This is a repository copy of *Sound hunting in postwar Japan: recording technology, aurality, mobility, and consumerism*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/168484/

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Smith, M.D. orcid.org/0000-0002-3782-1465 (2021) Sound hunting in postwar Japan: recording technology, aurality, mobility, and consumerism. Sound Studies, 7 (1). pp. 64-82. ISSN 2055-1940

https://doi.org/10.1080/20551940.2020.1857620

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Sound Studies on 10 Dec 2020, available online: http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/20551940.2020.1857620.

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/

Sound Hunting in Postwar Japan: Recording Technology, Aurality, Mobility, and Consumerism.

Martyn David Smith.

School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield.

m.d.smith@sheffield.ac.uk

Twitter: @drmartynsmith

Orcid: 0000-0002-3782-1465

Bio: I am a historian of modern and contemporary Japan and Lecturer in Japanese Studies at the University of Sheffield. My research takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of sound and the history of technology in Japan and Asia. I am a founding member of the Asian Sound Culture Studies and Modernity Project and am currently editing a collection of papers looking at sound culture and change across Asia since the late 19th Century. My long-standing research interests cover national identity, nationalism, gender, the mass media and consumer society in Japan and East Asia.

Abstract.

Throughout the 1970s, the hobby of sound hunting boomed in Japan. A dedicated magazine and numerous guidebooks urged young people to get out and about recording the soundscape and hunting for ‘real sound’. The mobility inherent in the technological transformations of the previous decades fed into a media discourse which drew together theories and practices taken from the protests and sub-cultures of the 1960s that celebrated creativity, openness, and individuated lifestyles, whilst challenging notions of authority and expertise. Sound hunting and amateur recording was a mediatised pastime that sought new ways of incorporating technological change, as well as professional experimentation in music and sound recording, into everyday life. Sound as an object-to be understood, controlled, and manipulated-was incorporated into consumer society through a media discourse that emphasised the individualism, mobility, experimentation, and spending at the heart of youth lifestyles in the 1970s. Capturing sound required detailed research, an individual, creative approach and an amateur spirit. The sound hunting boom in Japan highlights the importance of technology, consumerism and the media to sound studies by shedding light on the wider social, cultural and media contexts within which portable sound recording technology and new practices of listening to the everyday became increasingly commodified.

Keywords: sound hunting, Japan, soundscape, tape-recorder, media, youth, consumerism, mobility.

Introduction

At the base of Mount Fuji, under the dense sea of trees in the forest of Aokigahara there is a series of caves where the warming rays of summer never penetrate. Pitch black and completely silent, it is a place that does not welcome animals or human beings. There is not much to see, and the area has little appeal to most of the sightseers visiting the mountain to take in the spectacular views. The infamy of Aokigahara as a favoured suicide spot throughout Japanese history makes it doubly uninviting to the casual hiker or tourist, and the cave system would seem to be a strange location for an expedition by a group of young Japanese sound hunters. Nevertheless, in the maiden edition of *Rokuhan*, a magazine dedicated to the hobby of sound hunting first published in 1975, a group of intrepid youngsters set off from Tokyo bound for Aokigahara in a jeep loaded with sound recording equipment. The resulting article titled 'the seven senses expedition-searching for sound in the sea of trees of Aokigahara', charted their adventure.

As the group descended into the cave system, they were overwhelmed by silence and darkness. "It felt as if we were lost in a different world. As if everything were being swallowed up". There was an extreme sense of fear and isolation that came from being enveloped by darkness and engulfed by silence, when combined with the extreme cold this had "an immeasurable effect" on the group. Gradually though, the overwhelming and oppressive silence was broken by the sounds made by their own bodies, and once they got beyond the sounds of their own breathing and heartbeat, the icicles and blocks of ice screeching and creaking-"sounds stolen from human beings"- pierced the intrepid explorers to the core. The deeper they went into the caves, and the longer they spent down there, the more they experienced visual and auditory hallucinations. Telling the difference between the sounds coming from the cave and the sounds

made by their own bodies became almost impossible and it was eventually too much to take. They quickly returned to the surface fully appreciating the warmth of the sun and the soothing aural rhythms of the natural world.

The cavers' encounter with otherworldly sounds and auditory hallucinations were at the heart of the technical and philosophical discussions about sound and sound recording that appeared in the magazine *Rokuhan*. The boom in popularity of live, outdoor sound recording as a hobby in Japan (referred to as the Namaroku boom), was short-lived, beginning in the late 1960s and fading out by the early 1980s. The magazine *Rokuhan* began publication in 1975 and ended in 1979. Yet, drawing on efforts since the 1950s to create documentary sound and produce sound effects, as well as a growing fascination for recording the sounds of nature, everyday life and modern technology, the Namaroku boom promised to take the amateur enthusiast beyond the domestic realm-where the capturing of music and conversation had been the focus of sound recording culture up to the late 1960s. In the magazine, handbooks, and manufacturers' advertising campaigns, young Japanese were urged to go out and about with a tape recorder to find, research and create real sound.

This was part of a broader global transformation that saw the consumption and control of sound through technological mediation gradually taken out of the hands of experts. The development of recording technology also expanded a market for sound as a consumer product that had grown since at least the 1920s. In Japan after the war, technological innovations that reduced retail prices, experiments in professional music and sound recording, and an increasingly generalised familiarity with sound recording equipment, thanks to its promotion in the printed media and school curricula, helped create a generation of young Japanese who would be fashioned as the ideal market for the hobby of sound hunting and its apparel. The element of fun

and adventure portrayed in *Rokuhan* needed to be combined with a technical proficiency backed up by a creative and philosophical awareness of the nature of sound. In the case of the sound hunter, this offered the prospect of access to a true or core sound and, most importantly, control over it, but it also stressed the centrality of the amateur, or at least an amateur and adventurous spirit, to the successful pursuit of sounds.

The control, isolation and creation of sound was central to the mediation of the tape-recorder and its sales figures. This article argues that the improved portability of the equipment and better control over recording and playback offered the opportunity for greater creativity, and the media discourse around the hobby of sound hunting focused on a creative individualism that reflected values at the core of the transformation of mediatised consumer culture since at least the early 60s. What Tomiko Yoda has termed the "mediatic ambience" surrounding the Discover Japan campaign of the 1970s (2017), for example, and the youth lifestyle magazines that emerged in the mid-1960s, drew together and upon theories and practices that celebrated mobility, creativity, openness and individuated lifestyles whilst challenging notions of authority and expertise. These were the radical practices and ideas that had helped shape the protest movements and sub-cultures of the 1960s. The creative and adventurous consumers who were targeted by the hobby of sound hunting in the 1970s were already embedded within this mediatised consumer culture. And for its part, the media promotion of sound hunting overturned the technical power of the experts in relation to sound recording technology, offering its practitioners the opportunity to possess, control and create sound themselves. With the right technical skills and a philosophical approach to listening, they could isolate the sounds of nature, separate them from their origins and even create those sounds in their own bedrooms. The hobby thus entailed a practice of listening that offered the possibility of capturing or creating sounds as

individual as the enthusiast and, as the cavers made clear, incorporated a desire for adventure and maybe even danger. It also prefigured neo-liberal practices of listening and personal soundscaping that blossomed in the following decade.

