Composing a societal backdrop - case studies in the intersection of anime and music

An initial literature review

'It is now a question as to which has absorbed which. Is the motion picture industry a subsidiary of the music publishing business - or have film producers gone into the business of making songs?' (*Photoplay* 1929, as cited in Karlin 1994)

Introduction

The last twenty years have seen an impressive proliferation of academic works tackling the medium of Japanese animation (anime) - with studies such as Susan Napier's *Anime from Akira to Howl's Moving Castle: Experiencing Japanese Animation* (2005) and Rayna Denison's *Anime: A Critical Introduction* (2015) laying down a comprehensive framework of theoretical thinking that allows us to better extract meaning from this form of Japanese pop-cultural output. Some, such as Antonia Levi (1996), Sharalyn Orbaugh (2002) and Ian Condry (2013) have applied the lens of genre-theory and transnationalism to focus in on particular thematic sub-genres or trends in the globalisation of anime. Others, like Hiroki Azuma's *Otaku: Japan's database animals* (2009) and Sandra Annett's *Anime Fan Communities: Transcultural Flows and Frictions* (2014), have turned the lens on the viewers of anime - utilising the language of fan studies to argue that it is not only the medium itself that is worth studying, but those that consume it.

Taken together, this body of work presents an excellent foundation to further explore new avenues of analysis in relation to anime, as its manner of creation and consumption continue to evolve in an ever-increasingly globalised, digitalised world. So far, however, the role of music within anime has largely been neglected - a fact that is somewhat surprising considering that anime is fundamentally an *audio*-visual medium. The Japanese music market is the second largest in the world (RIAJ figures) and yet while anime's global popularity is - as detailed above, widely acknowledged and critiqued - serious discussion on contemporary Japanese music remains minimal. Whereas anime, in many ways, stands as Japan's foremost 'soft power' cultural export, its music industry has largely failed to extend itself beyond the country's borders, with the resultant academic discourse reflective of this.

In completing this initial literature review, I will look to outline three core areas of reading with an aim toward conceptualising both dominant areas of discourse, as well as the methodological format of the literature. This will begin with a survey of existing studies of film music in general, of which there is a significant bulk of discourse (typically focusing on the Hollywood system), not only enabling us to draw conclusions on both its similarities and differences with the Japanese system, but also providing us with a theoretical framework for *how* we talk about music's use as part of film. Secondly, I will turn to work covering the evolution of (primarily Western-influenced) music across Japanese society in the 20th century, before lastly turning to a survey of existing academic work focusing on music's role within anime - in both cases seeking to lay the foundations for a subsequent historical narrative charting the course of anime music's evolution across the period.

Looking West - Wider case studies in film music

Originally published in 1947, Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler's classic text *Composing for the Films* remains a fundamentally useful tool in approaching the medium of music in relation to its creation for, and use in, films. While many of its more specific references now feel rather dated, the foundation of theoretical thinking it lays out is striking in its precision - ultimately revolving around an understanding of capitalism and the division of labour as the core driver behind the systematic trends of what Adorno terms 'the culture industry'. The book's introduction opens with a simple distillation: 'The motion picture cannot be understood in isolation, as a specific form of art; it is understandable only as the most characteristic medium of contemporary cultural industry'.

In discourse that is highly prescient in its anticipation of later discussions of the 'media mix', Adorno and Eisler acknowledge the accompanying whirl of marketing and magazines articles surrounding the marketing of a new film as an 'appendage of the movie industry', with music comprising another component of this 'advertising'. But if movie music is utterly subordinate to the movie it accompanies, to what extent can it be seen as generating musical meaning or value in and of itself? Is it merely music as 'utility', without any autonomy of its own? What can music add in contrast to the 'hyperexplicit' nature of picture and dialogue?

Deeper analysis is given to the question of value - music, as envisioned by Adorno and Eisler as the 'abstract art *par excellence*' is seen as reduced to purely functionalist aspects - employed as part of 'industrially controlled cultural consumption' to serve the simple purpose of eliciting a 'spontaneous, essentially human element in its listeners' - namely, emotion. To this extent, music is seen as commodity - with all the associated complexities of being something available only to 'those who can pay'. With this in mind, one must question the nature and motivations of the market if it is in the interest of the creators to continually amplify a vacuum of demand among consumers.

