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Methodological Potential of "Photography in Practice (*shashin-jissen*)" Depicting the Thought of Common People in the "Postwar" Period: Importance of the layered experience of Shōmei Tōmatsu deepening his understandings of the reality through photography

Teppei YOSHINARI[1] **and Emako MIYOSHI**[1]

Abstract

Over 78 years have passed since WW II and it is imperative that we pass down the harsh experience of the war and afterwar to future generations. Moreover, the reality of the "postwar" society needs to be reexamined given the raging wars under the Cold War occurred in East Asia, such as the Korean War and Vietnam War. Considering the aforementioned issues, "postwar" photographers have produced valuable works for future generations, capturing people who have experienced a variety of social changes. However, many issues remain regarding how to use photographs, especially in modern Japanese history, although historians place a high value on its potential for describing the postwar history in a different way.

By contrast, a review of previous research indicates that images evoked by photographs have generally been discussed by focusing almost solely on respective works. In other words, little was known about how photographers faced and understood the reality of postwar Japan. For example, Shōmei Tōmatsu was one of the most influential Japanese photographers of the postwar era. His shock and reflection at not knowing the reality of Nagasaki after the atomic bombing in the early 1960s led him to spend several decades following and filming survivors.

Thus, the authors devised and applied "photography in practice (*shashin-jissen*)." This is an original methodology for systematically redefining the expression of photographers' intentions, which are constantly deepened beyond the immediate reality through photographing. The authors adopted "photography in practice" and focused on Tōmatsu's postwar works to clarify the reality of the postwar society that he once continued to express. This was achieved by reconstructing various media of expression along the trajectory of his photographic

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[1] Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University, 1–2, Yamadaoka, Suita, Osaka 565–0871, Japan

activities, such as photo collections, magazines, and newspaper articles, while considering the social conditions of the time.

On the other hand, "photography in practice" was inspired by folklorist Kunio Yanagita's theory of feelings. Additionally, it shares common ground with life-history research. Hence, to systematize this methodology more precisely, it is necessary to reinforce the theoretical backgrounds.

Therefore, this study reconsiders the methodological potential of "photography in practice" by reviewing the relationships among theories that offer important suggestions.

In conclusion, "photography in practice" closely focuses on facts captured through the photographer's mind, which deepens through the act of photography as "feelings" according to Yanagita's theory of feelings. Notably, it is characterized by the inability to separate objects into facts and feelings because they are "facts observed through feelings" of the perceiving subject. In addition, our methodology examines the relationship between social change and the individual based on objective facts, which has the analytical perspective in common with life-history research. Further, we hope to pass down "postwar history" from the perspective of photographers on future generations by our own photographic activities in the field.

Key words: "photography in practice (*shashin-jissen*)"; Shōmei Tōmatsu; Postwar Society; Common People

1. Introduction

1.1. Locating the Issue

Today, 78 years after the end of World War II, we are entering the "post-experiential era," which means we will lose the ability to hear direct testimony from people who experienced World War II; wartime and postwar experiences must be passed down urgently. However, researchers suggested that recording and passing down these experiences are difficult due to their complexities, such as the enormous volumes of remaining records, generation gaps concerning experiences, and the difficulty in retelling them. These factors are often overlooked in the rush to pass down these experiences (Fukuma 2022).

When looking back over the wars that occurred in East Asia under the Cold War regime, beginning in the Korean Peninsula and Vietnam, we must reexamine the framework of the "postwar" period. Historian Ryūichi Narita and the sociologist Shunya Yoshimi propose the need to "consider the postwar period within the Asian space and time" and "relativize the basis for the recognition of 'postwar' within the global and local changes of the twentieth century" based on the question "How many countries in Asia consider 'postwar' to mean after World War II?," which was posed by the Okinawa-born author Shun Medoruma shortly before "60 years from the end of World War II" (Medoruma 2005:12). In other words, reframing "postwar" as "a venue where multiple historical spaces overlap" (Narita & Yoshimi 2005: 6) is important. Moreover, as sociologist Chikanobu Michiba points out, "re-imagining" postwar history has "the effect of taking advantage, as the 'postwar' past is rapidly 'put behind us,' of the carelessness of the procedures to 'put the past behind us'" (Michiba 2021: 11).

Based on these key points, this paper discusses the passing down of wartime and postwar experiences, focusing on photographers who lived through the postwar era. These photographers' precious works showed what they witnessed and recorded at the actual sites of common people's lives and entrusted them to the future. Chapter 2 discusses in detail how social history studies of photographs formed an important turning point that drew a line between classical photography studies in conventional aesthetics and art studies that focused on author theory (Ogawa 2012) and a trend in which photography studies spread into various fields, including sociology, folkloristics, and history (Ashina 2008). In history (especially in the history of modern Japan), there were considerable expectations for depicting postwar history through photographs along with conventional written materials and oral records. However, this paper argues that this process is being developed (Ōkado 2012).

While keeping the above trends in photography studies in mind, the authors' studies to date have revealed that the reality of the postwar era faced by photographers has been overlooked. In the history and theory of photography, discussions have broadly focused on these works from the perspective of the observer and primarily concerned the photographer. As an example, Yoshinari and Miyoshi (2021) discussed in detail Shōmei Tōmatsu (1930–2012), a photographer who closely examined postwar Japan for more than half a century, beginning in the 1950s. His photos have been interpreted in existing

studies as images symbolizing Nagasaki's sufferings since the late 16th century from a perspective that places the work at the center. Yoshinari and Miyoshi (2021) focused instead on the shock felt by Tōmatsu, who first visited Nagasaki in the early 1960s, when learning that atomic bomb survivors continued to live difficult lives, although more than 10 years had passed since the bombing. This drove him to photograph that area over the next several decades. Although Tōmatsu felt conflicted by his reluctance to show the atomic bomb survivors' scars and his responsibility to convey the reality of being irradiated to future generations, he retained the spirit of "So, when I photographed you like that, was clicking the shutter something only I could do?" (1977). He continued taking photographs in the area over several decades to close the "distance" he felt from the atomic bomb survivors.

Thus, to overcome the issues of existing studies in photography history and theory, the authors have retraced the footsteps of Tōmatsu's photography (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2023b) to depict how people sought to live through the postwar period, based on the unique methodology of "photography in practice (*shashin-jissen*)," which the author proposed with support from physical sensations in his photographic experience over more than ten years (Yoshinari 2021). Photography in practice refers to a methodology that systematically recaptures the reality that photographers accepted through a mind that gradually deepened during the photographic acts by considering the diverse and expressive media they created. This methodology extensively searches photographic collections, magazines, newspaper articles, and various other publication media, which are expressions of reality the photographers faced from one moment to another but that previous studies had rarely discussed, making it a new methodology that differs from conventional analyses.

However, when constructing photography in practice as a new methodology, the authors of this study considered the feelings theory of Yanagita's folkloristics (Torigoe 2002) to interpret the reality that the photographers accepted on the ground (as discussed in detail Chapter 3). This is because Yanagita's feelings theory is extremely important when refining the photography-in-practice methodology as it interprets the mind of people's desperate reality in a location from the perspective of their daily lives. Photography, in practice, also has an important connection with life history studies because it reexamines postwar history from each photographer's lived experience. Accordingly, to systematize photography in practice further as a methodology, the authors felt it necessary to discuss the various theories constructed by previous researchers as they sought to capture the realities of daily life while traversing existing research fields, reinforcing their theoretical foundations.