This article connects the hobby of sound hunting (*Rokuhan*) in 1970s Japan to the technological advances of the previous two decades and shows how the media discourse surrounding the hobby was deeply entwined with the rapid rise of consumer culture and a popular mass media. I argue that the promotion of sound hunting in the pages of the magazine *Rokuhan*, and the numerous handbooks that appeared, served to incorporate the consumption of sound into consumer society and prospered within a mediascape that emphasised individualism, mobility, and experimentation. The example of the Namaroku boom in 1970s Japan offers an important case study for the role of technology and consumerism in sound studies by shedding light on the wider social, cultural and media contexts within which sound resonates. The article begins by outlining the development of sound-recording technology in the postwar period-in particular the portable cassette-recorder. I will then discuss the emergence of the Namaroku boom in the 1970s and show how the media and manufacturers fashioned a practice of listening that shaped both recording technology and sound itself as commodities at the heart of consumer society and individual identity.

Technology and Mobility

During the early part of the occupation period (1945-1952), when Japan was under the control of the Supreme Command for Allied Powers (SCAP), official use of the tape-recorder became relatively widespread. Early recordings were carried out by the 'morale division' of the US Strategic Bombing Survey in order to register, from 'eyewitness' accounts, the psychological

as well as physical effectiveness of the death and destruction caused by the bombing of Japanese cities. Although these interviews were usually filmed, the sound recording was used as an aide to write up a report immediately upon completion of the interview. There was the worry that the presence of the microphone and cable during the interview might unsettle the interviewee and impair any rapport with the interviewer. To mitigate this, interviewers were advised not to mention the equipment unless in their opinion the subject was sufficiently educated and intelligent to know its function. On occasions when that appeared to be the case, the interviewer should explain casually that the microphone was used simply to take a record of the interview to enable the stenographer to make a complete written account (US Strategic bombing Survey 1947).

In part, this imperial condescension stemmed from the fascination with modern technology and a prevailing belief, since at least the 1920s, that the control and manipulation of sound was best understood by, and best left to, engineers and acoustical experts (Thompson, 2004)-few ordinary Japanese would have any understanding of such things. Yet the formation of a mass auditory culture in Japan since the 1920s meant that many Japanese were familiar with technology for the playback of recorded sound, the radio and gramophone in particular, even if they did not actually own a device (Yasar 2018; Yoshimi 1995). Nevertheless, the use of recording equipment in interviews by the Occupation authorities did convey a sense of officiousness and importance to the act of audio recording. Recording interviews or dictation and keeping a record of bureaucratic meetings or important conversations became drivers of the development of sound recording technology. Still, in the late 1940s, even for the occupying forces, the shortage of tape meant that recording of interviews was to be carried out sparingly and mainly focused on recording subjects of especial interest. It was with this kind of official use

in mind that the first domestically manufactured reel to reel tape recorder was released in 1950 by Tokyo Tsushin Kogyou (better known as Sony).

Named the G-type (G for government), it was neatly organised. The recording controls were on the front and the reel system on the top. With metal handles on the sides, it was somewhat easier to carry than anything available up to that point, but, weighing in at 35kg, it was still a little hefty for recording anything other than static conversations or music performances. Use of the G-type was then, for the most part, restricted to recording musical performances, meetings, official proceedings and oral history. Alongside the official use of recording equipment that the G-Type catered to, and in line with the Occupation emphasis on the promotion of free speech and democracy, attempts at outdoor recording for radio broadcasts gradually began to make evident the need for lighter, more portable and easier to operate recorders. In May 1946, less than one year after the radio broadcast of the Emperor's speech marking Japan's surrender, NHK announcer Fujikura Shyuichi decided to go out into the street to record the views of 'ordinary' Japanese people. The result was the first radio broadcast to be billed as reflecting the feelings of the times.

The programme quickly became very popular, though it was not easy to make. To record interviews out in the street Fujikura required rather cumbersome recording equipment. He lugged around a Denon disc recorder that utilised technology similar to the phonograph and, in the 1940s, one disc could usually only hold about 15 minutes of audio on each side. The recorder itself was heavy, unwieldy, and certainly far from portable (Abe 2017, 280-281). Clearly design and portability would need to be important functions of the reel to reel tape recorder and this would take the technology beyond official use and into the, still small, consumer market. The cutting-edge H-type, brought to the market at around the same time as the G-Type, offered a

glimpse of what might be possible. It had an external microphone that could be stored in a handy internal pocket, incorporated the strategic use of plastic in place of sheet metal and was encased in a wooden trunk. It looked good too. Sony collaborated with luggage manufacturers to create a device that, according to the company's own history, 'soon found its way out of homes and into settings of all kinds, where the recorder played a role in education and even at rehearsals of traditional Japanese dance and music performances (www.sony.net/fun/design/history/1950.html).

From June 1950, the Korean War provided economic stimulus for the development of domestically produced manufactured goods, even the beginnings of a market in consumer goods. The war also brought American journalists to the offices of NHK-the official Japanese broadcaster. On their way to and from reporting on the war these journalists paraded the latest American manufactured field recording equipment. One NBC reporter arrived at the NHK offices sporting the Stancil Hoffman 'Mini Tape'-the first battery operated, shoulder carried tape-recorder. It had been designed with lower power consumption and long-lasting batteries without sacrificing great playback sound quality. The 'Mini Tape' weighed just 5.9KG and became the model for the development of Sony's portable series of reel to reel tape-recorders. Use of the tape-recorder was rapidly expanded beyond official and business use so that, by the early 1950s, designs for sound recording equipment envisaged individual and group hobbies as much as intrepid field journalists such as Fujikura.

In the absence of an actual working Stancil Hoffman 'Mini Tape', engineers at Sony worked from the details and pictures in a catalogue. They created what would become affectionately known as the 'Densuke' after the protagonist of a satirical comic strip called sound sniper (Abe 2016; Tanaguchi, Nakagawa, Fukuda 2016, 186-188). Officially given the less imaginative name of the M-type (M for mobile), this recorder came to the market in 1952. It was

lighter and more portable than both previous versions (the G-type and the H-type). The M-type was made of wood making it much lighter, and it could be wound by a crank at the front to prevent the risk that the battery might die during a recording session. This gave outdoor sound recordists such as Fujikura more flexibility and freedom when interviewing people on the street. With the release of the Densuke and its adoption by NHK, the use of outside audio recording increased. Sound engineers and reporters could get out and about to record on-the-spot interviews and sounds to accompany the latest news stories being replayed across the airwaves for Japanese radio listeners.

