

## Yearning for Yesterday: Representations of Tokyo Tower within Unfinished Modernity of Shōwa Nostalgic Media

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Nostalgia is more a crepuscular emotion. It takes hold when the dark of impending change is seen to be encroaching, although not so fast as to make a monster loom where but a moment ago stood a coat tree (Davis 1979: 110).

The question of what it means to contest the past is one that has become increasingly charged in the last few decades. It reveals certain presuppositions about the relationship between the present and the past, which have both historical and political purchase; and the discourse of memory has come to have a central part in thinking about that relationship... But to contest the past is also, of course, to pose questions about the present, and what the past means in the present. Our understanding of the past has strategic, political, and ethical consequences. Contests over the meaning of the past are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward (Hodgkin and Radstone 2006: 1).

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The film *Always: Sunset on Third Street (Always san chōme no yūhi)* (2005), which depicts the lives of ordinary people in the Tokyo of the late 1950s, is generally considered to be the starting point of the 'boom' in Shōwa nostalgia. This film, which played at more than two hundred film theatres, was a long-running hit and was seen by more than two million people. It received acclaim not only from the audience but also from critics, with twelve wins at the 2006 Japanese Academy Awards, getting the awards for Best Film, Best Director, Best Actor, and Best Screenplay. The enormous popularity of this 'national film' was such that Abe Shinzo, a politician who became the Japanese Prime Minister one year after the release of the film, devotes one entire chapter merely to praise of the film in his book *Utsukushii Kuni e (In search of a beautiful country)*. Abe writes, 'This film won critical acclaim not only from the people who remember the 33rd year of Shōwa [1958, the setting of the film] but also from the youths who should not know the period. Family affection and warm hearted human relationship that are apt to be forgotten nowadays appealed to the audiences beyond generations and ages' (Abe 2006: 220-221 my translation). Furthermore, a prominent critic Kawamoto Saburō (2005), in an essay expressing high praise for *Always: Sunset on Third Street*, stresses that the Japanese should realize the importance of nostalgia for their recent

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past. According to Kawamoto, nostalgia has been ignored by the Japanese because any longing for 'the good old days' (*kaikoshumi*) has been thought of as a major obstacle to modernization and industrialization. Kawamoto argues that it is just the time for contemporary Japanese people to notice and openly espouse their recent past. Kawamoto states:

When the construction of Tokyo Tower was completed in the 33rd year of Shōwa (1958), I was a second-year student at a junior high school in Tokyo. When I saw the film *Always: Sunset on Third Street*, I found myself wishing that it would not end because it reminded me of the 'good old days' (*natsukashiku*) and was truly interesting. When I watched this film in a theatre, most of the audience did not leave even after the film ended. I presumed that everyone in the audience was anxious to be lost in the world of the film. ... There is a threadbare cliché, 'do not give yourself up to mere nostalgia' (*tan naru nostalgī de naku*), which is often used to criticise any longing for the past. This attitude, based on a stereotypical understanding of nostalgia, must be a product of modern Japanese history, which is characterized by moving forward without looking back at the past. However, I would argue that this is the time to evaluate the value of nostalgia. The distant past is usually respected as history, though any looking back at the recent past, through which our parents and grandparents lived, is disapproved of as 'mere nostalgia (*tan naru nostalgī*)'. This approach is really very strange. After all, to recall our recent past is to lay the ground for our lives in the present and also to commemorate the dead (*naki hitobito*). (Kawamoto 2005: 108 my translation)

Kawamoto's argument appears interesting. However, his argument falls short of scholarship; this is a discursive discussion that relies only on his personal impressions. Kawamoto's essay is insufficient in its discussion of several points; these points must be examined thoroughly using relevant theoretical concepts and frameworks. First of all, it must be noticed that what is represented in the nostalgic media products is a kind of fiction, because a historical narrative itself cannot be objective (Collingwood 1946; Bloch 1954; Carr 1961 et al). Therefore, before arguing the importance of nostalgia, it appears necessary to examine carefully the manner in which the recent past is represented in nostalgic media. In addition, it also must be noticed that the meanings of memory differ from one historical period to another (Terdiman 1993: 3). The perceived relationship between history and memory has dramatically altered since the last century (Misztal 2003), and in particular, the disappearance of the distinction between history and memory has made it possible to discuss history, memory, and the social imaginary on the same basis. Hence, it is necessary to research the manner in which the convergence between history and memory has influenced the content of nostalgic media.

Secondly, what is significant is the fact that the Shōwa nostalgia boom has been born not out of a rigid historical literature but out of a popular historical narrative appearing in media and cultural products. Because a historical narrative constitutes an integral part of the

collective memory (Hutton 1993), it is possible to examine unconscious collective memories through analysis of the content of nostalgic media. However, Kawamoto's argument appears to fall short of this perspective. Collective memory is equally important to create a framework for the present (Schwartz 2000); therefore, it may be appropriate to argue that what appears in media and cultural products may create contemporary history or, at the very least, must reflect the particular conditions of the present. Moreover, it is necessary to take into consideration the problem of selection and exclusion of a historical narrative (Collingwood 1946; Bloch 1954; Carr 1961 et al). When a memory is represented in a cultural product, certain aspects of the past are prioritised over others, 'sometimes leading to a sanitized or romanticized vision of the past' (Noakes 1997: 93 in Misztal 2003: 135). Consequently, it is necessary to examine carefully what aspects of the recent past are selected, sanitized, and excluded in Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products.

Thirdly, what should not be ignored is the argument that the past, which is held in people's memories, has become a target of the imaginary, empathy, or commemoration (Morris-Suzuki 2005; Hodgkin and Radstone 2006). Undoubtedly, Kawamoto is well aware of the significance of commemoration as he states, 'to recall our recent past is to lay the ground for our lives in the present and also to commemorate the dead (*naki hitobito*)' (Kawamoto 2005: 108 my translation). Nevertheless, Kawamoto does not clarify why the significance of commemoration has increased in the present day. Therefore, it appears necessary to analyse not only the manner in which Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products represent the past but also the manner in which these products 'commemorate' past events or people.

Lastly, it is crucial to rationalize why the recent past has become a major subject of focus for nostalgic media. There has been a common understanding among specialists that the Japanese long for their 'indigenous' pre-modern past (Moeran 1989; Ivy 1985; Creighton 1997 etc). Hence, the dominance of nostalgia for the recent past of merely thirty or forty years is somewhat against the established discourse. In this sense, Kawamoto's argument gives us an idea of how to rationalize the ongoing nostalgia for the recent past. However, Kawamoto does not discuss in sufficient detail the reason contemporary Japanese people need their longing for the recent past. This paper will tackle the question.