1.2. Study objectives

This paper adds concrete detail to the various theories that support the foundations of photography in practice and their relations to the existing methodology, refining its unique methodology. When doing so, the importance of connecting the philosophical actions of common people in the postwar period to retracing from the perspective lived by the photographer by turning attention to the layered experience that the photographer himself received through acts of photography must be emphasized. Tōmatsu's footsteps are given concrete detail by the authors using photography in practice, revealing the active

photography process he used began a close examination of postwar Japan motivated by the country's defeat in World War II and the experience of occupation during his youth. He reflected on the overlooked postwar reality in Nagasaki after the atomic bombing and Okinawa before the reversion, closing the distance between people living in these locations and the internal truth of this process (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2023b). This point should also be emphasized and clearly differentiated from the perspectives of existing studies discussed below, which have positioned photographs as objective things or information to consider the image of a specific period or how photographs from the time are received.

Chapter 2 begins by carefully reviewing related research that uses photographic historical materials and their perspectives to confirm the differences in research position between photography in practice and related research. Chapter 3 summarizes various theories that support the foundations of photography in practice, such as the abovementioned feelings theory of Yanagita Kunio and life history research, and seeks to refine this unique methodology. Subsequently, Chapter 4 reviews the thoughts of common people in the postwar era that appeared out of the perspective of Shōmei Tōmatsu, as the authors previously elucidated, as a case example of analysis by photography in practice. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the meaning for the authors of this study to accept the realities the photographers conveyed to the future as something that continues into the now; these authors, who live in a different era, also began taking photographs in the locations where the photographers left their marks with their photography. The concepts the authors particularly wish to consider in this discussion are "historical truthfulness" and "implication," which historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki proposed as important concepts for determining how to approach history so that we can undertake our responsibility to the past and act into the future. Chapter 5 reexamines the realities of postwar life in Japan and searches for further developments in the potential of the methodology of photography in practice based on the above prescient arguments.

2. Summary of existing studies using photographic historical materials and the characteristics of their concepts

To summarize existing studies using photographic historical materials and their characteristics, photographic history has generally centered depictions of "photographic history as the history of expression" because of its focus on photographers and their works (Kobayashi 2005: 16–18). Sociologist Naoto Ogawa highlights the existence of "standard narratives concerning photographic experience" that have been implicitly woven into the mainstream in conventional Japanese photographic history studies (Ogawa 2012: 15). According to Ogawa, narratives of "old photographs" by famous photographers and "the photographic experience as artistic expression" became the "main topic." The "subject" in this case was an "author-focused narrative" of "the famous photographer (from the late Edo period to the mid-Meiji era), amateur photographer, or photojournalist." Regarding their "practice," Ogawa asserts that the photographic act of clicking the shutter received the most attention (ibid.: 16). Therefore, the authors note that Ogawa casts doubt on the view that "'a photographer-centered history of photography'

[has been reproduced] under historical regard that can be collectively titled the ‘old photograph and photography circles view of history,’” based on the above historical description that has become standard in Japanese photographic history (ibid.: 15–16).

Conversely, as photography historian Masako Toda discusses in detail, a line was drawn separating the abovementioned artist-centered trend in photography history, in which works by famous photographers were mentioned in a central position, and photography studies developed as a new field of sociology in the 1980s (Toda 2012: 51–53). This refers to social history studies of photographic historical materials, specifically those that paid attention to “social forms of existence of the photograph as a thing” pioneered by sociologist Kenji Satō (1994) and photography critic Kōji Taki ([1982] 2003). These had “a sense of direction that sought to reexamine the social context that the photographs were embedded into” (Ogawa 2012: 18). On this point in particular, Taki’s presentation of the question at the beginning of the 1980s contrasts with the abovementioned “photographer-centered history of photography,” which the authors wish to emphasize. At the time, Taki noted the dearth of “histories of photography written from the perspective of social history” and stated the following:

> “I am interested in the history of society, not the history of photography, so I have had an interest in thinking about how photographs become social phenomena. Whether that is a single photograph, I will interrogate the very state in which it appears in society, rather than cutting it away from its context like a plate in the history of photography and thinking about it purely in an abstract state with only the expression extracted.” (Taki [1982] 2003: 352)

Taki argues that “when photographs appear in society, they are never free from ties to some sort of media, and they are perceived and read by people in a tied state” (ibid.: 352). This interest later bore fruit in his leading work, *Portraits of the Emperor* (Taki [1988] 2002), which considered the process by which the modern imperial system arose from the perspective of the creation of pre-World War II photographs of the Emperor. Ogawa points out that social history studies of photographic historical materials, which progressed with a distinct line drawn between analysis from the author theory perspective that was conventional in photography history, as shown above, presents three perspectives: (1) “creation of historical materials from images of daily life or the day-to-day”; (2) “social forms of existence of the photograph as a thing”; (3) “reciprocity of theory on photographic historical materials and social history descriptions” (Ogawa 2012: 24). This will be discussed later, but this concept shares characteristics with the debate on photographic historical materials in history studies.

The above gives an overview of the development of photography studies, mainly in photography history and historical sociology. This development spread from photographer-centered photography studies in aesthetics and art studies into social history studies that focused on how photographs were interpreted and manifested in society. Similar comments were also seen in history studies; the historian Fumi Ashina, for example, pointed out that photography studies that regarded photographs as “expression” and “record” expanded their base into architectural history, history studies, and folkloristics,

among other areas, and that an "analytical method that attempts to interpret the mutual relationships between the various actors from the photograph," such as the subject being photographed and the person who directed the photograph to be made, in addition to the photographer, had become more active (Ashina 2008: 40–41). However, when considering the characteristics of photography research in history studies, researchers must carefully consider the amount of attention paid to the value of the "subject" appearing in a photograph as a "record and historical material" (ibid.: 41). When using photographic historical materials, researchers should consider that photographs may bring into relief the daily lives of common people not remembered in written materials (Shimazu 2009; Arima 2010). For example, Yoshiko Shimazu discovered a recording capability unique to photographs in restraining one-sided understandings of specific periods and times as photographs record in detail single aspects of everyday life lost in the broader image we have of these periods and times. She mentions that photographs sharply reveal the "subtle differences" from the present day, which are less easily sensed from written materials (Shimazu 2009: 10). Notably, this overlaps with the importance mentioned by Manabu Arima, who proposed the potential of images as historical materials because they allow the everyday lives of common people to be recorded; these people are often excluded from historical descriptions as they are not recorded in written materials (Arima 2010: 35).

One point of discussion regarding the use of photographs as historical materials is similar to that of written materials (Kawamura 2007; Shimazu 2009; Inoue 2016). Yūko Inoue encourages that these materials be used cautiously, as photographs tend to be believed as "truth" due to the objectivity of the lens. However, the photographer and editor make choices and manipulations while publishing and distributing the photographs in printed media, and the choice to "not release and not transmit" is also made[1)] (Inoue 2016: 47–48). In other words, photographs are "historical materials with strong politicality or intentionality" (ibid.: 48). Thus, Inoue argues that criticism of historical materials requires an understanding of where and when the photograph was taken, a careful investigation of the original context, and a clarification of the history of "what kind of history led to it being there" (ibid.: 51).