Despite the more consumer focused design of this equipment, throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s, expense kept it out of the hands of all but the most dedicated amateurs or those who worked in the recording industry. Nevertheless, thanks to a growing media discourse on home recording and audio-technology, familiarity with the technical aspects of sound recording and the tape-recorder's increasing visibility as a consumer product boosted its popularity. Abstract 'music concrete' and other music groups experimented with tape-recording in the 1950s and the increasing popularity of recording music in the home, coincided with the use of the technology not only in the making of radio or TV documentaries, but also documentary records, sound sheets and even recordings of the sounds of specific places such as the album 'Tokyo its people and its sounds' released by Toshiba in 1957. Tape recorder production within Japan doubled after 1958, reaching almost half a million units by 1960. They were well made and increasingly affordable. Whilst over half of these (60% of total output) were built for export, the growing domestic market stemmed from their being "endowed with multi-purposes including office and household utility". The use of the transistor, which had no rivals, meant that sales were expected to soar in the future (Foreign Trade White Paper Vol. 5 1961-

1962, 19-20).

By the mid-1960s, the compact radio cassette recorder had been launched by Phillips and in 1963 the engineering plans were granted licence free to other manufacturers-provided, of course, that they adhere to certain technical specifications. The recorder was introduced to the Japanese market in 1965 and domestic producers quickly began to produce mono-cassette recorders that were smaller, cheaper, and easier to use than anything that had been available previously. Sony produced the TC-100, which could be easily mastered by beginners and introduced the pop-up tape mechanism. By the end of the 1960s, the TC-50, designed to provide the optimum balance between compactness, recording performance and reliability, was conceived of as a device for taking dictation with one hand. The smallest recorder of the time, its popularity was secured when it was used on the Apollo 7 space mission. A connection to space exploration also made it cool. Nonetheless, the use of these increasingly compact and easy to operate devices remained largely limited to recording words or music. Their use in the classroom for language instruction had been realised early on, and conference proceedings and business meetings were promoted as the ideal sources for tape-recorded material. As early as 1952, a publication by the Japanese Broadcasting Education Association touted the usefulness of the tape-recorder as an important addition to the existing mass media and outlined some ideas for its use in the classroom. “The tape-recorder allows you to listen at the same speed as listening to the teacher read. Even when the teacher is absent you can study just as effectively” (Nihon Hōsō Kiyōiku kiyokai 1952). In 1969, the TC-1150 created a larger user base by including a built-in microphone and an anti-rolling mechanism to prevent distortion when walking. According to the manufacturer, the clear sound quality made this recorder ideal for reporting and other similar work. Finally, in 1973, the first ‘cassette-densuke’ appeared on the market. Aimed at the growing

number of live-recording enthusiasts, and hoping to increase their number, with a shoulder strap and controls designed to more professional standards, it was durable, portable, and easy to use. Thanks to Sony's advertising campaigns, this device became the symbol of the Namaroku boom of the mid-1970s (Kaneko 2016).

Although still priced at around the average monthly salary of a young, male Japanese office worker, the technology had gradually reduced in price over the previous decade. Increasing affordability and portability were matched by an increase in the number of young Japanese men earning a decent salary, still living at home, and unburdened by the familial commitments of their salaryman elders. This social and economic transformation since the mid-1950s, made it possible by the late 1960s for young people to become involved in a hobby that had previously been the preserve of specialists or those, usually older men, with money and an interest in recording technology stemming from wartime or early postwar experiments with ham radio. By the early 1970s, young Japanese consumers had more spending power, greater mobility, and a growing interest in consumer goods. The development of recording technology then, coincided with the incorporation of a new class of consumer-young and usually single-into the consumption-driven society that had emerged since the 1950s alongside the rapid growth of a popular magazine market that promoted it (Smith 2018). Already by the mid-60s, the young male consumer was being sold hi-fi and stereo audio equipment alongside the latest fashion accessories. The first edition of the hugely popular magazine *Heibon Punch*-billed as the first men's lifestyle magazine-was published in early 1964. This weekly magazine edited around sex, cars, and men's fashion-the "three sacred jewels of youth"-had become one of the largest weekly publications by the end of the 1960s (Shiozawa 2009, 192). Playboy Japan followed a year later, and numerous similar magazines sprang up. In the pages of these popular magazines, sound

recording, and playback equipment sat alongside fashion, celebrity, and naked women as a supplement to the increasingly individuated, adventurous, and creative lifestyles on offer. In the mid-1960s, the appeal of many of these consumer goods had been largely aspirational, but by the middle of the following decade, the connection between technology, popular culture and the mobility and consumer power of young Japanese could be taken up in the media's portrayal of the hobby of sound hunting.

Broadening the field of sound.

Audio mania had boomed in the 1950s in Japan. As the February edition of the US magazine Audio noted, by 1955 there were more than a hundred retail stores selling hi-fi parts in the Kanda area of Tokyo alone (Audio February 1955, 23.) At this point, listening culture was closely connected to the pre-war culture of the Kissaten (coffee shop), but also, as elsewhere, promoted by the manufacturers of playback equipment as a domestic or static hobby-listening and recording in the home, the concert hall or in the disciplined strictures of a Jazz coffee shop (Novak 2008; Derschmidt 1998; Atkins, 2001). In the professional worlds of music and sound recording through the 1950s and 1960s, however, several Japanese composers and sound engineers began to experiment with the use and manipulation of mechanical sounds and the capture of the sounds of the everyday. The ideas of composers working in Europe and the US, such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Schaeffer and John Cage began to inform Japanese interest in the 'traditional' nature of Japanese music and the use of electro-acoustic sound.

In 1951, Toshiro Mayazumi went to study at the Paris Conservatory, and attended the first concert of Musique Concrete in May 1952. On his return to Japan, he composed a three part work in this style entitled X,Y,Z which incorporated metallic sounds, the sounds of sirens,

aeroplanes, and other mechanical sounds, along with more organic human and animal sounds, as well as a Chamber music ensemble (Loubet, Roads, Robindore, 1997; Heifetz, 1984).[1] This concern in the professional music world with electroacoustic music and the contrast of nature, living organisms and mechanical devices, as well as the investigation into the limits of the audible and inaudible through experimentation with the latest technology, went along with continued interest in outside broadcasting and documentary sound recording in radio and cinema. Through the 'aircheck' culture of recording music and other programmes from the radio, and the culture of tape-exchange sparked around US bases in the period of the Vietnam War, tape-recording was gradually expanded beyond modes of passive listening and domestic recording to incorporate the creation of sound and experiments with the recording of diverse sounds.

Although the notion of the soundscape as a terrain of study in its own right was not established in practice until the mid-1980s in Japan-thanks to the work of Keiko Torigoe and her 1986 translation of R. Murray Schafer's The Tuning of the World (1986) (Hiramatsu 1993),[2] in the realm of professional music and sound recording, attempts to capture the sounds of the natural and human environment took off in the 1950s and 1960s. Following Fujkura's attempts at recording the voice of the man on the street in the late 1940s, the recording of voices (Rokuon Kosei), using sound in radio drama, and producing documentary records became increasingly

[1] In the mid-1950s, composer Toshihiro Ichiyanagi travelled to the US to study composition. He met John Cage in 1957 and began studying with him. Cage and other 'New York School' composers visited Japan in 1961 and produced several compositions. This interest in western experiments with Zen philosophy in music was incorporated into the quest by Mayazumi and others to find a Japanese aesthetic for electronic music. This quest drove many of the composers working in the studio of state broadcaster NHK from the early 1950s and was central to the musical elements of the Osaka Exposition of 1970.

