

Reshaping the Social Memory of the Miyuki-zoku: The Agents and the Reconstruction Process Focusing on the Interaction and Roles of VAN, *Heibon Punch*, Other Media, and Audience

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Abstract

In the early summer of 1964, a band of young men and women suddenly appeared on a street in Ginza, Tokyo's high-end shopping district. Called the Miyuki-zoku after the name of the street, Miyuki-dori, today it is often mentioned that this tribe of young people were related to *Heibon Punch* and VAN from the very start. This study, however, attempts to show that an economic group under the framework of fashion brand VAN reconstructed the group memory of the Miyuki-zoku and delivered this to media; the media in turn carried articles on this reconstructed memory without checking the facts; the readers of this published memory then accepted these narratives as comfortable personal memory; and as a result of such interactions, after the mid 1980s, the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku was reconstructed from a negative and anti-social memory to a positive "afterthought memory" of a stylish youth culture.

Keywords: VAN, *Heibon Punch*, social memory, collective memory, Miyuki-zoku, youth culture, Japan ヴァン 平凡パンチ 社会的記憶 集合的記憶 みゆき族 若者文化 日本

1. Introduction: The Positioning of This Study

In the early summer of 1964 a band of young men and women suddenly appeared on Miyuki-dori, a street in Tokyo's high-end shopping district of Ginza. They were called the "Miyuki-zoku" after the name of the street ("zoku" can be translated as "tribe"). In the social memory of the year 2012, the Miyuki-zoku are a distinctive youth culture, dressed in the Ivy League style of fashion brand VAN and popularized by the magazine, *Heibon Punch*. And they are generally understood to have been a youth culture of the exuberant age right before the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

In contrast, this study attempts to show that at that time, in 1964, the print media had given a negative appraisal of the Miyuki-zoku; individuals with economic interests grouped under the framework of fashion brand VAN (economic group under the framework of fashion brand VAN)¹ reconstructed the

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group memory of the Miyuki-zoku and delivered this to media; the media in turn carried articles on this reconstructed memory without checking the facts; the readers of this published memory then accepted these narratives as comfortable personal memory; and as a result of such interactions, after the mid 1980s, the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku was reconstructed from a negative and anti-social memory to a positive one of a stylish youth culture as what could be called an “afterthought memory.” This study also takes into perspective the process by which adults, who were youth at that time, acquired a reshaped, “afterthought” identity by accepting this transformed social memory of the Miyuki-zoku. This approach opens a perspective that differs from the linear argument that the youth-targeted magazine, *Heibon Punch*, constructed the youth culture, Miyuki-zoku. This study focuses its analysis on the relationship between the Miyuki-zoku, *Heibon Punch*, and VAN, and avoids broad discussion of youth culture in Japan in the period following the end of World War II.

In considering such collective construction of memory, a valuable source of understanding is Maurice Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory². Collective memory is memory of the past recollected within the framework of the group to which the individual belongs (Halbwachs 1950/1989). This is the collectiveness of memory—an argument that sheds light on the subjective reconstruction of memory from the present time. Group identification is crucial in studies of collectiveness. This study’s topic, however, concerns memory that does not have a specific group affiliation and, moreover, is mediated by the media and journalism. Although this point was not overlooked by Halbwachs, it appears that his argument was hazy and lacked clear observations. Ono, Hayashi, and Nonaka (1997: 52-54, 1999: 52-53) categorized collective memory into “group memory” (*mémoire du groupe*), “social memory” (*mémoire sociale*), and “historical memory” (*mémoire historique*) based on Halbwachs (1925, 1950) and Namer (1994: 342-343). Group memory is collective memory in the specific sense of memory that is passed down and recollected by a specific group. Social memory is expressed in newspapers, magazines, posters, paintings, popular novels, textbooks and other media with the main role played by journalism. Rather than having a specific group guide this memory, it prevails throughout society as “public opinion” “atmosphere” and “spirit.” Historical memory only includes “nationally important events” and is expressed in “summarized and schematic form.” It serves as a kind of marker for recollection of dates and times. Although collective memory is categorized as such into these three types, in actuality, these categories overlap each other. Of these three categories, this paper uses the terms “group memory” and “social memory,” because these terms are effective when studying not only the “senders” of information, but the “receivers,” “mediators,” “selection,” and “interaction” as well.

2. Previous Research

This study refers to Sato (2002, 2005) and Shiozawa (2009) for their research on reconstruction of memory by the media, and Nanba (2007) for his analysis of the Miyuki-zoku as a youth culture.

In *King no jidai* [Age of King] (Sato 2002), Sato states that *King*, a high-circulation popular magazine before World War II, was a “womb for resonance, creating a common ‘memory’” (2002: 217), and takes up the example of the 1936 Berlin Olympics. He points out that *King* readers, who read announcer Sansei Kasai’s article on his live coverage of swimmer Hideko Maehata’s gold medal winning competition in which he shouted out “Ganbare [go for it]!” 23 times, are certain that they heard the live broadcast and

have a memory of this experience, although this did not happen (2002: 217-218). This example clearly indicates one of the features of collective memory in which magazines provide the opportunity for memory to be reshaped as an afterthought. In this *King* argument, Sato emphasizes that media creates memory.

Moreover, from his position of focusing on the role of the media, Sato indicates the following in *Hachigatsujugonichi no shinwa—shusenkinenbi no mediagaku* [The Myth of August 15: Media Studies on the Anniversary of the End of the Pacific War], an empirical and clear argument concerning how large of a role the media played in constructing the anniversary of the end of the war:

We position our experiences based upon “memory = history,” rearranged and reconstructed by the media. The memories of people who lived in the same age cannot exist freely outside the framework of “historical memory” reconstructed by the media . . . Memories of the individual are given meaning through documentation, monuments, novels, and TV dramas, and while incorporating the memories of the journalist himself, citations and recitations were done repeatedly, eventually resulting in the construction of the “history = memory” of the nation. (Sato 2005: 27)

Sato’s argument that people accept the memory reshaped and added as an afterthought by the media as their own experience is very useful. This view is used in this present study as well. On the other hand, perception of the impact of the media ranges from the position in which importance is placed on interaction with the information receiver, to that in which emphasis is placed on the media as the information sender. With regard to this point, this study is conducted from a different perspective from that of Sato.

