screen shot of a news program reporting the “television signing” of the reversion agreement in 1971. From *Special Program: The Signing of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement* (1971).

light of current ethical standards emphasizing media neutrality. Yet the media of the day praised the event as “groundbreaking,” dubbing it “a signing in space” and “a television signing.” At that time—just two years after the excitement of the televised moon landing of Apollo 11—the satellite broadcast taking advantage of the synchronic nature of television was the focus of tremendous popular attention.

According to the June 17 *Asahi shimbun* newspaper, the simultaneous signing was proposed by the United States. By turning the event into a show, the Nixon administration did Japan’s ruling Liberal Democratic Party a favor, boosting its popularity in the upcoming House of Councillors election. At the same time, the Nixon administration hoped to smooth the difficulties it was experiencing in pushing the agreement through Congress. In this way, television ended up serving the interests of the U.S. and Japanese governments.

At the same time the program does also touch on the controversial aspects of the agreement, including critics’ doubts about the promises of “no nuclear weapons, equality with the mainland” (*kaku nuki, hondo nami*) as well as the refusal of Yara Chobyō, chief executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, to attend the signing out of concern for local public sentiment. Even so, when we consider the information that has since come to light—such as the only recently disclosed “secret pacts” permitting the United States to reintroduce nuclear weapons into Okinawa in times of emergency and making Japan shoulder compensation fees owed by the United States to local owners of land returned from its military bases—the program provokes much thought about television’s all-too-frequent complicity in engineering an unreflective “carnival” mood.

Turning now to the second program, *Tokushu dokyumentari: Okinawa no kunsho* [Special Documentary: Medals in Okinawa] (1969)\* follows workers of the Relief Division of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands as they interview members of the bereaved families of those who died in the Battle of

Okinawa (1945) in preparation for the Japanese government to award medals to the war dead of Okinawa prefecture. In those years immediately preceding the reversion, when establishing unity between Okinawa and mainland Japan was a matter of national policy, media treatment of the horrendous toll of the ground war in Okinawa was rare. Considered in that context, the last scene of this particular program is remarkable for what it reveals about the truth of the islands' return to Japan.



**Figure 7.** Scene in which medals are presented to members of bereaved families of people who died in the Battle of Okinawa. From *Special Documentary: Medals in Okinawa* (1969).

The scene shows local residents in the village square coming up one after another to receive medals on behalf of their lost ones, as an official reads out the same lengthy words: “The emperor of Japan bestows on the late So-and-So the Eighth Order of Merit . . .” No joy is to be seen on the villagers’ faces captured on the screen. The sight exposes how for Okinawans, reversion to Japan means nothing other than suppressing their conflicted feelings and resubmitting themselves to a state that sacrificed them in the war and subjected them to foreign occupation for 27 years. It seems that the program creator, while recording the ceremony from the standpoint of a member of the mainstream media tasked with celebrating the reversion, nonetheless retained, and expressed, his personal sensitivity to its true nature.

My final example is *Nonfikushon gekijo: Okinawa no juhassai* [Nonfiction Theater: Eighteen-Year-Olds in Okinawa] (1966)\* by Moriguchi Katsu of Nippon Television. Moriguchi left college and moved to Okinawa from Tokyo in 1959, spending the next 30 years and more documenting the reversion from islanders’ eyes first as a newspaper reporter and then a television director.

In *Okinawa no juhassai*, a group of high school students from the city of Koza, full of hope for the reversion, participate in a peace march. At their destination, a place called Mabuni hill, they are confronted by a mass of cenotaphs erected separately for the dead of each of Japan’s prefectures—a sight that fills them with discomfort and worries about post-reversion Okinawa. In

several sequels Moriguchi follows one of the young people at intervals of a few years, tracing the souring of Okinawan attitudes toward the reversion from initial high expectations to eventual disillusionment.

Despite the promises of “no nuclear weapons, equality with the mainland,” Okinawa reverted to Japan with many U.S. bases remaining, and television programs duly noted the contradiction. Once the immediate occasion had passed, however, media interest faded, and for a long while viewers ceased to pay attention either to the unfairness of having 75 percent of all U.S. bases in Japan concentrated in the prefecture or to the rift created in the minds of Okinawans vis-à-vis mainland Japan as a result of their war experience. This vacuum is almost certainly related to the attitude among mainland Japanese that sees nothing wrong with foisting the burden of the bases on Okinawa. My next step will therefore be to analyze programs from the 1980s onward to elucidate the relationship between television and the mentality of dissociation that mainland Japanese continue to display toward Okinawa.

## Report 2

### Farming Families on Television: From the *Happy Villages: Records of Rural Life* Series

ITO Natsumi

First-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary  
Information Studies, University of Tokyo

**Figure 8.**  
Ito Natsumi speaking at  
the workshop.



I am interested in tracing the ways in which television has portrayed rural Japan as opposed to Tokyo, that is to say the “center.” NHK’s *Akarui noson: Mura no kiroku* [Happy Villages: Records of Rural Life] series documented issues facing farming communities throughout Japan over 22 years, making it a landmark in both quality and quantity. My analysis of this series and its predecessors focuses especially on the family as the setting where macro-level concerns including postwar agricultural policies, population migration in the rapid economic growth period, development, and rice-field acreage reduction intersect with and become manifest in real life.

Agriculture-related programming by NHK dates back to radio broadcasts during the land reforms and democratization of farming communities imple-

mented under the Allied Occupation. Series such as *Hayaokidori* [Early Bird] familiarized farmers with the latest agricultural technologies and policies. Similar programs followed the start of television broadcasting in 1953. *Mura no kiroku* [Records of Rural Life] initially ran from 1960 to 1963 as a successor to *Nobiyuku noson* [Prospering Villages] (1957–1960) before being turned into a segment within its replacement series, *Akarui noson* (1963–1985). Episodes reveal much about the impact that transformations in the lives and makeup of farming families had particularly on the roles (and expectations thereof) of women over the years. That is my subject here.