The importance of "interviewing people who are close in terms of involvement as a party, contemporaneity, regionality, and other factors" and those who share memories and experiences relating to the photo has been emphasized as an effective method for interpreting photographs in history studies (Shimazu 2009: 14). For example, the previously mentioned Arima discusses the relationship between memories preserved in family albums and awareness of the history of the region and based his experience of compiling a history of the local government area through collecting albums in Hyūga, Miyazaki (Arima 2012). At this time, Arima conducted the "relativization of history" by a "review of history from the everyday" (Inoue 2016: 52)—he brought into relief a form of the community lost today from a "family history made up of *the everyday*" (Arima 2012: 132) based on interviews with the albums' owners.[2)]

Nevertheless, despite the expectations placed on photographic historical materials in history studies, especially in the history of modern Japan, the current reality is that photographs are not sufficiently used (Ashina 2014). One example of proactively attempting to use photographs as historical

descriptions is Masakatsu Ōkado's *Living through War and Postwar (History of Japan: Complete Collection 15)* (Ōkado 2009). Ōkado describes the photographs used in this work as "materials reflecting the era," not "illustrations," and he asserts that the "double conversion process after World War II" of "the conversion from all-out war to occupation of the Japanese mainland mainly by the United States" and "the conversion from the collapse of the Great Empire of Japan to the Cold War in East Asia and United States control" is engraved in the photographs of Korean and Okinawan people taken by the occupying forces and the United States Armed Forces, for example (Ōkado 2010). Nonetheless, although Ōkado points to the potential photographs have as "a new material in history studies," he goes no further than expectations that examinations of "the postwar history of photography" and "the period history of photography" will expand further (Ōkado 2012), and the use of photographic historical materials for depicting postwar history is being developed.[3)]

Based on prior research on photographic historical materials and their characteristics, let us confirm here the difference in research stance from "photography in practice," the theoretical foundation of which will be summarized in the following chapter. First, in the existing studies, photographs have been positioned and used objectively as materials to depict the society of the time and images of history. Based on this point, the authors emphasize that the proposed photography in practice focuses on the experiences of the photographers themselves, which is deepened through their acts of photography, and brings into sharp relief the way of life of the people they captured through a diverse range of expressive media, including photography. In other words, photography in practice is characterized by deciphering from the photographs that the photographers generated through their mind how they expressed the realities from time to time as they lived their lives while facing the transformations of time.

However, the methodology of photography in practice must also respond to the risk of being regarded at first glance as identical to existing research from the perspective of the theory of the author, as discussed earlier, or the theory of the photographer's personage. As discussed in detail in the following chapter, the range the authors investigate through photography in practice is the historical reality of the postwar period they accepted and continued to express through the photographic activities they dedicated their lives to; in this respect, photography, in practice, has aspects that overlap with life history studies.

Furthermore, a difference in concept exists between photography in practice and existing research using photographic historical materials as analysis by photography in practice reframes the reality of life that photographers faced as something that continues into the present. This differs from Ōkado, for example, who noted that the ultimate aim of history studies from written materials and interviews is to depict "the entirety of a period in the past" (Arisue et al. 2016: 328). Existing studies also tend to emphasize depictions of differences with the present day regarding matters interpreted from photographs. Accordingly, the authors emphasize that photography research in history studies has drawn from attempts to elucidate the everyday lives of common people that had not been recorded in written materials; photography, in practice, makes it possible to decipher how the thoughts of common people who confronted social change following World War II are connected to our present-day selves.

3. Methodological potential of "photography in practice (shashin-jissen)," which derives from the "feelings" of the photographer

3.1. Focusing on the feelings of the photographer watching the thoughts of common people

3.1.1. Invoking the feelings theory of Yanagita folkloristics

While remembering the differences in concept with related research using photographic historical materials examined in the preceding chapter, this chapter begins by summarizing the theories that underpin photography in practice in this chapter to add concrete detail to this unique methodology's potential. As stated in the introduction, analysis through photography in practice brings to the surface how people tried to live their lives while accepting the social change of the postwar period from the paths taken by the photographers.

As discussed above, the authors have focused on the realities of life following Japan's defeat in World War II and how photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu used this perspective in his photographic acts (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2023b). The introduction cited Tōmatsu's conflict regarding photographing atomic bomb survivors, and the authors wish to re-emphasize their focus on the active process by which photographs are left behind along with the photographer's mind in the moment the photograph was taken. This concept was expressed by Tōmatsu as "photographs are also alive" (Tōmatsu 1995). Accordingly, the methodology of photography in practice regards photographs as being created by clicking the shutter at one moment or another with the shock, self-reflection, and feelings with which the photographer in that setting cannot entirely deal. Therefore, the photographs left behind each "fact" that the photographer accepted at the setting through this "mind." The argument below begins by discussing the "feelings theory" of Yanagita folkloristics as providing key information to the authors on this point;[4] the above perspective of "the facts seen through the mind" of the photographer takes the position of either the photographer's "subjective view" or "intention," which will create a distance from what the authors seek to capture through this methodology.

As a starting point, we review feelings theory in Yanagita folkloristics. The main reference here is the argument that Hiroyuki Torigoe, who proposed "life environmentalism" to analyze lifestyles from "the standpoint of residents actually living in the society" (Torigoe 1984: 325) in environmental sociology, developed regarding the methodology unique to Yanagita folkloristics as one part of his theoretical foundation (Torigoe 2002).

According to Torigoe, the facts written by Yanagita, such as *Tōno Monogatari* (The tale of Tōno) and *Yama no Jinsei* (Life in the mountains), contain more than a few "expressions that are not 'empirical' ('experiential')" in a "scientific" sense; "although they are 'facts' in a certain sense, in essence, we must include 'in a certain sense' when describing them" (ibid.: 155). As Yanagita emphasized entrusting interpretation to the facts at this time, Yanagita's feelings become important as they are part of the entity who interpreted the facts (ibid.: 163–164). In other words, we must remember Torigoe's argument that while Western inductionalism regards the object from the standpoint of "intellectual analysis," Yanagita is characterized by looking at the object from the standpoint of mind while being thoroughly bound to

the facts (ibid.: 168, 181).

The establishment of Yanagita's feelings theory dates to medieval poetry theory, which placed greater weight on analysis of the mind (ibid.: 169). For example, Torigoe discusses a poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro in which he takes the cherry blossoms of Mount Yoshino to be "clouds" when they speak to his heart as a usage example of "heart" in the kana introduction to the *Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry*, which established poetry theory. Notably, as a point in common with the concept of Yanagita's feelings theory as discussed above, if Hitomaro is taken to have "observed the cherry blossoms on the mountain = clouds," this would be within the "region of knowledge," whereas if he is assumed to have "felt that the cherry blossoms on the mountain were just like clouds," this would be within the "region of emotion." In other words, as the regions of knowledge and emotion are the same when looking through the heart of the perceiving entity, Yanagita considered objects presences that cannot be separated into knowledge and emotion when interpreting folklore phenomena[5] (ibid.: 170, 181).