In *Heibon Punch no jidai* [The Age of *Heibon Punch*] (Shiozawa 2009), a former member of the editorial staff of *Heibon Punch* writes about the life and death of the magazine, placing weight on the period from its premiere issue in 1964 to the beginning of the 1970s. It is a history of a youth culture that revolves around *Heibon Punch* and is based on data painstakingly collected through numerous interviews with relevant parties. Shiozawa’s subjective narrative can be perceived as group memory recollected within the framework of the group of insiders who made *Heibon Punch*.

Touching upon fashion articles in 1964, the year when the Miyuki-zoku appeared, he writes, “*Punch* played a large role in popularizing Ivy League fashion, but it also played a part in popularizing the Continental look” (2009: 267). He also quotes Mitsuhiro Matsuda, who established fashion brand Nicole in 1967: “I believe it was *Heibon Punch* that proposed and created what we call youth fashion, not specific trends like the Ivy League look” (2009: 274).

In *Zoku no keifugaku* [The Genealogy of the Tribes] (Nanba 2007), by reconstructing the memories of 11 tribes in postwar Japan in chronological order, Nanba drew a new picture of youth culture, which had seemed to be subsiding. With regard to the Miyuki-zoku, he focuses on the fact that this trend was a “groundbreaking phenomenon for youth (especially men) in their late teens to begin enjoying their own distinctive style of fashion” and constituted the “first of the youth subcultures to be generated by the baby boomers” (2007: 134). And from a memory construction perspective, he argues that “the men’s weekly, *Heibon Punch*, which was launched in 1964, played a significant role in generating the Miyuki-zoku” (2007: 139), and *Heibon Punch* was the magazine that would incubate the Miyuki-zoku (2007: 139-

144).

This present study does not discuss if the Miyuki-zoku were a youth culture or not. The author focuses not on whether the Miyuki-zoku were actually a youth culture, but on how the tribe is remembered in social memory. Needless to say, youth cultures are often initially met with negative reactions as countercultures. Therefore, the fact that they were taken up negatively by journalism and the mass media does not serve as reason for judgment that the Miyuki-zoku were not a youth culture. However, it should be noted that even *Heibon Punch*, which was accepted by young people because of its positive articles on countercultures, subcultures, and youth manners and customs, viewed the Miyuki-zoku in a negative way. It could be argued that this denial of the Miyuki-zoku resulted in the tribe's incubation, but Nanba does not take this perspective.

3. Appraisal of the Miyuki-zoku by *Heibon Punch* and VAN

3.1 Social memory of the Miyuki-zoku from 1964 to the mid 1980s

First, in order to learn how the information senders generally appraised the Miyuki-zoku in 1964, the author referred to magazine and newspaper articles from around that time. The common accounts found can be summarized as follows.

The Miyuki-zoku appeared around the Miyuki-dori street in Ginza, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, in the early summer of 1964,³ as a fad among teenagers perceived to be on the path to delinquency. Some 200 to 300 young men and women gathered on the streets mainly on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Some of them were addicted to cigarettes and/or sleeping pills, and some spent the night with the opposite sex in flophouses. There were also Miyuki-zoku girls who were involved in organized prostitution. The girls wore unbecoming long skirts and flat shoes. The boys had no particular style of fashion. The most conspicuous were those wearing close-fitting, short length pants, resembling *suteteko* (a loose, thin version of long johns). Their pants were worn short. There were styles that looked like a debased version of the Ivy League look as well as the Continental look. They carried VAN or JUN paper bags, or rice grain bags and jute bags referred to as vagabond bags. There are also articles that called them colorblind or gypsy beggars. In one word, these were people who wore "strange clothing" and were viewed in a negative manner not only by adults, but by people of their own generation as well. Due to complaints made by local shops, the Tsukiji Police Station implemented a crackdown in September, which led to their rapid decrease. The group had totally faded from the scene by October 10, the start of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. They were a fad that lasted for less than half a year.⁴

Although there is a range in the expressions used by the media, the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku is, by and large, quite negative. Next, in order to gain a general understanding of how the Miyuki-zoku were treated by journalism since 1964, the number of times the words "Miyuki-zoku" appeared in five daily newspapers was studied; these were the national newspapers, *Yomiuri*, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Sankei*, and the national economic newspaper, *Nikkei*.⁵ The results show that from the beginning of the 70s to the mid 80s, the Miyuki-zoku were hardly mentioned in the newspaper articles. During this time, the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku was transferred to the storage memory (Assmann 2007). But some 20 years later, from the mid 80s, this was moved to the functional memory (Assmann 2007)⁶, continuing

into the present day with peak reference in 2005 when the founder of VAN JACKET, Kensuke Ishizu, passed away.

3.2 Positioning of the Miyuki-zoku and Ivy League fashion in *Heibon Punch*

The first issue of *Heibon Punch* (published by Heibon Shuppan) was the May 11, 1964 issue, which came on sale on April 28. The premiere issue's "cover was drawn by Ayumi Ohashi: a pastel crayon rendering of a red sports car and five men. The serial development of crayon-illustrated covers and color photographs of nude foreign models were received as particularly bold themes, capturing a solid readership and the favorable reputation as Japan's first weekly magazine for young men. Text: 132 pages. Price: 50 yen. Circulation: 620,000" (Heibon Shuppan ed. 1965: 187). Based on the three main themes of cars, girls, and fashion, its circulation grew dramatically and it also gained a large influence over young men. In 1966, it had a circulation of over 1 million (Shiozawa 2009: 194). By the end of the 60s, "it built a position as a 'soft general magazine' for young men" (Nanba 2007: 144). The "hard magazine" was the *Asahi Journal* (published by Asahi Shimbun Company).

So, was *Heibon Punch* responsible for making the Miyuki-zoku a fashionable trend as is commonly thought in 2012? The answer to this question is that *Heibon Punch* had always taken a negative attitude toward the Miyuki-zoku. The Miyuki-zoku first appeared in *Heibon Punch* in the September 21, 1964 issue, around the time these teenagers were disappearing from the streets of Ginza through a series of crackdowns by the police.⁷ Up to the end of December 1965, the following year, articles including the term "Miyuki-zoku" appeared 17 times. Fifteen were articles on social trends and social customs and manners. It was taken up as a fad among middle and high school students, in other words, a meaningless, unfruitful trend of the times. From the January 3, 1966 issue to the December 28, 1971 issue, which was the final issue with an Ayumi Ohashi-illustrated cover, the author was not able to find the term "Miyuki-zoku" at any time in the table of contents.⁸

Let's take a look at the main articles. The first appearances of the term were in "I dare you to accept my challenge!" (*Heibon Punch* Sept. 21, 1964 issue: 26 (magazine name *Heibon Punch* to be omitted from hereon)) and "A man challenges the 'Miyuki-zoku' in a marathon run" (Sept. 28, 1964 issue: 100-101), a two-part account of a young man, pretending to be old, challenging the Miyuki-zoku to run against him in a marathon race. They were just trivial articles for light reading.