In the 1950s and 1960s, when *Nobiyuku noson* began, programs were aimed to help steer villages into the new age. They showcased modern agricultural technologies and farmland-development projects such as at Hachirogata (Akita prefecture) and Mutsu Ogawara (Aomori prefecture). A typical example from these decades is “Mura o yuku kitchin ka” [A Kitchen Car Comes to the Village] (1959),\* which shows women attending nutrition class and working to build hygienic kitchen stoves. In agricultural communities of the time, where the family had changed little for centuries, the status of married women was said to be on a par with a workhorse, and so skills for improving women’s lives were welcomed. Women were given a new role in modernizing their villages from within the home.



**Figure 9.**  
Scene from “A Kitchen Car  
Comes to the Village” (1959).

Later in the 1960s, after Japan entered the period of high economic growth, the practice of men leaving villages to seek work in the cities became widely established. In the 1970s the national policy of cutting back on the acreage of fields in cultivation to reduce the rice surplus began, bringing further tumultuous changes to farming communities. The family becomes an important theme in programs from these years. “Gentan shishu” [Rice-field Reduction Poems] (1973),\* for example, portrays a woman mourning the loss of her son who had gone off to work in the city and died in a construction-site accident.

Images of her grief are followed by photographs of her son and scenes of her working the fields. Rural villages were emptied of all but women, children, and the elderly as able-bodied men went off to work in the cities and changing agricultural policies transformed the structure of the family, shifting the burden of hard work in the fields onto women. Programs depict them gritting their teeth and fulfilling the work that men once did in addition to their regular housekeeping and childrearing duties. Accounts of families torn apart because their breadwinners are working far from home and of the sadness of the women left behind are used to pose questions about the way farmers and the family truly ought to be.

Still later, as environmental and health damage from pesticides became social issues, programs increasingly shifted to criticizing the excesses of modernization. This trend overlapped with the nostalgic idealization of rural Japan exemplified by the Japanese National Railways' "Discover Japan" travel campaign of the 1970s. "Jugonen buri no hanayome" [The First Bride in 15 Years] (1979)\* deals with the rare arrival of a new bride to a village on a remote island. But aside from a few comments from the woman about how she loves the island's beautiful seas and is happy to be able to live there, the program mostly turns to the words of the husband, an expert traditional diver and the family's main breadwinner. Programs of this period show the emerging critique of modernization as well as people's idealization of loyalty to traditional life in the community. Adhering to traditional agriculture represents the "challenge" of diverging from the modernizing path pursued by other farmers. Generally, the ones who take up that challenge are men who elect to stay on their farms rather than go away to work in the cities, and thus in these programs women are pushed into the background as helpmeets. According to one survey from the early 1980s, males made the business decisions in 80 percent of farming households, and this fact may be behind the tendency of programs about families consciously preserving traditional lifestyles to center on men.



**Figure 10.** Hisa, a Yamagata-prefecture-born pioneer who settled in Hokkaido in the early twentieth century, the central character of "Hisa: The Life of a Pioneer" (1980).

Even as rural villages received some limelight for their role in preserving traditional culture, their decline as bastions of the primary sector continued, and programs from the 1980s bring to the fore such issues as the nation's declining food self-sufficiency, the aging society, and depopulation of rural areas. "Hisa-san no kaitaku jinsei" [Hisa: The Life of a Pioneer] (1980)\* looks back on the life of a woman from Yamagata prefecture named Hisa who had settled in Hokkaido around the turn of the twentieth century. Scenes include those featuring her grandchildren and great-grandchildren as 150 relatives gather for a family field day before the village she lives in is lost to a dam. In all, the episode powerfully evokes the long years Hisa has been part of the village. By 1985, when *Akarui noson* ended, the national agricultural population had fallen to half what it had been in 1965 and one out of every five farmers were 65 or older, clear signals of the decline of agriculture in Japan. This episode was one of several looking back on the history of a farming community through the life of a female resident produced in the last years of the series along with a number of retrospective documentaries based on clips from past installments. The portrayals of these women in effect suggest the demise of the rural village.

I believe we can see the portrayal of farming women over the years as shifting from (1) actors in the modernization of rural villages to (2) victims of changing national political and economic policies, (3) custodians of traditional rural culture, and (4) metaphors for the decline of agriculture. Always implicit in these representations is the position of the city in relation to rural areas, a subject I plan to pursue further.

I plan to continue exploring the family from multiple perspectives by analyzing television portrayals of such factors as the influence of images of the postwar American family, memories of the war, the intergenerational gap in attitudes toward agriculture, and aging. Through more research including interviews with staff, I aim to look more deeply into the "warp" and "woof" of past television programs.

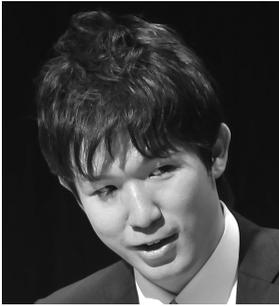
### **Report 3**

#### **How Television Portrays People: From Human Drama Documentaries of the Rapid Economic Growth Period**

MATSUYAMA Hideaki

First-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, University of Tokyo

**Figure 11.**  
Matsuyama Hideaki presenting at the workshop.



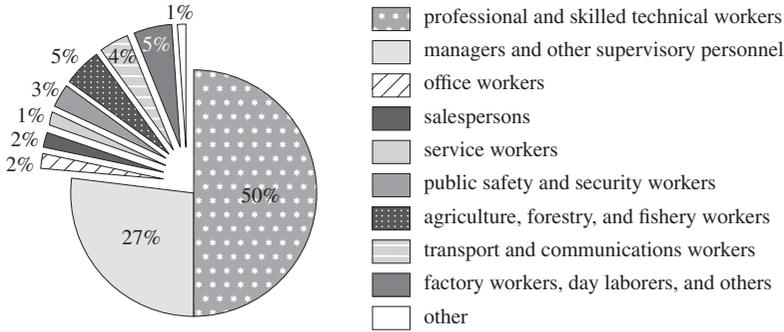
My study analyzes the subjects of the genre known in Japan as the “human drama documentary” (programs structured around a particular individual) as a way of understanding television’s way of portraying people. By considering what people of each period find most sympathetic about the others they see on television and whose stories they most desire to hear, I wish to uncover, historically and sociologically, the characteristics of their perspectives on those living around them in the same society.

