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The Case of the “Healing Boom” in Japan

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Abstract

This paper examines the healing boom in Japan at the turn of the century. Since the late 1990s, many firms in different industries have launched a large number of “healing” products and services. Although such a product category had not existed in Japan until this boom, it had been socially constructed through the self-enforcing interaction between media discourse that reported the boom and the imitative behavior of firms, which was triggered by the reports. This interaction prompted cognitive institutionalization, which means that healing is accepted as an objective reality. It is now taken for granted that healthy people consume “healing” products. Above all, the expression *Iyashi Kei* (healing kind) is used frequently for describing certain kinds of laypersons, who just help us relax. To investigate the behavior of firms and the media discourse, I analyzed 1,162 newspaper articles. On the other hand, to understand the environment of ideas to which ordinary magazine readers were exposed, I conducted a content analysis of 1,984 titles of magazine articles. The analysis argues that consumers’ needs for healing are socially constructed by media discourse and the imitative behavior of firms.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the development process of the healing boom, the largest consumer culture phenomenon in Japan at the turn of the century (Arnould and Thompson 2005). Since the late 1990s, many firms in different industries have launched a large number of “healing” products and services (hereafter, healing products). Although such a product category had not existed in Japan until this boom, it had been socially constructed through the self-enforcing interaction between media discourse that reported the boom and the mimic behavior of firms, which was triggered by the reports. The concept of “healing” was originally imported from the American New Age movement in the late 1980s; however, several products and services purportedly appealed as “healing” during the boom, which had no relation with the original meaning. The more the boom developed, the wider the category of healing products and services expanded. Finally, hair dryers that generate negative ions, houses that use many wood materials and are equipped with wood stoves, and compilation CDs of easy listening were purportedly launched as healing products.

This boom drastically changed the meaning of healing shared in Japan. According to *Kōjien* 5th edition, which is the most authoritative Japanese dictionary, the verb *Iyasu* (heal) means to cure somebody’s disease or injury, satisfy hunger, or mitigate emotional pain. However, *Gendai Yōgo no Kiso Chishiki* (Encyclopedia of Contemporary Words) 2003 Edition explains that *Iyashi Sijō* (the healing market) is a market of goods and services that are useful for creating psychological security, and nowadays, various kinds of consumer goods such as books, music, paintings, movies, massage, drink, food, and

clothing, which help us relax, fall under this rubric. As this difference shows, the linguistic meaning of healing has changed. The noun form of *Iyasu* (heal), *Iyashi* (healing), and the unusual expressions such as *Iyasareru* (I am healed) or *Iyasaretai* (I want to be healed) are frequently used in conversations. Now, it is considered that not only a disease or injury but also people themselves can (or should) be the object of healing. This shift is not just a linguistic change but the evidence of the cognitive institutionalization of healing, which means that healing is accepted as an objective reality among the members of society (Berger and Luckmann 1966). New Institutionalism in sociology has been interested in this cognitive process (DiMaggio 1997; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Zucker 1983). According to their discussion, agents such as firms and consumers take some actions not because of rules or obligations forced by their society but because such an action is taken for granted as the way we do these things (Scott 2001).

This cognitive institutionalization observed in the healing boom can be summarized in three points. First, it is now taken for granted that healthy people have needs for healing. Second, it is also considered natural that these needs can be satisfied by purchasing and using healing products. Third, the new expression *Iyashi Kei* (healing kind) began to be used frequently for describing certain kinds of laypersons who just help us relax, and are not religious persons or healers. What is striking is that most celebrities considered as *Iyashi Kei* are young actresses, which endorses the implicit shared views on gender division of labor: women heal men. As explained below, *Iyashi Kei* is added in *Kōjien* 6th edition, which was released on January 11, 2008, ten years after the release of the 5th edition.

This paper explains the boom and the needs for healing as a consequence of firms'

continuous mimetic behavior caused by media discourse about the boom (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Strang and Meyer 1993). *Nikkei Marketing Journal*, a prestigious marketing newspaper, explained that the healing boom was triggered by consumers who suffered serious stress caused by problematic human relations and economic pressures in the long depression of the Lost Decade (the 1990s) and needed to be healed, and that many firms supplied various products and services to respond to this perceived need. Although this explanation is dominant in marketing discourse, I try to present an alternative explanation in this paper. Marketing truism teaches us that firms should launch products that meet the needs of their targeted customers; otherwise, they would lose the competition (Kotler and Keller 2006). In other words, marketers implicitly believe that consumers' needs are considered as an independent reference point for marketers, which are not influenced by media campaigns and marketing tactics (Brown 2003). Contrary to this dominant view, I explain how consumers' needs for healing are socially constructed by media discourse and the imitative behavior of firms.

The structure of this paper is as follows. First, the theoretical framework and the research methodology are examined. Next, the development process of the healing boom is described. Subsequently, the shift in the meaning and the gender division of labor in healing are described through content analysis. Finally, I conclude that this boom is not only a diffusion of innovation but also the cognitive institutionalization of healing in Japanese society.