The article, "Youth of our nation, be noble. A street report: What do you think about the 'diary' left by the Japanese soldier?" (Oct. 19, 1964 issue: 42-46), compares what were perceived to be the thoughts of young people during the war based on a diary left by a Japanese soldier who knew he was going to die, and the thoughts of young people in 1964. In order to emphasize the difference in patriotism, the article is composed of statements deviating from social norms made by the Miyuki-zoku, who seemed to be the group of young people least concerned with patriotism.

In the regular column, DIAL 104 (Oct. 19, 1964 issue: 136), the Miyuki-zoku are the subject of "scorn" because they are an "uncool tribe." In "The Miyuki-zoku are weak in sex" (Oct. 26, 1964 issue: 27), they are made fun of for their lack of popularity among female office workers.

"Punch Selection: Social customs and manners in 1964 explained" (Dec. 28, 1964 issue: 36-37), written by Chinpei Nozue, was a year-end overview. "It seems like there are fools who say 'the Miyuki-

zoku came into being due to the influence of the cover of *Heibon Punch*. Ignorance is truly appalling.” This suggests that there was talk at that time that *Heibon Punch* had started the Miyuki-zoku trend. And this was flatly discredited here.

In “A fashion study by Hosei University’s ‘Fashion Research Group’” (March 1, 1965 issue: 44-48), the Miyuki-zoku were for the first time taken up as a type of fashion style in a fashion article. However, they were given the negative appraisal as a “kiddy fashion.” In the same issue, “One-man exhibition: 40 years of female customs and manners in Ginza in the ‘Study of Woman’ by photographer Koyo Kageyama” (100-103), the tribe was also mentioned as a type of fashion, but, likewise, in a negative way. These were the only two times the Miyuki-zoku were taken up within the framework of a fashion article.

Next, let’s also verify whether another common belief about *Heibon Punch*, that it was an advocate of Ivy League fashion, is true or not. As Ayumi Ohashi writes, “I drew [the cover illustrations] because I admired the Ivy League style in men” (2003: 123), the cover of *Heibon Punch* up until around 1967 was Ivy League style. Although it also contained articles on Ivy League fashion, another fashion style was more notable in 1964. The Weekly Men’s Corner, composed by Kensuke Ishizu, the founder of VAN JACKET, from the premiere issue to the third issue, was ill received (Sayama 2012: 308). After a change of hands in the column direction, the fashion statement became Continental, with “The age of Continental is here” (July 6, 1964 issue: 76-77) and “Let’s wear Continental style” (July 13, 1964 issue: 80-81). For a September article, the editors went to Europe to report on “Authentic Continental style in Europe” (Sept. 28, 1964 issue: 62-64).

Of course, the magazine was not just advocating the Continental look. In the article, “The two conflicting styles of mode for men in their 20s: Are you a VAN fan or JUN fan?” (June 15, 1964 issue: 7-14), the lead makes an unbiased statement that, “The two leading companies guiding men in their 20s in their sense of style are said to be ‘VAN JACKET’ and ‘JUN.’ The Ivy League look versus the Continental Look; annual sales of 1 billion yen versus 600 million yen. While taking a look at how these two rival companies ‘do business,’ let’s take a look at the ‘fashion sense of men in their 20s.”

It is true that *Heibon Punch* also had many Ivy League aspects, as symbolized by the covers by Ayumi Ohashi. However, it was not totally dedicated to Ivy League, nor totally dedicated to VAN JACKET. To begin with, the editorial policy of *Heibon Punch* was “How to become a cool guy” (Dec. 28, 1964 issue: 36), and so as long as the reader was able to become a “cool” guy who is popular with the girls, it didn’t matter what kind of fashion it advocated. It could be said that pursuing fashion trends is the name of the game for weekly magazine journalism.

3.3 VAN’s appraisal of the Miyuki-zoku

The company’s name was VAN JACKET and the brand name was VAN. It was an upscale brand and was “priced at about 20 percent higher than the average” (Ishizu 2010: 56). As the core brand for the Ivy League boom, which took off from the end of the 1950s, the company underwent rapid growth with “annual sales of 1 billion yen” in 1964 (June 15, 1964 issue: 9) growing to a record 45.2 billion yen at its peak in 1975⁹.

VAN JACKET’s perspectives in 1964 can be learned from *Men’s Club* (published by Fujingahosha). Since the premiere issue in 1954, VAN JACKET’s founder, Kensuke Ishizu, was deeply involved in the

editing and writing of *Men's Club* articles, making it virtually VAN's magazine.¹⁰ Hence, opinions on the Miyuki-zoku expressed in *Men's Club* are also the opinions of VAN. In this study the author perused issues of *Men's Club* from the September 1964 vol. 38 issue¹¹ to the June 1965 vol. 43 issue. Of the ten articles using the word, Miyuki-zoku, eight took a negative view of the tribe. Of the remaining two articles, one did not view the Miyuki-zoku boys badly, but gave a negative appraisal on the Miyuki-zoku girls. The remaining one article took the form of a brief memorandum of events in 1965, in which it gives no opinion and just mentions the existence of the Miyuki-zoku.

Compared to *Heibon Punch's* lighthearted treatment of the Miyuki-zoku, the degree of negative comments in *Men's Club* was quite harsh. In the magazine's regular column, *Zutaboro dangi* (Sept. 1964 issue: 62), criticism like "[they] look like gypsy beggars" and "[are] color-blind" appeared, and in the regular column, *Ivy à la carte* (January 1965 issue: 48), they were called "young aimless hooligans."

Appraisal of the Miyuki-zoku by Kensuke Ishizu himself can be seen in his *Otoko no oshare jitsuyogaku* [A Practical Guide to Men's Fashion] (Ishizu 1965: 14). "It is often said that I made the clothes worn by the Miyuki-zoku. But I don't recall making that fashion." "The Ivy League followers were born, and the Miyuki-zoku were only born as a failure of this process." In this way, Ishizu clearly denied any association with the Miyuki-zoku, and bluntly says that the Miyuki-zoku consisted of those who failed to make it to Ivy League grade. This book recorded high sales with, in just some two months since its publication, 62 printings as of July 20. Because of this, it can be assumed that Ishizu's negative discourse concerning the Miyuki-zoku was widely known.