## Tokyo Tower and its Unfinished Image

Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products have certain characteristics, one of the most distinguished of which is their emphasis on iconic past events or heritage. Therefore, the construction of Tokyo Tower, the Tokyo Olympics, and the Japan World Exposition frequently appear in these nostalgic media products. It is certain that these typical past events are crucial not only for Shōwa nostalgic media but also for numerous nostalgic products around the world; as Collini states, the anniversaries of past events only exist in media (Collini 1999). Nevertheless, the representation of iconic symbols from the past in Shōwa nostalgic media is highly distinctive, since these media often represent the symbols as incomplete projects. Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products do not express a straightforward longing for

these symbols of the past as accomplished results; they tend to represent them in an unfinished or developing condition. What does the emphasis of an incomplete condition in the recent past by Shōwa nostalgic media actually mean? Do the nostalgic media want to avoid the actual reality for any reason or seek out the possibilities of an alternative reality? It is necessary to carefully examine the manner in which Shōwa nostalgic media represent the ‘incompleteness’ of past events in order to grasp what they actually mean.

Tokyo Tower, a celebrated landmark, is probably the subject most often focused on by Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products when they represent the recent past. As will be discussed in detail, unfinished images of Tokyo Tower are common in Shōwa nostalgic cultural products. Tokyo Tower, a communication tower that is the tallest self-supporting steel structure in the world, was built in Minato Ward, Tokyo, in 1958. The original purpose of building the huge structure was to broadcast the radio and television signals of major Japanese media outlets. At first, the concerned parties intended to build a tower taller than the Paris Eiffel Tower, which was then the tallest tower at a height of 324 m (1,063 ft); hence, they decided that the tower’s height would be 333 m (1,091 ft). Thus, the Japanese, who wanted to crawl back out from the ashes of the defeat in the Second World War, generally regarded the construction of Tokyo Tower as a symbolic project of Japan’s post-war recovery. After the building was completed in October 1958, Tokyo Tower became Tokyo’s most popular and representative tourist attraction; more than five million people visited it in 1959 (Samejima 2008: 150). This figure was much higher than the figures in visitor records that Tokyo’s Ueno Zoological Garden had maintained. Thirty million people had visited by 1966 and a hundred and fifty million by 2006 (Samejima 2008: 258).

Japanese magazines commonly put together feature stories on the Shōwa period. It is particularly worth noting that two nostalgia magazines that specialize in looking back on the Shōwa period were launched in 2007 and 2008 respectively. One is *Shūkan Shōwa* (Weekly Shōwa), published by *Asahi Shimbun* (Asahi Newspaper), a quality Japanese newspaper, and the other is *Shūkan Shōwa Taimuzu* (Weekly Shōwa Times), published by a Japan-based subsidiary of the Italian publishing house *De Agostini*. Both *Shūkan Shōwa* and *Shūkan Shōwa Taimuzu* focus on a certain year of the Shōwa period every week and discuss the representative events, incidents, fashion, sports, and popular culture. Both magazines lay great emphasis on the completion of Tokyo Tower in the special issues on the 33rd year of Shōwa (1958), during which the construction of the tower was completed. It must be noted that these magazines particularly emphasize an image of an unfinished Tokyo Tower by focusing on the tower under construction even though they are dealing with its completion.

The front cover of *Shūkan Shōwa* for the issue dated 14 December 2008 uses a picture of an evening view of the tower under construction (see Figure 1). Surprisingly, the other magazine, *Shūkan Shōwa Taimuzu*, also uses a photograph of Tokyo Tower under construction on the front cover of the special issue on 1958 (see Figure 2). Both magazines thus use photographs of Tokyo Tower in a half-finished state on their covers.

Furthermore, in the case of *Shūkan Shōwa*, the image of the uncompleted tower is uniquely emphasised. The title of the feature article in *Shūkan Shōwa* is ‘Tokyo Tower is

Figure 1. *Shūkan Shōwa*  
(*Asahi Shimbun sha*)



Figure 2. *Shūkan Shōwa Taimuzu*  
(*De Agostini Japan*)



Completed'; nevertheless, all pictures that appear in the article are of Tokyo Tower under construction, and there are no pictures of the finished tower. On the first page of the article, the words of an engineer involved in the construction are quoted; he states, 'Believe it or not, the clouds are under the tower. This is not a joke, but true. We cannot see the top of the tower very often because of the clouds' (*Shūkan Shōwa* 2008 vol.2: 20). Oddly enough, however, the picture above the engineer's comment does not show the top of Tokyo Tower; it merely shows the foundations of the tower (see Figure 3). Therefore, the picture does not correspond exactly to the engineer's words, which stress how tall the tower is. Furthermore, although there are five other pictures of Tokyo Tower in the article, all of them are pictures of the tower under construction. Consequently, it can be surmised that images of the unfinished Tokyo Tower were intentionally selected by the editors of these magazines for some reason even though they emphasize the completion of the tower.

However, the residents of Tokyo at that time did not nurture any strong desire for the Tokyo Tower to be constructed and did not particularly look forward to its completion. In other words, the image of Tokyo Tower depicted in the magazines is rather different from the place it occupies in the memories of people who actually lived in Tokyo at that time. Although the critic Ishigami Mitsutoshi (2007) remarks positively on the social phenomenon of Shōwa nostalgia and calls the film *Always: Sunset on Third Street* one of the best Japanese films of the twenty-first century, he also argues that the Tokyo Tower that is embedded deeply in his memories is the completed one; this is because Ishigami, who was a teenager at

Figure 3. *Shūkan Shōwa (Asahi Shimbun sha)*

the time of construction, suffered inconvenience from the ‘annoying’ (*jammakena*) construction of the huge tower. This nuisance from the large-scale construction of the tower is commonly remembered by Tokyo residents; hence, the people prefer to recall the dignified appearance of the finished Tokyo Tower rather than its construction (Ishigami 2007: 142). Consequently, it can be surmised that emphasis on unfinished aspects of Tokyo Tower in nostalgic magazines is not accurately based on the memories of the people living in Tokyo at that time but is rather based on a certain intention the magazine editors have.