[2] Torigoe established the Institute of Kanda Soundscape Studies in 1984, which carried out an important (probably the first) historical study of the soundscape of that area of Tokyo. Though the activities of the institute and its successor the Japan Soundscape Association appeared to be new at the time, it is clear that, although the term 'soundscape' may have been new, work in radio, experimental music and sound recording in Japan had for several decades been concerned with the study and capture of environmental noise.

popular. The LP Tokyo its People and its Sounds Vol. 1, released by Toshiba in 1958 and produced by Ryuichi Kono was an early attempt at tracing the soundscape of the capital city. In the literature related to the Namaroku boom of the 1970s though there is little mention of the works of experimental composers or recorded voices. As Tomotaro Kaneko has noted, this may be due to the emphasis on the use and placement of the microphone in Namaroku rather than the use of recording techniques and the manipulation of the tape itself. Nevertheless, writing in the magazine Stereo Gijutsu in 1971, Oka Toshio introduced a variety of documentary recordings including those using the sounds of nature and mechanical sounds such as those of steam trains. Around the same time, Okada Jun edited and published the guidebook All About Sound Recording. Both books introduced the recording of documentary sounds to an amateur audience and by the middle of the decade there were numerous publications dealing with techniques for the amateur recording of a diverse array of sounds. By this time, young people were not only recording music from the radio in the privacy of their own rooms, a pastime nicknamed Takuroku (home recording), but beginning to capture sound in daily life as if they were taking photographs (Kaneko 2016).

As in the U.S, the promotion of sound recording in schools during the 1950s and early 1960s, both as a teaching aid and as a technological skill meant that, as the school children of that era became the consumers of the 1970s, familiarity with classroom sound recording would stimulate the market for the consumption of sound recorders. The infiltration of recording technology into the classroom, as David Morton (2000) has noted for the US, gave young Japanese, whose families may not have been able to afford the devices, their first hands-on experience with sound recording. In Japan, the electronics company Victor promoted the use of new recording and playback technology in Japanese schools from the early 1950s, and the promotion of sound

recording for young people continued. In 1975, the first edition of Rokuhan featured a report on a recent Rokuon-Kai (Sound recording seminar) for junior high school students held at Victor Music Plaza. One 14-year-old participant explained that he spent around 80% of his pocket money on the hobby of sound hunting (Rokuhan, May 1975, 120-123). In the Rokuhan boom of the 1970s then, a global process of experimentation in professional music and sound recording, which incorporated the sounds of nature, technology and everyday life, came together with an increasing familiarity with recording technology and techniques amongst young Japanese, increasing availability of that technology, and the beginnings of a media discourse that turned sound hunting into an amateur, outdoor hobby open to anyone.

Getting out and about.

The increasing portability of playback and recording equipment as well as other environmental media technologies meant that, by the 1980s, personal media was a routine accompaniment to everyday life (Roquet 2016, 12). Central to that was the rise of the young Japanese consumer, which most accounts place in the heady decade of the 1980s. As Jordan Sand has shown (2006), this was the period when youth consumers became one of the most visible elements of the runaway excesses of conspicuous consumption, at the same time as groups emerged seeking out spaces and places untouched by rampant consumerisation to oppose, or at least slow, the process. The generation which had arrived in Tokyo from the countryside in the 1960s to fuel the country's economic boom was replaced in the early 70s by a new one, raised in the city's suburbs, with money to spend and more interest in people watching or window shopping than the overt politics of protest. In the mid-80s, as more and more of the city became managed spaces of consumption, street observation groups attempted to seek out and

claim areas and objects in the city that were uncommodifiable. In documenting them and making them fashionable, however, they ended up making commodities of them (Sand 2013, 105-110). In the same way, the Namaroku boom commodified sound whilst emphasising the freedom, individualism, and difference at the heart of the pastime.

The mass market of the 1950s and early-60s was gradually displaced by fragmented niche markets and segmented lifestyle groups targeted by a marketing and managerial discourse that hit its stride in the 1980s. As Tomiko Yoda has recently shown, though, the initial iterations of this discourse can be traced back much earlier through the advertising group Dentsu's Discover Japan campaign and the 1969 development of the Parco department store in Shibuya as a 'lifestyle' shopping centre. A process that, as Yoda states, anticipated and spurred the growth of the youth market (Yoda 2017, 180-182). Yet even before the arrival of Parco, magazines such as *Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* had been promoting lifestyle consumerism to a receptive market of young men and women since the early 1960s (Kataōka 1972). Indeed, the basis of the appeal to the youth market as an important driver of consumption had its roots in the post-1960 state emphasis on raising incomes and even earlier calls for peace and happiness through prosperity. By the late 1950s, advertising had become an important source of income for magazine and newspaper publishers, and the quality, quantity and style of monthly and weekly magazines improved over the following decade.

By the time of the opening of Parco, then, the youth market was already an arena of especially tough competition amongst advertisers and manufacturers of consumer goods. The electrical goods maker National, for example, was quick to realise the profit to be gained from targeting young Japanese. Matsushita Konnosuke, the company's founder, cultivated close relationships with magazines such as *Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* which were by far the most

popular youth magazines of the 1960s. As a businessman, he saw it as his duty to ensure that products were available to consumers as readily as running water. His electronic products were heavily advertised in *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*, and he had a close relationship with the magazines' founder and publisher Shimizu Tatsuo. (Matsushita 1998 and http://www.php.co.jp/en/think.php; Smith 2016).

Alongside this promotion of electronic consumer goods, the lifestyle consumerism of the 1960s proffered mobility as an essential element of young Japanese subjectivity. The transformation of Tokyo in preparation for the 1964 Olympic Games, for example, fostered an emphasis on mobility, pleasure and leisure through consumption. The opening of the high-speed railway (Shinkansen) linking Tokyo with Osaka just before the start of the Games allowed magazines like *Shūkan Heibon* and *Heibon Punch* to present travel within Japan, and abroad as a means to self-discovery, individual freedom, and creativity. Huge numbers of young people converged daily on the newly constructed terminal at Haneda airport to drink beer in the rooftop beer garden, watch the planes taking off and landing, and take in the views of Tokyo. The new roads and highways, subway lines, stadiums and facilities that would host the games, as well as the new shopping and entertainment centres, made Tokyo a 'dream modern city' in the words of one 1964 *Shūkan Heibon* article (Smith 2018, 78-80). Movement between and within Japanese cities, then, became deeply connected to the experience of consumption, a process that harked back to the 1920s when Osaka entrepreneur Kobayashi Ichizō constructed his first department store outside Osaka train station. (Sato 2003, 35; Young 1999).