However, when interpreting "facts as seen through the heart," Yanagita, as the perceiving entity, understood the object being observed through "basic experience," such as the wisdom and historical individuality inherent in ordinary people's way of life (ibid.: 182). This is necessary because Yanagita thought that solving familiar, pressing questions people had in their daily lives required wisdom (ibid.: 49–50), but doing so requires understanding the past—how the current phenomenon came to be from "the way one's ancestors lived" (ibid.: 213). Therefore, according to Torigoe, Yanagita's feelings theory is a "regime of interpretation that the perceiving entity could detect through its heart by placing itself exactly in that situation" (ibid.: 54–55), for which reason it adopts "the method of constantly unifying one's own and the object's hearts and interpreting from that position" (ibid.: 181). Notably, the above overlaps with the point that the photographer gradually accepts and expresses through their heart the reality of daily life for the people living in that location when considering the concept of photography in practice.

Thus, Yanagita's feelings theory has "practicality in the sense of understanding with the body," rather than the "head" (ibid.: 183); it analyzes the reality in front of one based on the "facts" within people's everyday lives. Nevertheless, as Torigoe points out, this could extend too far into "objective" or "emotional interpretation" from the perspective of Western thought. On this point, Torigoe invokes the "theory-ladenness of observation" proposed by scientific historian Norwood Hanson ([1958] 1986) while arguing that the difference between Western inductionalism and Yanagita's feelings theory resolves into a question concerning our theories of cognition, in the difference between looking at the object with "glasses colored by prior knowledge" or "the colored glasses of the heart," in that "scientists can look at objects only with the assumption of the knowledge that they have accumulated to date" (ibid.: 185). In other words, Yanagita folkloristics clearly recognizes the "objectivity in fact recognition" inherent in science (Torigoe 1984: 339) and uses this to develop an argument from "life in practice" as lived by each person to answer the desperate questions that we hold (Torigoe 2002: 224). Let us confirm again that based on Yanagita's feelings theory, which was outlined above, photography, in practice, also

affirms "the objectivity in fact recognition." It depicts the thoughts of people living their everyday lives while bearing contradictions and conflicts through the "heart" of the photographer.

3.1.2. Focusing on the layered experience through photographic acts

Next, what must not be overlooked when interpreting the photographer's feelings through photography in practice is the aspect that they gradually deepen in the process of going through photographic activities over time. The reality they encounter and accept is constantly reexamined as they continue photographing. Torigoe is referring to the experiential theory of philosopher Arimasa Mori when proposing life environmentalism; Torigoe states that guaranteeing "how people 'are as humans,'" which was an issue in the actual locations of environmental issues, was the "experience" mentioned by Mori (Torigoe, Adachi & Kanebishi 2018: 523–524). Mori states that the idea of "experience" came from an understanding that "we undergo stresses due to our own pasts that contain various things, or rather, we can only grasp that through the past," and argues that "objective reality," as we think of it, is none other than "my experience" (Mori 1970: 200). Therefore, Mori is asserting that the current reality is actually the past for the perceiving.

However, our "experience" is always open to "the future." For example, Mori states the following:

> "New events constantly occur there, we constantly recognize them with an open mind, and the outcomes are accumulated within us. There lies what is known as 'experience,' so experience inevitably opens toward the future. Everything opens toward the future or toward tomorrow. This means that we are prepared to constantly take in completely new things. I think that this is the true, deep meaning of experience." (Mori 1970: 98–99)

As discussed in the next chapter, based on Shōmei Tōmatsu's foundation, photographers' experience is inspired and deepened by photographic acts from one moment to the next, even when analyzed by photography in practice.[6)] They click their shutters for a future when someone will see their photo while gradually accepting anew the reality people have faced in their daily lives as their challenges.

3.1.3. Selecting the unique standpoint of the "common people"

Finally, in addition to the above points, photography, in practice, affirms the "objectivity in standpoint" in the same way as life environmentalism. While life environmentalism alights into people's sensitivity from the "standpoint of the resident" (Adachi 2018: 14), photography, in practice, also re-deciphers the realities of people's thoughts from the dimension of the daily lives the photographer has continually examined. This occurs because the authors consider there to be a "postwar" reality that arises when considering the unique standpoint of "common people." Historian Yoshio Yasumaru, who traced the concepts of "the people" and "the masses" in the history of postwar thought, stated that "the people" and "the masses," who are the common people who "somehow live their lives through many innovations and efforts while making various adjustments under the given conditions" (Yasumaru 2002:

100), are "methodological concepts rather than actual ones" and are "concepts relating to the imaginative power necessary when depicting certain organized images concerning the society or history the researcher has taken as their object" (ibid.: 66). Thus, he comments as follows:

> "Even if the object of examination is an extremely limited minority from the perspective of society as a whole, exceptional people and minorities can disclose the characteristics of history or society from their view of its cross-section and pointedly radiate back the general, and so 'the people' and 'the masses' do not necessarily need to be the majority in society in substance." (Yasumaru 2002: 66)

Based on the above comment, Yasumaru argues that the use of these concepts by researchers already means the selection of "some sort of strategic, ideological standpoint" that is "frequently heuristic and stimulating and useful to other standpoints as well" (Yasumaru 2002: 100).

This standpoint is confirmed by the theories of Masako Amano, a sociologist who carefully retraced the development of the concept of "common people" in postwar history. Amano points out that "everyday life" includes "the consumption of goods and services and the production and labor that this assumes and at the most fundamental level, human life and death and relations with the environment," and positions "common people" as "that entirety that everyday life originally has and people as an entity that wishes to hold this entirety in its hands" (Amano 1996: 13). What cannot be overlooked here regarding the unique standpoint of "common people" is that "everyday life" ties into the active argument that it "cannot be broken down or divided into labor, consumption, politics, or the like as the way society exists with its divisions of operations" in the first place (ibid.: 13). As discussed in greater detail in the following section, comments like these overlap with life history research, which finds significance in continually following the life of one person out of reflection on having forgotten that each human's "everyday life = the entirety of living" amid the subdivision and specialization of present-day life studies (Arisue 2012: 45). When keeping the above discussion in mind, it should be emphasized that photography, in practice, actively focuses on the thoughts of common people as captured through the photographer's feelings.

3.2. Response to social conditions of the time

However, to interpret the photographer's feelings, considering the social conditions in one's time and place is necessary to understand the aspect of "objective fact." Therefore, the frame of reference of life history studies is important.

Acting together with photography in practice within the concepts of life history studies, as summarized by sociologist Ken Arisue[7], is the intersection between life history and social history and, more specifically, the standpoint that recaptures the relation between the individual and social change from the aspect of facts in life history. This is, to wit, "the thinking that the history of society can be composed again from forms suited to the lives of humans and the events and experiences that have

major significance to each person" (Arisue 2012: 57). Based on this point, the authors note that photography, in practice, also deciphers the progress of postwar society anew by depicting the reality of life that appears from the photographers' feelings. Incidentally, Arisue points to the orientation toward "deep history," which is not "a surface-level, established historical classification"—toward attempting to grasp "phenomena of feelings, such as intellectual history and psychological history," as one perspective of social history that overlaps with life history (ibid.: 58), but this is also shared with the interpretation of the photographers' feelings through photography in practice.

Simultaneously, a difference in stance between life history studies and photography in practice must be emphasized; while the former adopts a retrospective perspective that considers the past from the present time, the latter stands at the points in time when the photographer's heart was moved through photographic acts and brings into relief the reality they faced. In other words, photography, in practice, is characterized by depicting their feelings from a prospective perspective.