Intriguingly, it is not only *Shōwa* nostalgic magazines that emphasize the image of the unfinished Tokyo Tower but also *Shōwa* retro theme parks that often use a similar image. A Japanese theme park is a kind of amusement centre, although it is different from a typical amusement park in that it usually focuses on a particular theme, story, nation, or region. A *Shōwa* retro theme park is thus an amusement facility that displays or (and) sells objects familiar to people who lived in the *Shōwa* period. The *Shōwa* period lasted from 1926 to 1989; however, it is worth noting that *Shōwa* retro parks focus on the late *Shōwa* period, particularly the period from the late 1950s to the 1970s. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that there have been various kinds of theme parks in Japan even before the establishment of *Shōwa* retro theme parks. A variety of theme parks that focus on the Edo period, old rural society, and foreign countries have gained widespread popularity, particularly among tourists from urban areas. British anthropologist Joy Hendry, who researched Japanese theme parks in the 1990s, argues that theme parks are highly significant as heritage centres for the Japanese, as they contribute to creating collective identities (Hendry 2000). Hendry’s work shows particular interest in the popularity of *gaikoku mura* (villages depicting foreign countries), which recreate cultures and buildings of specific foreign countries in rural

Japan. For urban Japanese tourists, travelling within Japan as well as abroad is an experience of the exotic as the displays in these theme parks enable them to become familiar with foreign cultures (Hendry 2000).

On the other hand, most theme parks including *gaikoku mura*, which previously enjoyed popularity are facing a serious business slump due to the sharp decrease in the number of visitors. For example, a well-known theme park *Nagasaki Holland Village* (*Nagasaki Oranda mura*), which opened in 1983 to recreate the Netherlands through a display of life-size copies of old Dutch buildings, was closed in 2001. *House in the Forest* (*Huis ten bosch*) which was conceptually similar to *Nagasaki Holland Village* has also been in financial difficulties and, as a result, the main sponsor withdrew its investment in March 2010. Furthermore, *Kurashiki Tivoli Park*, which was modelled on Tivoli Gardens, a world-famous amusement park in Copenhagen, Denmark, was mired in a business slump at the beginning of the present century, although it had attracted about three million visitors when it was opened in 1997. Consequently, *Kurashiki Tivoli Park* was closed in December 2008, as the number of visitors dramatically decreased to only a quarter of what it was at its peak. In this regard, the great popularity of Shōwa retro theme parks, most of which have opened in the new century, appears to be exceptional, and this may tell us that Japanese people have begun to be interested in their recent past and memories. It is difficult to arrive at the exact number of Shōwa retro theme parks, because there is a fine line between a Shōwa retro park and similar kinds of theme parks; however, there are presumably dozens of theme parks that shed light on the Shōwa period. These have several features in common with each other. They recreate the shopping streets, restaurants, and buildings of those days, and sell reproductions of Shōwa Period goods, such as cheap confectionary, food, toys, and photographs of celebrities. In addition, typical objects of those days — signboards, neon signs, post boxes and shrines — are often on display as well. Tokyo Tower is probably one of the most important objects for display. One of the most popular Shōwa retro theme parks is *Daiba itchōme shōtengai* (Daiba first street's shopping avenue) which was opened in Tokyo's bay area in October 2002. *Daiba itchōme shōtengai* recreates a typical downtown Tokyo area of the Shōwa '30s (1955–1964). As is common in a Shōwa retro theme park, there are dozens of reproduced shops, restaurants and houses in *Daiba itchōme shōtengai*. *Daiba itchōme shōtengai* has a special space that recreates Tokyo Tower, and the recreated tower is not finished but under construction (see Figure 4). At the foot of Tokyo Tower under construction, there is a shop named Tower Department Store (*Tawā hyakkaten*), which sells foods, confectionary and souvenirs. Yet, notably, there are only two pillars of the tower seen, and the two pillars are merely foundations.

It is understandable that the theme park took the creative leap of recreating an unfinished Tokyo Tower, because it would be difficult to house a complete tall tower in the low-ceilinged indoor facility. However, the theme park appears to adopt a unique strategy that intentionally emphasises the image of the unfinished Tokyo Tower for certain reasons. First, a sign that reads 'Under construction. Do not climb', is hung on the pillar. Hence, it can be surmised that the theme park creators try to increase the appeal of the image of the

Figure 4



unfinished to visitors. In addition, this theme park regularly organises a handicrafts workshop for visitors. When I visited the theme park in December 2008, there was a handicrafts class focusing on making a kaleidoscope, and numerous families attended it (see Figure 5). The particular image of the unfinished Tokyo Tower can be said to be accentuated by the regular handicraft workshops. Overall, it is significant that both nostalgic magazines and theme parks are not necessarily interested in the complete image of Tokyo Tower; they prefer to use the image of this post-war Japanese symbol when unfinished.

However, it is difficult to surmise the reason these nostalgia media and cultural products prefer the image of the unfinished because the findings that could be gained from the analysis of these products are limited. Hence, further research on other nostalgic media help in exploring the reasons for and background to this unique tendency. In that respect, scrutinising Shōwa nostalgic films would be beneficial. Although Tokyo Tower is frequently represented in Shōwa nostalgic films, it has also previously appeared in other Japanese films. It must be stressed that the manner in which Tokyo Tower was represented in conventional films is far from nostalgic and quite different from the manner in which it is represented in Shōwa nostalgic films. Tokyo Tower was above all depicted as a target of attack by monsters in the popular 1960 giantmonster films. A 1961 film *Mothra (Mosura)* was the first to film a battle scene in which a giantmonster destroys Tokyo Tower. According to Samejima, numerous children in the audience were shocked because they actually believed that Tokyo Tower was in ruins after the attack (Samejima 2008: 276). Other 1960s giantmonster films in which Tokyo Tower and Tokyo's midtown district are destroyed by a giantmonster include the 1964 *Ghidorah, the Three-Headed Monster (Sandai kaijū chikyū saidai no kessen)*, the 1965 *Gamera (Daikaijū gamera)*, the 1967 *King Kong Escapes (Kingu kongu no gyakushū)*, and the



Figure 5



1968 *Gamera vs. Viras* (*Gamera tai uchū kaijū bairasu*). In the 1967 *King Kong Escapes* (*Kingū kongu no gyakushu*), there is a scene in which King Kong climbs the Tokyo Tower in order to capture a blonde. In the relatively recent film *Godzilla: Tokyo S.O.S.* (*Gojira tai mosura tai mekagojira Tokyo esu ō esu*), released in 2003, Tokyo Tower appears frequently on the screen, but falls to the ground because it is hit directly by a nuclear strike launched by Godzilla. These scenes are reminiscent of the *King Kong* films' representation of the Empire State Building in New York. Tokyo Tower has been repeatedly destroyed as a major symbol of Tokyo in numerous giant-monster films.

