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Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 5 (2004): 153–165.



PAJLS 5: Hermeneutical Strategies: Methods of Interpretation in the Study of Japanese Literature. Ed. Michael F. Marra.

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INTRODUCTION

The dominant critical narratives concerning modernism in Japan have focused on "high" literary expression, most notably poetry, fiction and drama by such writers as Yokomitsu Riichi, Itō Sei, Hori Tatsuo, Ryūtanji Yū, Nishiwaki Jun'zaburō and Osanai Kaoru in the 1920s and early 1930s. Moreover, many critics adopt a conception of modernism as defined by Western precedents such as the works of James Joyce, Marcel Proust, T.S. Eliot and German Expressionist theatre, among others. Or to state the matter more precisely, these critics approach Japanese texts hermeneutic of conformity to Western achievement. through а Supplementing arguments about the formal influence of Western texts and expressive practices on Japanese literature, Hirano Ken (1907-1978) in the1940s-60s discussed Japanese modernism (i.e., kindai-shugi or modanizumu) as a cultural force or ideology that vied for dominance against both the established school of what he called "realist literature" (or I-novels and shinkyo shosetsu that fall within the lineage of the earlier Naturalist movement)¹ and the newly emerging movement of Proletarian literature. In doing so, he drew attention to the political and ideological contestation that marks Japanese literary production during the early decades of the twentieth century. Despite his expanded critical scope, however, Hirano never moves beyond the realm of "high" cultural production. Consequently, his "tripod" diagram consisting of works of the Naturalist lineage, Modernism and Proletarian literature remains an incomplete picture of Japanese literature of the 1920s and 1930s because it neglects popular literary works that were equally influenced by, and equally sought to respond to, the large-scale changes that took place in society during the period.²

¹ In a 1963 essay, Hirano described it as "the existing realist literature (*kisei riarizumu bungaku*) that is represented by I-novel." Hirano Ken, *Hirano Ken Zenshū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1975), p. 123.

² Hirano argues that *modanizumu* and proletarian literature both emerged to oppose the established realist literature. They also contended with each other, thereby forming a triangulated competition. (See, for example, Hirano 10-11.) This is what he metaphorically describes as "sanpa teiritsu" 三派鼎立

In this light, the methodological bias of existing approaches to "*modanizumu*," whether focusing solely on Japanese writers' fascination with the stylistic experiments of Western High Modernists, or simply characterizing the movement as one of three forces in highbrow literature, fails to recognize the significance of drastic changes in the material and conceptual infrastructure of modern Japanese society that also left their marks on cultural production at every socio-economic and educational level.

THE POLITICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

In The Practice of Everyday Life (1980), Michel de Certeau offers a set of reflections on the philosophical and political significance of mundane, quotidian activities. As he himself explains it, de Certeau seeks in this work "to make explicit the systems of operational combination (les combinatoires d'opérations) which also compose a 'culture,' and to bring to light the models of action characteristic of users whose status as the dominated element in society (a status that does not mean that they are either passive or docile) is concealed by the euphemistic term 'consumers.' "³ Most important for my purposes here, in the Practice of Everyday Life de Certeau suggests a method for apprehending the significance of commonplace and consumption-oriented activity within the larger processes of modernization in Japan. In more specifically literary terms, then, he offers a model for recognizing the importance of popular or vernacular cultural production as a form of "modernism." Building on the work of de Certeau, I want in this paper to explore some concrete methodologies for synthesizing certain information, such as sociological and economic data, that have heretofore been neglected in existing approaches to early twentieth-century Japanese literature, and to show how considering such data can enrich our understanding of the range of literary production from the1920s and 30s. My intention is not simply to apply Western theories to the Japanese socio-historico-cultural context in order to prove the universality of those theories. To the contrary, I will discuss the specificity of Japanese vernacular modernism as something that was influenced, stimulated, and elicited by Japan's own specific historical situation, including reactions to modernization, urbanization, and increasing technologization, as well as the influence of education on middle-class society.

^{(&}quot;triangular standing or tripod of three schools" or the "rivalry of three competing forces").

³ Michel de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. xi-xii.

CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY: THE CASE OF 1920S JAPAN

In her 1992 article, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," historian Miriam Silverberg discusses how academic ethnographers (in particular, Kon Wajirō and Gonda Yasunosuke) sought to develop an approach to culture as the product of everyday practices.⁴ She shows how these ethnographers took seriously consumer activity as a form of culture. Just as Silverberg's academic ethnographers recognized the importance of consumption, so too did the writers and editors of Shinseinen (New Youth).⁵ And their efforts represent another set of responses to the changes taking place at the time. In addition, through their various marketing and advertising strategies, the editors and writers of *Shinseinen* successfully blurred any clear-cut distinction between consumption and production as separate activities within the dynamics of capitalism. Indeed, for the writers and editors of Shinseinen, consumption played a major role in their very conception and production of culture. As an expressly commercial venture, the magazine not only responded to various market pressures, but it did so specifically as part of a burgeoning publication industry. Consequently, economic and sociological data about this period comprise important contextual information for understanding the logic of Shinseinen's approach to cultural production. In bringing such data to light, my point is not simply to show in some crude Marxist way how the economic base structure determines the cultural superstructure. Rather, I want to show the reciprocally determinative interaction of these two ostensibly separate spheres during this period in order to expand the scope of traditional approaches to "modernism" in Japan.

⁴ Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 51, No. 1 (Feb., 1992): 30-54.

⁵ In 1920, Hakubunkan, a leading publishing house since the Meiji period, started *Shinseinen* magazine to educate and inspire youngsters living in the countryside with the spirit of $sh\bar{u}y\bar{o}$. However, the editorial direction soon began to shift, and by 1923, the magazine's target audience changed to what was called "the new middle class," or the rapidly increasing numbers of young white-collar workers, which also included professional hopefuls living in larger cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. The magazine became famous for promoting the *tantei shōsetsu* (lit., detective fiction) genre, helping such writers as Edogawa Rampo, Kigi Takatarō and Hisao Jūran to debut and thrive as professional writers during the magazine's thirty-year run from 1920 to 1950.

PUBLICATION INDUSTRY

The Japanese economy during the 1920s was like a roller coaster, veering between periods of prosperity and hardship.⁶ Despite the down times, the publishing industry steadily grew throughout the decade⁷ as publishers took advantage of technological advancements in paper manufacturing, printing,⁸ binding and distribution, as well as low paper costs. Literacy rates had reached 98% by 1910,⁹ and in response publishers also employed a variety of tactics in order to gain the interest of the enlarged reading audience. Publication figures for periodicals provide one indication of the publishing industry's phenomenal growth during this

⁶ As James McClain states, "Japan's accelerating pace of industrialization and the growth of trade during World War I made the island nation more vulnerable than ever to fluctuations in the world economy, and a particularly severe recession followed on the heels of the wartime boom as export demand for war-related capital goods dried up and Western traders reclaimed their markets in southern Then, just as businesses were making a tolerable recovery from the Asia. postwar downturn, the Great Kanto Earthquake rocked Tokyo and surrounding cities on September 1, 1923....To stimulate reconstruction of the nation's industrial base, the Japanese government provided new sources of credit to banks, which then extended loans to businesses wishing to rebuild. Economic growth rates began to climb once again, but in the spring of 1927 rumors spread that banks holding the loans were in danger of collapse. In April panicky depositors began to withdraw their savings, and the government declared a three-week banking moratorium as dozens of lending institutions shuttered their doors. Over the following year the financial sector got its balance sheets back in order, only to see the Japanese economy engulfed in the worldwide depression that followed the 1929 crash of the U.S. stock market." James L. McClain, Japan, A Modern History (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), pp. 359-361.

⁷ For details, see Suzuki Toshio, *Shuppan* (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsusha, 1970), pp. 170-187.

⁸ In the newspaper industry, for instance, the 1920s was the period of rapid technologization. Asahi Newspaper Company started purchasing printing machines (rotary press machines) that were capable of printing 80,000 issues per hour. As of 1927, Asahi had fifteen such machines in its Tokyo facilities. In 1928, in response to the positive sales of the newspaper, Mainichi Newspaper purchased machines that printed 120,000 copies per hour. (The New Year's Day issue of *Ōsaka Maichi* Newspaper sold 1,500,000 copies.) See Wada Hirofumi, "Masu-media to *modanizumu,*" 20-seiki no bungaku 2, Iwanami kōza Nihon bungaku-shi, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), p. 331.

⁹ Wada 332. The level of terminal degree shifted from the elementary school degree to middle school and college level in the first two decades in the twentieth century when the government promulgated the regulations to approve vocational schools (*jitsugyō gakkō*), higher women's schools ($k\bar{o}t\bar{o} jogakk\bar{o}$) and both private and public colleges/universities.