The debate concerning the importance of "the historically inherent understanding of 'occurrences' that have been determined in multiple layers within diverse potentials and coincidences" (Satō 2001: 172), as argued by sociologist Kenji Satō, addresses this. Satō suggests that researchers cautiously approach thinking disguised as the logic of historical "necessity" behind the development stage schema seen in printing revolution research because "the outcome that we reached was not the only possibility of development" (ibid.: 172). Therefore, he states that avoiding confusing "determinations from the present when we already know the conclusion" and "ways of seeing from one point in the past that had undetermined futures" is necessary; constant self-reflection regarding "the risk of observing, tracing, and adjudicating occurrences" according to "the effects of 'strong history' that should be called the authority of outcomes" (Satō 2001: 172–173) is important. Accordingly, the authors place importance on "historically inherent understanding" in their interpretation of the photographers' feelings. This opinion is also found in the teachings of Shunsuke Tsurumi, a philosopher whom Satō had in mind when writing about the above points; Tsurumi suggested that "people's hopes and dreams make up history, even when they are frustrated" and expounded on the importance of depicting history from "the (prospective) dimension of expectations" of the people when an event occurs (Harada 2001: 172–173).

3.3. Positioning of and method of deciphering materials in an analysis by photography in practice

Based on the characteristics of the photography in practice methodology discussed above, this section summarizes how the analysis materials are positioned to depict the feelings the photographer deepens through photographic acts. Although expectations have been raised about the various possibilities of photographic historical materials in recent years, they have, in general, been positioned and deciphered as objective things or information, as shown in the close review of the related studies in Chapter 2. However, based on the characteristics described in this chapter, analysis by photography in practice seeks to decipher photographs while considering them as expressive media that conveys the thoughts of common people to the present, as perceived through the heart of the photographers. For example, researchers can look beyond the photographs to focus on the captions attached to them and the

narratives related by the photographers at contemporaneous round-table discussions and dialogues.

When remembering that photography in practice intersects with life history studies, the concept of "the individual as field" Kenji Satō proposed and is seen below should be referred to in particular because analysis by photography in practice also retraces the path of each of the photographers who lived their lives while constantly facing social change through their photographic acts.

According to Satō, life history attempts to propose the point for discussion that the many relationships of "the individual" with "society," "the whole," "norms = order," and others are "complexly accumulated 'venues'" (Satō 2011: 147). In other words, in the same way that society is a "complex, multidimensional construct," the individual is also a "complex, multilayered being" and requires a monographic "thick description" and the deciphering of its structure (ibid.: 148). When thinking about the positioning of analysis materials in photography in practice at this time, the point from Satō's argument regarding the importance of going beyond oral records and considering "multifaceted use of materials" relating to "the individual as field" (ibid.: 166) should not be overlooked. Satō argues that, in addition to autobiographies, these materials include diaries and letters and consultations about personal affairs and *seikatsu-tsuzurikata* (compositions on topics from daily life), which have been used as sociological raw materials for Japanese expressive characteristics. Notably, Satō adds photographs to the mentioned items; this was first pointed out by sociologist Ken Plummer ([1983] 1991) (ibid.: 166). Satō suggests the need for utilizing materials that have "different phases and historicity" while understanding their respective "data quality" (ibid.: 166). Analysis by photography in practice also draws out the historical reality the photographers faced from their footsteps and uses photograph collections, magazines, newspaper articles, essays, collections of dialogs, and diverse other media of expression in "multifaceted" ways.

Nonetheless, as Satō argues, having a careful grasp of "the social manner of existence of the materials" and engaging in the "material criticism" of "deciphering by accounting for the depth of their meaning" is essential in an analysis by photography in practice as well, because any material or data is "the outcome of human, cultural practice" and "the social manner of its existence itself [has] testamentary power" (Satō 2015a: 105–106). Attention must also be paid to how photographs are interpreted and how it is done in the current moment. For example, Satō asserts the need for an "interpretive reading" of photographs that associates the captions and other "records of when and how they were taken" with the photographs[8)] (ibid.: 390). Nevertheless, photography, in practice, which focuses on the photographers' feelings, deciphers the photographs while paying particular attention to "why [the photographers] took them." The next chapter discusses concrete details based on the authors' results to date.

4. Layered experience of photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu that becomes visible through photography in practice

To demonstrate analysis using photography in practice, this chapter reviews the thoughts of common people in the postwar era that appear from the experiences of Shōmei Tōmatsu, as deciphered

by this paper's authors. However, before doing so, the characteristics of the photographer being analyzed by photography in practice should be noted again. In general, photographers tend to be classified and their works discussed based on the photographic genre that forms the core of their respective work, such as "photojournalist," "landscape photographer," or "advertising photographer." Nonetheless, in view of the differences in standpoint when photographing, the authors note that photography in practice considers photographers who have a certain characteristic in common in their photographic process over time. As with Tōmatsu, they have reflected on what they can do as photographers because of the shock they experienced when they confronted reality through their photography, and they sought to close that distance by continuing to take photographs. Michio Hoshino and Naoya Hatakeyama are two other photographers who follow this pattern; the authors have focused on them previously[9] (Yoshinari 2021). Below, the authors discuss these points in concrete detail based on Tōmatsu's framework.

4.1. Tōmatsu's photographic acts, sparked by the shock of the reality of the postwar era

As the authors have already revealed by examining photography in practice in a previous paper (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2022a), Tōmatsu was a youth during World War II; what sparked his photographic activities was the vivid shock from "Americanization" as symbolized by the United States military base that suddenly appeared in his hometown (a neighborhood of Nagoya) after the end of the war. His complicated opposition to the American occupation after World War II regulated Tōmatsu's photographic activities for more than half a century (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021: 20–21). Amid the hell of starvation due to extreme food shortages following Japan's defeat, the US soldiers whom Tōmatsu had been taught were "American and British savages" handed out chewing gum and chocolate, while the neighborhoods around the bases were transformed by the occupation forces, and Tōmatsu saw children born to stationed soldiers. He also developed a distrust of the adults who had promoted war. His acceptance of "the enmity and anger of the people who were killed like bugs" was a foundational experience (Tōmatsu 1966a: 48).

Tōmatsu's journey from the 1950 to the early 1960s, when he began working as a photographer while maintaining this complicated state mind, show that he captured the lives of people who faced and were conflicted by changes that proceeded quickly from the recovery from wartime damage to rapid economic growth (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2022a). During the war, daily life in Japan had been dismissed; after its unprecedented defeat, interest in daily life increased. Notably, Tōmatsu took photographs of people living their everyday lives while embracing the various difficulties and contradictions in ordinary life out of empathy as an ordinary person who had also experienced defeat.