On the other hand, Tokyo Tower also appears in several serious films. The film *Tokyo Tower at Twilight* (*Tasogare no Tokyo tawā*) released in 1959, one year after the completion of the tower, is a kind of Cinderella story in which a poor salesgirl from a dressmaker's shop gets married to the son of the president of a major automobile company. In the film, Tokyo Tower is a symbolic, lucky place because the lovers are brought together by the tower's observation deck. A much more celebrated film that deals with Tokyo Tower is Ozu Yasujiro's 1960 *Late Autumn* (*Akibiyori*). Samejima states that Ozu represents Tokyo Tower symbolically as 'a sign of the new era' (Samejima 2008: 297) with the tower filling the film screen under the blue sky in the opening sequence. In addition, Nomura Kichitarō's 1978 film *The Demon* (*Kichiku*), based on the novel by Matsumoto Seichō, also uses Tokyo Tower symbolically, but differently from that in Ozu's *Late Autumn*. The laundryman, the hero of *The Demon*, tries to abandon an illegitimate daughter born of his mistress, as he intends to prioritize his current family life. He chooses the Tokyo Tower's observation deck as the place to leave the child. This scene of the 1970s masterpiece clearly implies a social contradiction within Japan's post-war recovery. The sharp contrast between the airy Tokyo Tower and the

abandoned child shows both the accomplishment of rapid economic growth and the sacrifices made on its account. Thus, Tokyo Tower has been represented as a landmark of Tokyo and a symbol of Japan's post-war prosperity in numerous films. However, it was not until the release of the Shōwa nostalgic films of this century that the tower was used as a subject of nostalgia. Furthermore, almost no films, besides the Shōwa nostalgic films, have ever emphasized the 'incomplete' or 'unfinished' aspect of the established landmark. That is one of the reasons that I would like to analyse the manner in which the nostalgic media and cultural products give preference to the 'incomplete' aspect of Tokyo Tower.

As discussed earlier, the increase in creation of Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products has been brought about by the success of the 2005 film *Always: Sunset on Third Street*. This film, based on Saigan Ryohei's long-running manga, depicts a small community of downtown Tokyo in the late 1950s, focusing particularly on two families. One of them is the Suzuki family that runs a small auto repair shop Suzuki Auto. Suzuki Norifumi (Tsutsumi Shinichi) lives with his wife Tomoe (Yakushimaru Hiroko), a son, Ippei, and a teenage girl, Hoshino Mutsuko (Horikita Maki), who comes up to Tokyo to work for Suzuki Auto. The other family is the pseudo-family of Chagawa Ryūnosuke (Yoshioka Hidetaka). Chagawa, a failed novelist who lives across the street from Suzuki's house, runs an old-fashioned penny sweetshop out of his house because he cannot make his living from his writing. Although Chagawa is single, he lives with a boy, Junnosuke, who has no relatives. *Always: Sunset on Third Street* follows the daily lives of the two families.

It may not necessarily be surprising that the Tokyo Tower is frequently seen in the film because the area the two families live in is set very close to the tower. However, it is significant that the film hardly depicts the tower when completed, but emphasizes the unfinished tower by focusing on its construction and associating the tower's incomplete condition with the characters' lives. First, the beginning of this film clearly indicates that it is set in the Tokyo of the late 1950s when the tower was under construction; there is an impressive introduction of the tower under construction. At the beginning, an aerial shot threads through the numerous buildings of the city centre and then reaches Tokyo Tower under construction. After the aerial shot is fixed, the title credit appears on the screen. The tower that appears in this first scene is still at the stage of laying the foundation, suggesting that completion is a long way off. It is worth noting that the film frequently shows Tokyo Tower even after the first scene, but always depicts the unfinished tower, particularly using the long shot of the tower, not just the close shot. The reason Tokyo Tower is represented in the film as unfinished might be because the film is set in the period of its construction. However, it still appears worthy of attention that the particular period is selected as a setting for the film, and the Tower is depicted symbolically by the filmmakers. For example, there is a scene in which a teenage girl, Hoshino Mutsuko, sees Tokyo Tower under construction from a car just after she has come to Tokyo to work at Suzuki Auto. Mutsuko comes to Tokyo as a 'mass employee' (*shūdan shūshokusha*). 'Mass employees', common in the era of Japan's post-war high-speed economic growth, were young provincial manual workers who came to big cities, particularly to Tokyo and Osaka, in large numbers in the hopes of earning

a lot of money in a glittering city. The mass employment system (*shudan shūshoku*) was well maintained until the mid 1970s thanks to the needs of both companies that required numerous unskilled workers and provincial workers who wanted to obtain employment in large cities. On the other hand, their working conditions were very harsh, and the payment was also low. This scene appears to indicate that the typical 'mass employee' yearns for a new city life, but at the same time is soon forced to 'slave for' the small auto repair company. The under-construction Tokyo Tower that frequently appears in the film is thus symbolically associated with the major characters' future hopes that are yet to be fulfilled.

The film ends without the major characters' hopes coming true. In other words, these characters have their own specific dreams when the film starts, but their lives are still far from their original ideals even at the end of the film. Suzuki Norifumi intends to grow his small auto repair shop into a big auto company but can never do it. As far as the pseudo-family of Chagawa Ryūnosuke and the boy Junnosuke is concerned, the result is far worse. Chagawa falls in love with Ishizaki Hiromi who runs a small bar near his house. Hiromi reluctantly lives with the abandoned boy Junnosuke who has no relatives and wants to abandon him; hence, when Chagawa becomes a customer of Hiromi's bar and tells her that he is writing novels for boy's magazines, she becomes determined to leave Junnosuke to the care of Chagawa. Unable to resist Hiromi's charm and wishes, Chagawa is forced to take charge of Junnosuke. After a while, Chagawa asks Hiromi to marry him on Christmas Eve; the following day, Hiromi suddenly closes her bar and disappears from the lives of Chagawa and Junnosuke. When Junnosuke asks Chagawa, 'Will we soon be able to eat Hiromi's curried rice?' Chagawa answers, 'Of course'. But Hiromi never returns. Therefore, Chagawa is not only unable to marry Hiromi, but is also forced to take care of Junnosuke permanently. Furthermore, Chagawa, who intends to make his living as a novelist, can never become a front-line novelist and is forced to continue running the sweetshop; whenever he submits his novels for literary prizes, they are rejected. It is true that he becomes satisfied with the pseudo-family life with Junnosuke in time but he achieves nothing with regard to his personal ambitions. In fact, all of Chagawa's dreams remain unfulfilled.