Theoretical Framework: Collective Behavior of Firms, not of Consumers

It is difficult to interpret the healing boom merely as consumers' collective behavior. The diffusion theory generally reviewed by Everett Rogers explains that the timing for the adoption of innovation differs depending on the characteristics of individuals and that the adoption behavior of opinion leaders has a positive influence on their followers (Rogers 2003). However, it is almost impossible to identify which category in the healing boom these adopters fall under because they span various product categories and diverse market segments. In addition, the healing boom cannot be explained by the trickle-down theory (McCracken 1988; Simmel 1957) and the theory of conspicuous consumption (Schor 1998; Veblen 1998). Their explanation assumes that a desire for differentiation from others and a desire for integration with others coexist within people. However, we do not compare ourselves with others when we consume healing products because healing behavior is considered as a relatively individual matter. Certainly, there is some inter-influence among consumers. The diffusion of healing products, i.e., other consumers' buying behaviors, could function as a social proof for legitimizing such behaviors (Cialdini 2001; Veblen 1998). In uncertain situations, people tend to imitate other people's behavior. Adopting healing products used by others could be interpreted as correct behavior.

However, such mimicking behaviors under uncertainty are also observed in corporate behaviors in the healing boom. According to *An Outline of the Basic Surveys on National Lifestyle* by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the percentage of people who suffer from stress has increased from 40.4% in 1995 to 42.1% in 1998 and 49.0% in 2001. In this sense, consumers' needs of relieving their stress should be considered as the engine

that drives the healing boom. However, as is shown in the following section, the launch of healing products has outpaced the increase in those who suffer from stress. Therefore, in order to understand the healing boom process, we should observe the collective behavior of firms rather than that of consumers (Blumer 1969; Hirsch 1972).

The process of homogenization of organizational practices in the healing boom can be considered as a typical instance of mimetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). In the 1990s, many firms faced economic uncertainty due to a long depression in the Japanese economy. Even under normal economic conditions, successful products are easily imitated by competitors within an industry. However, in the healing boom, imitative behavior has easily transcended the barrier of industries. This shows how strongly many firms have considered the modeling as a rational strategy to respond to their uncertainty.

As mentioned above, this boom was frequently reported by mass media such *Nikkei* newspapers, which are the leading economic newspapers. These media contributed toward constructing the “theorization” of this boom. Theorization means the self-conscious development and specification of abstract categories and the formulation of patterned relationships such as chains of cause and effect (Strang and Meyer 1993). *Nikkei*’s theorization is that people buy healing products because they hope to eliminate stress. This chain of cause and effect based on the marketing truism has explained the success of “healing products” and has triggered imitative behavior in firms, which has finally changed our views on healing.

Methodology

Therefore, I observe the mimicking behavior of firms, the mass media's discourse on this boom, and the views of ordinary people on healing. First, in order to understand the behavior of actual firms, I investigated all healing products launched from 1988 to 2001. Using *Nikkei Telecon 21*, the database of the *Nikkei* newspapers, I collected 1,162 newspaper articles containing the keywords *Iyashi* (healing in Japanese) and *Hiiring* (healing as a loan word)¹. Second, in order to understand how this boom was reported by the economic media, I performed a qualitative content analysis on the contents of *Nikkei* articles. Behaviors of firms and the discourse of the economic media are described chronologically in the next section.

Third, to understand the environment of ideas to which ordinary magazine readers were exposed, I performed a content analysis on 1,984 article titles containing both *Iyashi* and *Hiiring* from 441 types of magazines published from 1985 to 2001 (the magazines are listed in the Appendix). These titles were collected from the *Oya Sōichi Bunko Magazine Article Index*, which covers almost all popular magazines published in Japan. This data set indicates ideas that are popular among media elites that might influence regular people's views. Therefore, it makes us possible to monitor the discursive construction of healing over time in popular media. This analysis is shown in two sections after the chronological description of the boom.

The research strategy of using available data has two advantages. First, available data

¹ *Nikkei* papers available for database are as follows: *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* morning and evening editions (October, 1981–) and its economic pages (November, 1982–), *Nikkei Business Daily* (October, 1981–), *Nikkei Marketing Journal* (October, 1985–), and *Nikkei Financial Daily* (October, 1987–).

such as newspapers and magazine articles are the only data source of the healing boom. Second, while available data is an indirect observation, it can avoid the bias of data generation. If interviews and questionnaire surveys were used to measure people's views on healing, some respondents would conceal the fact that they wanted to be healed or that they use healing products.

Three Stages in the Healing Boom

This paper defines healing products as “those that are considered as healing products by the *Nikkei* papers.” Therefore, some are products that providers purportedly claim to be healing, and others are just interpreted as healing products by the *Nikkei* papers although not necessarily intended to be so by the providers. Certainly, I should exclude the latter case; however, if I include the theorization on this boom into the analytical framework, it is better to interpret both products as healing products. As explained below, some successful products were reported as healing products, which the providers had not necessarily intended to purport as healing. These reports prompted many firms to enter the healing market. Given the influence of the mass media, I should not define healing products only as products the providers actively touted as healing.