4. Social Memory of the Miyuki-zoku in 2012

As clarified in the preceding sections, *Heibon Punch* and VAN were negative about the Miyuki-zoku. Social memory at that time was also negative. However, the social memory in 2012 has changed significantly.

As social memory of the Miyuki-zoku in 2012, an analysis was conducted on Google search results obtained by entering the term "Miyuki-zoku." Today, in 2012, Google search results are a more comprehensive social memory that also includes the social memory created by journalism.¹² In *Shakaigaku* [Sociology] (Hasegawa, Hama, Fujimura, Machimura, 2007: 507) it is maintained that "if a phenomenon or website does not remain in about the top five, or in the least, within the top 15 hits or so that can fit on one page of search results, it is said that this is equivalent to that phenomenon or website not existing in this world." To be on the safe side, however, this study analyzed the top 100 sites. Of these 100 sites, 72 sites were valid.¹³

In the 2012 Google search results, there were no statements that associated the Miyuki-zoku with anti-social or anti-moral acts. Regarding fashion, there were no sites calling it "strange (*iyō*)." Only one site called it "freaky (*kikyō*)," another "eccentric (*tokui*)," and two "odd (*kimyo*)." Of the two using the term "odd," the search result ranking 84th used the expression "odd fad," but in an ironical way to indicate that it viewed it favorably. In this way, there were only three sites that were negative toward the Miyuki-zoku.

Regarding Ivy League, VAN, and *Heibon Punch*, 71 percent of the sites associated the Miyuki-zoku with Ivy League, 65 percent associated the Miyuki-zoku with VAN, and 31 percent associated the Miyuki-

zoku with *Heibon Punch*. Moreover, 25 percent of the sites associated all three parties, Miyuki-zoku, VAN, and *Heibon Punch*, with each other. Hence, as of 2012, the Miyuki-zoku are the Ivy League followers, those Ivy League followers are VAN, and *Heibon Punch* played a role in this association. The social memory of the Miyuki-zoku in 2012 based on the Google search results can be summarized as follows.

In the early summer of 1964, fashionable young men and women in their high teens gathered around the Miyuki-dori street in Ginza, Tokyo, and were called the Miyuki-zoku. This was a youth culture made up of young people who thought and acted freely, unfettered by existing systems.¹⁴ Dressed in the Ivy League look of VAN, they gathered aimlessly around the Miyuki-dori street of Ginza in the daytime. At one time they numbered more than 3,000. They were taken up on the cover of *Heibon Punch*, illustrated by Ayumi Ohashi, and their popularity spread. The boys were not strictly following the Ivy League look, wearing button-down shirts with Bermuda shorts or pants worn short. The girls wore long skirts with ribbon belts made of the same fabric tied in the back, and low-heeled, flat shoes. They tied folded handkerchiefs on their heads. Both boys and girls carried large paper bags or jute bags. The VAN paper bag was very popular. The boys just picked up girls and had tea with them. But due to complaints by local shop owners and as a part of measures to improve discipline in the run-up to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, there was a police crackdown, and they had disappeared by early autumn.

The social memory of the Miyuki-zoku changed significantly between 1964 and 2012. An anti-social fad of strangely dressed youth in 1964 had, by 2012, become a youth culture wearing the Ivy League fashion of VAN and popularized by *Heibon Punch*. However, the social memory of 2012 has hardly no memory of class, level of education, or gender,¹⁵ and remembers this as a youth culture by taking in only the characteristics related to fashion. The words are “youth subculture,” but there is little memory of its reality as a culture.

5. The Process of Change in Social Memory of the Miyuki-zoku

5.1 VAN rebranding and the Miyuki-zoku

Following VAN JACKET’s bankruptcy and subsequent VAN rebranding, the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku in 2012 was reconstructed by incorporating the Miyuki-zoku and *Heibon Punch* in the memory of the economic group under the VAN framework. The economic group provided this collective memory to the media; the media then took this up in articles and books and built this into a social memory. How the audience accepted this is explained in section 6.

In 1978, VAN JACKET went bankrupt as a consequence of rash expansion policies, brand damage, and loose management (Kishi 1979: 179; Kiryu 2011: 188-189). VAN JACKET’s bankruptcy was “reported to have been the fifth largest bankruptcy after the war, with a net debt of 50 billion yen” (Sayama 2012: 313-314). But although VAN went bankrupt, the economic group depending on the VAN brand did not suddenly vanish. VAN JACKET employees were also highly loyal to the brand even after its bankruptcy. It is noted that three decades later, “Of the 3,000 former employees, postcards were sent to the 1,000 whose current addresses were known to notify them about a reunion. About 400 replied that they would attend.” “It’s probably a matter of pride [in the brand]” (*Dankai panchi 2* [Baby Boomer

Punch 2] 2006: 111-112; Asukashinsha). For the group under the framework of VAN, the fact that they had been the ones carrying the prestige of VAN before its bankruptcy was important for their identity, and was also a career asset beneficial for their future business.

Ishizu himself was back in business in 1980 (Ishizu 2010: 106), serving as an advisor to various companies, rolling out his own brand¹⁶, and penning more reviews, articles and books¹⁷. Following the bankruptcy of the company, the trademark VAN was no longer owned by Ishizu. Regardless of this fact, Kensuke Ishizu was at the core of VAN rebranding, with this VAN signifying VAN before its bankruptcy.¹⁸ Ishizu notes, "I called out to former VAN employees who launched small companies to 'use me more' and I worked actively to help them" (2010: 107). To have VAN and Kensuke Ishizu again become a powerful brand was, for the economic groups depending on the VAN brand, directly linked to financial profits.

"History and tradition as a long-established business, and factors such as the authority and influence of the designer in the realm of fashion and high fashion are crucial" for "prestige fashion brands" (Kim 2007: 85). It is also known that narrative of the brand is effective in branding (Shidara and Kuwahara 2011). In 1964, Kensuke Ishizu had already received the FEC (Fashion Editors Club) award and was a social authority in the field. Some also called him the spiritual leader of the Ivy League sect.¹⁹ The foundations to create a spiritual leader were in place. To become a spiritual leader in social memory as well, all that was needed was a "miracle" to be taken up by journalism.