Tōmatsu took photographs throughout Japan on the topics of the American occupation, which continued despite the peace treaty in 1952, as well as the Japanese people who had been born in the Meiji era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the decisive experience for him was his encounter with atomic bomb survivors living in Nagasaki at the start of the 1960s. Tōmatsu first visited Nagasaki in 1961 at the request of the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyō), as discussed in a previous paper (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021); he was shocked to see for

the first time the lives of people who suffered from the effects of irradiation and discrimination from those around them. At the time, Tōmatsu wrote the following:

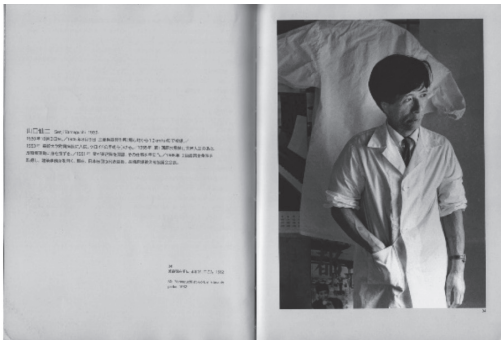
> "That is to say, Nagasaki has a time that has stopped at '11:02' and an ongoing time that has its origin at 11:02 on August 9, 1945. We must never forget these two times." (Tōmatsu 1966b)

In the introduction, Tōmatsu's conflict regarding photographing the scars of atomic bomb survivors was emphasized. Here, he then asked himself whether he could close the distance between himself and the experience of the atomic bomb, which he had not experienced, by taking photographs. He decided to continue his photographic activities in the area for nearly half a century; he also rearranged photographs contained in various works he published over several decades on the theme of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and continued to convey the realities of surviving the bombing as he understood them.[10)]

As discussed in a previous paper, Photograph 1 focusing on the keloids on the neck of Mr. Senji Yamaguchi, an atomic bomb survivor; this image was included in Tōmatsu's first collection, *11:02 NAGASAKI* (1966). His third collection, *Nagasaki, August 9, 1945, 11:02* (1995), was published approximately 30 years later and included new photographs showing how Mr. Yamaguchi spent his everyday life during that same period (Photograph 2). The authors' analysis reveals that Tōmatsu reframed each atomic bomb survivor as an ordinary person who lived during the wartime and postwar periods by continuing to take photographs within the distance of the atomic bombing experience (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021). Over several decades of photographic activities, Tōmatsu developed a sense of the layered depth of history surrounding the East China Sea that had continued uninterrupted since the Middle Ages, such as the Christian martyrs and links with China through maritime trade, while comprehensively reframing the lives of the people alive in Nagasaki (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2022b).

Incidentally, Ken Domon, known for the realist photography movement, famously reported on the reality of the situation following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima; however, Domon's work reconfirms the importance of Tōmatsu's stance that "I cannot shout in Nagasaki for any reason" (Tōmatsu 1984: 15). As shown below, Tōmatsu continued to take photographs to transmit the realities of life following the atomic bombing to the future.

> I do not proclaim slogans opposing the atomic bomb or calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons, but I hope to play that role by continuing to photograph the ordinary and the out-of-the-ordinary of atomic bomb survivors. If one photo sticks in your heart and does not allow you to forget it in some way, so that it makes you think about the atomic bomb issue … I am imposing on myself the question of what kind of message to leave for the twenty-first century through photographs. It is connected to hope for the sensitivity of the youth, thinking that people looking steadily at the now, young people, those who are yet to be born will make full use of their creativity, including on the Internet. I hope to deliver a concentrated message to the future by hand. ("21 seiki no eichi ni



(Left) Photo 1. 11:02 NAGASAKI (1966) (Right) Photo 2. "Mr. Senji Yamaguchi who helps the hairdresser, 1962" (Nagasaki, August 9, 1945, 11:02, 1995) © Shōmei Tōmatsu—INTERFACE

> nozomi takushite: Shashinka Tōmatsu Shōmei san (ge)" [Entrusting hope for the wisdom of the 21st century: Photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu (part 2)], *Nagasaki Shimbun*, July 31, 1999)

Returning to Tōmatsu's experiences from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s, while considering his deepening understanding of the lives of people living in Nagasaki, the reader's attention is called to the conditions at the time when various stresses erupted around Japan in the shadow of the prosperity that it achieved through the rapid economic growth following the war, such as student movements, pollution issues, and the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty. Photographers each examined from their positions how they could convey to people the reality that was overlooked amid the ostensibly peaceful everyday (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2023a). After Nagasaki, Tōmatsu was shocked to witness the reality of "Okinawa inside the bases" at the time when they were controlled by the United States military.

On this point, an analysis by photography in practice reveals Tōmatsu's path of reflecting that he had been interested in Okinawa but "in truth, did not know anything" (Tōmatsu 1970: 138–139) when he first visited Okinawa in 1969 and of expressing the "pre-reversion" reality that the people living there faced. This was the ordinary life of people who had lived through the war in Okinawa and were then forced into an unstable life, trapped between Japan and the United States (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2022c). What cannot be overlooked here is that Tōmatsu was strongly aware of his responsibility for the history of damage to Okinawa as a person from the mainland. Tōmatsu wrote at the time:

> The relationship between bases on the mainland and Japanese people could be considered one in which Japanese people were unilaterally the victims of the bases. However, the people of Okinawa were the victims of the bases and the victims of the mainland at the same time. In that case, I myself am a victim but also an attacker. (Tōmatsu 1970: 138–139)

Considering Tōmatsu's self-reflection, the authors' deciphering of his photographs should be reviewed. For example, the photographic collection *OKINAWA Okinawa OKINAWA* (1969) expresses

Photo 3. View from behind of a farmer tilling “tacitly approved farmland” (*OKINAWA Okinawa OKINAWA: The Bases Are Not Inside Okinawa, Okinawa Is Inside the Bases,* 1969) © Shōmei Tōmatsu—INTERFACE

the complex nature of reality in Okinawa before the reversion by combining “blocks” of several photographs and text. It also contains several photographs showing farmers tilling the “tacitly approved farmland” (*mokunin kōsakuchi*), as in Photograph 3. The authors’ focus here was that Tōmatsu had taken a close-up photograph showing the backs of the people doing agricultural work and the shadow from the fence of the base that fell upon them. The authors believed that this photograph conveyed the weight of United States military control that these people bore patiently through the shadow on their backs. At the time, Tōmatsu wrote, “The tacitly approved farmland can be considered to be entirely described in a single word: humiliation. Moreover, nobody knows when or at what juncture the tacitly approved farmland will be disapproved” (Tōmatsu 1969). Given the social conditions in Okinawa at the time, people were leading their lives on the land had been kept in an uncertain position for many years due to the United States’ East Asian strategy under the Cold War regime.

Thus, considering the shock from the reality under United States military control as his driving force, Tōmatsu looked back over the history of discriminatory administration by the mainland while posing this as a question to those who lived the mainland (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2022c). The authors emphasized that, for 25 years after the defeat in World War II, Tōmatsu continued taking photographs while asking himself about the reality on the Japanese mainland, where the “Peace Constitution” was becoming empty words, contrary to the prosperity there. Therefore, Tōmatsu expressed the history that each person he met in Okinawa had lived through; while this was rooted in “amateurism,” in which he seeks to convey to others the reality that he himself faced as a single human being, when there were fears of the rise of a regimented society (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2023b).

4.2. Thoughts of common people as “weak individuals” that Tōmatsu also accepted

Based on the above, the authors summarize the postwar realities seen in Tōmatsu’s feelings as the authors have depicted them by photography in practice. First, while being spurred to take photographs

by the shock at "Americanization" following Japan's defeat in World War II, Tōmatsu faced in Nagasaki and Okinawa the lives of people who lived from day to day with unhealed mental and physical scars from the war and with the acceptance of the reality of unending occupation. Consequently, Tōmatsu asked himself what he could do as a photographer while attempting to close the distance between himself and the reality before him through photography.