The yearly change of the 1,162 *Nikkei* articles, 1,984 magazine articles, and 542 healing products are shown in Figure 1. Based on these changes, the healing boom process can be divided into three stages. Stage I lasted until 1994, Stage II spanned from 1995 to 1998, and Stage III spanned from 1999 to 2001.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Stage I (–1994): The Early Days

The first healing product reported in the *Nikkei* papers was *Healing Scarf* sold in the US in 1988. In the same year, *Total Healing Shop Yoyo* opened in Tokyo, which sold ambient music and videos, incense, books related to the spiritual world and New Age science, accessories, etc. In addition, facility sound equipment manufacturer TOA opened a *Healing Camp*, where customers could relax for thirty minutes at about five dollars. It was a space with actual grass on a nine-square-meter floor in a hall that featured special images, music, and fragrances presented in darkness. Music CDs were also imported or planned and produced by a number of small firms. Prem Promotion, which was established in 1989, produced and sold CDs that provided the effects of music therapy.

Stage II (1995–1998): Market Entry of Large Corporations

As the boom entered Stage II, reference to the boom was observed in the *Nikkei* papers: “Nowadays things have gone to extreme. It seems many firms believe that everything goes well only if they put the label of healing on their products. Even the beer that impresses healing seems to be sold.”² It indicates that the boom had truly begun. In this period, major firms entered the market of healing products in droves. For example, major record companies joined the market for healing CDs such as Polygram’s *Adagio Karajan* series

² *Nikkei Marketing Journal*, “Healed Girls: Relaxing with Incense and Pets” (Buzzword Dictionary), April 6, 1996.

and *gagaku* (or Japanese classic court music) musician Hideki Togi's CDs.

In addition, healing hotel packages targeting women were offered by exclusive hotels in Tokyo. For example, Hotel New Otani sold the *Healing Stay* hotel package, which allowed free use of the Ladies' Lounge that featured vibroacoustic recliners and herbal tea. Moreover, major firms in the cosmetics industry launched healing products: Shiseido's *Kyphi* cosmetics series for relaxation and Kose's beauty serum *Self-Conscious*.

Stage III (1999–2001): Rapid Expansion of the Boom

The year 1999 was epoch-making for the healing boom. The piano piece *Energy Flow* by Ryuichi Sakamoto and Sony's pet robot *Aibo* were both huge hits. *Energy Flow* was used in a TV commercial for Sankyo's Regain EB Tablets, which are vitamin pills. This piece won one million eight hundred thousand CD sales and was the first instrumental music that reached the top of the single CD division of the *Oricon* music chart, the counterpart of *Billboard* in the US. On the other hand, *Aibo* also gained popularity despite its high price of 250,000 yen (approximately 2,200 US dollars). Sales of 3,000 units over the Internet were reported in just twenty minutes.

What is interesting is that neither Sakamoto and Sankyo nor Sony purportedly targeted the healing market. With respect to *Energy Flow*, because it was used just for the background music of a commercial, the whole music was composed by Sakamoto only after the record company decided to sell it as a single CD. With respect to *Aibo*, its developer at Sony responded in an interview that it was simply "just a walking computer."

Instead, the interpretation that the two were purported healing products was spread by the

mass media including the *Nikkei* papers. They featured them as the essence of the surge of the healing boom in Japan. In addition, *Aibo* was chosen as a *Maegashira*³ in the Hit Product Sumo-style Ranking conducted at the end of each year by the *Nikkei Marketing Journal*. In addition, *iyashi* was selected as one of the top ten words for the 16th *Ryukogo Taisho* (Annual Award for New/Trendy Word) from Jiyukokumin-sha. These two awards strongly contributed toward making several people believe that healing was the *Zeitgeist* of the Lost Decade or the end of the century in Japan.

After this massive campaign by the mass media, several firms in various industries rushed into the healing market. Foot massage salons by graduates of the Reflexology Association of Japan, wooden houses that use several wooden materials and are equipped with wooden stoves such as *Oakley* (Mitsui Home) and *Godai* (Sumitomo Forestry), characters such as *TarePanda* (Lazy Panda by San-X), the talking stuffed doll *PrimoPuel* (Bandai), etc., were launched and accepted as healing products.

In 2000, healing products diversified and increased in number. In the household appliance industry, the concept of “minus ion” (negative ions) was featured. Not only air conditioner and cleaner, but also hair dryer and lighting appliances that generate negative ions were launched. In addition, exclusive hotels such as The Ritz Carlton introduced healing hotel packages, which increased from four in 1996 to fifteen in 2000. Faced with the decline of corporate demand after the bubble economy in the 1980s, the hotel industry tried to find a new market segment, i.e., young career women who could afford exclusive

³ The lowest rank in *Makuuchi*, the top division of professional sumo. Above the *Maegashira* are *Sanyaku*, three titleholder ranks (*Komusubi*, *Sekiwake*, and *Ozeki*, in ascending order). *Yokozuna* is at the pinnacle of the ranking system.

hotels.