It was under such a situation that VAN's collective memory of the Miyuki-zoku transformed in the 80s. As can be seen in *Nihon Seni Shimbum* (Dec. 3, 1986), a daily trade paper for the textile and fashion industry, by 1986 at the latest, Ishizu himself recognized the Miyuki-zoku in a positive way as Ivy League style. He himself began to speak to the mass media about the "Ivy League Rally" at Yamaha Hall, the "miracle" where he guided the Miyuki-zoku in the right direction as their "spiritual leader."²⁰ Stored memory of the "Ivy League Rally" was transferred to functional memory in the mid 80s, and was frequently recollected²¹ and written down as text. It underwent change each time it was recollected, and the narrative was further elaborated. According to Kiryu in 2011, "the spiritual leader of the 'VAN' sect," Kensuke Ishizu, was requested by the local Tsukiji Police Station to "clear out the Miyuki-zoku from Ginza to prevent delinquency." He had the police make 200 posters, and held an event hosted by the National Police Agency with the cooperation of VAN, called the "Ivy League Rally," at the Ginza Yamaha Hall. The 2,000 youth who gathered there were impressed by Kensuke Ishizu's talk and disappeared (from Ginza) two days after the event (Kiryu 2011: 150-151).

For Ishizu to become a spiritual leader in the social memory, it would be necessary for journalism to take him up repeatedly in their articles. The "Ivy League Rally" was a "miracle" that was easy to write about. In addition, collective memory needs a spatial framework. As noted by Halbwachs (1941), religion needs a holy site and that holy site is sometimes "discovered" at a later period of time. Yamaha Hall is about 200 meters away from Miyuki-dori street. Its convenient proximity made it an optimal holy ground.

However, there are some doubts concerning the reality of this "Ivy League Rally." First, Yamaha Hall's capacity at that time was 520 seats. The date of the event is not clarified in any of the materials. While taking the drastic approach of cracking down on the Miyuki-zoku, would the police also take a soft approach and request a private company for their help in holding such a rally, and even pay for it? This author's studies failed to uncover any reference to the "Ivy League Rally" in newspapers and magazines

in 1964. However, it is certain that recollection of the “Ivy League Rally” changed the relation between the Miyuki-zoku and VAN. As this is a characteristic of collective memory, it is not the intent of the author to question whether the “Ivy League Rally” actually existed or not.²² Reconstructing collective memory into something that is meaningful to a group each time that memory is recollected is a characteristic of collective memory.

Let’s now take a look at one more episode. Kurosu, after all this time, is now seeking in VAN the reason why the Miyuki-zoku gathered on the street of Miyuki-dori. He states that in 1964, Teijin Men’s Shop (Teimen), which was virtually a store for the VAN brand, was located at the intersection of the streets, Namiki-dori and Harumi-dori. Right across Harumi-dori was the area where the Miyuki-zoku were hanging out. The shop’s customers had developed into the Miyuki-zoku. The Teimen manager was a charismatic character, and wore his trousers at an excessively short length. The Miyuki-zoku copied him and wore their trousers short (Kurosu 2001: 107-108). Sayama notes that “Kurosu’s hypothesis is the most persuasive among conjectures concerning the source for appearance of the Miyuki-zoku” (Sayama 2012: 129), and Kurosu’s “hypothesis” is reconfigured in the collective memory of the group under the VAN framework.

However, the building where Teimen was located was completed in July 1964.²³ *Men’s Club* (September 1964 issue: 113) carried an ad by Teimen with the words, “Men’s Shop from September / Ginza 4-chome shop on the corner of Namiki-dori to open September 21.” It was during this time that the Miyuki-zoku were being rounded up by the police and rapidly disappearing. Moreover, the author was unable to find any data from 1964 associating the Miyuki-zoku and Teimen.

Here again, it is not the purpose of this study to confirm where Teimen was located in the summer of 1964. Stored memory had transferred to functional memory 35 years later, and then went on to become social memory. This could be considered an example of the dynamism that is the essence of collective memory.

5.2 Transformation of the Miyuki-zoku into a “youth culture,” and the cover of *Heibon Punch*

Regarding the role of the media, Nanba states that “[media] is also often used as a resource or tool to set the situation of ‘X (youth subculture)’” (2007: 80). *Men’s Club*, which was virtually VAN’s magazine, would normally have taken on the role as the media that established the Miyuki-zoku as a “youth culture.” But in the social memory of 2012, *Heibon Punch* is the magazine that is recollected with the Miyuki-zoku.

What touched this off were the covers of *Heibon Punch*. Ivy League fashion illustrations by Ayumi Ohashi decorated the cover from the premier issue. Regardless of the fact that Ohashi herself has denied the Miyuki-zoku = Ivy League association by saying, “the Miyuki-zoku are not the same as the Ivy League followers” (2003: 123), her illustrations comfortably triggered recollections that *Heibon Punch* popularized the Miyuki-zoku. This remembrance is easily shared, and journalism also went along, leading to the creation of social memory.

At the end of the 80s, it was noted that, “both the ‘Ivy League followers’ and the ‘Miyuki-zoku’ were members of the ‘*Heibon Punch* tribe’ for whom *Heibon Punch* was their bible” (Mabuchi 1989: 121). In

the mid 90s, Saburo Kawamoto writes that “the covers illustrated by Ayumi Ohashi are innovative” and “*Heibon Punch* and VAN are nearly aligned” (Nikkei and Dobunsha ed. 1995: 14). It is also said that “*Men’s Club* does not have the influential power of *Heibon Punch*” (ACROSS ed. 1995: 87). At this stage, recognition is still limited to that of the Ivy League style-advocate *Heibon Punch* popularizing the Miyuki-zoku.

At the end of the 90s, the Miyuki-zoku were transformed into a “youth culture.” “*Heibon Punch* was launched, and created a youth culture based on the Ivy League look, cars, and sex. The ‘Miyuki-zoku’ who carried out this concept then appeared” (Aku 1999: 108).

Although it was not harmful for the group under the framework of VAN to have the rebranding of VAN facilitated through *Heibon Punch* and the Miyuki-zoku, which had transformed into a youth culture, some ambivalent discourse was also apparent. While saying, “*Heibon Punch* played a large role in Ivy League fashion. The covers by Ayumi Ohashi were Ivy League style,” Kurosu could not but add an explanatory note on the facts, stating, “the contents (of *Heibon Punch*) were not exactly that full of Ivy League spirit” (Nikkei and Dobunsha ed. 1995: 6). But then in 2001, he recollects the huge popularity of Miyuki wallets, which were made by folding the cover of *Heibon Punch*—the bible for the Miyuki-zoku—like origami (Kurosu 2001: 109). Nanba also quoted this text by Kurosu, noting that “An item that clearly shows the strong ties between *Heibon Punch* and the Miyuki-zoku is the ‘Miyuki wallet’” (2007: 143). However, the author was unable to find any article mentioning the Miyuki wallet in the newspapers and magazines of 1964. Meanwhile, Hanabusa deviates from the facts in his recollection²⁴ that “Since its launch, *Heibon Punch* seemed, in a sense, to be aiming to be a mass market version of *Men’s Club*. And, as symbolized by the Ivy League boys on its cover, its fashion pages were truly Ivy League fashion on parade” (2007: 133-134), which is convenient for a member of the group under the VAN framework²⁵.