Another core text for contextualising the study of music in relation to movies is John Mundy's *Popular Music on Screen* (1999) which builds on Adorno's model of 'active consumption' and seeks to update it to bring it in line with the 'pleasures' of popular music and its audiences across the latter half of the 20th century. Mundy's focus on audiences (in particular, young people) serves to outline a key dichotomy between, on one hand, the 'institutional production of popular culture' and a deeply personal 'investment' and sense of ownership over what he calls 'their' music.

Charting the evolution of this 'media economy' through various technological and ideological changes (eg. the shift from vinyl to CD and the introduction of MTV pop videos as a kind of ultra-condensed form of film music), Mundy keeps this inherent friction front-and-centre throughout. Like Adorno, he is keenly aware of the idea of a 'market' for commodified music, following it through to its logical conclusion in films such as *Top Gun*; soundtracked by a suite of specifically composed songs from Giorgio Moroder and Tom Whitlock, many of which went on to become major chart hits. Mundy sees a film like this as a prime example of a 'cinema of attractions' that thrives on 'both visual and audio seductions'. Adorno's influence

is also felt in the work of Kramer (2009) who is effusive in his singling out of Adorno and his efforts to attribute value to music, going on to state that it is precisely music's lack of the power inherent in imagery that has seen it largely overlooked as a 'value-making force'. Drawing on the theories of Kant, he makes an interesting distinction between 'pleasure' and 'culture' - noting that it is to the former that the enjoyment of music is invariably assigned.

Reading more broadly, the past two decades have seen a dramatic proliferation in the number of book-length studies of film music. While, understandably, these typically focus on the Western (and more specifically, the American) system of film production, the analytical toolkit they develop represents a useful means with which to picture a similar study of the Japanese system taking shape. In looking to define film music, Tonks (2001) categorises it as a form of 'applied' music, a notion inherent in its supportive role to the film itself and the idea of establishing a linking between the audio and visual component. Here, Tonks - like Adorno and Eisler before him - draws on the idea of the 'leitmotif', usually referenced in relation to the classical German composer Wagner, and its capacity to link 'the appearances of a person, place or thing together with a recurring musical phrase.' In identifying a kind of recurrence and resultant familiarity, we begin to draw closer to a kind of systemised understanding of how film music 'works' - in which the audience's emotional responses can be carefully crafted and elicited based on an understanding that a certain recognisable musical cue (eg. Wagner's *Bridal Chorus* from the opera *Lohengrin*) will accompany a certain kind of scene.

Tonks charts the evolution of these kinds of tropes across various chronological 'eras' of film music (touching on the historical complexities of retroactively applying the term 'golden age' to a particular era), affording particular focus to the increasing 'commercial viability' of film music. In discussing how radio play of a song attached to a movie in the run-up to the film's release could provide a relatively cheap boost of additionally publicity, we begin to see flavours of the comprehensive 'media mix' approach to marketing that I will look to analyse in relation to anime music. It is also interesting to note that Tonks sees the release of Star Wars in 1977 as a watershed moment, citing the phenomenal success of both the film and its soundtrack as the 'Second Coming of film music'. The fact that this event is seen as significant not only in studies of Hollywood film music (but also, as explored below, in relation to Patten's study on anime music) shows that even in the 1970s, we can discern shades of the kinds of transnationalism and cross-cultural movements that would come to influence the creation, style and consumption of anime music in subsequent years.

The question of format and scope in relation to the study of a field as broad as film music is an important one. Within the wider oeuvre of academic studies of film music, many take the format of a single composer-centric study (Sciannameo 2010, Hickman 2011, Caps 2012, Audissino 2014), covering composers as diverse as Nino Rota and his work on the classic *Godfather* trilogy, right through to an in-depth analysis of John Williams and his landmark scores for blockbuster hits such as *Jaws*, *Stars Wars* and the *Indiana Jones* series.

Others, such as Goldmark's *Tunes for 'toons music and the Hollywood cartoon* (2005) and Wegele's *Max Steiner: composing, Casablanca, and the golden age of film music* (2014) take a particular genre or era of film music as their focus, looking to identify trends or tropes

(and their evolution) across a number of composers. Goldmark's work in particular is highly relevant to me - comprising as it does a distinct analysis of music composed specifically for animation in America - laying down a template for how I might conduct a similar study in Japan. It is worth noting that even here, Goldmark shapes his historical narrative around several key composer case-studies, highlighting that this biographical methodology remains a dominant style in the study of film music. This could be seen as attempting to emulate the director-centric study - attributing agency to a singular individual (or interactions between individuals).