At the same time, the ambiguous nature of rapid economic growth, particularly its foundation in the promotion of consumption helped to incorporate anti-capitalist and anti-consumerist discourses that railed, often violently, against the increasing conservatism of the

Japanese state and the country's neo-imperialist position within East and Southeast Asia. By 1968, the men's lifestyle magazine *Heibon Punch* provided a good example of how the mass media had begun to incorporate many of those countercultures and protest movements-in particular the violent student protests- into the state-promotion of consumer culture (Kinameri 1990; Akagi 2004; Shimizu 1970; Smith 2016).[3] In the 1970s, advertising executives like Fujioka Wakako, who created the Discover Japan campaign, could openly challenge the triumphalism of 'Expo 70' with his conception of de-advertising (datsu-kougyouka)-stripping advertising of its primary function of selling products-to commodify the everyday and, as in the US, try to anticipate the tendencies of counterculture to celebrate hip, romantic, creative, and individuated lifestyles (Yoda 2017). Yet, in many ways, by the late 1960s, the product, whatever it was, already mattered less than the mediatic ambience within which it came to circulate. The mediatic ambience of the Namaroku boom took its place within this consumerisation of everyday life, adding sound to an ever-expanding list of commodities.

Since the late 1950s, sound recording as a hobby had revolved around the static, in-door recording of music concerts or theatre events. The predominance of heavy reel-to-reel tape recorders meant that the equipment was far from portable and so recording competitions were often restricted to music, dance, or other performances. By the early 1960s, entrants into recording competitions organised by the magazine *Musen to Jiken* and the Tape Recorder Research Society were being encouraged to submit works that included everyday sounds as well as music. Although the first iteration of the hand-held cassette recorder was mainly presented as a tool for education or business, the experimentation with recording techniques and music seen

[3] As Yoshihisa Kinameri (former editor) noted, *Heibon Punch* stood firmly on the side of the protesting students and the anti-Vietnam War movement in the late 1960s.

in the professional world throughout the 1950s came to infiltrate the world of the amateur recording enthusiast by the end of the decade (Kaneko, 2016). By the 1970s, the reduced cost, increasing portability and ease of use of sound recording technology was not only fundamental to developing new ways of listening, but an essential aspect of a mediatised pastime that sought new ways of incorporating technological change into an everyday life marked by consumption where mobility was central. The young consumers of recording equipment targeted by the magazine *Rokuhan* moved around within a mediatised consumer culture that was contentious and contingent, but nevertheless had the act of consumption at its core. Drawing together radical practices and theories in music and sound recording with social and cultural trends that had informed many of the protest movements and sub-cultures of the 1960s, the hobby of sound hunting celebrated creativity and openness, individuated lifestyles, flexibility, and the removal of rigid hierarchies. Yet, as the magazine *Rokuhan* made clear, it was first and foremost about the consumption of equipment and, through that, the increasing commodification of the Japanese soundscape. As the first edition noted: 'From listening audio to sound hunting audio-that is young people'.

Finding Your '*Rokuhan* Style'.

It was within this mediatic ambience that the first edition of the magazine *Rokuhan* was published in June 1975. The sense of adventure, exploration, amateurism, and mobility attached to the sound hunter contrasted with the more staid and static home recordings or professional studio-based technician of the previous decade. The first hand-drawn cover, depicted a roving sound hunter deep in a forest, wearing a hard hat, clutching a microphone and tape-recorder. The headline implored readers to "point your microphone at your prey". On the cover of the second

edition, a diver in full scuba gear pointed his microphone at a stingray, and there was the promise of an article on “camping with your cassette-recorder”. A few months later in October 1975, the cover featured a sound hunter, torch in hand and recorder over his shoulder, slinging his microphone, fly-fishing style, into the long grass in search of the sound of the many insects to be found there. The sounds of a Japanese autumn-insects, birds, festivals and even outer space-were discussed in the pages of the magazine. Subsequent editions presented further images of excitement, mobility and invention-a figure perched on a rock overhanging the sea pointing a microphone at the seagulls swooping overhead, a guide to recording the sounds of trams, backpacking with a tape-recorder, chasing the sound of steam trains, Grand Prix motor bikes or bi-planes.

The connection to, and exploitation of, the spending power, mobility and consumerist inclinations of the young readers was evident from the very first issue. Diving straight in with an appeal to a fashion-conscious, techno-savvy reader, it contained a multi-page spread on ‘Namaroku fashion’. Reinforcing the youthful mobility and adventure of the cover art, the spread began with a photograph of 65-year-old Ichiro Matsuura, microphone in hand, headphones around his neck, battered cassette-recorder held together with duct tape slung over his shoulder, crouched next to some bushes with a rather bemused look on his face. This static, rather miserable looking figure-clearly in need of some fashion advice and new equipment- was accompanied by the question “how far will you go?” and the imperative to “find your rokuhan style” (Rokuhan, Vol. 1, no. 1, 1975, 12-19). Finding that style was down to the individual reader, and there were three ‘Namaroku styles’ on offer, depending on the type of sound hunter the reader wished to be, and their lifestyle preferences.

The ‘heavy class’ Namaroku fashion was modelled by a young man sporting a backpack,

with tape-recorder, water bottle, pans, mike, and tripod in hand. As well as a reference to the, probably not inconsiderable, weight of the equipment, ‘heavy’ referred to the level of dedication to the task. The heavy *Rokuhan* lifestyle entailed a level of dedication to the capturing of sound and a more serious approach to the technological knowledge necessary to be successful. As the magazine put it, “the heavy class style” was “the complete *Rokuhan* uniform”. It was ideally suited to “…a walking style of *Rokuhan* that will ensure your prey does not escape. (Kitted out) like this, no matter how far into the wilds you go, you can aim at the source of the sound.” The consumer goods on offer to support this style of sound hunting included a 1,500 Yen headlamp that would allow the practitioner to “have both hands free to make your creative work easier”. There was an army-style, portable rice cooker enabling one to make “the most delicious rice so you can put the greatest feeling into recording sounds”. At 7,500 Yen, readers could purchase a rucksack with a frame, sold by Sony, on which to mount their recording equipment. A small baby stove for 4,400 yen and a, “not very cute” but certainly practical, tricycle with a basket that would set them back 49,600 Yen and offered a little luxury. A rather expensive racing bike at 114,000 Yen sealed the emphasis on mobility and excitement with the view that cycling as a hobby “is perfect for sound hunting”. Although, it was just as thrilling “if you are bored or at a loose end to head to a small village, visit a *rotenburo* (hot outdoor spa), take your time and make good use of your beloved machine. Because the silence that you catch is certainly a sound.”

Stepping down a little from the burden and commitment of the ‘heavy weight’ sound hunter, ‘middle weight’ Rokuhan fashion offered everything for those who, after graduation, wanted to avoid closing themselves away in their rooms and losing themselves in Manga. In this case, the all-important sound technology could mediate their relationship with the outside world. Through the microphone their world would expand. As the magazine put it: “with one mic the

world that you peek at becomes like a dream, immeasurably large". Again, there was a bicycle, in this case with a large basket on the front. "If you just want a quick trip to the local park or somewhere, it is a convenient…cycle. In the basket, along with your rokuhan equipment you can place the food that you need and your mascot. Go! Make the sounds that you want yours!!!!!". Next to the bike, an ad for *Rokuhan* mobile food-simply add hot water!