In this way, the magazine covers illustrated by Ayumi Ohashi touched off the reconstruction of social memory that *Heibon Punch*, the advocate of Ivy League fashion, popularized the Miyuki-zoku as a youth culture dressed in VAN clothing.

6. Identity and the Acceptance of the Social Memory of the Miyuki-zoku

Finally, this study attempts to analyze what the Miyuki-zoku was to those who accepted this social memory. The Mods and Rockers in the United Kingdom are frequently taken up as youth cultures that were present around the same period as the Miyuki-zoku. References to these two groups emphasize their class-oriented framework, as was likewise mentioned by *Heibon Punch* (June 15, 1964 issue: 26-29)²⁶ and Nanba (2007: 64-81).

On the other hand, against the backdrop of relative decline in social structures in the UK in the 60s, there were also the South London working-class boys who gave slim-cut suits the same function as Mikhail Bakhtin’s carnival masks. By achieving whatever identity they wished, they were able to go to the posh residential area of Chelsea to make moves on the aristocratic girls living there (Lash and Urry 1993: 132-133). The Miyuki-zoku were not, like the Mods or Rockers, hanging out in a section of Ginza because of their class backgrounds. As revealed by their words, “Tokyo is the center of Japan. Ginza is the center of Tokyo. We’re the ‘elite’ standing in that center.” (*Shukan Asahi* Sept. 18, 1964 issue: 125), the Miyuki-zoku were boasting their identity as the stylish elite wearing carnival masks called fashion,

which can be worn by anyone who so desires.

The youth of 1964 form the generation that had already taken on the “middle-brow culture” (Kato 1957: 20-30) since the late 50s, in which the occupation and status of people are indistinguishable from outward appearance. In the period of Japan’s high economic growth, a standardized class of youth was established (Sakamoto 2008: 12-13). Youth, with the only discriminating factor being their youth, were born from the late 60s to the 70s (Furuichi 2011: 52). Wearing the carnival mask of fashion, the Miyuki-zoku could have achieved an identity that was good to them, being one that did not have any relation to social background such as their origins, class or education. But the media and the brand that influenced them treated them negatively, and after several crackdowns by the police, “their numbers decreased as rapidly as they had increased” (Yomiuri Shimbun Sept. 29, 1964). In 1964, the Miyuki-zoku were a fad.

Although the Miyuki-zoku disappeared from the scene, VAN spread rapidly throughout Japan. As business expanded, the value of the brand became diluted (Kiryu 2011: 187-190). The many young people who wore this commoditized VAN brand at that time became adults and accepted the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku as a youth culture, a memory that was established during the rebranding of VAN after the late 80s. By doing so, they were able to secure a fashionable and cultural self-image as their identity. This is done through wishful recollections of their own youth through an overlap of their younger years with “those feverishly passionate days” “within the ‘field of dreams’ of *Heibon Punch*, which was in itself a dreamlike presence” (Shiozawa 2009: 16), and resonance with the Miyuki-zoku and *Heibon Punch*.²⁷

An example is when over 50 former Miyuki-zoku gathered in Ginza from around the country in 2005 in response to calls through the mass media by Shinobu Machida, a former Miyuki-zoku (*Bungei Shinju* Sept. 2005: 85-87). Running the event with a copy of *Heibon Punch* in one hand, Machida says on his own website that “Here, ‘Miyuki-zoku’ does not necessarily mean those young people who were walking around Miyuki-dori at that time, but is used in the sense of people who had a broad resonance with the Ivy League spirit.”²⁸ These people assembled to gain a favorable identity and pleasantly recollect their youth, and did not concern themselves over the fact of whether they were actually Miyuki-zoku or not.²⁹

In other words, with acceptance of the social memory that the Miyuki-zoku were a youth culture, the tribe plays the role of a device generating a favorable identity. Whether or not they were actually a youth culture is not of importance. *Heibon Punch* was the trigger incubating this “social memory of the Miyuki-zoku as a youth culture.”

7. Why Did the Media Accept the Group Memory under the VAN Economic Framework?

Up to now, this study analyzed the players involved in changing the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku and their roles, but a fundamental question can’t help but arise. Why did the media continue to make articles about this reconstructed social memory without checking the facts? Why did editors continue to publish books? If this were a social memory related to war crimes or political conflicts, would newspaper reporters and editors have had such a low guard as they did with the Miyuki-zoku? The main agent reconstructing the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku was the economic group under the VAN framework, and not the journalists or editors themselves. The Miyuki-zoku were also no more than

material for fashion articles, not a political topic that would stir up debate. Moreover, Kensuke Ishizu was a charismatic fashion leader, and writing about him sold publications. Since the article is not wrong if evidence against it is not collected, and if there are readers who want to comfortably accept that article, it could be assumed that publishing the article or book was a show of business acumen of occupational reporters and editors; although to assume this would be in itself a shallow afterthought.

A reason also lies in how the media works. When a media takes up a matter that had been taken up in the past, journalists look at past issues. This is because only limited time is available to prepare the article, and consistency needs to be maintained in the media's position. The media will not gain the confidence of its readers if its position or value judgments vacillate within a short period of time. As a result, the social memory goes on to be reconstructed from the previously constructed social memory.

As noted by Berkowitz, "Journalists are often faced with telling news of the unusual and unexpected, yet they must report on tight deadlines with little information. One device that journalists can draw on to get their job done is collective memory of society's revered events and people. Collective memory allows news to gain a semblance of the familiar — journalists are able to tell their stories in a way that seems resonant to both news organization and news audiences. In essence, through collective memory, their version gains authority as *the* version" (2011: 201).

In addition, the mass media is also a commercial media. The purpose of publishing newspapers and magazines is to maximize the profits of the publisher. For those working in the editorial departments, this means selling as many issues as possible. Securing circulation, or in other words, profit, is comfortable for the media as well (Shimizu 2014).