Ultimately, my study will consider four NHK series, *Aru jinsei* [A Life] (1964–1971), *Ruporutaju Nippon* [Reportage Japan] (1978–1984), *Dokumento ningen retto* [Document: The Human Archipelago] (1984–1985), and *Purofesshonaru shigoto no ryugi* [Professional: My Work Style] (2006–). But here, I limit myself to introducing *Aru jinsei* and human portraits on television in the period of rapid economic growth.

Succeeding a series entitled *Nihon no sugao* [True Faces of Japan] (1955–1964), *Aru jinsei* showed a total of 230 installments of 30 minutes each in the roughly six years from 1964, the year of the Tokyo Olympics, to 1971, shortly after the end of Expo ’70 in Osaka. First, to look at the kinds of people presented in *Aru jinsei*, a tally of all 230 subjects shows them to be overwhelmingly male (88 percent of the total), with 70 percent in their 40s to 60s. Figure 12 shows the breakdown of the subjects according to the Japan Standard Occupational Classification established by the Statistics Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. The largest group falls in the category of professional and skilled technical workers (e.g., researchers, doctors, teachers, sports professionals, actors) at 50 percent of the total, followed by managers and other supervisory personnel (e.g., legislators, public servants, company executives) at 27 percent. In 1965, these two fields together composed only 8.4 percent of the working population. What this means is that 77 percent of the subjects of *Aru jinsei* were concentrated in professions representing a mere 8.4 percent of the entire country. It would seem that television drew from an extremely narrow pool for its programs.

To illustrate how subjects were portrayed in this series, I would like to take up the example of “Kurumaza zacho” [Leader of the Kurumaza Troupe] (1967), about the leader of an amateur theater troupe staging volunteer productions for day laborers living in Osaka’s Airin (Kamagasaki) district. Four points can be illustrated using this episode.

**Figure 12. Breakdown of the occupational categories of the persons portrayed in the NHK *A Life* series (1964–1971).**



First is an emphasis on the present. *Aru jinsei*'s portrayals tend to concentrate on the subjects' present lives rather than on any experiences or difficulties they might have encountered in the past. Thus "Kurumaza zacho" largely follows the leader's current volunteer activities without detailing his former career as a municipal worker or his reasons for coming to Airin. This corroborates the words of Kagawa Hiroshi, director of the first episode of *Aru jinsei*, who said to me in an interview that the series was filmed "with attention to what subjects were going through as they fought out their battles at that moment."

Second, the series typically uses subjects to highlight current social issues, such as service to the socially disadvantaged, pollution, discrimination against persons associated with former outcast (*buraku*) groups, labor problems, or the aftereffects of World War II. In "Kurumaza zacho," the subject's work provides a window into labor issues in the Airin district.

Third, subjects are by and large persons not well regarded by society, and



**Figure 13.** A scene from "Leader of the Kurumaza Troupe" (1967).

their story is framed as one of lonely struggle. We are told that in his younger days, the subject of “Kurumaza zacho” was entreated by his wife to quit acting, and the closing scene shows him traversing the screen as though in symbolic affirmation of his intention to carry on his solitary endeavors.

Finally, the subjects’ war experience, although not always treated directly, often runs as an undercurrent through the narrative of these programs. The war is not emphasized as an important element of the past; it is a given. In “Kurumaza zacho,” too, we are briefly informed that during the war the subject had been in charge of the draft at a municipal office. This undercurrent may be one reason younger people who had not lived through the war were rarely chosen for portrayal.

The above four points yield several insights into the nature of television portrayals of ordinary people in the period of rapid economic growth. In that time of dramatic social change, the interests of both viewers and production staff were centered squarely on the present, on what other people were doing then, two decades after the end of the war. We can infer that people did not seek to be inspired by others in the same society or to look upon them as role models as much as they might now. Rather, viewers regarded the persons portrayed onscreen with a detached eye, seeking to gauge, via television, how they themselves measured up to others in the here and now (without being concerned with the past). This is perhaps the greatest difference between human drama documentaries then and those produced today that chart the process of a person’s rise to success (i.e., the past) as a means of arousing admiration in the viewer.

Whereas past audiences may not have felt admiration for the protagonists while watching these human drama documentaries, certainly they felt empathy—empathy with individuals persisting alone in the face of an unsupportive society. In those decades, white-collar workers were growing in number as individuals increasingly came to be treated as cogs in the apparatus of a large corporation or organization. In that climate, the sight of solitary figures confronting social problems unswayed by what others might think or how society might judge them would doubtlessly have struck a chord.

I will go on to study *Aru jinsei* while also extending its scope to programs from the 1980s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, all as a part of examining how people in each period looked upon others living in the same time.

## Report 4

### The Early Era of Contemporary-History Documentaries: The 1960s and 1970s

HIGASHINO Makoto  
Senior researcher, NHK BCRI

**Figure 14.**  
Higashino Makoto speaking at the workshop.



The documentary genre arose out of efforts to record the present, but it also serves to examine the past. I have always been interested in documentaries dealing with contemporary history, and was myself involved in creating several NHK programs. The goal of my study is thus to determine when television acquired the function of examining the past and how this function has been transformed over time.

I define a “contemporary-history documentary” as a program that investigates or reconstructs past events based on testimonies, evidence, and visual images (including re-creations). My discussion here will center on works from the 1960s and 1970s, which I consider to be the dawn of the genre in Japan.