Goldmark also discusses a number of key concepts similar to my own ideas in approaching music's role within animation - namely, the identification of recognisable 'signature' styles of composition and the development of brand names such as Disney as a 'hallmark' for quality musical scores. He also notes the importance of the CD release as a key tool in increasing the visibility of composers to the public and developing a fanbase for them beyond the use of their music in films themselves. Another crucial text in relation to this line of thinking is Virgil Moorefield's *The Producer As Composer* (2005) which, although having a wider remit than simply film music, is eloquent in its summation of many of themes I am looking to explore - seeking to chart the evolution of the music producer 'from that of organizer to auteur'. Much of the work focuses on the idea of 'star' or 'name-brand' producers like Phil Spector, famed for his trademark 'wall of sound' production style. These all-in-one figures became apt at developing strikingly original sounds that the public could readily associate with them. Moorefield outlines in detail the working methods of a number of prominent individuals, engendering an important reconfiguring of the role of the producer/composer from a 'backroom' capacity to one where their individual imprint is core to the identity of the music itself.

Returning to Goldmark, it is worth noting that there are a number of noticeable disadvantages to his approach - large bulks of the book are devoted to minute-by-minute descriptive analysis of his chosen films and the accompanying musical cues. This kind of textualisation of the music may have value in small doses, and certainly tells us what the music 'does', but I would argue that it takes away from a deeper theoretical reading of the music as a commodity in its own right, as opposed to something continually chained to a scene-by-scene recounting of the parent film itself. In this respect, Moorefield's work feels in many ways stronger, as it is fully engaged with - as noted above - the idea of the producer/composer as a 'star' factor with auteur-value all of their own.

Elsewhere, there are further concerted efforts to attribute specific value to the role music plays within film, with Rothbart (2012) outlining as many as eight different functions ranging from establishment of tone and mood and the amplification of psychological states to - of particular relevance to my work - supplying intro and outro music. Rothbart's work is particularly useful as it goes into further detail regarding what he calls the 'composite score', looking beyond traditional symphonic compositions to the use of pre-existing or specially created pop songs within films, citing famous examples such as *The Graduate* or the works of Quentin Tarantino. In his eyes, the 'pop-ness' of the musical selections themselves become a core component of their value, working in a similar manner to the idea of the 'leitmotif' mentioned earlier, contributing greatly to the overall tone of the film. These views

are echoed by Grant (2012) who ponders the increasingly symbiotic relationship between the film and pop music industries, and - in the light of vast conglomerates such as Warner, Sony and Universal all containing both film and music subsidiaries - which is the driving force behind the other. Grant is explicit in his view of the equation as a question of supply and demand, identifying many of the issues around circular perpetuations of creation/consumption systems I will look to outline in my own work - something that is of particular note when we look to observe these kinds of system at work within the scope of the emergence of particular musical trends in Japan over a defined historical period.

Composing a societal backdrop - music in Japan across the 20th century

As noted in the introduction, there is a notable paucity in specifically anime music-related academic studies. Because of this, it is worth expanding the survey to also include the wider spread of material covering the evolution of Western-influenced musical forms within Japan that emerged in the country during its period of rapid modernisation. In this manner, we might better understand the socio-cultural conditions associated with a specifically 'Japanese' music market, how those conditions coalesced across the course of the 20th century, and how anime music may have germinated within this context.

Two of the best books on contemporary Japanese music - Ian F. Martin's *Quit Your Band! Musical Notes from the Japanese Underground* (2016) and David Novak's *Japanoise: Music at the Edge of Circulation* (2013) - excel in pairing highly-readable journalistic narrative with the virtues of a tight core focus, taking a singular genre and affording it the depth necessary to conjure up a sufficient sense of atmosphere. Their works succeed in treating songs not simply as 'texts', but as 'musical experiences' rooted in the scene (located both temporally and spatially) in which they were created. Their genre-centric scope also raises a prominent theme across writing focusing on Japanese music - that of classification, an issue that also causes complexities in Nagahara's *Tokyo boogie-woogie* (2017) in which the Japanese 'popular song' era is seen as distinct from the notion of 'pop songs' that emerged post 1960s. This kind of taxonomy-like approach is epitomised in McClure's *Nippon Pop* (1998) - which presents itself as a kind of glossy 'catalogue' of the Japanese music scene of the late 1990s, and again raises the question of what we can envision as 'pop' and what we can see as 'art'.