The unrewarded lives of the major characters raise questions; why has this film attracted such a vast audience? This film is generally believed to have fuelled the Shōwa nostalgia boom, but what do audiences actually feel nostalgia for? Ōsawa, who defines the 1950s and '60s in Japan as 'the age of ideals' (*risō no jidai*), argues that this film is yearning for the ideals of that time. It works off the audience's accumulated fatigue because all the characters living in 1950s Tokyo in the film feel an inner happiness in vigorously pursuing their ideals in spite of the fact they are not properly rewarded for their effort (Ōsawa 2008: 126-127). Ōsawa states,

We can imagine (somewhat fantastically) that, in Shōwa '30s (1955-1964), there was the expectation even among the people from the lower classes that they would be able to find future salvation; so they could live the lower class reality while sharing this hope. In a kind of 'boom' in yearning for the Showa '30s, contemporary people do not necessarily

yearn for the actual reality of the Shōwa '30s. We rather yearn for the expectations of the people of those days because they were able to think that reality was actually the way to the salvation. Undoubtedly, the 'ideals' of 'the age of ideals' are what people must have expected and the certain results of the expectations (Ōsawa 2008: 127, my translation).

Ōsawa adds that the Tokyo Tower under construction in this film connotes the 'ideal' that was believed to be possible, but goes on to argue that present-day Japan provides a striking contrast with those days because people of the twenty-first century cannot share any of these ideals (Ōsawa 2008: 127). Ōsawa's argument is quite persuasive, but he does not appear to sufficiently rationalize why this film never depicts the realization of the ideals. There must have been alternatives that would have allowed for the filmmakers not only to depict the ideals but also their specific realization. However, the realization of the ideals is excluded in the film.

In my opinion, this film attempts to prolong the process of the major characters achieving their dreams by using an incomplete narrative. In other words, the narrative of this film appears to use 'delaying tactics', which successfully exploit particular unfinished images and plots. That appears to be the major reason the film prefers to use the image of Tokyo Tower under construction. Well-presented images of the unfinished tower may connote limitless possibilities in future and make it possible for the audience to expect a future without bounds. In addition, it is worth noting that the narrative of this film is to some extent constructed through the eyes of children, particularly Junnosuke and Ippai. Middle-aged and older audiences of the film spent their childhood days in the late 1950s when Tokyo Tower was under construction, and in particular '*dankai no sedai*' (Japan's post-war baby-boom generation who were born between 1947 and 1949), the population of which amounts to eight million, spent their elementary school days like Junnosuke and Ippai. Consequently, the construction of Tokyo Tower in the late 1950s coincides with the growth of '*dankai no sedai*'. As Ishitobi Noriki (2005) argues, one of the reasons this film uses images of the Tokyo Tower under construction is that the period of construction was the happiest time for '*dankai no sedai*' and most Japanese people who lived at that time. Ishitobi writes, 'When the tower is finally completed and the children become adults, the growth of Japan ends. Contemporary Japanese are well aware that the time was the climax (*shūchakueki*) of the dreams and hopes' (Ishitobi 2005: 59 my translation). In other words, it may have been somewhat inconvenient for the film to depict Japanese society after the completion of Tokyo Tower. Therefore, the children's hopes for the future at the time of the Tokyo Tower's construction are highlighted in this film. A representative example is the ending scene that indicates the Suzuki family's uncertain, but at the same time promising future by superimposing the image of Tokyo Tower nearing completion. As was shown earlier, Suzuki Norifumi still manages a small auto repair shop in spite of his intention to establish a big auto company and expand the enterprise globally. In the last scene, the Suzuki family takes a ride in a car along an embankment and then get out of the car. The parents and the son have a conversation on the embankment while watching the sunset.

**Ippei (son):** Today's sunset is beautiful, isn't it? The sunsets tomorrow and fifty years from now will be also beautiful, won't they?

**Tomoe (mother):** I wish they could be (*Sōda to īne*).

**Norifumi (Father):** I also wish they could be (*Sōda to īnā*).

After the conversation, the camera captures a twilight image of the Tokyo Tower nearing completion over the heads of the parents and the son. Thus, it can be stated that the ending makes it possible for the audiences to imagine an open and optimistic future by associating the image of the nearly-finished Tokyo Tower with the hopes of ordinary people at that time.

What is rather interesting here is that in the sequel film *Always: Sunset on Third Street Part 2 (Ōruweizu: zoku sanchōme no yūhi)* which was released in 2007, Tokyo Tower is once again given a particularly unfinished character despite the fact that the sequel is set in the period when the construction of Tokyo Tower was already completed. This means that the kind of 'delaying tactics' adopted in the original film are continued in the sequel. If the series of films intended to stress the perpetuity of the dreams and hopes of the people who lived at that time, it is understandable that both films consciously avoid depicting the image of the completed Tokyo Tower. The conversation between Norifumi and Ippei in the first scene of the sequel is probably the best example of symbolically representing the prolongation of hopes. Ippei anxiously asks Norifumi to take him over to Tokyo Tower, which has been completed shortly before. But Norifumi turns down his son's appeal, saying, 'This is no time for that (*sore dokoro ja nēnda*). I'll take you to Tokyo Tower someday (*Tokyo tawā wa sono uchi da*)'. Nevertheless, Ippei continues to beg his father to take him over to the tower. Norifumi asks a neighbour to persuade Ippei to give up the request; the woman tells Ippei, 'Tokyo Tower will not disappear, so there is no need to be in such a hurry'. Getting angry with Ippei, who still does not give up the appeal, Norifumi tells him to go to the Tower by himself and climb up to the observation platform by spending his own pocket money if he really does want to. As a result, it is not until the final scene of the sequel that Ippei manages to climb up to the Tokyo Tower's observation platform with his family. What does this actually indicate? Tokyo Tower is probably within walking distance of the house of Norifumi and Ippei; nevertheless, the sequel appears to consciously delay their visit to the tower. These 'delaying tactics', which are carried over from the prequel, particularly exploiting the image of an unfinished Tokyo Tower, may enable audiences to expect that hopes will last eternally. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the 'delaying tactics' are adopted by the filmmakers with the intention of disguising the fact that the Tokyo Tower has been completed. In other words, the image of the finished Tower may be inconvenient for the filmmakers and audiences for certain reasons. The filmmakers may be well aware that, as Ōsawa (2008) argues, Japan's post-war growth did not continue for so long and the Japanese cannot seek 'salvation' any more. Consequently, it appears well worth further exploring the reason the image of the finished tower is actually inconvenient for the media producers.