Requiring a little less commitment and offering a little more portability, the 'light class' stressed the accessibility of the technology. It was not just large sound recorders that were effective for capturing target sounds. In fact, walking and carrying them all day was tiring. The practitioner could achieve great results with a small, light, but high-quality cassette-recorder which could easily be bought for around 33,000 Yen. At 39,800 Yen, the Sony CF-1150, for example, was a compact radio-cassette recorder-easy to use and create with, and very convenient. Thanks to its compactness, it was easy to place and 'won't tire out your hands'. The CF-1150 offered the prospect of taking 'a snap of daily life just like a camera'.[4] There were Rokuhan lunchboxes for 3,000 Yen, and an American army compass-essential to avoid getting lost when out in the mountains and 'too carried away with source of a sound'. The Rokuhan summer look included Bermuda shorts, running vest, socks, and trainers for the truly active practitioner. After all, "you need a fast body and a fast heart to catch your prey!" Speed, versatility, and ease of use were of the essence here, and the technology was available to match. This allowed the hobby of sound recording to be combined with adventures of the amorous kind- "on your day off why not take the cassette-recorder and go on a Rokuhan date? It will certainly

[4] The connection between the hobby of photography and sound hunting needs to be explored in much more detail. Photography buffs are often pictured alongside sound recordists in the literature surrounding the Namaroku boom, and most Namaroku enthusiasts probably took a camera with them on their quests. The mobility, control and individual creativity offered by the increasing portability of the camera in the post war period was recognised in artistic circles much earlier than the sound hunting boom of the 1970s.

be a happy memory." Interestingly for a hobby that sought out sound, the magazine also stressed the utility of a pair of binoculars. "There are times when you want to check the figures of birds or animals from afar. For those times, binoculars are convenient. Sound is the sense of listening but putting it together with what you have checked by sight is the beginning of being able to make a memory".

It was not just the act of getting out and about to physically record the sound that projected the prospect of creativity and mobility then. The ability of the microphone to transport its user back to the real event of travel (in this case a romantic day trip) in search of sound meant that "the world of sound that expands through just one microphone can be listened to all over again." The compactness and portability of the recorder rivalled and supported the camera in creating memories of special occasions that could be replayed over and over again in the privacy of the bedroom. Ultimately, Namaroku Style connected the pastime to the wider media and advertising discourse targeted at the youth market. The gung-ho nature of the caver's article in the first edition and numerous accounts of foreign and domestic travel in the magazine, spoke to the concerns and interests of young Japanese as much as it exposed the need of manufacturers to find broader markets for their goods. At the same time, the sense of listening itself was tied to the idea that sound, and the recording of it, allowed the practitioner to expand their horizons beyond the walls of their bedroom. What the magazine described as "the exquisite taste of Namaroku" emerged, then, through the technology, the various accessories on offer, and a transformed understanding of listening practices.

Namaroku and the hunt for 'Real Sound'.

Namaroku was a hobby embedded in the fascination with recording technology, music and sound that had grown since the end of the war in the US, Europe, and Japan. During the 1950s, the Dutch Society of Sound Hunters (NVG), the Chasseurs de Son Belges (Belgium), the Deutsche Tonjager-Verband (Germany), the Dansk Magnettone Klub (Denmark) and the federation of British Recording Clubs (United Kingdom) actively promoted amateur recording. Similar clubs existed in France, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Canada, Australia, and South Africa (Bijsterveld 2004, 614). In Europe, the popularity of sound hunting saw local and national sound recording clubs coming together to form broader associations. There were international sound recording competitions organised under the guidance of the Concours International du Meilleur Enregistrement Sonore (CIMES) (www.soundhunters.com). In Japan, it was more often the manufacturers of recording equipment that created and organised the competitions and events that brought people together. The technology magazine *Musen to Jikken* began holding recording contests which went beyond just music recordings, and by the 1970s similar competitions were being organised across Japan and promoted by manufacturers. The hobby was much more embedded within, and dependent upon, the promotion of consumption and consumer society.

The image of the hunt reflected the idea that the hobby required many hours of searching for sound. For the Dutch Association of Sound Hunters in the 1950s and 1960s, even though much of the emphasis was on capturing the sounds of everyday life, hidden, hard to capture sounds were particularly prized. The most obvious contributions to sound competitions were "the characteristics of sounds we hear…on a daily basis…the wonderful bells of the local church tower... the roar of traffic with its sound of cars, mopeds, horse and carriage, the screeching of a

tram turning a corner…the typical sounds near a railway station, the cattle market, the noise of machinery, the call of a street vendor etc…". The seizing of sounds that were fast moving, hidden or hard to get-at and sounds of technological culture were important trophies (Bijsterveld 2004, 624). In Japan, a similar cachet attached to the captured sounds. According to the Japanese guidebook *Namaroku no Hon*, published in 1977, there was no sound that could not be recorded, but some sounds posed more difficulty than others. As noted above, the intrepid, gung-ho Japanese sound hunter was seen hiding behind trees, bundled into the back of a jeep hurtling across the desert, straddling the railway tracks as a steam locomotive hurtled towards them, or perched on the edge of a cliff dangling a microphone in pursuit of sound. The guidebook, though, recommended an easier induction by "recording the sounds around you" (Tamai 1977).

The sounds that Namaroku enthusiasts should target very much depended upon personal interest and their motives for taking up the hobby. A list of possible targets included music performances, folk songs, Rakugo, Buddhist chants, poetic recitation, as well as the sound of the television. They were also encouraged to create their own sounds. People breaking wind or suffering from hiccoughs were "easy enough to create", but space or science fiction sounds, sound effects "making noise with the things around you"-presented a different level of skill and creativity. Kazuo Tamai, the author of *Namaroku no Hon*, urged readers to think about the type of sound recordist they were from an outline of eleven. These ranged from those who wanted to record any sound that took their fancy, to those interested in walking around the country recording local festivals-checking the history, traditions and changes in those festivals or recording folk music and traditional arts. These people were creating "a collection of the sounds of the conditions of contemporary Japan". The recording of music, festivals, special occasions, artistic performances, and so-on, played an important cultural role in preserving those things for

future generations. Yet, there were also people interested in dynamic sounds-who would go anywhere to record the sounds of machines. There was the type who ‘lived in the sound of nature’, recording waves, rain, waterfalls, the forest, but also the sounds of construction, airports, amusement parks, zoos, or games centres. There was the ‘air-check specialist’ who recorded FM radio and even foreign broadcasts. The list was long, but by no means exhaustive. It was a kind of a la carte menu for the hobby of sound recording. Mixing several different elements would allow one to fully understand “the enjoyment and depth of Namaroku” (Tamai 1977, 22-24).