These kind of formatting and typological issues are important to keep in mind, as a core component of my study will look to build a series of key composer 'profiles', utilising these to identify ongoing, evolving trends across the genre of anime music over the past 30 years. As such, it is useful to note that the existing literature on Japanese classical composers is dominated by work on one figure: Toru Takemitsu. For many, Takemitsu stands as a kind of be-all-and-end-all within the field of Japanese classical music (for instance, in popular compendiums such as *The Rough Guide to Classical Music* [2010] he is the only Japanese composer featured) - to the extent that the two become almost synonymous. On one hand, this identifies a clear need for the field to be expanded, but also presents an interesting opportunity: by analysing these existing works on Takemitsu, can we draw any distinct conclusions on what a biographical study of a 'Japanese composer' (as both an individual, and a concept) should represent?

James Siddons *Bio-Bibliography* (2001) presents an interesting experiment in formatting - a mere 18 pages is devoted to the actual biography of Takemitsu, while the remainder of the book's 200 pages is comprised of incredibly detailed profiling and sorting of Takemitsu's works, performances, film scores, discography and assorted writings. In seeking to provide a wholly comprehensive capturing of the life and work of the composer, Siddons' approach suggests that privileging a quantitative element of study (eg. the sheer quantity of compositional output, catalogued in detail) is one valid way of attributing 'value' to a composer and their artistic output.

Siddons opens his account of Takemitsu's life with a number of noteworthy comments. Firstly, he cites Takemitsu as the 'leading Japanese composer' of his age and draws into question the inherently loaded nature of each of those three qualifiers. In what ways did he lead the field, and more importantly, what sense of Japanese-ness can be identified in his compositions beyond the simple fact of his factual nationality. Secondly, he discusses the difficulties in 'identifying' Takemitsu; drawing a contrast between his 'concert work' and his status as a composer of film music. In this marked separation of the two lies the recurring question of typologies - does Takemitsu's identity and output as an internationally renowned creator of concert pieces hold more value in it than when he is delineated as a 'composer of film music'?

Otake's *Creative Sources for the Music of Toru Takemitsu* (1993) alludes to these ideas further. In the book's appendix of Takemitsu's works, it lists only five of his 80-plus extant scores for film; highlighting - much like Siddons - the complexities in 'value' when categorising film music and concert music as two separate typologies. And yet, despite this noted 'partial representation' of Takemitsu's soundtracks, it also explicitly acknowledges the capacity for film music to expose itself to wider audiences than classical music. Otake even goes as far to envision the attraction of Western music tradition being its ensemble nature, with 'the orchestra as a collective unit… suggestive of a condition of a society in which people with different backgrounds… gather in one place'. This notion of collectivity - and in particular, Western music's ability to act as a systemised crucible for it - is one we will see discussed in further detail regarding its origins in early 1900s Japan.

In seeking to identify a kind of genesis or 'ground zero' for Western classical music's osmosis into wider Japanese culture, a number of works present useful insights toward answering the fundamental question: How any given Japanese individual might find themselves on the path toward becoming a composer, and why the music they create sounds the way it does. Koh-Ichi Hattori's *36,000 Days of Japanese Music* (1996) charts the course of two distinct 'pioneers' of Western musical composition, namely Rentaro Taki (1879-1903) and Kohsaku Yamada (1886-1965) - both graduates of the Tokyo National Music School. Hattori sees their lives against the backdrop of the rapidly increasing Westernisation in Meiji era Japan, and in particular looks to their creation of a canon of children's songs to suit the increasing need for material for the newly enforced education system, of which music was a required component. These children's songs would pair Western melodies with Japanese lyrics - designed to suit the simple tastes of the times, as well as the limited piano-playing abilities of the children's kindergarten teachers. Hattori sees

two other factors as key in the spread of a classical music ‘foundation’ across Japan. Firstly, that by the 1990s, one in three families owned a piano and that the ‘majority’ of Japanese children took piano lessons at some point - with the piano itself as a core symbol of aspirational Western culture. Secondly, he cites the proliferation of music colleges and departments in Japan - with as many as 88 across the country. It is this kind of ‘bottom-up’ creation of a system, within which, the potential for new composers (and as a result, new compositional output) arises, that I am interested in exploring further in terms of understanding how creation of new ‘talent’ is created.