Notably, Tōmatsu continued his work while reexamining the meaning of his war defeat experience over the time after World War II. For example, Tōmatsu held that the "Occupation" series reflected his "learning" about "what occupation was, and what World War II was," which he embraced following his experience of Japan's defeat in war. He stated:

> So, I cannot unconditionally deny or affirm it. However, a question mark is all that stays on it. That is the only thing I cannot remove. So I don't simply oppose the bases, for example. Of course, it is certain that nobody considers having bases to be a good thing. Instead of just waxing nostalgic over events from the past, we should value the process of thinking while we do things, or rather, watching over the developments, in which we supervise while constantly keeping a question mark over postwar Japan, which began, of course, from our defeat in the war. (Tōmatsu 1984: 103)

Tōmatsu considered what defeat in war brought to daily life from the perspective of interfaces, which are the spaces between things, precisely because he had experienced the complex reality "caught between love and hate" that the defeat had brought about. As discussed in detail in previous papers (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021, 2022a, 2022c), the aspect by which Tōmatsu constantly and carefully examined the actual feelings he had at locations while conveying his expressions to other people can be considered to echo the spirit underlying, for example the daily life recording movement of Kazuko Tsurumi and others in the 1950s and the "Beheiren" (The Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam!) popularized by Makoto Oda and others in the face of the intensifying Vietnam War. As philosopher Shunsuke Tsurumi argued, when we consider the meaning of defeat in war, the thoughts of "don't kill anyone" and "war is awful" that every person has in their daily lives can become the reason to prevent war and realize peace because we are vague, fragile, "weak individuals" in the face of overwhelming military power. When reframing "thought" as the operation of each individual, who returned to their initial ideals after Japan's defeat in World War II, and consider how society's transformation is face, and how individuals constantly feel, think, and respond within their daily lives, what Tōmatsu found can also be considered the thoughts of common people as "weak individuals" who have continued to face the turbulent reality following defeat.

5. "Photography in practice" as it continues into the future as a response to the overlooked "postwar" period

The previous chapter discussed the realities of postwar daily life that appeared by retracing

Tōmatsu's layered experience through his photographic acts by using photography in practice. Tōmatsu's progress has again confirmed that this unique methodology of photography in practice is founded upon the valuable findings that previous researchers have woven together to capture the desperate reality of people's daily lives, such as the feelings theory from Yanagita's folkloristics and the deliberate choice of the standpoint of "common people." Based on the above, this final chapter offers an understanding of discussions that should be referred to when further refining photography in practice while considering future developments.

As discussed above, photography in practice is a methodology that enables analysis from perspectives through photographic acts that is based on the feelings of the authors, who had carried out activities of expression through photography. Notably, the authors have visited the locations where the photographers worked, such as Nagasaki and Okinawa, and have accepted anew the realities of the postwar era which they had captured as questions that continue to the present day, then described these realities. In other words, what the authors accepted to decipher in a new way how people lived in the postwar era while they take photographs on location is important for analysis that uses photography in practice. This overlaps with the "present-day nature of history," in which the previously mentioned Kenji Satō argues that inquiries about history are generated from observations of the present, and standpoints can be similar to those of constructionism or phenomenology (Satō 2015b: 229). If these situations are considered with reference to the elucidation of the postwar thoughts of common people by photography in practice, the authors' reexamination of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and the battles and problems of bases in Okinawa from the actual locations can be considered to encourage inquiries about history in the sense of asking about the postwar reality Tōmatsu faced.

The final potential of the methodology of photography in practice emphasized in this chapter is that the authors living in the present will pass down the photographers' spirit to the future by attempting reflective descriptions. This is in response to the photographs that were left behind with prayers that they would transmit that reality to the future. Historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki developed a discussion around *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History* (Morris-Suzuki [2004] 2014), suggesting that our knowledge of history is regularly influenced and built up not only from textbooks, but also from novels, photographs, movies, and various other media.[11)] Photographs are an important piece of these media as they tend to evoke emotions concerning past occurrences among observers. For example, Morris-Suzuki brings up the photographs taken by photographer Yōsuke Yamahata (1917–1966) of Nagasaki immediately after the bombing; she pointed out that Yamahata "responded with shock and compassion, recognizing the victims of the bombing as people who might have been his own family, or himself," and that "his skill as a photographer allowed him to communicate his feelings through the camera" (Morris-Suzuki [2004] 2014: 124). Similar to the concept of photography in practice is that these photographs move our hearts as we live in the present. For example, Morris-Suzuki states:

> These qualities, together with the overwhelming devastation of the scenes he recorded, created unforgettable images which retain the power, more than half a century later, to tear a fissure in the

> comforting temporal walls around our everyday reality allowing a cold dark instant of the past into the present moment we occupy. (ibid.: 125)

Morris-Suzuki also encouraged caution, suggesting that the emotions evoked by the images should be carefully considered, and that interpretations could differ from our "implicit interpretations," concerning how the photographer themselves understood the "historical meaning of these images," and remember that images should be examined as critically as possible. The photographs that Yamahata took of Nagasaki "have been circulated and reproduced in many countries and in many media, have been incorporated into a multitude of diverse narratives of the past" (ibid.: 126–127). Her argument should be noted when thinking about "the role of editors and exhibitors, who select, label and arrange the photographs for historical display," in addition to "the relationship between photographer, event and image," and that the acts that also encompass "us, the viewers, who encounter these displays and use them to construct our own interpretations of the past-interpretations that may be radically at odds with those of the photographer himself" from these exhibits generate 'historical truthfulness'[12] (ibid.: 126–127).

Based on the above argument, the "historical truthfulness" that Morris-Suzuki proposes is a concept that should not be overlooked when the photography in practice methodology is further refining because it regards the overlooked realities of postwar everyday life from the perspective lived by the photographer and is an "ongoing conversation through which, by engaging with the views of others in different social and spatial locations (across and within national boundaries), we shape and reshape our understanding of the past" and a "process of self-reflection" to understand the meaning of the past (ibid.: 316).

Considering the "historical truthfulness," the "implication" that Morris-Suzuki proposed is rich with suggestions for thinking about the authors' reflective descriptions of the actual locations visited by the photographers in their analysis conducted using photography in practice, and this must also be understood. On this point, Morris-Suzuki, who was born in the United Kingdom and later migrated to Australia, concludes that, in inquiring into the relationship between the past deprivation and massacre of Aboriginal people (the indigenous people of Australia) and herself in the present, she "had no consciousness of 'crimes' but did have 'implications'" (Morris-Suzuki [2002] 2013: 65). She "recognizes the existence of direct and indirect relationships with the past and the reality of 'an accessory after the fact' (to use a legal term)" (ibid.: 66). Morris-Suzuki stated:

> I may not have directly exploited land, but I live on that stolen land. I may not have actually massacred anyone, but I am involved in the process to wipe out memories of the massacres. I may not have concretely persecuted 'another,' but I am living in a society that benefits from past persecutions that have not been handled justly. If we neglect the effort to remove that now, the discrimination and prejudices arising from past invasive, violent acts will survive in the hearts of the present generation. (ibid.: 67)

In other words, as described by the statement "We are implicated in the events of the past because we live within the institutions, beliefs and structures that the past has created" (Morris-Suzuki [2004] 2014: 309), "implications" ask us how we in the present can respond to past events that we did not directly experience. The "historical truthfulness" that attempts to listen to various voices from history is a process of ceaseless reflecting on our own attitudes and behaviors regarding that past. Considering the above "historical truthfulness" and "implications," the authors' work of taking photographs in locations that the photographers visited in an analysis by photography in practice could mean re-accepting the history that continues to the present day and further conveying it to the next future, based on the various works that the photographers left behind.[13)]