The prospects for the longevity of the boom lay in the seeking out of sounds in different spaces. Karin Bijsterveld and Annelies Jacobs note how the domestication of the tape-recorder in Dutch life in the 1950s and 1960s was multi-sited. Placed in many different parts of the house due to the contested nature of domestic space, it was promoted as a tool for recording music, but the advantage of recorded sound over the photograph for creating memories of special occasions was also an important element in the promotional material. As in Japan, with the improvement in portability from the early 1960s thanks to the transistor battery recorder, the making of outdoor recordings also became an important selling point for the amateur market. (Bijsterveld, Jacobs 2009) In the context of the Namaroku Boom, the compact cassette recorder allowed the hobby to be presented in a variety of mobile, outdoor, and domestic contexts. In Japan, as in Europe and the US, the recording of daily life and other hobbies was intended to cement the portable tape-recorder as an indispensable element of everyday life.

Yet the act of choosing which sounds to record went much deeper than simply choosing the best place for a day trip or romantic date. Those interested in taking up the pastime needed to change their listening practices. The hobby was not a quest to record ‘real sound’, because real sound did not exist and in many cases was not worth recording. “How can you capture the sound

of the wind?" Tamai asked his readers. It was easy to catch the whistling of the microphone, the rustling of the electricity wire and the leaves on the trees, "but it won't sound like the wind" (Tamai 1977, 11). Prefiguring Michel Chion's conception that recorded sound is better understood as 'fixed sound' (2016), Tamai pointed out to his readers that, if defined as the vibration of air felt by the ears, sound had to be impossible to record. The tape-recorder changed the vibration of air into magnetic or electric currents in order to capture sounds. "In reality, the sounds…caught by the tape-recorder are not actually 'sound' but have already been changed into something else. This is called sound recording. Even uncreatively, you can capture sound." But what was captured should not be understood as 'real sound'. To be a successful sound hunter, readers needed to change the way they understood sound. "The way you think about sound will be the way the sound appears [when you have recorded it]." The quality of equipment was less important than enthusiasm. "The nature of the sound you record depends on…the way you think about sound and your enthusiasm for chasing 'real sound'. But also, on your success in researching sound (Tamai 1977, 17)."

Research into how to capture specific sounds and their playback, in which the refinement of the sound was paramount, created an approach to listening that, in the first instance, overthrew the experts. The word 'Namaroku-on' (live sound recording) had been used by pros for a while, and 'nama' had been used in relation to 'live performance (nama ensō)', or live broadcast (nama hosō)'. But those interested in sound hunting needed to understand the 'nama' (live/fresh or vivid) part of the word to imply a kind of 'amateurishness' and a first-hand quality. In choosing the subject theme, and then pursuing sounds with the latest, greatest technology a carefree spirit was essential (Tamai 1977, 12). Through this listening practice, sound recording could promote independent thinking and individual creativity, because, as Tamai stressed, it was not just about

copying what somebody else had done. The listening practices at the core of Namaroku went beyond the perception and recording of a sound to incorporate an understanding of the act of recording as creation.

As Michel Chion has noted, the problem with the term ‘recorded’ is that it puts the accent on the cause, the origin, and the moment that a certain sound occurred. The recording of it then provides us with only an incomplete and deceptive imprint of the original (2016). Namaroku enthusiasts were urged to think deeply about the sound they wished to record, whether it was the sound of a festival, motor-racing, steam trains or their best friend belching. The best way of recording that sound was something that required individual creativity, thought, research and then equipment. By capturing sound, rather than recording it, the Namaroku enthusiasts were creating a feature, a sketch, or an object. The fixation of sound through the hobby of sound hunting, as Tamai explained to his readers, was the very condition of the study of sound. Tamai stressed that this process required a lot of time and research and the capturing (or recording) of any sound is a condition that changes the essence of it. If in-situ listening is characterised by a selective process-whether unconscious or conscious-of choosing relevant components (what you want to hear) and the repression of others (that you don’t want or need to hear), as Chion argues, then the hobby of sound hunting entailed becoming attuned to this very process. The art of Namaroku lay in finding the perfect balance between the two, then putting the technology and related paraphernalia to work in support of this.

Conclusions

In the book Keywords in Sound, Tim Rice explains how listening practices, rather than being determined by technology, are “malleable and capable of being developed, directed, and

refined through engagements with technologies" (Rice 2015, 102). It is important therefore to examine the historical social and cultural context within which new technologies thrive. The hobby of sound hunting presented in the magazine *Rokuhan* and guidebooks such as *Namaroku no Hon* reflected the individual, creative and adventurous youth lifestyle consumer culture that emerged in the early 1960s and fully flourished in the 70s. The early 1980s signalled a shift in the nature of Japanese consumerism, as the rebellious and ambiguous attachment to consumer goods and social norms of the late 1960s and early 1970s gave way to the managed society (kanri-shakai) and the very different conspicuous consumerism of the period. Nevertheless, the mediatisation of the Namaroku boom helps us to better understand how sound recording technology was imagined and marketed within the economic and political context of the preceding decades. The emergence of youth consumers, the fragmentation and segmentation of the mass market throughout the 1960s, were all intertwined with the rise of a mass magazine market, mass advertising, and deeply related to the political, social, and economic concerns of postwar Japan. This created a particular historical and cultural context within which the promotion of portable sound recording technology and the understanding of sound itself became swathed in mediatic ambience.

As well as exposing the social and cultural context surrounding the acceptance of technologies of sound therefore, the Namaroku boom tells us just as much about a moment in postwar Japanese consumer culture. The idea of a mediatic ambience surrounding the technology at the heart of the hobby of sound hunting amplifies the networks of meanings, symbols, images, discourses, and information diffused by media in relation to the portable tape-recorder and its accessories (Arvindsson 2006, 36; Yoda 2018, 173). In the case of the Namaroku boom, this emerged in the magazines, guidebooks, and manufactures' advertising campaigns. This mediatic

ambience served, ultimately, to blur the distinction between the manufactured product, its distribution, promotion, and its place in everyday life. The hobby of sound hunting then, could appeal to a generation influenced by the student and anti-establishment protest movements of the previous decade because the portable tape-recorder existed within a media-scape that foregrounded individualism, creativity, mobility and a rebellious spirit-disavowing the quest for corporate profit at its core. The overthrow of the professionals, the challenge to authority, the emphasis on adventure, experimentation and creativity were all central to the appeal in the guidebooks and the magazine. But the mediatised nature of individual and collective subjectivity by the 1970s also highlights the malleability of listening practices and the increasing commodification of sound. Through the mediatic ambience of the Namaroku boom, sound itself was doubly mediated. *Rokuhan* and the guidebooks directly connected the objects of consumption to the lifestyles of their users and incorporated sound and practices of listening into the networks of meanings, symbols, images, and discourses already familiar to the target audience. Just as the recording of sound blurred the distinction between real sound (the sound source) and the recording of that sound, through this double mediation sound itself was an object of consumption that necessitated a mode of listening based on creativity, individualism and mobility.