The oldest contemporary-history documentary in the NHK Archives is probably *Nihon kaikoroku* [Japanese Memoirs] (1962–1965), which aired as part of the *Kyoyo tokushu* [Educational Special] series (1956–1978). Episodes consist of studio guest interviews interspersed with explanatory footage, as is the case, for example, in “*Taiheiyo senso kaisen zen’ya*” [The Eve of the Pacific War] (1964).\*

One distinguishing feature of *Nihon kaikoroku* is its high caliber as a historical record. Many of the participants in the major events of the Showa era were still active at the time of the program, and their testimonies are of immeasurable value. This installment, too, features Kaya Okinori (finance minister at the war’s start) and other equally impressive guests. I must say, however, that the episode seems wanting in depth. With all due respect to the staff, the program does not fully pursue the central and all-important question of why the war was not averted. This weakness is a structural one that stems from the series’ reliance on the guests’ versions of their own stories. While testimony from firsthand witnesses is undoubtedly fundamental to any inquiry into contemporary history, the program demonstrates that overdependence on it, too, can be limiting.

One of the earliest contemporary-history documentaries on commercial television, meanwhile, was *Watashi no Showa shi* [My Showa History] (TV Tokyo, 1964–1974), a decade-long interview series hosted by Mikuni Ichiro that is, however, virtually unavailable for public viewing today. One series that *is* available is *Nihon kono hyaku-nen Meiji Taisho Showa* [This Century in Japan: Meiji, Taisho, Showa] (Asahi Broadcasting, 1967–1968).<sup>3</sup> Also hosted by Mikuni, this weekly program features studio interviews with first-hand participants in important historical events and is notable for its sometimes very daring effects. A telling example is installment 24, “Fukimakuru dan’atsu no arashi” [The Raging Storm of Suppression],\* about the prewar Peace Preservation Law. Figure 15 shows two guests in the studio: Koketsu Yazo, prewar chief of the Tokyo Special Higher Police (Tokko), and Fukumoto Kazuo, ideological leader of the Japanese Communist Party and one of the Tokko’s targets of suppression. The two, who happen to be former classmates, begin conversing amiably enough, but once the subject turns to the Tokko’s persecution of Fukumoto, emotions run high and a heated debate ensues.



**Figure 15.**  
Screen shot from *This Century in Japan: Meiji, Taisho, Showa*.

What is exceptional about this episode is the wealth of information conveyed by not only the words but also the facial expressions of the two guests, as the studio itself becomes a documentary device. This method of illuminating history by bringing together witnesses of differing standpoints is one that is possible only through television.

In the 1960s, contemporary-history documentaries dealt primarily with the war and the early Showa era leading up to it. In the 1970s, however, several new types of programs emerged on NHK and elsewhere. One type drew on public documents to fill in missing pages in history. The NHK special *Nihon*

<sup>3</sup> Accessible at the Broadcast Library, [www.bpcj.or.jp](http://www.bpcj.or.jp).

*no sengo* [Japan After the War] (1977)<sup>†</sup> was a major series dramatizing the inside story of the Occupation administration based on GHQ/SCAP documents released by the United States. Also of high journalistic quality was *Umoreta hokoku* [Buried Report] (1976),\*<sup>†4</sup> which utilized Kumamoto prefectural records to probe into governmental responsibility for the spread of environmental mercury poisoning in the Minamata region (the so-called Minamata disease).

Another set of programs factually exposed dark secrets about World War II and the Japanese military. The documentary special *Kaitai: Koanmaru no issho* [Dismantlement: The Life of the *Koanmaru*] (1971)<sup>†</sup> used the history of a single ship to link testimonies of former war criminals regarding Japanese wrongs in the fighting in China. The NHK special *Kaigen shirei "Koshin o boju seyo": Ni-niroku jiken hiroku* [Martial Law: The Untold Story of the February 26 Incident] (1979), which tracked down witnesses based on telephone intelligence records, was a major piece of investigative reporting that shed light into shadowy corners of Showa history.<sup>5</sup>

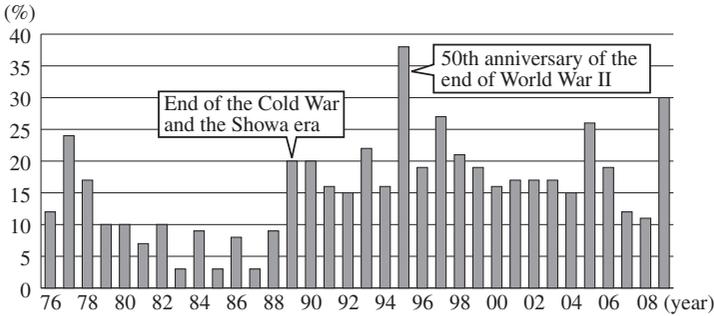
What prompted such programs to emerge in the 1970s? One factor was social developments such as the 1973 oil crisis, the spread of pollution, and the Lockheed scandal, all of which shook the framework upon which postwar Japan had been premised and spurred television to look again at the country's recent past. A second was advances in Occupation studies made possible by declassification of U.S. records. The aforementioned *Nihon no sengo* project was initiated to also coincide with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' first release of its public documents in 1976.

Another influence was the introduction of American-style investigative reporting methods, which inspired journalists at the same time that new access to public documents was stimulating research among historians. And finally, we must take into account improvements in synchronous recording, video cameras, and other technologies that removed restrictions on reporting and enabled testimonies and evidence to be obtained anywhere, without having to invite guests into a studio.

As to the number of contemporary-history documentaries that have been produced over the years, Figure 16 shows the annual percentages of programs dealing with contemporary history in NHK's flagship documentary series, *NHK tokushu* [NHK Special], and its successor, *NHK Special*. Here we

<sup>4</sup> Works marked with † are available for viewing free of charge at NHK public video libraries (*kokai raiburari*) throughout Japan. For locations, see <http://nhk.or.jp/archives/location/>. To search library holdings, go to <http://archives.nhk.or.jp/archives-i/>.

<sup>5</sup> Available on the Internet for a fee through NHK On Demand, [www.nhk-ondemand.jp](http://www.nhk-ondemand.jp).