Shinobu Oku’s *Music Education in Japan* (1994) offers a more detailed look at how this culture of musical education manifests itself in the wider cultural mindset of Japanese children, noting in particular 'The eagerness to acquire training in a discipline as a pastime'. She sees Western music as part of a culture of ownership in which Japanese children’s musical sensitivity has been moved away from traditional Japanese music toward contemporary popular music, with the paraphernalia of modern technology - such as karaoke - being a fundamental part of this. Oku’s study devotes a number of pages specifically to what she terms ‘TV-songs’, and includes an excerpt of the score for the theme music to the anime ‘Atom Boy’ (aka. *Astro Boy* / *Tetsuwan Atomu*) as an example. She notes the incredible popularity of these songs amongst primary school age children, and charts the evolution in their style from the 60s through to the 90s. As time passed, ‘TV songs’ became increasingly popular with adults as they incorporated more English lyrics, a wider range of backing music (eg. American-influenced rock) and faster tempos. Lastly, she closes in presenting a number of interesting observations regarding the opposition of popular and classical music within a classroom setting. Oku observes that a fall in favour toward classical music in the 1960s corresponded with children citing music classes at school as their least favourite subject. With popular music becoming increasingly popular, schools now had to contend with the question of whether to incorporate it within the education system or not. Citing the work of Tomiko Kojima (1976), she looks to identify a new group; the ‘musically bilingual’ - those that can appreciate both popular and classical music equally, and not as mutually exclusive categories.

In closing this short overview of literature on contemporary Japanese music, it is also worth noting a number of highly engaging studies such as E. Taylor Atkins’ *Blue Nippon* (2001) and Carolyn S. Stevens’ *The Beatles in Japan* (2018) that take, respectively, either an entire genre of the Japanese music industry, or a particular band, as their point of focus. Both are primarily rooted in a narrative historical methodology, beginning with a delineated origin point and moving forward chronologically in time. Within this wider approach however, they also account for a range of deeper thematic discourses (eg. questions of race and authority in Japanese jazz) and methodological approaches (such as retracing the exact geographic route the Beatles took during their trip to Japan). This diversity in methodological or thematic approaches within the broader remit of a historical narrative is echoed in the studies of the broader field of film music analysed earlier, and is useful to keep in mind as we turn our attention to existing literature dealing with the specifics of anime music itself.

State of Play - Existing literature on anime music

The most significant existing work discussing music in relation to anime is Hideko Haguchi's *The Interaction between Music and Visuals in Animated Movies - A Case Study of Akira*, a chapter within Toru Mitsui's edited volume *Made In Japan* (2015). In this essay, Haguchi comments that 'Music has never been a primary focus in anime research', but cites 'the sophisticated interaction between [Akira's] visuals and music' as a core part of the film's lasting legacy and appeal, identifying both the paucity of current discourse in this distinct field, but also the centrality of its relevance to a more fuller discussion of anime as an audio-visual medium. As such, this work represents an excellent framework for discussing soundtracks in relation to the medium of anime, combining both a study of the composer themselves and their production process with a textual analysis of the music in relation to the film itself. This methodology examines, in detail, the working methods of the composer, their stylistic influences and materials (eg. instruments and production technology). With an understanding of these components, in much the same way a film director's cinematic 'style' might be observed, we can look to the composer's music as a 'text' in its own right; distinct from, yet attached, to the 'main text' of the film itself.

By looking to the musical component both on its own individual merits, but also in how it 'synchronises' with the accompanying visuals, analysing the symbiotic artistic function of anime music in this manner would form a core part of the methodology behind my study. In practice, this would draw on the template set out in Haguchi's work, involving analytical descriptions of key scenes from selected anime films and television series, combined with an accompanying textual 'explanation' or semiotic analysis of the way music is used alongside these visuals, describing - for example - the effect certain instruments, lyrics, speed or creative influences contribute to a sense of 'atmosphere' or feeling in the given scene. Expanding our analysis to a wider, industry-wide scale, we might also look at how the 'attachment' of a well-known composer to a specific anime becomes part of a line-up of 'named' creator talent (including the director, writers, voice actors etc.) designed to drive viewer awareness.