Rokuhan ended publication in 1979, changing its name to *Sound Creator* and returning the hobby to its domestic and more static origins. By the early 1980s, with the invention of the Walkman, manufacturers no longer sought profit from the economic abstraction of aural experience in the external environment. They turned to the neo-liberal possibilities inherent in individual control over, rather than the capture, creation, and philosophy of, sound. Emerging 'soundscaping technology', as Mack Hagood has referred to it, presaged by Sony's Walkman,

signalled a changing relationship with sound as an external source (Hagood 2011; Bull 2000). For the successful sound hunter, environmental sound was a resource, to be investigated, researched, thought about then captured. This shift from, the no-less commodified, understanding of sound as an external, natural occurrence-an exploration of which could open up your world and enlarge your individual and social experience-to the neo-liberal listener taking control over the soundscape and determining what and when to hear certain sounds, helped fashion the soundscape as personal affect. The individualism at the heart of the Namaroku boom-the creativity and rebelliousness-at least remained, if only just, a social subjectivity concerned with understanding and exploring the external environment and one's place within the soundscape. The Walkman signalled the eighties as "years of autonomy, of an intersection of singularities in the construction of discourses" (Hosokawa 1984). But, as Shuhei Hosokawa points out, the Walkman itself was neither cause nor effect of that autonomy, it did not invoke nor realise it. In the same way, the development of the portable tape-recorder did not cause or result from the individualism, mobility, and creativity of the 1960s and 1970s in Japan. If the Walkman was "the…autonomy-of-the-walking self," as Hosokawa maintains, then the portable tape-recorder at the heart of the Namaroku boom was the subjectivity of the mobile, individual, and creative young Japanese consumer.

References

1. Abe, Y. 2016. *Tape Rokuon-ki Monogatari*. Unknown publisher.

2. Akagi, Y. 2004. *Heibon Panchi 1964*. Tokyo: Heibonsha Shinsho.

3. Arvindsson, A. 2006. *Brand: Meaning and Value in Media Culture*. London: Routledge.

4. Atkins, E. 2001. *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

5. Bijsterveld, K. 2004. 'What Do I Do with My Tape Recorder …?': Sound hunting and the sounds of everyday Dutch life in the 1950s and 1960s. *Historical Journal of Film. Radio and Television* 24, No. 4: 614-634.

6. Bijsterveld, K. and Jacobs A. 2009. Storing sound souvenirs: The multi-sited domestication of the Tape Recorder', Chapter 1 in *Sound souvenirs: Audio technologies, memory and cultural practices*, Ed. K. Bijsterveld and Dijck, J. Van, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

7. Bull, M. 2000. *Sounding out the city: Personal stereos and the management of everyday life*. London: Berg.

8. Chion, M. 2016. *Sound: An acoulogical treatise*. Durham: Duke University Press.

9. Derschmidt, E. 1998. The Disappearance of the "Jazzu Kissa": some considerations about Japanese "Jazz Cafes" and Jazz Listeners. In Sepp Linhart and Sabine Fruhstuck Eds, *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through its Leisure*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998: 303-315.

10. Hagood, M. 2011. Quiet Comfort: Noise, otherness and the mobile production of personal space. *American Quarterly*, 63. No.3, Sound clash: Listening to American

Studies: 573-589.

11. Hiramatsu, K. 1993. Some aspects of soundscape studies in Japan. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of Japan*, 14, No. 3: 133-138.
12. Hosokawa, S. 1984. The Walkman Effect. *Popular Music*, 4: 165-180.
13. Kaneko, T. 2016. 1970 Nendai no Nihon ni okeru Namarokubunka: Rokuon no jitsuho to tanoshimi. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Theory*, No. 23: 84-112.
14. Kataōka, M. 1972. Shūkan shi-sono kisō ishiki no uchi to soto, *Sogo Jarnarizumu Kenkyu,* No 57: 76-88.
15. Kinameri, Y. 1990. Hanayaka ni Kemute, mawari wa hoshi bakari datta: Shūkan Heibon, Heibon Punch and An An. *Shisō no Kagaku*, No. 135.
16. Matsushita, K. 1998, *Quest for Prosperity: The life of a Japanese industrialist*. Tokyo: PHO Institute.
17. Ministry of International Trade and Industry, 1963, *Foreign Trade White Paper of Japan 1961*-1962, Book 5.
18. Morton, D. 2000. *Off the Record: The Technology and Culture of Sound Recording in America*. London: Rutgers University Press.
19. Nihon Hōsō Kyōiku kyokai. 1952. *Rokuonki to Kyōiku Katsudo*, Tokyo: NHK.
20. Novak, D. 2008. 2.5x6 Metres of Space: Japanese Music Coffee Houses and Experimental Practices of Listening. *Popular Music*, 27. No. 1: 15-34.
21. Rice T. 2015, 'Listening'. Chapter 9 in *Keywords in Sound*, Novak and Sakaneeny Eds, Durham: Duke University Press.
22. Roquet, P. 2016. *Ambient Media: Japanese Atmospheres of self*. University of Minnesota Press.

23. Sand, J. 2006. The Ambivalence of the New Breed: Nostalgic Consumerism in 1980s and 1990s Japan, in *The Ambivalent Consumer: Questioning Consumption in East Asia and the West*, Sheldon Garon and Patricia Maclachlan Eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 85-108.
24. Sand, J. 2013. *Tokyo vernacular: Common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
25. Sato, B. 2003, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media and Women in Interwar Japan*, Durham: Duke University Press.
26. Shimizu, T. 1970. Satsu dan Heibon Panchi. in *Heibon Tsushin Sono Jūnen*. Tokyo: Heibon Shuppan Bushiki Gaisha Shōshi.
27. Shiozawa, Yukito. 2009. *Heibon Panchi no jidai: 1964-1988 kibō to kutō to zasetsu no monogatari*. Tokyo: Matsurikashya.
28. Smith, M. D. 2016, "A MAD Age": Heibon Punch, student protest, the media and consumer society in Cold War Japan. *Japan Forum*, 28, No. 3: 337-359.
29. Smith, M. D. 2018. *Mass media consumerism and national identity in postwar Japan*. London: Bloomsbury.
30. Tamai, K. 1977. *Namaroku no hon*. Tokyo: Kosaido Books.
31. Tanaguchi, F. Nakagawa, K. Fukuda, Y. Eds. 2016. *Onkyo media-shi*. Tokyo: Nakanishiya.
32. Thompson, E. 2004. *The soundscape of modernity: architectural acoustics and the culture of listening in America 1900-1933*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
33. U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. 1947. Interviews-procedure forms: Interview sound-recording control schedule. Report No. 14h (40) (i), USSBS Index section 2, Entry

41, *Pacific Survery Reports and Supporting Records:* 128-1947.

34. Yasar, K. 2018. *Electrified voices: how the telephone, telegraph and radio shaped modern Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
35. Yoda, T. 2017. Girlscape: The marketing of mediatic ambience in Japan. Chapter 7 in *Media Theory in Japan*. Mark Steinberg and Alexander Zahlten Eds. London: Duke University Press: 180-182.
36. Yoshimi, S. 1995. *Koe no shihonshugi*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
37. Young, L. 1999. Marketing the Modern: Department stores, Consumer Culture and the New Middle Class in Interwar Japan, *International Labour and Working Class History*, No. 55: 52-70.
38. www.sony.net/fun/design/history/1950.html
39. www.soundhunters.com
40. http://www.php.co.jp/en/think.php