And, to begin with, there is no need for social memory to be historical fact. Social memory exists and can exist if it is reconstructed as so-called "public opinion," "atmosphere," and "spirit" spreading throughout society, unaffiliated with a specific group.

8. Conclusion

In 1964, both *Heibon Punch* and VAN had a negative view of the Miyuki-zoku. The Miyuki-zoku were just a summer fad of "strange" fashion. But since the bankruptcy of VAN JACKET in 1978, the Miyuki-zoku and *Heibon Punch* were brought into the picture as part of the rebranding of VAN. It was maintained that the Miyuki-zoku were a unique youth culture, a group of Ivy League followers wearing VAN who were popularized by *Heibon Punch*. Although the media played a role as a medium in the reconstruction process of this social memory, it was the economic group under the framework of VAN that was responsible for staging the direction of this reconstruction. However, even if the media constructs the memory, if the memory is not comfortable to the receivers and one that they could readily accept, it would not be accepted and it would not become social memory. When the young people who wore the commoditized VAN clothes from the end of the 60s to 70s became adults, they were able to gain a favorable identity by overlapping their youth with the social memory of the Miyuki-zoku, which had been changed to become a youth culture. In a manner of speaking, the main agent changing the memory, the media that mediated this memory, and the receivers of the memory were all accomplices in the change of a social memory. This social memory was merged into one that was comfortable for the three parties.

"What part of the past do we say is our own past, and what meaning is there in making this ours?"

(Morris-Suzuki 2004: 8). Regardless of who was primarily responsible for the reconstruction, the “nostalgic effect,” so to speak, that is gained by accepting this reconstructed social memory, makes the past identity a pleasant one. Occasionally looking back at our lives as we please can make us feel happy and contented. That is the very reason why we feel a comfortable warmth when reading an issue of *Heibon Punch* from several decades ago, or why we brush off the dust of novels in the far reaches of our bookshelves and sit down to read them once again.

Notes

Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of the Japanese are my own.

- 1 In this study, “framework,” as used in “framework of X” or “X framework,” indicates the group, event, or symbol that constructs a memory, which provides an identity that a person can use to acknowledge that he or she is as a member of a certain group. For instance, the words “VAN framework,” means that a fondness for the fashion brand VAN provides a person with an identity, and in the case of “economic group under the framework of VAN,” not only does the memory of fashion brand VAN serve as the foundation for identity, but this memory is also useful in developing business and work. Specifically, this is a group expecting to profit by actively expressing that they were former VAN employees or had business with VAN, holding anticipations that this would create connections, high appraisal, and trust within the apparel industry and mass media.
- 2 Halbwachs (1877-1945), carrying on the collectivism tradition of Émile Durkheim, rejected much of the theories of memory typified by Henri-Louis Bergson’s view of memory as an individual phenomenon, and considered memory as a collective phenomenon (Coser 1992). The presentism aspect of Halbwachs’ collective memory had an affinity with structuralism, and was reappraised from the 1980s. However, with regard to the structuralism aspect, there are arguments that Halbwachs was also emphasizing the reality of the past (Kin 2010). Currently, his work is taken up in a variety of disciplines, such as archaeology, religion, history, sociology, and cognitive psychology (refer to Hama 2000, Nora 2002, Katagiri 2003, Matsuura 2005, Assmann 2007, Mizoi 2009, Ohta and Itsukushima 2011, etc.). This paper focuses on the following five points: 1) the collectiveness of memory; 2) subjective reconstruction of memory from the present; 3) group attribution of memory; and 4) repetitive reconstruction of memory (Halbwachs 1925/1994, 1950/1989, Oikawa 2006, Mizoi 2009, Ishii 2009). This is now often mentioned in media research as well (Neiger et al., eds. 2011, Sturken 1997), and when done so, 5) the selectiveness of memory by the media, is added as a point for discussion.
- 3 “It was probably journalism that gave them this name, not they themselves” (*Mainichi Shimbun* Sept. 17, 1964). In addition, according to *Shukan Josei* (Oct. 7, 1964 issue: 164, Shufu to Seikatsusha), *Shukan Asahi* (Sept. 18, 1964 issue: 124-125, The Asahi Shimbun Company), *Asahi Shimbun* (Sept. 13, 1964), and other media, the Miyuki-zoku hung out in a very limited area within a radius of about 100 meters from the intersection of the streets, Miyuki-dori and Nishigobangai-dori.

- 4 Summarized from the words of *Tokyo Shimbun* (July 26, 1964), *Asahi Shimbun* (Sept. 13, 1964, Sept. 20, 1964), *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Sept. 14, 1964, Sept. 20, 1964, Sept. 29, 1964, Oct. 3, 1964), *Mainichi Shimbun* (Sept. 16, 1964, Sept. 17, 1964), *Weekly Manga Sunday* (July 29, 1964 issue, Jitsugo no Nihon Sha), *Men's Club* (Sept. 1964 issue, vol.38: 14, 62), *Shukan Asahi* (Sept. 18, 1964 issue: 124-127), *Heibon Punch* (Sept. 28, 1964: 100; Oct. 15, 1964 issue: 15), *Shukan Josei* (Oct. 7, 1964: 164-168, Shufu to Seikatsusha), and *Shukan Taishu* (Oct. 15, 1964: 36-40, Futabasha). It is presumed that "public security measures to support the Olympics" (*Mainichi Shimbun* Sept. 16, 1964) was also behind the crackdown on the Miyuki-zoku.
- 5 Searches conducted online. Of the five newspapers, two newspapers, *Yomiuri Shimbun* and *Asahi Shimbun*, had data available from 1964, the *Mainichi Shimbun* had data from 1987, *Sankei Shimbun* from 1992, and *The Nikkei* from 1975.
- 6 Individuals and groups select necessary information from storage memory and move this to functional memory to create remembrances (Assmann 2007: 163-174; Mizoi 2009: 89-90).
- 7 "Surprisingly, they were not taken up until then" (Akagi 2004: 110). It is interesting to note that even Akagi, a former staff editor of *Heibon Punch*, finds this surprising in his recollections.
- 8 The author read all magazine text, other than serial stories, from the premier issue to the end-December 1965 issue, and only the table of contents from the Jan. 3, 1966 issue to the Dec. 28, 1971 issue.
- 9 In 1970, sales were only 6.9 billion yen (*Ishizu daihyakka* [Ishizu Encyclopedia] <http://www.ishizu.jp>; viewed on April 22, 2012). VAN expanded rapidly in the 70s.
- 10 *Otoko no fukushoku dokuhon* [Men's Fashion Book] (later became *Men's Club*) "had a circulation of 35,000, but half of the issues were bought by VAN" (Kiryu 2011: 132). Former *Men's Club* editor-in-chief Toyoho Nishida wrote that *Men's Club* "handled only VAN products as mail order products," and "from the November 1967 issue, *Men's Club* stopped being a so-called VAN magazine" (Nikkei and Dobunsha ed. 1995: 64).
- 11 At that time *Men's Club* was published bimonthly and issued on the first of the month. The September issue was on bookshelves before summer.
- 12 This time's search results also included the websites of *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Nikkei BP*, and Nippon Television.
- 13 The author read through each site, and determined that sites that were not associated with the Miyuki-zoku, such as the site for singer Miyuki Nakajima and sites listing tags, were not valid. Links

within sites were not subject to study. The search was conducted on January 20, 2012.