The music industry also actively joined in this boom with a similar intention. They faced the decline of sales in their main target, teenagers. Because teenagers began to spend a considerable amount of money on mobile phones from the 1990s, they could no longer buy as many music CDs as the older generation did. The record companies then tried to cultivate a new market segment, i.e., individuals older than their late twenties. Compared to teenagers, they are not deeply involved in music. Therefore, the record companies provided compilation CDs of easy listening such as *Feel* (Toshiba EMI), *Image* (Sony Music Entertainment), and *Flow* (BMG Funhouse). The “healing music” on these CDs differed substantially from that on the previous CDs supplied by small firms in Stage I: it consisted of hit tunes used in TV dramas, commercials, and movies such as Sakamoto’s *Energy Flow* and Ennio Morricone’s film scores.

In addition, resorts and hotels in rural areas employed healing concepts for their campaign. For example, Shikoku Tourism Council highlighted the pilgrimage to eighty-eight sacred sites in Shikoku (the smallest of the four main islands of Japan) with the ad copy stating “Healing Shikoku.” They also registered the “Healing Path” pilgrimage route as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Further diversification was observed in 2001. Various hot springs, *fukubukuro* (lucky bag)⁴, fabric, sweet rolls, and candy toys also sought to employ healing as their appeal. The retail industry also rushed into this boom. For example, Hanshin Department Store, one of the prestigious department stores in Osaka metropolitan area, opened *Relaxia* (about 1,800

⁴ *Fukubukuro* is a Japanese New Year's Day custom where merchants make grab bags filled with unknown random contents and sell them for a substantial discount.

square yards), which espoused the theme of “Beauty, Health, and Healing.” In addition, Sony Plaza, a variety shop popular among young women in Ginza, expanded the space for beauty salons and for “relaxation products” such as Chinese tea. Pet-related industries also joined in the boom. Corresponding to the pet boom that focused on small dogs such as Chihuahuas, homes and apartments targeting pet owners were launched and restaurants that allowed customers to be accompanied by their pets were also opened.

After all, it was common in that age that many hit products were interpreted by the mass media as healing products, which provided the customers with peace of mind, irrespective of whether the providers had intended this. For example, *Spirited Away*, an Academy Award winning 2001 film written and directed by famed animator Hayao Miyazaki, and its female vocal theme song *Always With Me* were analyzed by the *Nikkei* papers as being successful cases of attracting people who need healing. In this way, the healing boom had developed through two interactions on the organizational field: imitative behaviors that transcended the boundary of industries and the reciprocal influence of firms’ behaviors and the media’s discourse.

Secularization of Healing

Due to the interactions explained above, our recognition of healing has been totally changed. In these two sections, I demonstrate how the meaning of healing shared by ordinary people has been secularized and has finally brought forth the gender differences in views on healing through content analysis of magazine articles. I extracted the

bibliographic information on magazine articles related to healing (article title, remarks⁵, magazine title, date of publication, and pages) and counted the frequency of keywords in the magazine article titles and remarks⁶. Analyzing this data set makes us possible to monitor the discursive construction of healing over time in popular media. Results aggregated by three stages are shown in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

This table ranks the top ten keywords included in the titles of magazine articles in each stage. In addition to the frequency with which individual keywords appeared in these stages, the frequency that the keyword appeared in all of the stages is also shown. The percentage means the share of the frequency in that stage in proportion to the frequency in all of the stages. A greater share means the keyword is representative of that stage.

In Stage I, keywords relating to the original meaning of healing such as mentality and health appeared. For example, while its frequency is small, *Kenkōjutsu* (Art of Health) has a 100% share in this stage. In Stage II, the keywords related to consumption such as *Shokutaku* (Dining Table), *Tabi* (Travel), and *Ongaku* (Music) appeared. In particular, *Shokutaku* (Dining Table), which connotes food and dining, is peculiar to this stage (its share is 97.5%). In Stage III, keywords such as *Iyashi Kei* (Healing Kind), *Bijo* (Beauty (n.)), *Onna* (Woman), and *Otoko* (Man) are prevalent. As the share shows, most of them are

⁵ Remarks refer to information on these articles as concisely summarized by *Oya Sōichi Bunko*, the creator of the database.

⁶ The open-response questionnaire analysis tool Survey Analyzer Version 3.2 (NEC) was used.

peculiar to this stage. In other words, the mention of people rather than things and actions increased. This process could be summarized as the secularization of healing: the concept of healing shifted from the spiritual to the material dimension and was substantially transformed into meaning certain types of person.

Healing Kind: Gender Division of Labor in Healing

Next to be examined are the characteristics of a person considered to be the *Iyashi Kei* (healing kind). According to *Deirī Singo Jiten +α* (Daily New Word Dictionary +α)⁷, *Iyashi Kei* is defined as follows.

General terms of things that have effect or atmosphere to heal people, as people call it. It is used to describe various objects such as music, stars, pets, characters. Ex. “*Iyashi Kei* actress” [It started to be used often from the late 1990s]

Kōjien 6th edition, which was released on January 11, 2008, also added this word and define it in a similar way: A series of things that have atmosphere and effect to calm the soul. While *Iyashi Kei* now means both things and human, it was mainly used to express certain type of persons at the turn of the century.