## Unfinished Image and Mourning

After the success of *Always: Sunset on Third Street* in 2005, numerous films focusing on the late Shōwa period, particularly the 1960s and '70s, have been produced. The 2007 film *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* (*Tokyo tawā, okan to boku to tokidoki otōn*) based on the best-selling autobiographical novel by Lily Franky is probably the most popular and successful film among them. *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* was not only a hit but was also adjudged Best Picture of the Year at 2008's Japan Academy Awards. As the title indicates, this film focuses on a family that lives near Tokyo Tower, and the tower frequently appears in the film. It must be noted that the unfulfilled aspirations of the characters are emphasized more in *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* than in *Always: Sunset on Third Street*, since the former clearly depicts the hero's regret by metaphorically exploiting the image of Tokyo Tower. The main character I (*boku*) (Odagiri Jō), who was born in the 1960s in the Kyushu countryside, is the only son (and only child) of his mother (*okan*) (Kiki Kirin) and father (*otōn*) (Kobayasi Kaoru). The story begins in the hero's early childhood in the 1960s. He was in practice raised by his mother on her own because his father left the house when he was a child. In later years, he moves to Tokyo by himself when he joins an art college there. Although he is financially dependent on his poor mother, who manages to earn a living by working as a dishwasher in a local pub, he is idle and does not study seriously at the college. After repeating a year and placing an additional financial burden on his mother, he graduates and begins to be financially independent by earning a living as a radio DJ. However, his mother is struck by cancer; he, therefore, invites her to Tokyo and lives with her for the first time in years. Although his mother adjusts to a new life in the capital city, her medical condition worsens. The protagonist has his mother admitted to a hospital, from where she is able to see Tokyo Tower nearby. The mother dies in the hospital room after a while.

Tokyo Tower appears at the beginning of *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* just as it does in *Always: Sunset on Third Street*, but is represented more metaphorically in this film. The first shot of this film is a close-up of a photograph of Tokyo Tower just after its completion and the hero's father in his young days. His father, with a guitar in his hand, smiles with Tokyo Tower in the background. The camera zooms in on the Tower in the photograph. The film does not necessarily give us a detailed description, yet the picture and voice-over narration indicates that the father, who is hopeful about the future, came to Tokyo from the countryside when he was young. As the film advances, however, it becomes clear that the father never gets ahead in life. Consequently, it also becomes evident that he was not able to realize the dreams held in his young days. Hence, it can be said that the photograph of Tokyo Tower is used as a metaphor for the unfulfilled dreams of his youth. The photograph is repeatedly seen in the film. For example, the main protagonist in his boyhood looks at this picture when he visits his father's house. This scene implies that the protagonist might go to Tokyo someday to achieve his own ambitions despite the fact that his father was forced to abandon his dreams. Thus, the film exploits Tokyo Tower as a metaphor for

common adolescent dreams and ambitions that are not yet realized but at the same time can often be broken or thwarted.

What is most significant in this film is probably its ending. Although the main character, who has not been to Tokyo Tower, makes a promise to his mother that they will visit Tokyo Tower together, she dies of cancer just before they can make their visit. After the hero picks up his mother at Tokyo Station when she comes to Tokyo for treatment, they drive near Tokyo Tower. He tells her that he has not been to the Tokyo Tower observation deck, but he promised her that he will take her there soon. Then, he has his mother admitted to a hospital, from which she can see the Tower nearby. Just after she enters the hospital, the film portrays both the protagonist and his mother gazing at the tower and then a voice-over from the protagonist states: 'This is the hospital that sits in the shadow of Tokyo Tower. This, as a result, is the last place my mother lived in'. Thus, the film announces beforehand that the mother will die in the hospital room. She is never given the chance to visit the tower. This means that the protagonist's promise to his mother is never fulfilled. In other words, the dream of visiting the Tokyo Tower's observation deck is postponed indefinitely for both the son and the mother. Thus, on a superficial level it appears that the possibility of realizing a dream is virtually eliminated in *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* although *Always: Sunset on Third Street* allows for limitless possibilities by adopting ingenious 'delaying tactics'.

Strictly speaking, however, this is not necessarily correct. In fact, *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* gives audiences a rather unique solution opening to the future. The hero goes up to the Tokyo Tower's observation deck accompanying his mother's *ihai* (mortuary tablet or spirit tablet) just after her death. An *Ihai*, indigenous to East Asian countries, is a small wooden tablet used to designate a posthumous Buddhist name after a person's death. It is generally a special object used to worship the dead, since, in Buddhist countries, the soul of the dead is believed to dwell in it (Hasegawa 2008: 59). *Ihai* has been surmised to have its origin in Chinese Confucianism and then have been introduced to Buddhism (Hasegawa 2008: 59). Although worship of remote ancestors has been dwindling with the decline of religious belief becoming common in contemporary Japanese society, the intention to mourn individually for dead family members has been growing, according to Inoue Haruyo (Inoue 2007). That is why it is common for contemporary Japanese to greatly respect *ihai* and to give it recognition equivalent to that for antemortem relatives. Therefore, it can be stated that a visit somewhere carrying *ihai* is not only an act of physical movement but also one of serious mourning or commemoration. In that respect, the ending sequence of this film is worthy of close investigation.

What is important here is that the story of *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* is not recognized as a narrative from an entertaining film but as a common narrative for contemporary Japanese. Lily Franky, a Japanese novelist who wrote the novel on which the film was based, selling two million copies, states, 'I believe this story is common to all people. When I talked with the readers of my novel, I found that most of them think the story is applicable to their own family' (Lily 2007: 22 my translation). Moreover, after reading the novel, Kuze Teruhiko, a well known television producer and novelist, confessed in his book

review, 'I wept. ... This is the Bible written in *hiragana* (the Japanese cursive syllabary)'. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to argue that the basic narrative of this film and novel is closely tied in with the Japanese collective consciousness. Although the hero loses his mother, he is given a chance to mourn her by visiting Tokyo Tower with her *ihai*. Mourning also does have a relationship with the collective consciousness (Boym 2001). Svetlana Boym introduces the concept of 'reflective nostalgia' and argues that collective frameworks of memory are evoked by mourning. Boym writes as follows.

One becomes aware of the collective frameworks of memories when one distances oneself from one's community or when that community itself enters the moment of twilight. Collective frameworks of memory are rediscovered in mourning. Freud made a distinction between mourning and melancholia. Mourning is connected to the loss of a loved one or the loss of some abstraction, such as a homeland, liberty or an ideal. Mourning passes with the elapsing of time needed for the 'work of grief'. In mourning 'deference to reality gains the day', even if its 'behest cannot be at once obeyed'. In melancholia the loss is not clearly defined and is more unconsciousness.... Reflective nostalgia has elements of both mourning and melancholia. While its loss is never completely recalled, it has some connection to the loss of collective frameworks of memory. Reflective nostalgia is a form of deep mourning that performs a labor of grief both through pondering pain and through play that points to the future (Boym 2001: 54-55).