period. In 1920, the number of the periodicals registered under the Publication Law (*shuppan hō*) had already reached 22,412. By 1929, it rose as high as 37,402.¹⁰ An approximate ratio of non-periodicals (i.e., regular books) to periodicals remained 2:3 throughout the decade.¹¹ In addition to a rise in the number of different periodicals, the number of copies sold also rapidly increased. For example, the total number of copies sold for the eighty major periodicals combined amounted to 48,600,000 in 1929.¹² The major magazines included the more established magazines published since the Meiji Period such as *Kaizō*, *Shinchō*, *Taiyō*, *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, *Fujin kōron*, *Shufu no tomo*, *Fujin kurabu*, *Shōnen kurabu*, as well as such newcomers as *Shinseinen*, *Bungei shunjū*, and the famous popular magazine, *Kingu*.¹³ The most popular ones are said to have sold between 100,000 and 200,000-plus copies per month.¹⁴

In addition, during the famous "*enpon*" boom, more than three hundred "collected works" and "complete works" were published, stimulating the desire of the new middle class to be cultured. Thus, during the 1920s and 30s, commercial publication emerged on an entirely new scale as an arena within which writers and readers alike sought to address the challenges of modernity through an expanded print market. To ignore what stood outside the realm of the so-called "pure" literary publications is to ignore the larger portion of the literary activities taking place in the interwar period.

Shinseinen

As competition among the various publications became increasingly fierce, publishers lowered the prices of their publications. Moreover, a number of magazines increased the number of pages in each number, resulting in more than 700 pages per issue, accompanied by *furoku*

¹⁰ "Taishō-ki shoseki, zasshi hakkō tensū (Naimushō keihokyoku nōhon uketsuke sū)" from *Nihon shuppan 100-nenshi nenpyō*. As quoted in Suzuki Toshio, *Shuppan*, pp. 178 and 215.

¹¹ Suzuki, pp. 178 and 215.

¹² This is according to a research conducted by Tokyo-dō and put together in *Nihon shuppan hanbai-shi* by Hashimoto Motome. It combines the sales of the seventy-eight to eighty-three major periodicals. (The number of the periodicals included varies depending upon the year.) The statistics do not specify which periodicals are included in the number. Hashimoto Motome, *Nihon Shuppan hanbai-shi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1964), p. 386.

¹³ Its inaugural issue in 1925 sold more than 740,000 copies, and circulation leaped up to 1,400,000 in 1928, bringing in great profit to its popular publisher, Kōdansha.

¹⁴ Nihon shuppan hanbaishi. Quoted in Suzuki Toshio, Shuppan, p. 183.

(supplement) booklets. In order to fill the vast number of pages in the magazines, the publishers started looking for more writers, especially those who could produce popular products quickly and abundantly. *Shinseinen* was no exception. At its height in the late 1920s to mid 1930s, the magazine enjoyed a circulation of 40,000 per issue. However, *Shinseinen* differentiated itself from other commercial magazines that targeted mass readership across a wide range of population brackets. Kōdansha Company's *Kingu* (King) sold 740,000 copies of its inaugural issue in 1925 and sold approximately a million copies of its monthly issues and 1.3 to1.5 million copies of special issues during the late 1920s to early 1930s;¹⁵ but its incredible sales were achieved by targeting a wide range of age brackets, as its advertisement (see Illustration #1) suggests.¹⁶

In contrast to the broadly popular approach of *Kingu*, *Shinseinen*'s target audience was "new youth," or young urbanites in their high teens and twenties who were finishing up their terminal degrees, just graduated and looking for a job, or earning a living as white-collar workers. The editors of *Shinseinen* sought to appeal to youngsters' interests (and oftentimes their anxieties and desperations), which during this period often centered around prospects for finding a job and receiving salaries.

Shinseinen's Target: Salaried Workers During the Job Shortage of the 1920s

Throughout the 1920s, employment rates for white-collar positions went through sharp up and down trajectories, following economic changes in the country. Andrew Gordon points out that "the first two decades of the twentieth century have been identified by some as the time of the 'birth

¹⁵ *Kingu* published monthly regular issues and occasional special issues like "New Year's Issue" and "Celebration of [Showa Emperor's] Enthronement Issue."

¹⁶ An advertisement for the inauguration of *Kingu* magazine reveals its target audience. It features a large picture of a family reading the magazine together. The middle-aged father and mother are sitting down with two sons and a daughter who appear to be of pre-school to elementary school age. Everyone is smiling and looking at the pages of the *Kingu* magazine in the father's hands. The catch phrases over the picture say: "It's come out! New Magazine *Kingu*; The Grandest Spectacle in the entire history of magazines; In Japan, [*Kingu* is] the most interesting! The most beneficial! The least expensive! [It has] the largest circulation!" (*Nippon-ichi omoshiroi! tame ni naru! Yasui! Ninhon-ichi no daibusū!*). *Kingu* carried an average of 400 pages of stories that could be enjoyed by a wide age range of readers and articles of practical information in each issue for only 50-sen per issue.