Fred Patten's essay collection *Watching Anime, Reading Manga* (2004) includes a piece written by Patten in the late 1980s that presents a then-current historical survey of anime soundtracks, describing their boom in the 1970s following the success of John Williams' score for *Star Wars*, and the subsequent popularity of similar science fiction soundtracks within the medium of anime, including representative works such as *Space Battleship Yamato*. The chapter follows this up with a partial discography of the most notable soundtrack works within anime, identifying how a formal, quantitative element might be incorporated into a 'state of play'-style survey of the industry. While Patten's survey is now rather dated, it is important as it is keenly aware of these soundtracks as part of anime's merchandise-driven media mix - a calculated, commercial product that fits neatly into an interstice between Japan's music and animation industries. The idea of the media mix (also known as transmediation or media synergy) centres around this strategy of dispersing a piece of content via multiple separate, but related, channels. For example, an anime TV show might be accompanied by branded character toys, music CDs, fast-food tie-ins, trading

cards and so on; engendering a desire in fans of the original piece of media content to strive toward ‘the complete experience’, by purchasing or interacting with all the interrelated components.

Beyond these two specific works, further references to the links between music and animation can be found in edited works such as the aforementioned *Made In Japan*, as well as Carolyn Stevens’ *Japanese Popular Music: Culture, Authenticity and Power* (2007). However, beyond this, specific references become more elusive; an issue further amplified by the fact that even within the wider sphere of non-anime-related contemporary Japanese pop music, there is very little quality literature, an issue identified by Jennifer Matsue in *Focus: Music in Contemporary Japan* (2016). Those volumes that do exist, such as Michael Bourdaghs’ *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J-Pop* (2012), Timothy Craig’s *Japan Pop: Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture* (2015) or Mark Schilling’s *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Pop Culture* (1997) are invariably too generalist in nature to afford deep analysis to the topic.

These ideas of globalised consumption and the mixed cultural/commercial potential present in the medium are also outlined in the works of Ian Condry, who has dealt with both music and anime in *The soul of anime: Collaborative creativity and Japan's media success story* (2013) and *Hip-hop Japan: Rap and the paths of cultural globalization* (2006). Condry’s analyses forms part of a wider discourse around globalisation and forms of ‘soft power’, informed by studies such as McGray’s *Japan’s Gross National Cool* (2002) and Iwabuchi’s *Recentering globalization: Popular culture and Japanese transnationalism* (2002), which are important works to consider when seeking to place both music and anime as Japanese cultural products within a transnational context.

Recently, studies such as Clements’ *Anime: A History* (2013) have been emblematic of an approach whereby both scholars and fans of anime are moving increasingly from discussing not only ‘anime as text’ but also ‘anime as product’; where its value as a pop cultural product is understood as part of a multimedia industry worth over $6.5 billion a year. This incorporates a more business orientated approach to the medium in which production decisions such as whether to distribute an anime series internationally or what kinds of associated merchandise to create are considered in the light of how that series might recoup its initial production costs. These ‘product cycles’ are further complicated by a current trend away from the traditional realm of ‘packaged goods’ such as CDs and DVDs, and toward a more digital-based economy defined by online streaming services, something which may have major implications for the future of media content if its notion of value becomes detached from the physical medium it is contained on. In this respect, the anime and music industries can learn both from each-other, but also from global markets where these particular trends of digitalisation have occured at an increased pace.

Conclusions and further research

Based on the above survey of existing literature, I believe my thesis will be both highly original and significant, addressing an identified and sizeable gap in the existing wider discourse of anime as the medium. A study of the role music plays in relation to the medium

is vital to present a full picture of the anime industry and the way the Japanese music industry intersects with it. By examining the work of a number of composers and how their representative works dovetail both artistic and financial interests, I believe my study will also form part of a developing narrative in anime analysis which is moving away from monolithic studies of individual auteur-directors and their key cinematic output, and toward a more fully-developed discussion of anime as a product of *many* individual, diversely skilled creators working together in synthesis as part of defined system - what Clements (2013) envisions as the 'artistic heritage' of 'sets of creatives in particular generational locations'.

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