Thus, mourning and collective frameworks of memory are closely interrelated. At the same time, Boym argues that people become aware of collective frameworks of memory when a community 'enters the moment of twilight'. In addition, according to Weissberg, collective memory 'often becomes a form of mourning and a paradoxical sign of loss' (Weissberg 1999: 22). The arguments of Boym and Weissberg are applicable to Japan's current social climate, which has been seriously damaged by the burst of the bubble economy, the so-called 'lost decade' of the 1990s, and the ongoing financial crisis, although Japan enjoyed economic prosperity and development before the early 1990s. At any rate, if a narrative of Shōwa nostalgic media is a kind of collective mourning, it cannot be discussed without taking Japan's dramatic social transformation and its social loss into consideration. But, in what manner do the Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products commemorate the past through mourning for the dead, as represented in *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad?* According to Katriel, a 'memory orientation' to the past 'involves the invocation of the past through ritualized actions designed to create an atemporal sense of the presence of the past in the present — in other words, the past mythologized' (Katriel 1999: 99-100). The ritualized characteristics of the protagonist's visit to Tokyo Tower with his mother's *ihai* appear to succeed in making the narrative an 'atemporal' myth. In other words, there is a possibility that the ritualized final scenes of both the film and the novel are intended to detach the plot from actual reality and to offer the audience and readership extraordinary experiences. Consequently, it is well worth noting that both the 'atemporality' of *Tokyo Tower:*



*Mom, I and sometimes Dad* and the ‘delaying tactics’ of *Always: Sunset on Third Street* appear to intentionally exclude Japan’s actual past reality and prefer an unfinished or imaginary future. It can be surmised that the major Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural projects have a tense relationship with the actual Shōwa reality; they may even be said to be in conflict with and somewhat in opposition to the actual past for some reason, even though they are generally thought of as stereotyped nostalgic representations merely longing for the recent past. It is remarkable that a piece of nostalgic media discontented with its period of focus is recognized as a contemporary Japanese ‘Bible’.

As far as *Tokyo Tower: Mom, I and sometimes Dad* is concerned, the tense relationship with the actual past may be related to a discontent with modernity, because of its tragic ending that depicts the death of the protagonist’s mother. There are numerous other Shōwa nostalgic films involving tragic elements, even though they, on the surface, yearn for past days. Typical examples are *Fallen Snow (Nagori yuki)* (2002), *Love Filled in My Heart (Kono mune ippai no aiwo)* (2005), *Taking the Underground (Metoro ni notte)* (2006), *Curtain Call (Kāten kōru)* (2006), *First Love (Hatsukoi)* (2006), *Yellow Tears (Kiroi namida)* (2007) and *GS Wonderland (Jī esu wandārando)* (2008). According to Eagleton (2003), a tragic narrative is an antithesis of modernity and reflects the contradiction of modernity, although tragedy itself is an attribute of the essence of modernity.

(i)f it[tragedy] is of absolute value, whether alive or dead, it is because it represents a reaction to modern barbarism. It is just that what it complains of in that era is usually science, democracy, liberalism, and social hope rather than injustice, exploitation and military aggression. In this sense, it remains bound to the very social forms which it disowns.... Yet modernity never really needed reminding of tragedy. To assume so is to reduce a complex formation to a single, crassly triumphalist doctrine, a grand narrative of progress which rides roughshod over individual lives. Arthur Schopenhauer recounted one such grand narrative, that of the Will, but there was nothing teleological about it, and certainly nothing triumphant. On the contrary, it was one of the most remorselessly tragic fables which modern history has witnessed. It is a mistake to suppose that all grand narratives are forever striving onwards and upwards. Though modernity recounts several such tales, they do not exhaust its narrative repertoire. There are also stories to be told of deadlock, contradiction, self-undoing, which represent the dark underside of the fables of progress (Eagleton 2003: 206207).

Thus, tragedy has a close relationship with modernity and its relation with modernity is rather complicated and even equivocal; tragedy is critical of modernity although tragedy is a modern attribute. As far as the relationship between tragedy and Japanese society is concerned, Standish, analysing a ‘tragic hero’ in Japan’s post-war films, argues that the major characteristics of the ‘tragic hero’, as typified by self-sacrifice and excessive masculinity, are exploited in the films in order to re-position the war experience and even resolve the social contradiction in post-war Japan; as a result the ‘tragic hero’ narrative has ‘through repetition,

reached mythic significance' (Standish 2000: 200). Therefore, it can be surmised that the tragic elements of Shōwa nostalgic films are consciously adopted by filmmakers in order to resolve certain Japanese social contradictions of the beginning of the twenty-first century. Furthermore, if grand narrative, progress, rational thinking, and secularity are typical characteristics of modernity, ambiguity, incompleteness, ritualized mourning, and tragedy may be a sign of discontent or friction with modernity. Yet, even if this is correct, what aspects of modernity are these Shōwa nostalgic media actually discontented with?

The possibilities of what can be argued in this paper may be limited; nevertheless, it can at least be surmised that Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products resist the accomplished history of Japan, particularly after the period of Tokyo Tower's completion, that is to say, after the 1960s while superficially yearning for that time in terms of stereotypes. In other words, the antagonism towards Japan's post-war history may make these nostalgic media producers create a kind of revised historical narrative of Japan's post-war society or a counter-narrative to a dominant understanding of post-war development. It is true that certain Japanese intellectuals born before World War Two are critical of the rapid economic development of the post-war period. Ozawa Shōichi (2008), a well-known actor and celebrated essayist, criticizes the unprecedented economic development of the post-war era when he refers to the popularity of the film *Always: Sunset on Third Street*.

They say that *Always: Sunset on Third Street* focuses on Tokyo Tower and longs for those days. This has to be a joke (*Jyodan ja nai ne*). As far as I am concerned, Japan has only become worse after that time. After the war was over, Japanese began to aspire to be a cultured nation (*bunka kokka*). ... Although the people aimed at a becoming cultured nation, suddenly they began to lay emphasis on the economy. At the beginning, I thought that Japan wanted to be a cultural power because it failed as a military power; nevertheless, Japan as a result began to be an economic superpower. It was just when Tokyo Tower appeared on Tokyo's skyline that Japan also began to be an economic powerhouse. That is the reason the pre-war Shōwa landscape that I really loved disappeared completely (Ozawa 2008: 130 my translation).

Such arguments that pre-war Japan was better than that of the post-war era are supported by few people and are particularly espoused by certain intellectuals; hence, Ozawa's argument is not necessarily commonly agreed with by the vast Japanese majority. This is mainly because most intellectuals who lived through the war searched their souls deeply after it was over, as they felt that they were completely helpless in the face of its cruelty. Consequently, they often criticized themselves through their post-war literature and at the same time were careful to avoid idealizing pre-war Japan. As far as this paper is concerned, the criticism of the post-war economic development does not necessarily need to be directly linked to the longing for the pre-war era because there may be other reasons the Shōwa nostalgic media prefer representing unfinished narratives. However, it cannot be overlooked that Japan's post-war economic 'heyday' does not necessarily satisfy the Japanese

who lived at that time but rather arouses their antipathy.