I counted the number of people described as being the healing kind in titles of magazine articles and aggregated them based on gender. Almost all healing kind celebrities are women: 14 out of 15 individuals in 1999, 61 of 64 in 2000, and 50 of 58 in 2001. Obviously, there is a gender division of labor: women heal men. Thus, as shown in Table 2, most celebrities referred to as being the healing kind are women. Their average age is 25.8

⁷ This dictionary was originally published in 2000 by Sanseidō Publishing Co.,Ltd, and is now available on the Internet portal *Goo* (<http://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/>).

years old. While two of the women are over thirty (Kyoka Suzuki and Naoko Iijima) were established actresses at that time, the others, with the exception of Manami Honjo, were featured as “gravure idols,” i.e., bikini models on photogravure pages in magazines. The secularization of healing is also observed in the show business industry.

Insert Table 2 about here

The difference in frequency of keyword appearance between magazines for women and for men also confirms the gender division of labor. Table 3 lists the top twenty keywords appearing in article titles of women’s and men’s magazines. While *Iyashi Kei* (Healing Kind) and *Kokoro* (Mind) are prevalent in both categories, there is a big gulf between them. For women, keywords related to self such as *Watashi* (Me/I), *Jibun* (Self), and *Karada* (Body) are outstanding. In addition, keywords regarding beauty culture such as *Kirei* (Beautiful/Lovely), *Biyō* (Beauty Treatment), *Hada* (Skin), *Kea* (Care; Beautifying Skin, Body, Hair, etc.), *Esute* (Aesthetic; Salon Treatment) are conspicuous. In contrast, for men, what is striking is that some keywords mention the relationship with women such as *Bijo* (Beauty (n.)), *Ōeru* (OL; Female Office Worker), *Kokuhaku* (tell someone how he feels), *Kahanshin* (Lower Body; slang meaning sexual desire). This explicit concern for the opposite sex is not found in female magazines and implies that the notion of gender division of labor with regard to healing is shared by men relatively more strongly than by women.

Insert Table 3 about here

Conclusion: Healing as an institution in a mass-mediated world

This case clearly indicates that media discourse plays a crucial part in prompting cognitive institutionalization, which means that healing is accepted as an objective reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Scott 2001). It is now taken for granted that healthy people have needs for healing and that these needs can be satisfied by consuming healing products. Above all, the expression *Iyashi Kei* (healing kind) is used frequently for describing certain kinds of laypersons, who just help us relax.

Of course, the media cannot be a solo dictator in the organizational field; however, their discourse or theorization possibly creates a self-fulfilling prophecy by encouraging firms' and consumers' behavior. The role of theorization is more important when uncertainty is high, i.e., when the diffusing aspects do not have an apparent advantage as "innovation." This is also the case when there is no apparent knowledge gap between opinion leaders and potential adapters (Strang and Meyer 1993; Strang and Soule 1998). In this case, we should include not only the interaction among firms and between consumers and firms, but also the inter-influence between the media and firms/consumers.

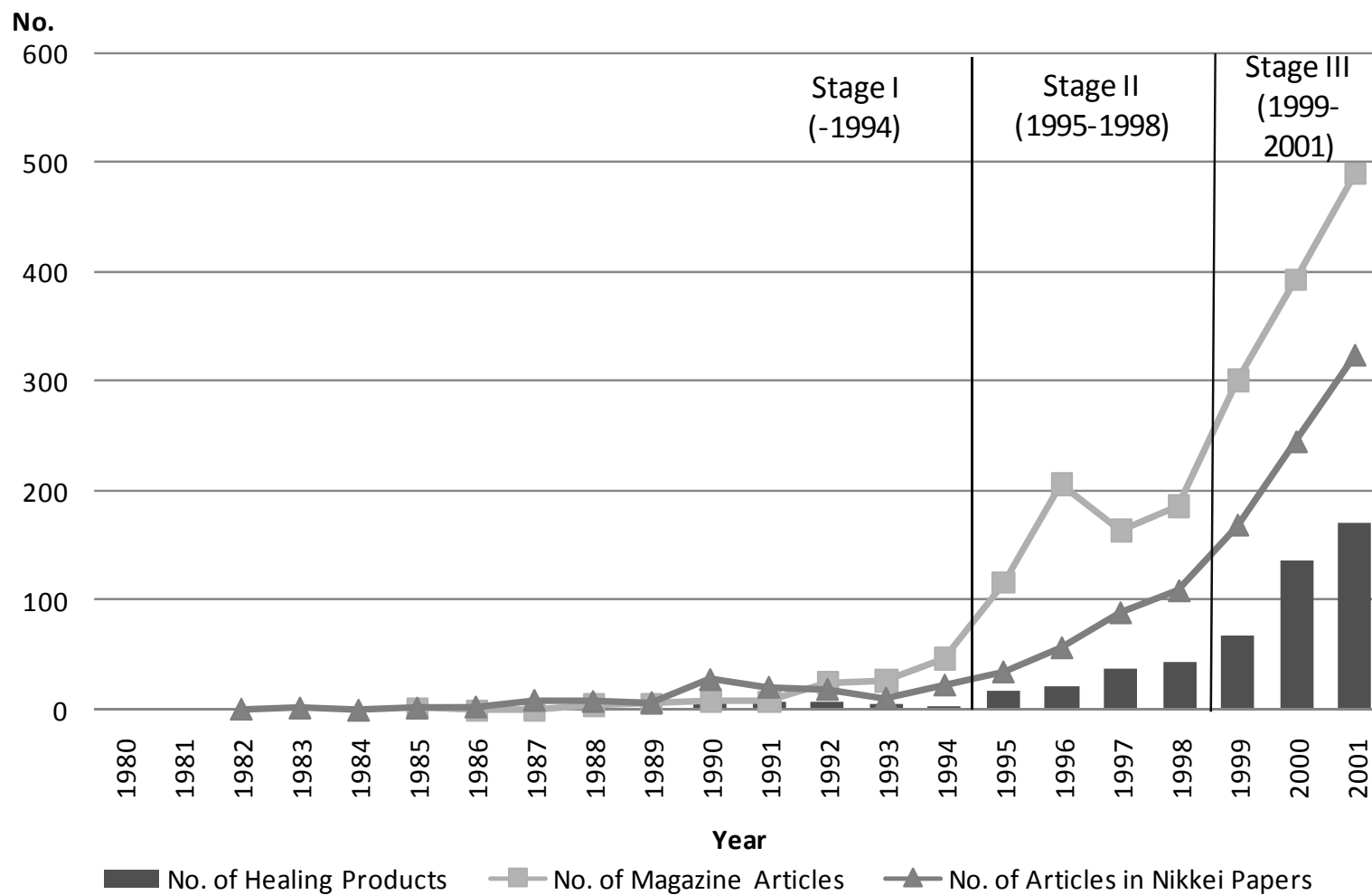
This paper has revealed the processes of the healing boom up to 2001. One of this paper's limitations is that it does not cover the whole process of institutionalization/diffusion of healing. By expanding the analytical period, I could describe the lifecycle and the deinstitutionalization of the boom (DiMaggio 1988).