The details of this are left to another paper, but in Nagasaki, where Tōmatsu was hurriedly sent to take photographs, the authors were overcome by the weight of the unforgettable fact that the ordinary, everyday existences of each person who had lived and breathed directly beneath the explosion of the atomic bomb, and the presence of a "postwar history" that was in no way the same as what each of those people had lived after surviving the bombing. Seeing atomic bomb survivors catching up with each other while celebrating that they were all well upon the authors' August 9 visit to the Shiroyama Elementary School Peace Memorial Hall, where activities to pass down atomic bomb experiences are held in a bombed school building, gave the authors a strong sense of the time that has continually flowed from the bombing to today. In Okinawa, when the authors visited the sea that spreads out at Mabuni, the site of the end of the Battle of Okinawa, they had a sense of the battle scars where many people lost their lives in a "storm of iron." That experience led the authors, who had no familiarity with war or military bases, starkly aware of the distance between them and the history of the people living in Okinawa, in the same way that Tōmatsu reflected on his own "ignorance" about the reality of "Okinawa inside the bases," which encouraged him to take photographs.

By placing themselves in the paths walked by the photographers they then analyzed through photography in practice, the authors linked the overlooked reality of the postwar era that they captured with a re-examination of how history continues to the present that we live in. To reimagine "postwar history," we should further investigate the importance of the reflective descriptions through the authors' own photographic acts in the actual locations as described above, taking "historical truthfulness" and "implications" as hints when adding further concrete detail to the potential in the methodology of photography in practice.

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Notes

1) This is symbolized, for example, by "photojournalism" that contributed to propaganda during

World War II. For details, refer to Mari Shirayama's study tracing the developments of photojournalism in Japan from its birth to the end of the way (Shirayama 2014) and research by Yūko Inoue that analyzed wartime photographic magazines as media for state propaganda (Inoue 2009).

2) Other related research includes Kunimitsu Kawamura's study depicting the process by which portrait photographs of the emperor and portraits of the war dead came to be received by people as sacred images in the Fifteen Years' War (Kawamura 2007) and the aforementioned study of Tōhōsha by Inoue (Inoue 2009).
3) Other recent related research includes Fumiki Amemiya's study depicting Saitama's postwar history from postwar news photography by Saitama Shimbunsha (2021). Amemiya also held that the work of depicting history using photographs as historical materials was "not the mainstream method" in Japanese history studies but found positive significance in the fact that photographs make it possible to recall images of the era when they were taken (Amemiya 2021: 27). Notably, Amemiya cast doubt on the possibility of people and events that fall outside the historical image due to existing research "proposing perceptions that regard postwar society as the formative period for mass society and mass culture" and depicted postwar history from "photographs showing the people concentrating on their everyday lives" (ibid.: 28).
4) Incidentally, see the study by Kenji Satō (2012) on the significance of photographs as considered by Kunio Yanagita himself. According to Satō, for Yanagita, photography was "a medium for sharing as materials among fellows with distant work sites" the "small movements or wavering of emotion" in the people shown in it, that is, "slight changes in 'feeling phenomena' over the range of human emotions that are formed by the delicate movements of emotion in interactions between people" (Satō 2012: 173–174).
5) However, Yoshiyuki Yama notes that Yanagita's feelings theory, which is influenced by Norinaga Motoori's concept of "knowing empathy toward things (mono no aware)," is a cognitive and expressive theory based on Torigoe's argument. In other words, it is "a question of how to express in words the movements and emotions of the heart" (Yama 2017: 55). In particular, the authors call attention to how researchers also maintain a desire to convey as they are moved by the activities and tales of the ordinary people in the location (ibid.:64). As stated in Chapter 5, this can be considered a point of argument that is closely related to the significance of analyzing the photographer's feelings reflectively based on the authors' feelings when visiting the actual location, but a detailed examination is left to another paper.
6) Nevertheless, Mori's statement that we "certainly [did not] experience [defeat in World War II] as a defeat in the so-called true sense" (Mori 1976: 173) should be noted. For example, in a lecture he gave in 1970, Mori looked back on the 25 years after World War II, saying, "Just, what we—including me as well, of course—must think about anew is that this was actually defeat in war. It was a defeat, but we have forgotten at the very deepest part of our fundamental emotions that it was a defeat. We all have a sense of the fact of defeat, but we did not truly sense that the defeat was

reality. I believe that all the problems today are occurring because this has gradually come to light." (Mori 1976: 172)

7) Arisue lists the four concepts in life history studies as "1. Classification of case examples by type (human-life studies)," "2. Qualitative survey methods and 'individual' studies (social survey theory)," "3. Process of change of objective facts (phenomenological sociology)," and "4. Life history and social history (social change theory)" (Arisue 2012: 43–65).

8) Incidentally, Satō also pointed out the method of taking photographs is rarely discussed in social survey theory and that photographs are not used any further than "background in the form of images" in papers (ibis.: 388–389).

9) In particular, the authors have revealed based on photographic experience on location the experiences of Michio Hoshino, a photographer who continued to look closely at the operations of people and nature in Alaska, as he gradually accepted the issues facing the people living in the area as his questions as a person living in the same period while learning about the primordial life that surpassed the division between people and nature (Yoshinari 2021).

10) Tōmatsu proposed "group-photographs" as his method of expression out of opposition to the "assembled pictures (photojournalism)" that had pre-existed World War II by Yōnosuke Natori, who was an editor and a photographer. As the authors have revealed in a previous paper, "group-photographs" were for Tōmatsu "a method of displaying as necessary the complication of the reality that wavered after World War II and constantly rearranging it as time moves on" (Yoshinari & Miyoshi 2021: 21).

11) Michihiro Okamoto, who gave an overview of the development of history studies in recent years, emphasized that a past composed of things other than the remaining historical materials gives the people looking at it "an appeal as truth," while pointing out as follows the importance of Morris-Suzuki's argument as an example of "history in the medium of a subculture": "What people hear from their parents, photographs, historical novels, news images, comics, and the Internet and other electronic media—according to Morris-Suzuki's words, people look at history while turning a kaleidoscope filled with these innumerable fragments. At the base of this approach to history from multifaceted perspectives is a stance of considering history from within one's own experience. In other words, history is reframed from the standpoint of the recipient." (Okamoto 2018: 232)

12) According to Morris-Suzuki, the historical knowledge that we have absorbed from many media, including photographs, "determines who we feel sympathy for, which contemporary events stir us to joy, compassion or anger, and how we respond to those events." In other words, the feelings and actions we have as we live in the present have historical knowledge embedded in them (Morris-Suzuki [2004] 2014: 309).

13) The authors have launched the Global Dialog to Pray for the Relaying of Memories (Memory Relay Lab), an Impact Open Project of the Center for Collaborative Future Creation in the Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University (https://relay-memories.hus.osaka-u.ac.jp/), and have begun activities in the project to look into the meaning of wartime and postwar experiences

and depict their development into the future through engagement activities in locations including Nagasaki, Okinawa, Fukushima, and Minamata with the aim of passing down experiences and memories in the "post-experience era" that was discussed at the beginning of this paper. The authors hope to search for meaning to convey to the next future while continuing these practical activities.

Analysis materials

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