of the salaryman class,' "¹⁷ The term, sararîman first appeared in the 1910s as one of the several terms to refer to the salaried white-collar workers.¹⁸ According to Gordon, the proportion of office staff employee ("shokuin") positions in Tokyo increased dramatically from 6 percent in 1908 to 21 percent in 1920. Also in the 1920s and 30s, private sectors began to recruit graduates of vocational schools, higher schools and universities.¹⁹ Earl Kinmonth also points out that roughly "1 out of 5 nonagricultural male workers belonged to the shokuin category" in the 1920s.²⁰ As the number of such salaried white-collar workers increased, a large number of people's lives were affected by the economic ups and downs. For example, when the WWI economic boom was over in 1920, mass firings of white-collar workers in their clerical/managerial positions at large firms followed. When the economy improved and inflation occurred, middle-class workers' salaries did not rise to match such inflation rates. Gordon also notes that "the lower end of such middle-class occupations earned little more and sometimes less, than skilled male laborers in shipyards and machine shops, and that female typists were paid not much more than textile workers."²¹ As depicted in Ozu Yasujirō's film from 1929, Daigaku wa deta keredo (I Graduated From the University, But...), many youngsters who had just finished their terminal degrees (whether they were high school or college diplomas) were looking in vain for jobs in large cities.

Shinseinen's target audience starting in the mid-1920s fell into such a middle-class, especially young urbanites that were educated enough to qualify for white-collar jobs, but who were neither the top elite nor the rich bourgeois. An expressly commercial magazine, *Shinseinen* paid close attention to the anxieties and needs of such young readers, and steered its editorial direction accordingly. Among its various strategies, the magazine promoted the genre of *tantei shōsetsu* (detective fiction) as the literary

¹⁷ Andrew Gordon, "The Short Happy Life of the Japanese Middle Class," *Social Contracts Under Stress: The Middle Classes of America, Europe, and Japan at the Turn of the Century.* Edited by Olivier Zunz, Leonard Schoppa, and Nobuhiro Hiwatari (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002), p. 112.

¹⁸ "*Hōkyū seikatsusha*" (person līving on salary), and "*shin-chūkan kaikyū*" (mew middle class) are among other terms.

¹⁹ Gordon, pp. 112. According to Gordon, those graduates "include[d] not only the children of former samurai but also the offspring of the old middle class of urban shopkeepers and manufacturers and middling farmers in the countryside."

²⁰ Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 280. For more specific data, see especially footnote 7 on p. 280.

²¹ Gordon, p. 115.

vehicle or instrument most suitable to developing the skills necessary for negotiating modern society analytically and critically. Moreover, it called for readers' active participation in the further development of the genre by holding prize contests on original *tantei shōsetsu* and publishing critiques on those contributions by established critics and writers.²² By supplying information on various fields ranging from criminology and Marxism to the latest fashions, *Shinseinen* sought to provide ideological, scientific and literary guidance to its readers.²³

It is arguable that the origin of *tantei shosetsu* traces back to the old Chinese tales in *The Water Margin* from the 14th century. In terms of Western detective fiction, Kuroiwa Ruikō introduced the genre through translation to a Japanese readership as early as 1888. However, what is new here with Shinseinen is that it promoted the genre as the one most appropriate to the challenge of negotiating the condition of modernity. As various critics from both Japan and the West have long asserted, tantei shōsetsu (as well as detective fiction more generally) features a structure that inherently promotes reader participation through vicarious identification with the detective in the story as he or she engages in the puzzle-solving process. Similarly, critics and editors of Shinseinen argued that the process of vicariously solving the mysteries in urban everyday life provided readers the experience of coping with actual problems. On another level, moreover, one more important to my discussion in this paper, to read mystery fiction was presented as a way to gain an economic survival skill. Shinseinen featured various contests for readers to guess the criminal in a given story, to complete the dialogue in various cartoons, and to provide endings to relay stories. Most importantly, it encouraged its readers to submit their own tantei shosetu by holding prize contests. Contests for original *tantei shōsetsu* offered cash prizes ranging from the total of 500 to 1000 yen, thereby emphasizing that what a young reader learned was directly tied to participation in commodity society not only as a consumer, but as a producer.²⁴ The point here is that *Shinseinen* not only

²² Shinseinen published critiques and essays on *tantei shōsetsu* by various writers and critics, including Satō Haruo, Uchida Roan, Edogawa Rampo, Baba Kochō, Hasegawa Tenkei, Katō Takeo, Kosakai Fuboku, Kōga Saburō, Hagiwara Sakutarō and Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, as well as critical essays by Western critics such as Willard Huntington Wright (also known as S.S. Van Dine) and G.K. Chesterton.