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Figure 1: Changes in the number of healing-related newspaper & magazine articles and healing products



Source: Nikkei Telecon 21, Oya Sōichi Bunko Magazine Article Index CD-ROM

Table 1: Frequency of Keywords Appearing in Healing-related Magazine Article Titles

Stage I (~1994)

Rank	Keyword	Frequency of Appearance	Total Frequency of Appearance	Share of Frequency in Stage I (%)
1	<i>Kokoro</i> (Mind)	19	289	6.6
2	<i>Manabu</i> (Learn)	16	23	69.6
3	<i>Kenkōjutsu</i> (Art of Health)	15	15	100.0
3	<i>Koten</i> (Classic)	15	16	93.8
5	<i>Nihon</i> (Japan)	12	49	24.5
6	<i>Watashi</i> (Me/I)	10	89	11.2
7	<i>Indo</i> (India)	8	10	80.0
7	<i>Chūgoku</i> (China)	8	19	42.1
7	<i>Tabi</i> (Travel)	8	146	5.5
10	<i>Chibetto</i> (Tibet)	7	8	87.5
10	<i>Ejiputo</i> (Egypt)	7	8	87.5
10	<i>Yamai</i> (Illness)	7	19	36.8
10	<i>Karada</i> (Body)	7	42	16.7

Stage II (1995–1998)

Rank	Keyword	Frequency of Appearance	Total Frequency of Appearance	Share of Frequency in Stage II (%)
1	<i>Kokoro</i> (Mind)	130	289	45.0
2	<i>Shokutaku</i> (Dining Table)	115	118	97.5
3	<i>Genki</i> (Vigor/Vitality)	108	132	81.8
4	<i>Tabi</i> (Travel)	50	146	34.2
5	<i>Otoko</i> (Man)	47	191	24.6
6	<i>Ongaku</i> (Music)	38	87	43.7
7	<i>Sutoresu</i> (Stress)	36	68	52.9
7	<i>Watashi</i> (Me/I)	36	89	40.4
9	<i>Kenkō</i> (Health)	33	53	62.3
10	<i>Tsukareru</i> (Tired)	32	59	54.2

Stage III (1999–2001)

Rank	Keyword	Frequency of Appearance	Total Frequency of Appearance	Share of Frequency in Stage III (%)
1	<i>Iyashi Kei</i> (Healing Kind)	246	248	99.2
2	<i>Kokoro</i> (Mind)	140	289	48.4
3	<i>Tabi</i> (Travel)	88	146	60.3
4	<i>Bijo</i> (Beauty (n.))	59	67	88.1
5	<i>Onna</i> (Woman)	53	74	71.6
6	<i>Otoko</i> (Man)	48	101	47.5
7	<i>Junrei</i> (Pilgrimage)	45	62	72.6
8	<i>Hotoke</i> (Buddha)	44	63	69.8
9	<i>Ongaku</i> (Music)	43	87	49.4
9	<i>Watashi</i> (Me/I)	43	89	48.3

Source: Oya Sōichi Bunko Magazine Article Index CD-ROM

Table 2 Top Six Celebrities Considered as Healing Kind

Healing Kind	Peak Age	Frequency of Appearance					Total	
		1996	1997	1998	1999	2000		2001
Kyoka Suzuki	31	2			1		1	4
Manami Honjo	25			1	4	11	4	20
Naoko Iijima	33				2	1	5	8
Wakana Sakai	20					4		4
Haruka Igawa	25					3	28	31
Yūka	21					2	10	12
Average	25.8							

Note: Each celebrity is a woman. Peak Age means their ages in the year when each celebrity appeared most frequently in magazine articles. This year is in bold.