**Figure 16. Contemporary-history programs in *NHK tokushu* and *NHK Special*.**

observe a short period of decline in the late 1980s, followed by a surge in 1989, the final year of both the Cold War and the reign of Emperor Showa. Figures spike again in 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Afterwards they stay more or less constant at around 20 percent, making it possible to claim the genre became established at NHK in the 1990s.

The 1990s was also the decade in which issues related to Japan's immediate past began exciting repeated political debate and controversy. One future research goal will therefore be to explore why this was so; others include assessing improvement in programs' investigative quality over the years and identifying topics that have as of yet gone unportrayed.

### Report 5 Representations of the Asian Other: 1980s Programs on Zainichi Koreans

CHUNG Ji Hye

First-year master's degree student, Graduate School of Interdisciplinary  
Information Studies, University of Tokyo

I grew up in Kobe as a third-generation Zainichi ethnic Korean. I did not have many Zainichi friends or acquaintances, but I happened to like television documentaries ever since I was young, and so I shaped my identity through watching television and absorbing or questioning what I saw of the Zainichi portrayed there. This background is the motivation for my present research.

A Zainichi Korean, according to my definition, is a person or descendant of a person with roots in the Korean peninsula who settled in Japan as a consequence of Japanese colonization from the early twentieth century, regardless

**Figure 17.**  
**Chung Ji Hye speaking at**  
**the workshop.**



of whether that individual is of North Korean, South Korean, or naturalized Japanese citizenship. My study examines how this group has—or has not—been portrayed in postwar Japanese television and film, and what these portrayals reveal about changing Japanese perceptions of the Korean peninsula. As a first step, I focus on television programs from the 1980s.

To begin with a brief historical outline, throughout the 1950s and 1960s Japanese visual media largely treated Zainichi Koreans as faceless others. While a few Koreans perhaps appeared as extras in war films, they were essentially ignored in coverage of social issues involving Yasukuni shrine, war veterans, or atomic-bomb victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Partly owing to the 1968 Kin Kiro incident (a high-profile murder and hostage taking by a Zainichi Korean), in the 1970s Zainichi were overwhelmingly perceived as lawbreakers and people who were otherwise alien or set apart in some way. Unless a Zainichi did something extraordinary such as commit a crime or become a star athlete, the media showed no interest.

While the subject of Zainichi Koreans thus long remained semi-taboo in television, from the 1980s some programs began grappling with issues such as discrimination and the legacy of Japan's colonization of Korea. From classroom bullying to the immigration system, forced relocation of Koreans during the colonial years, and Korean atomic-bomb victims, the list of themes gradually grew. Topics expanded even more in the 1990s as television increasingly depicted Koreans as Asian neighbors. Programs dealt, for example, with the lives of first-generation Zainichi and the identity issues faced by their grandchildren, the use of Japanese versus Korean names, and movements to seek further war reparations. Key words frequently included in program titles from the time were “forgotten,” “unforgotten,” and “left behind.”

The increase of Zainichi-related programs from the 1980s onward stemmed from several factors. First, globalization and internationalization generated greater interaction with the Korean peninsula and turned the spotlight on related social issues. To give one example, the NHK special *Mikko* [Secret Passage] (1980)\*† follows illegal Korean immigrants coming to work in Japan. Although the focus is on covering the Omura immigration detention center in Nagasaki prefecture, the colonial legacy is discussed to some extent as well. Interestingly, chief director Hagino Yasunobu himself appears on the screen and narrates in the first person.



**Figure 18.**  
Chief director Hagino Yasunobu  
narrates in first  
person.

Second, democratization in Asia and international networking among citizen's groups stimulated endeavors by Zainichi and others to seek reparations for wartime suffering. *Onna ga kataru: Senso o ikita onnatachi* [Women Speak: Living the War] (1983)\* mostly relates the wartime hardships of Japanese, but also devotes coverage to Zainichi victims of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima.

A third factor was the greater scope of coverage enabled as establishment of the practice of hiring local researchers and other improvements in conditions lowered linguistic and political barriers to reporting overseas. A case in point is the scene from the NHK special *Saishuto: Haha naru shima e no kikyō* [Jejudo: Return to the Mother Island] (1982)\* showing a young third-generation Zainichi visiting the Korean island of Jejudo.

Finally of importance were the developments that took place in local communities as more and more Zainichi settled permanently in Japan and a younger third generation emerged. New concerns such as the fight to discontinue fingerprinting on alien registration cards, the removal of nationality clauses on pensions and health insurance, and school bullying came to the fore. *Ruporutaju Nippon: Kabe to yobareta shonen* [Reportage Japan: A Boy Called "Wall"] (1980)\* treats the suicide of a Zainichi Korean junior-high student from Saitama prefecture who had been bullied. At first, teachers and the board of education deny any relationship between the bullying and the boy's ethnicity, but a different story is revealed once the parents embark on their own investigation. The program is testament to a time when, in the suburban communities of Japan with their often very homogeneous values, it was all too easy for "alien others" to come under attack.

The documentaries discussed above raise a few further issues. One has to do with the identity of the speaker and the projected audience. I noted earlier that *Mikko* is narrated in first person from the viewpoint of the director. Likewise, the 1989 *Kikigaki shomin ga ikita Showa* [The Ordinary People's



**Figure 19.**  
A photograph of the Zainichi Korean boy who committed suicide.

Showa Era: An Oral History] at one point comments, “We cannot look back on the war without also considering Zainichi Koreans.” I frankly find it disquieting to hear “us” and “Zainichi” separated in this way. Not only does it fail to suppose the presence of Zainichi among the audience, but it carries the ironic risk of marginalizing them and entrenching discrimination against them.

Also apparent in these programs is the double-edged nature of visibility. While treating Zainichi-related issues on television certainly raises public awareness, it often also pushes forward images of Zainichi poverty or crime, causing them to assume a life of their own and instill impressions that were not originally intended. This happens because viewers do not derive significance separately from each program, but from an accumulated interconnecting store of events, personal experiences, and images.