However, why is there an increase of Shōwa nostalgic media focusing on that time? What do its audience and creators actually long for? As shown earlier, people become conscious of collective frameworks of memory when a community ‘enters the moment of twilight’ (Boym 2001: 54). In addition, collective nostalgia commonly arises in order to maintain socio-historic continuity when an unfortunate historic event or sudden social change, such as war, depression, or a massive natural disaster, happens, according to Davis (1979).

Allowing then that we are susceptible to feelings of anxiety and concern for our future selves when we are brought up short by some untoward historic event or intrusive social change, it can be seen how at the most elemental level collective nostalgia acts to restore, at least temporarily, a sense of sociohistoric continuity with respect to that which had verged on being rendered discontinuous (Davis 1979: 103-104).

Therefore, it would be rather understandable if the Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products simply yearned for Japan’s economic glory days before the ‘lost decade’ of the 1990s. However, the reality is somewhat different because the nostalgic media may be discontented with the result of those days for some reason and prefer particular images of the unfinished. In this regard, the argument Frederic Jameson makes may be relevant. Jameson presents the unique concept of ‘nostalgia for the present’ in his essay of the same name. ‘Nostalgia for the present’ is a complex term generated by his unique speculation that the sense contemporary people ‘have of themselves and their own moment of history may ultimately have *nothing* whatsoever to do with its reality’ (Jameson 1989: 520). According to Jameson, there are longings for the unexperienced and unfinished past and even for the present. Jameson cites popular science fiction novels, particularly those of Philip K. Dick, as typical examples and argues that these science fiction novels do not necessarily depict the future but the present; this is because, for Jameson, people cannot experience historical moments any more and ‘historicity is neither a representation of the past nor a representation of the future (although its various forms *use* such representation): it can first and foremost be defined as a perception of the present as history’ (Jameson 1989: 523). That is why Jameson argues the particular concept of ‘nostalgia for the present’. The concept deserves attention because Jameson, who is sceptical of historicity, does not necessarily overlook the values of memory and history but uniquely emphasizes them. Jameson states:

Perhaps what is implied is simply an ultimate historicist break-down, and that we can no longer imagine the future at all, under any form, Utopian as well as catastrophic. Under those circumstances, a formerly futurological Science Fiction (such as “cyberpunk” today) turns into mere “realism” and an outright representation of the present; the possibility Dick offered us of an experience of our present as past and as history is slowly excluded. Yet everything in our culture suggests that we have not, for all that, ceased to be preoccupied by history; indeed, at the very moment in which we complain

of the eclipse of historicity, we also universally diagnose contemporary culture as irredeemably historicist, in the bad sense of an omnipresent and indiscriminate appetite for dead styles and fashions, indeed for all the styles and fashions of a dead past (Jameson 1989: 525–526).

Although it is quite complex, Jameson's argument is based on a critical attitude towards contemporary society, which, he believes, is lacking reality and meaning. An ahistorical sense caused by the lack of reality in daily lives makes contemporary people yearn for the meaningful present, but the effort is in vain. Although Jameson is known for his criticism of postmodernity, he is generally considered a postmodern thinker. Hal Foster argues that Jameson's thoughts belong to 'a postmodernism of resistance' not 'a postmodernism of reaction' (Foster 1985: x); hence, it may be appropriate to understand that Jameson seeks to deconstruct and criticize modernity. It appears that Jameson's 'nostalgia for the present' has something in common with Shōwa nostalgic media; both are critical of the actual daily experience of modernity. However, the distance of 'pastiche', another of Jameson's concepts, from Shōwa nostalgic media and cultural products must be noted. As Foster argues, Jameson's 'pastiche' suggests that 'we wish to be recalled to times less problematic than our own' (Foster 1985: xii). On the other hand, Shōwa nostalgic media do not necessarily argue the recent past is 'less problematic' than the present day. As shown above, certain intellectuals yearn for Japan's pre-war period, particularly the early Shōwa period, but there are almost no media products that express nostalgia for the early Shōwa period. Almost all of them shed light on the late Shōwa period, nevertheless they are somewhat discontented with the result of those days, probably Japan's post-war history and adhere to particular images of the unfinished. Thus, by analysing certain representations of Tokyo Tower in films, magazines and theme parks, this paper has clarified mixed emotions the Shōwa nostalgic media have about the late Shōwa period despite the fact that the period is exactly their target of nostalgia.

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## モダニティと未完性

### —『昭和ノスタルジア』メディアにおける東京タワーの表象—

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今世紀に入り、昭和30年代前後を舞台にした映画、テレビ番組、テーマパーク、町おこし、観光、雑誌等の文化産業が盛んである。200万人を動員した映画『ALWAYS 三丁目の夕日』の大ヒットから、町おこしの一環として『昭和の町』を再現し、全国的な観光地化に成功した大分県豊後高田市の試みなど枚挙に暇がない。これらは『昭和30年代ブーム』と総称され、社会現象化した様相を呈しているが、一般的には、団塊の世代などによる青春期の懐古を基調にしたステレオタイプのノスタルジー表象に過ぎないと考えられがちで、先行研究、言説においても、必ずしも詳細な内容分析がなされているとは言い難い。しかしながら「昭和ノスタルジア」メディア作品の多くは、素朴なノスタルジーとは、いささか異なる固有の特徴を備えている。その一つとして、戦後復興のシンボルとして、東京タワーが題材として好まれるが、タワーが表象される際、その完成形ではなく、未完性が強調されることが挙げられる。

本研究では、代表的なノスタルジア映画である『ALWAYS 三丁目の夕日』『東京タワー～オカンとボクと時々オトン～』や主要なレトロ・テーマパーク、雑誌を取り上げ、そこで描かれる東京タワーの表象を、メディア研究、文化社会学の観点から分析する。そして『昭和ノスタルジア』メディアが、戦後日本の発展の未完性を強調しており、ノスタルジア・メディアが、一般に考えられているような当時への素朴なノスタルジーとはやや異なり、むしろ戦後史との不親和的側面を備えていることを議論する。具体的には、イーグルトンが言うようなモダニティの属性であると同時にモダニティへの自己批判の表象形態である悲劇性や、世界各国のクリティカルな記憶表象で顕著に見られるようになってきた、儀式的な服喪を通して集合的記憶のフレークワークを発見する作業などを通して、モダニティへの再帰的な関わりにも通じる独自の表象が試みられている可能性があることを議論したい。

キーワード：ノスタルジア、昭和、東京タワー、メディア、ナラティブ、モダニティ、ポストモダニティ、集合的記憶、悲劇性、未完性、服喪、イーグルトン、ジェイムソン

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