Source: Oya Sōichi Bunko Magazine Article Index CD-ROM

Table 3: Frequency of Keywords: Magazines for Women vs. Men (Stage III: 1999–2001)

Woman			Man		
Rank	Keyword	Frequency of Appearance	Rank	Keyword	Frequency of Appearance
1	<i>Kokoro</i> (Mind)	36	1	<i>Iyashi Kei</i> (Healing Kind)	178
2	<i>Iyashi Kei</i> (Healing Kind)	35	2	<i>Kokoro</i> (Mind)	77
3	<i>Onnna</i> (Woman)	29	3	<i>Tabi</i> (Travel)	64
4	<i>Watashi</i> (Me/I)	22	4	<i>Bijo</i> (Beauty (n.))	49
5	<i>Jibun</i> (Self)	17	5	<i>Junrei</i> (Pilgrimage)	44
6	<i>Karada</i> (Body)	16	6	<i>Hotoke</i> (Buddha)	43
7	<i>Hinto</i> (Hint)	15	7	<i>Ōeru</i> (OL; Female Office Worker)	37
7	<i>Natsu</i> (Summer)	15	8	<i>Ima</i> (Now)	36
7	<i>Hon</i> (Book)	15	9	<i>Kokuhaku</i> (Tell someone how he feels)	35
10	<i>Chumoku</i> (Attention)	14	9	<i>Igai</i> (Unexpected)	35
10	<i>Genki</i> (Vigor/Vitality)	14	11	<i>Bungaku</i> (Literature)	34
12	<i>Kirei</i> (Beautiful/Lovely)	13	12	<i>Otoko</i> (Man)	32
12	<i>Anta</i> (You)	13	13	<i>Kahanshin</i> (Lower Body; slang meaning sexual desire)	31
14	<i>Biyō</i> (Beauty Treatment)	11	14	<i>Mensetsu</i> (<i>Interview</i>)	30
14	<i>Hada</i> (Skin)	11	14	<i>Hō</i> (Law)	30
14	<i>Kea</i> (<i>Care; Beautifying Skin, Body, Hair, etc.</i>)	11	16	<i>Chinkon</i> (Repose of Soul)	29
14	<i>Esute</i> (Aesthetic; Salon Treatment)	11	16	<i>Tsutomu Minakami</i> (name of novelist)	29
14	<i>Ii</i> (Good)	11	18	<i>Josei</i> (Female)	26
14	<i>Eiga</i> (Movie)	11	19	Haruka Igawa (name of actress)	23
20	<i>Mou</i> (Enough)	10	20	<i>Tera</i> (Temple)	22
20	<i>Suki</i> (Like)	10	20	<i>Tōkyō</i> (Tokyo)	22
20	<i>Koukai</i> (Publication of Information)	10	20	<i>Būmu</i> (Boom)	22
20	<i>Ai</i> (Love)	10			
20	<i>Motomeru</i> (Desire)	10			
20	<i>Josei</i> (Female)	10			
20	<i>Shizen</i> (Nature)	10			

Note: Women's magazines are classified under three categories (Women's Weeklies, Magazines for Older Women, and Girls) within the minor classifications of magazines in the Appendix. Men's magazines are classified under five categories (Popular Weeklies, Reading Material, General Magazines, Youth, and Adults) within same classifications.