My future research goals include, first, identifying shifts in attitudes among program creators over time; second, exploring how increased Zainichi participation in visual media from the 1980s onward broke the established pattern of Zainichi as the subjects and Japanese the agents of representation; and finally, also analyzing programs in which Zainichi Koreans are not the primary subjects.

### **Commentary: Reports 1 through 3**

ITO Mamoru  
Professor, Waseda University

I make my comments from the standpoint of a media scholar involved in the study of television dramas and human drama documentaries.

For me, the three reports were renewed proof that the use of broadcast archives is introducing a new standard in television studies clearly different from the old practice of researchers individually taping and analyzing pro-

**Figure 20.**  
Ito Mamoru commenting  
on the reports.



grams off the air. My impression is that television is gaining the capacity to become its own critic. With this in mind, I offer a few thoughts on each report, beginning with Mr. Nanasawa's.

Professor Niwa cited the idea of the “warp” and “woof.” The warp means to investigate programs diachronically, the woof to look at them synchronically. In terms of the woof, the important task becomes to place archive materials within the social context of their time.

In his analysis of the Okinawa reversion agreement signing, Mr. Nanasawa made two significant observations. The first concerned the political agendas of Japan and the United States, and the other the motives and intentions of NHK itself. His attention to both the political context and the context surrounding NHK is excellent, but I also find myself wanting to know more about the treatment of Okinawa at the time in arenas other than television. It seems crucial to pinpoint where television stood in the broader context of media including journalism and the press, and how its approach differed from those of others. In that light, I feel Mr. Nanasawa's study will benefit from a slightly deeper investigation of the position of visual media within the media at large.

Ms. Ito's work on farming villages captured the interest and excitement of archives-based research. By first studying archive programs from selected perspectives like “rural villages” or “women,” it becomes possible to identify subthemes (for example, “food”) and from there reach all the way into the meaning of women's labor. Her project is a good example of the richly varied possibilities of approach that use of broadcast archives can offer.

But if I may be a little tough in my criticism—since this is, after all, an interim report—I think that because a theme like “women's roles” is easy to predict, there is a danger that a study based on it will accomplish no more than to find what one expected to find in the first place. I would suggest to Ms. Ito that she focus more on the structure of the works under analysis. Attention to the hierarchy of discourse (i.e., which discourse is given priority and is used to frame the entire work) and other elements of how images are put together should add more to her research.

Mr. Matsuyama's analysis of human portraits on television was also highly enjoyable. His finding about the subjects of *Aru jinsei* being 80 percent male and mostly professionals and skilled technicians seems to indicate the attributes of a certain “NHK culture” that persists in later human drama documentaries such as *Denshi rikkoku Nihon no jijoden* [Electronics Nation: The

Autobiography of Japan] (1991) and the series *Purojekuto X: Chosenshatachi* [Project X: Challengers] (2000–2005). In this way, his study succeeds in giving insights unique to archives-based research.

Regarding the four characteristics of portrayal that he discussed, I agree that the first point, about depictions focusing on the present and not the past, definitely sets apart older documentaries from those of the last 15 years or so. The current trend is to detail each and every hardship subjects had to overcome to reach where they are now. Mr. Matsuyama's discovery of an alternative discursive structure that places greater weight on the present is fascinating.

In terms of the third point about subjects being represented as solitary, when we think back to the many social protests and struggles that were going on in Japan around the time the episode was filmed in 1967, it seems quite possible that such lonely fighting figures were common not only in television but other mediums of cultural expression as well. As I remarked earlier regarding Mr. Nanasawa's report, comparing television with other cultural contexts of the time should help illuminate where it fit in and what distinguished it from the rest. A little further exploration of the four points as they stand now could greatly enrich the entire study.

### Commentary: Reports 4 and 5

Tessa MORRIS-SUSUKI

Professor, Australian National University

**Figure 21.**  
Tessa Morris-Suzuki commenting on the reports.



This is a wonderful project. The NHK Archives are a gold mine as far as historians are concerned. Very little of it has been excavated so far, which means that there are many more lodes of research possibilities yet to be explored, including the potential for richly rewarding comparative studies through cooperation with overseas scholars.

I begin with a few comments on Mr. Higashino's presentation. As a historian, I found his documentary footage and the studio debate between first-hand participants new and fascinating. I especially liked his solid examination of both the "warp" and "woof": the statistical data clearly demonstrated shifts and trends in the genre of the contemporary-history documentary, and the analysis of individual program content was excellent as well. In terms of this second analysis I was

drawn to the part about not only the *what*, but the *how*—to his discussion of the changes in not only themes but also the structuring of programs over time.

The organization of a program profoundly influences the image of historical “truth” that it communicates to viewers. Whereas some programs rely on personal testimonies or on a confrontation between individuals on different sides, most are styled to present an objective account of events. They weave images and interviews into a tale told by a single narrator who claims, “This is the truth of what happened.” Alternatively, some Japanese programs briefly summarize events and then have historians or witnesses discuss them in the studio. In this type of program, the account is relativized. Considering changes in discourse styles thus forms a significant part of analyzing the development of contemporary-history documentaries.

Another significant aspect is attention to visual images. In her work on photographs and television documentaries about the Vietnam War and other seminal social events, U.S. scholar Marita Sturken employs the phrase “iconic image”—an image that, by being repeated over and over again, imprints a powerful message.<sup>6</sup> It would be valuable and interesting to see, for example, what iconic images appear in Japanese programs about World War II or the period of rapid economic growth. Equally fascinating would be to compare iconic images of World War II in Japan as opposed to in China or the United States.

Turning next to Ms. Chung, I must first thank her for giving me the opportunity to learn about many interesting documentaries I did not know existed. For example, I have seen *Mikko*, but this was my first time coming across *Kabe to yobareta shonen*, and I would like to see more of it.

An important future research theme for Ms. Chung will probably be gender. How are gender and gender relations depicted in programs about Zainichi Koreans? Another question is how portrayals of South Korean versus North Korean Zainichi have been affected as Japan’s relations with South Korea have improved and those with North Korea have worsened.