²³ Illustration #2 is an announcement for a new serialization of such informational articles. It appeared in *Shinseinen*'s number seven (June) issue in 1927, and it lists twelve articles (e.g., social science, the theory of evolution, astronomy, music, literature and forensic medicine) by an expert in each field.

²⁴ See Illustration #3.

provided literary works and articles for entertainment purposes, but it connected the activity of reading and writing to the commercialist enterprise. In light of this use of expressly capitalist strategies, the critical essays on tantei shosetsu and educational articles on different aspects of science and technology functioned as a kind of conceptual infrastructure or scaffolding for readers as they participated in the development of the genre. Even the advertisements seen in the issues marketed not only commodities but also knowledge and skills. For example, as seen in Illustration #4, the magazine advertised jitsuyō hyakka (practical encyclopedia) that provided information and advice on topics ranging from public speaking, to investing skills for the stock market, to a correspondence course on the English language, along with other skills. Such strategies proved quite successful, as many prizewinners became regular Shinseinen contributors. Edogawa Rampo is probably the most successful case. Rampo experienced more than thirteen jobs in the eight years after his graduation from Waseda, prior to the acceptance of his work by Shinseinen.²⁵ Some contributors became unofficial and even professional editorial staff members. Yokomizo Seishi, for example, was a reader who eventually became the editor-in-chief. In fact, most of Shinseinen's editors began as readers who successfully submitted *tantei shosetsu*. When they became official or unofficial editorial staff, most of them were still in their twenties.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ON WRITERS AS WORKERS: HIRABAYASHI HATSUNOSUKE'S IDEAS AND HIS POSITION IN THE MAKING OF *SHINSEINEN*

As a consequence of this explicit engagement with market forces, the issue of a legal contract between writers and their employers started to gain attention in commercial magazines and newspapers more frequently and openly – that is, the issue was not limited to a coterie audience composed of fellow or aspiring writers. For example, in such essays as "Geijutsu no shokugyō-ka ni tsuite" (On Putting Art on a Commercial Basis; 1924) and "Bungaku no shokugyō-ka to saitei genkōryō mondai" (Putting Literature on a Commercial Basis and the Issue of the Minimum Wage for Manuscript Fees; 1929), Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke argued for the necessity of setting a minimum wage for writers and founding a union in order to protect writers in capitalist society.²⁶ The principal theorist of

 ²⁵ Edogawa Rampo, *Tantei shösetsu shijūnen 1*, Edogawa Rampo Zenshū vol. 20 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1979), pp. 21-24.
²⁶ Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, *Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke bungei hyöron Zenshū*

²⁶ Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke bungei hyöron Zenshū (Tokyo: Bunsendö Shoten, 1975). "Geijutsu no shokugyō-ka ni tsuite" originally appeared in the September 1924 issue of Zuihitsu, and "Bungaku no shokugyō-ka to saitei genköryō mondai" appeared in the January 1929 issue of Shinchō.

tantei shōsetsu as the modernist genre par excellence, and also the unofficial advisor for *Shinseinen*, Hirabayashi thus explicitly ties commercial and labor concerns to cultural ones in the form of the genre. Consequently, the newly pervasive practice of establishing legal and financial "contracts" with salaried workers (i.e. writers) for the cultural commodity of texts functions as an important site where the economic, ideological and cultural spheres all intersected and helped to shape each other during the period of *modanizumu*.

CONCLUSION

For the writers of the interwar years, modernity had begun to prevail in many aspects of everyday life. It was not merely the result of a unidirectional Western influence, but a consequence of changes wrought by the hastening pace of urbanization and the development of mass commodity society. Thus, the desire to move beyond the status quo of literary traditions and norms was driven less by artistic demands of following the West than by the need to find ways to survive as participants in a capitalist, commodity-oriented and consumerist society. Modernists felt the need to negotiate modernity not only in literature, but also as individuals in modern times. Modern life put young writers in a situation where they were dealing with the capitalist world both as consumers and producers of literary art. The established picture of the interwar Japanese literary world has centered on the struggle between three contending literary camps - bundan pure literature, avant-garde literature and proletarian literature. However, when we consider the influence of capitalist society on people at large, together with the fact that writers were no exception to this influence, we cannot ignore "popular" and "commercial" literary works without seriously limiting our understanding of Japanese literary expression.



Illustration #1: Kingu (King) advertisement

Illustration #2: Announcement for a new serialization, "Shinseinen shumi kōza"

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Illustration #3: Announcement for a Prize Contest

Illustration #4: "Practical Encyclopedia" Advertisement



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