Source: Oya Sōichi Bunko Magazine Article Index CD-ROM

Appendix: List of magazines used in content analysis

Major classification	Intermediate classification	Minor classification	Magazine name	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III	Total	
General	General/Mass media	Publication/Reading/Libraries	Gekkan Hyakka, Seishun to Dokusho, Hon, Hon no Hanashi	2	3	3	8	
		Publication information/Book review	DaVinci, Issatsu no Hon, Shinkan News	0	0	6	6	
		Mass media (Newspapers/Broadcasting)	Hoso Bunka	0	1	5	6	
	Popular	Popular weekly		Friday, Aera, Aera special issue, Flash, Flash special issue, FOCUS, Spa!, AsahiGraph, Asahi Geino, Amuse, Sunday Mainichi, decapo, Newsweek Japan, Newsweek Japan supplement, Dias, Weekly Post, Kinyobi, Weekly Gendai, Shukan Jitsuwa, Shukan Jitsuwa supplement, Shukan Jitsuwa special issue, Shukan Shincho, Weekly Taishu, Weekly Taishu special issue, Asahi Weekly, Asahi Weekly special issue, Yomiuri Weekly, Shukan Bunshun, Weekly Hoseki, Mainichi Graphic Amuse	24	166	410	600
			Kinki region/Regional Magazine	Kansai Walker	0	0	3	3
		Women's weekly	anan, Hanako, Hanako West, non.no, non.no special issue, Croissant, Shukan Josei, Josei 7, Josei Jishin	13	69	136	218	
		General magazine	Bart, GQ Japan, Esquire Japan, Gatsun!, Sotokoto, Gendai, Gendai no Espuri, Shokun, Seikai, Seiron, Chuo Koron, Usio, Bungei Shunjun, Bungei supplement,	1	32	80	113	
		Tokyo/Regional	Tokyo 1 Week, Cando!, Pia, Tokyo Walker, Tokyo Walker special issue	0	0	16	16	
		Reading material	BIG tomorrow, BIG tomorrow supplement, Brutus, Decide, Dime, Friday special issue, GoodsPress, Lee, PHP Special, Sapio, Studio Voice, Title, Voice, Serai, Tarzan, Mu, Lapita, Uwasa no Shinso, Jiyu Jikan, Jitsuwa Gon!, Knuckles, Shincho 45, Takarajima, Tokyo-jin, Rekishi Kaido	34	185	118	337	
		Magazine for older women	25ans, Crea, Elle Japon, JJ, Junon, Junon special issue, More, pumpkin, Say, With, Orange Page, Grazia, Cosmopolitan, Popolo, Marie Claire, Mrs, Maple, Katei Gaho, Nikkei Woman, Fuiin Koron	9	92	143	244	
		Home/Living	Fashion	Figaro Japon, Harper's Bazaar, Men's Club, Men's Nonno, ef, Ryuko Tsushin	1	18	12	31
			Housing/Interior	Otoko no kakurega	0	0	3	3
			Lifestyle information	mono magazine, Yomigaeru, Inagakurashi no Hon, Nikkei Entertainment, Kurashi	0	4	15	19
	Cooking/Nutrition		dancyu	0	0	1	1	
	Juveniles	Girls	Potato, Seventeen	0	0	2	2	
	Entertainment/The Arts	TV/Radio/Performing arts/Movies	Oricon, Oricon Week The Ichiban, The Television, Feature	1	4	19	24	
		Youth	Playboy, Scholar, Weekly Playboy	2	11	28	41	
		Adults	Supplement Asahi Geino	0	0	6	6	
	Leisure/Hobbies	Leisure	Vacation	1	0	0	1	
		Music/Audio	FM fan, Jazz Life, Switch, Switch special issue, Rockin' On Japan, Ongaku to Hito	2	3	10	15	
		Travel/Sightseeing	Winds, Sanpo no Tatsujin, Tabi, Tabi no Techo	0	2	19	21	
		Pets	Ani Pal	0	0	1	1	
	Sports	General sports/Track & Field	Sports Graphic Number, Walking Magazine	3	0	9	12	
Ball games		Pro Yakyu ai, Weekly Baseball	0	1	16	17		
General Total				93	591	1,061	1,745	
Education /Liberal arts	Education	General education	Shigoto no Kvoshitsu	0	0	1	1	
	Learning/Linguistics	Japanese studies	Gengo	0	0	1	1	
	Literature/The arts	The Arts/The Fine Arts	Geishin Shincho	0	3	0	3	
		Poetry	Hatoyo!	3	3	2	8	
		Popular literature	Oruyomimono, Shosetsu Shincho	0	0	2	2	
	Natural	Haiku	Seiryu	0	0	3	3	
		General literature	Subaru, Shincho, Bungakukai	6	4	2	12	
Education/Liberal arts Total				9	12	16	37	
Welfare/Medicine	Medicine	Family medicine/Health	Nikkei Health	0	3	3	6	
Welfare/Medicine	Welfare	Welfare/Social security	Iki Iki	0	0	8	8	
Welfare/Medicine Total				0	3	11	14	
Politics/Economics/Business	Economics/Management	Management/Economics	Forbes, The21,Business Intelligence, President, Keizaikai, Zaikai, Zaikai special issue, Weekly Economist, Diamond Weekly, Weekly Toyo Keizai, Nikkei Trendy, Nikkei Trendy supplement, Nikkei Venture, Nikkei Business	3	45	57	105	
	Political economy	Political economy	Sentaku	0	1	1	2	
	State of the nation/National resources	Industrial and economic data	Passing Time	0	0	2	2	
Politics/Economics/Business Total				3	46	60	109	
Industry	General	Science & Tech	Trigger	0	0	1	1	
	Electrical and electronic	Computers/Information processing	Cyzo	0	0	1	1	
Industry Total				0	0	2	2	
Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Across, checkmate, Dansen, DENiM, Soiree, The Bigman, uno!, Views, Creek, SciEarth, Shopping, Diamond Box, Bepal, Psiko, Pota, Honto no Jidai, monthly M, Miki House Love, Mens Works, More, Leisure industry data, Replique, Keizai Orai, Monthly Asahi Graphperson, Monthly Kadokawa, Themis, Shukan Sankei, Shukan Jiji, Taiyo, Chishiki, Asahi Journal, Asahi Journal special issue, Bisho, Hoseki, Takarajima	24	20	33	77	
Unknown Total				24	20	33	77	
Total				129	672	1,183	1,984	

Note: Classification is based on the 2001 version of *Shinbun Zasshi Sōkatarogu* (Newspaper and Magazine General Catalog). The publication of most unknown magazines had been suspended.