Also, in connection with what Ms. Chung mentioned about recent increases in works created by Zainichi Koreans, I wonder whether there are any programs in which Zainichi studio guests comment on or discuss footage as they are aired. This is a point that would be interesting to look into, along with the question of exactly how many Zainichi are involved in production at NHK or commercial television broadcasters.

<sup>6</sup> Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.

Lastly, regarding the segment on Zainichi atomic-bomb victims, I found it intriguing that it was aired as part of a program not specifically about Zainichi, but about Japanese contemporary history at large. I would definitely like to find out to what extent the experiences of Zainichi Koreans, Zainichi Taiwanese, and other Japanese minorities are reflected in general programs on contemporary history.

One possibility for future research might be to take archive materials to the people in them. For example, showing *Mikko* to people who appear in the program or others with similar experiences might elicit responses that add entirely new dimensions to our thinking. Ms. Chung's study has the potential to unfold in all sorts of ways, and I'm very much looking forward to seeing how it develops.

## PART II

### ARCHIVES-BASED STUDIES: CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

Moderator: HARA Yumiko (director, Broadcasting Research Division, NHK BCRI)

Panelists: YOSHIMI Shun'ya (professor, University of Tokyo Graduate School; chairperson, Trial Studies Executive Committee), OTO Yoshihiro (professor, Sophia University; vice chairperson, Trial Studies Executive Committee)

**Figure 22.**  
**Hara Yumiko.**



**Hara:** Part I illustrated the potential of archives-based academic research. In part II, we will discuss the challenges that face us in further expanding this potential. The Trial Studies program opens the NHK Archives to access by outside researchers. I would now like to begin by asking the chair and vice chair of the Trial Studies Executive Committee to talk about their impressions of part I and their hopes for the Trial Studies.

#### Archives-based Studies and the Question of Perspective

**Oto:** Although the studies presented are still in progress, they are extremely incisive and interesting. They are rich in potential, but they raise some concerns as well. There is no time for me to comment on every one, so I will concentrate on the first presenter, Mr. Nanasawa.

**Figure 23.**  
Oto Yoshihiro.



I, too, have been involved with Okinawa for about 25 years, which especially leads me to ask the question of whether Okinawa as seen by production teams from NHK or commercial broadcasters is really the same as the Okinawa of the Okinawans. I seriously worry that unless we are aware of that distinction, whatever conclusions we reach from studying archive materials will become established as *the* truth and standard. In other words, despite the importance of being sensitive to the diversity of outlooks and standpoints existing in Japan, there is a danger that the better broadcast archives are at fulfilling their purpose, the more they will limit available perspectives to certain favored ones. While position-wise I am responsible for pushing forward the Trial Studies, I think we also need to keep our minds open to what *cannot* be revealed through broadcast archives and to design research or otherwise exercise our ingenuity to address that.

**Nanasawa:** I will be studying programs from Okinawa's commercial stations, although I have not reached that point yet. In the meantime I would add that there are also a few NHK programs by Okinawan staff, such as the special *Waga Okinawa: Gushiken Yoko to sono ichizoku* [Okinawa, My Homeland: Gushiken Yoko and His Family] (1979), which portrays the former boxing champion's determination never to lose to mainland Japanese. This is a topic I was actually hoping to discuss in my presentation if I had the time.

**Figure 24.**  
Nanasawa Kiyoshi.



As far as perspective is concerned, I consciously chose to give my presentation from a very clearly defined standpoint. The question of perspective—of who is looking from where—is one that will always have to be confronted in archives-based studies. My own answer is to hold fast to my own perspective as a member of the television industry while also remaining sensitive to the viewpoints of others. I believe that for each person to solidly recognize where he stands is the way to ensure diversity in research.

### Television as Historian

**Yoshimi:** Since Professor Oto was somewhat reserved in his comments earlier, I will begin by saying more on behalf of the Trial Studies program.

**Figure 25.**  
Yoshimi Shun'ya.



Professor Morris-Suzuki called the NHK Archives a “gold mine,” and I absolutely agree. It’s a gold mine not only for media studies but for any number of other academic disciplines. The executive committee has worked very hard to open this trove. We met frequently since about September 2009 to discuss the application guidelines, for example, and overall I would say we are moving steadily forward. But to dig out the gold and make goods out of it, we need to tunnel in from all directions, and I invite everyone to join in the effort. That is the most important thing I have to say today.

Having made that point, I would like to add four more. The first thought that came to my mind as I listened to the presentations was of television’s role in recording history. In his *Shinbun bungaku* [The Newspaper as Literature], the journalist and critic Hasegawa Nyozeikan (1875–1969) writes that the newspaper is a historian—that reporters who write articles are setting down the history of their own times. In an even stronger sense, I believe that television is a historian. But of what kind? The defining distinction between newspapers and television would have to be television’s use of the camera and microphone. The camera captures whatever is in front of it, and the microphone picks up whatever sounds are around it. By thoroughly reflecting on the implications of these two technologies, we should be able to arrive at a form of contemporary and contemporaneous history unlike anything that has come before. I feel we are now at the threshold of this very critical development.

Seen in that light, though, the studies especially by the student presenters are perhaps somewhat excessively concerned with programs’ verbal content. It would seem more fruitful to leave aside conventional historical knowledge and instead focus more fundamentally on what scenes and sounds are being recorded and how they are being put together. For that, we will need to employ the tools of media research, including image and sound analysis. Disciplines such as film studies have accumulated great expertise in this area, and there is much we can learn from them.

Third, I would like to stress that the Trial Studies program is aimed toward much more than media studies alone. We need participation from other fields, be it education or film, literary, and drama studies. We also welcome people wishing to use the archive to create new television programs or new works of art—those who are interested more in practice than in analysis.