- 14 Of the 72 sites, 15 sites used the word “culture.”
- 15 Six sites indicated that the Miyuki-zoku were high school students. There was only one site (ranked 55 in the search results) making a note of neighborhood or class background, calling the Miyuki-zoku, “boys and girls from Tokyo’s rich families.” No site included comments from a gender perspective.
- 16 Chronology in *Ishizu Daihyakka*; *Nihon Seni Shimbun* (Nov. 17, 1986).
- 17 Of his 19 main books, the 15 written from the 80s and on were more about his thoughts on lifestyle than fashion, focusing on his charismatic personality.
- 18 Following the bankruptcy of VAN JACKET, the VAN trademark was purchased and a new VAN JACKET was born, continuing on to the present day, but this is a different company from the former VAN JACKET.
- 19 It did appear that he was sometimes called the spiritual leader of the Ivy League sect by insiders, but this is a recollection made later on in time, for example, in Ishizu (2010: 77) and *Ishizu Daihyakka*. Investigation by this author uncovered the *Yomiuri Shimbun* of Jan. 6, 1965, describing Kensuke Ishizu as a “spiritual leader-like presence to the Ivy League followers.” But the next reference to Kensuke Ishizu as a “spiritual leader” did not appear in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* until May 9, 1995.
- 20 With the exception of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Jan. 6, 1965), it was not until the mid 80s that trade papers and sports papers began describing Kensuke Ishizu as a “spiritual leader.” In general newspapers, this appears from the 90s. In his writings up to the mid 80s, Ishizu did not refer to himself as a “spiritual leader” either (Ishizu 1983, 1985).
- 21 *Sunday Mainichi* (April 1, 1990 issue: 218, Mainichi Shimbun-sha), *Nikkei Sangyo Shimbun* (April 18, 1990), Kajima (1995: 157-158), *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Feb. 12, 2004), Udagawa (2006: 146), Sayama (2012: 125-126), and many more. Taking note on who was mentioned in these articles as the host of the event, this vacillated over the years from “hosted by the Metropolitan Police Department with the cooperation of VAN” (*Nihon Seni Shimbun* Dec. 3, 1986), to “paid for by the Metropolitan Police Department” (*Sports Nippon* Sept. 4, 1988), “hosted by VAN” (*Nikkei* April 18, 1990), “hosted by the Metropolitan Police Department” (Ought to Japan Inc. ed. 1993: 22), “done by VAN on the surface” (Nikkei and Dobunsha ed. 1995: 52), and finally “hosted by the National Police Agency with the cooperation of VAN” (Kiryu 2011: 151), with the story changing to the point where it goes so far as to rely upon Japan’s central authority for law enforcement, the National Police Agency. This is clearly an intentional alteration of memory to heighten the charismatic value of Kensuke Ishizu. From the fact that the members of the economic group under the VAN framework changed their

- statements and writings over time to benefit themselves, and that this also reconstructed social memory, it could be speculated that such convenient alterations of memory are conscious and intentional alterations of social memory, or are perhaps unconscious but intentional acts resulting from members within the group superimposing each other's memories with more convenient memories.
- 22 There is another version where Kensuke Ishizu, upon the request of the middle school principal in Kamata, spoke in front of the whole student body (*Sports Nippon* Sept. 3, 1988). Here, as well, Ishizu is treated as a spiritual leader. Both narratives have the same structure.
 - 23 *Towers Navi Tokyo* (<http://www.towers-p.co.jp>; viewed May 11, 2012). According to the Teijin Men's Shop website (<http://www.tjnaso.co.jp>; viewed May 11, 2012), "Born in Ginza, 1960." The shop may have been located nearby before it opened on Namiki-dori.
 - 24 This is believed to be a conscious and intentional, or an unconscious, as a result (see note 21), but intentional "afterthought" memory.
 - 25 Kurosu is the former VAN JACKET design room director. Hanabusa worked with Kensuke Ishizu at the magazine *Hot Dog Press* (published by Kodansha).
 - 26 In the special feature, "The truth behind the bloody showdown of the "Mods (stylish clothes) vs. Rockers (mushroom hairdos)," *Heibon Punch* presents a serious analysis of the customs, manners, and behavior of these "angry youth," from perspectives including class, society, economy and even gender. But neither the words "youth culture" or term "subculture" are used.
 - 27 Memory that has been formed by a specific group of senders such as a media's editorial staff, are first accepted and retained by the readership who are the primary receivers. Next, repetition of configured recollection in the form of word-of-mouth communications by the primary receivers and follow-up articles by other media leads to broad secondary sharing of this memory among the general public, becoming social memory. Furthermore, when later reflecting back at a certain period of time, even the general public who were actually the secondary receivers sharing this social memory at a later period will, if recollecting this memory as if they were primary receivers is favorable for establishing their identity, recollect the memory just as if they were the primary receivers. By using the approach of social memory, this paper could, though limited to the process between three parties—the Miyuki-zoku, *Heibon Punch* and VAN—be an example of an analysis of the process in which reconstructed memory is communicated from a specific sender to the general public though the process of remembering, retaining, and recollecting information. But further study is needed to determine whether this can be analytically generalized as in the above.
 - 28 <http://www.edo.net/machida>; accessed May 22, 2012.

29 Although this is not related to the Miyuki-zoku, the discord between those who accept social memory and those who seek objective historical facts sometimes surface in a clear manner. For instance, by confronting those who had comfortably accepted the social memory reconstructed in *A Boy Called H* (Senoh 1997) with the historical facts (Yamanaka and Yamanaka 1999: 844-845), the authors of *Machigaidarake no shonen H* [The Many Mistakes in A Boy Called H] were subject to hostility.

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