Last but not least, I should note that NHK is not the only place with this kind of gold mine. We should consider how to also include materials from commercial and local broadcasters. As Professor Morris-Suzuki mentioned, there are possibilities for comparative analysis with overseas works as well. We need to find ways to draw together the broadcast materials that are right now scattered all around the country into a shared and usable public resource. Once other archives are established and comparative study of holdings becomes possible, we should be able to gain a fuller understanding of the treasures that the gold mine called the NHK Archives truly has to offer.

### **From Trial Studies Participants**

**Hara:** We have several people with us who are going to join the Trial Studies this spring, so I invite some of them to express their aspirations for their projects.

**Kobayashi:** I am Kobayashi Naoki of Hosei University. I will be working on an archives-based study of television documentaries dealing with the Minamata disease. Over the years my colleagues and I have been organizing an archive of Minamata-related materials, including documentaries by commercial broadcasters in Kumamoto and 8 mm films of congenital Minamata-disease patients by the Shin-Nippon Chisso Labor Union (organized by employees of the company responsible for the mercury pollution), and we hope to combine the Trial Studies project with these past efforts to further shape and develop our thinking.

**Fujita:** I am Fujita Mafumi of Hosei University. I will be working with Professor Kobayashi on the Minamata project. From listening to the presentations, it seems to me that Mr. Higashino and Mr. Matsuyama mostly adopt the stance of media scholars interested in the specifics of media representations, while Ms. Ito, Mr. Nanasawa, and Ms. Chung examine their subjects more from a sociological and theme-oriented approach. The question of what role to choose for oneself as a researcher is a difficult one. For example, a rural sociologist might see the materials Ms. Ito is studying and exclaim, “These are really worth something”; that is to say, his participation might yield a completely new set of enriching perspectives. But viewing and sorting broadcast materials require an enormous amount of time and effort. In that sense, it might be reasonable for a few of us media scholars to commit strictly to organizing footage and making them available so others can go ahead with their research. Professor Niwa earlier mentioned the goal of cataloging television programs. Cataloging is itself a research contribution; in literary studies, that

is already accepted as a matter of course. There should be nothing wrong with someone concentrating on indexing even those images that are not searchable by keywords. We should be ready to also regard that as a research accomplishment.

**Lee:** My name is Lee Misook and I am a first-year doctoral student at the University of Tokyo Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies. I am writing my thesis on transnational citizens' movements linked to South Korean efforts toward democratization in the 1970s and 1980s. The goal of my Trial Studies project is to investigate how, in Japan's free-speech environment, the media reported both the democratization movement in neighboring Korea and the activities of Zainichi Korean organizations in support of this movement. I will be analyzing primarily news and news specials.

**Horie:** I am Horie Hidefumi of the doctoral course at the University of Tokyo Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. My project focuses on television programs associated with the writer and filmmaker Terayama Shuji. For example, I will be studying NHK specials aired since Terayama's death in 1983 in order to trace how he came to be understood by the general public. I will also be looking both thematically and textually at the dramas and documentaries Terayama participated in creating over his career. Moreover, as a part of exploring the significance of Terayama's engagement with multiple creative genres, I plan to use his work in television to illuminate the distinguishing attributes of the broadcasting genre itself.

### **Challenges for the Future**

**Hara:** I had hoped to turn now to discussing future research challenges, but since we are out of time, I will switch to briefly raising a few points and asking the audience for their opinions.

Several concerns have been cited by researchers already participating in archives-based projects. One problem is methodological: because the NHK Archives was previously inaccessible, there is little past literature that can be consulted, forcing everyone to experiment with possible approaches on their own. Moreover, because the archive is incomplete and does not cover all old programs, we need to confirm that statistical analyses based on it accurately describe the history of Japanese broadcasting as a whole.

A third difficulty has to do with search capabilities—with the possibility that inadequate metadata might prevent materials from being reflected in search results even when they are actually contained in the archive. The refinement of metadata is one goal of the Trial Studies, and it is certainly of crucial importance.

A final very significant issue is that of copyright when archive programs are viewed or output. This is much too large a topic to deal with here, and will require careful consideration in the long run. For now, then, I would like to ask the audience for their thoughts and opinions.

**Oji:** I am Oji Mikio, head of the NHK Copyright and Archives Center. It is a pleasure to see research into the NHK Archives becoming possible through everyone's cooperation, and I am very impressed by the energy especially of the younger participants. We former television directors often find it difficult to regard programs with anything other than a critic's eye, which makes me grateful to have young scholars introducing fresh approaches. I have every confidence they will cast new light on old programs. I am looking forward to their good work.

**Kawashima:** I am Kawashima Takane of Meiji University. I have been working for about the past two years on expanding the use of documentaries in university education. Teaching with television has perhaps been limited mostly to elementary and junior high schools, but I want to promote it in higher education as well, which is what brought me to today's event. University students have a remarkably wide range of research interests, and that makes broadcast archives a true gold mine. It would be extremely helpful if you could devote part of the Trial Studies to examining the hardware (i.e., equipment) and software (knowhow) for applying these riches to a university setting. Showing television in class is still not very well accepted at my university—"That professor never turns the lights on in his lectures," people joke about me—but I have great hopes for your project.

**Kakei:** I am Kakei Masakazu of the Broadcast Library. Our library, which is in Yokohama, stores television and radio programs from NHK and commercial broadcasters for access by the public.

We, too, are working to encourage the use of our holdings in university classes through a planned three-year project with the Waseda University Institute for Education in Journalism. There are many difficulties still associated with educational and academic use of broadcast materials, including issues of copyright, privacy, and portrait rights, but I believe that the solution will come from having scholars keep on raising their voices. We ask for everyone's help in this endeavor.

**Hara:** Thank you very much. The studies from part I will be featured in issue number 8 of BCRI's annual bulletin, *Hoso media kenkyu* [Studies of Broad-

casting and Media], due out in 2011, so please be looking forward to that. Archives-based studies are sure to keep on progressing, and we hope to organize other opportunities like this to share knowledge and discuss issues as they arise. Thank you all again for your participation today.

*(Translated by Imoto Chikako)*