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Popular Music

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Among both scholars and laymen, any discussion of the definition of "popular music" is apt to produce a wide variety of definitions.* Taking the first component of the term literally, one must first ask, "popular among whom?" since different kinds of music are popular among different segments of a given society. As John Blacking has pointed out,

> [Popular music] is music that is liked or admired by people in general, and it includes Bach, Beethoven, and the Beatles, Ravi Shankar, Sousa's marches and the "Londonderry Air." . . . The music that most people value most is popular music; but what that music is, varies according to the social class and experience of composers, performers and listeners.[1]

Even ignoring such societal differentiation, and using, for example, sales figures of recordings as the basis for determining "the music that most people value most" within a single country, difficulties persist. How does one label the songs written in a style similar to "hit" songs but that do not sell well? On the other hand, if popular music were to be defined not on the basis of some artificial index of "popularity" but on the basis of a particular musical style, how would one account for the wide range of musical styles found among the music of Bob Dylan, Barbra Streisand, and the Grateful Dead, all of which has been labeled "popular music" of one type or another.

The editors of a periodical entitled *Popular Music* offer the opinion that "from one point of view 'popular music' exists in any stratified society. It is seen as the music of the mass of the people . . . as against that of an elite."[2] The im-

* Japanese names in this essay are in the Japanese order of family name, given name.

plication of this statement—that the music a so-called elite listens to is therefore never in the realm of popular music—is highly questionable.

Owing in great part to confusion regarding the "popular" element of popular music, the size of the body of music referred to as such differs widely according to the speaker and context. In its most encompassing sense, the label "popular music" is used to include traditional "folk music." The *New Oxford Companion to Music*, for example, defines popular music as "all the various kinds of music that might not be considered under the general heading of 'serious' or 'classical' music."[3] However, this broad usage seems to have fallen out of favor of late.[4] In the most specific usage of "popular music," one finds "popular" or "pop" music differentiated from "rock," "folk," or "new wave" music as different subcategories under the rubric of "popular music."

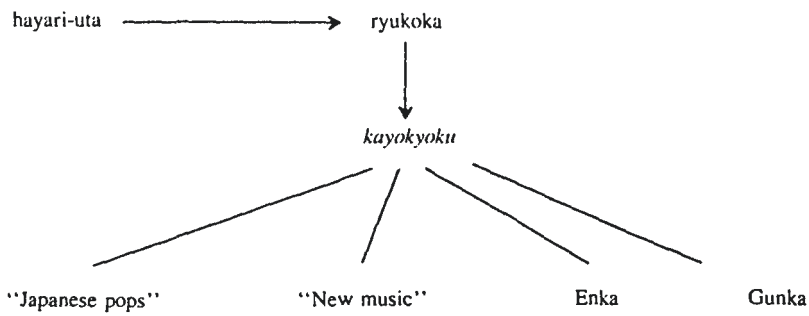
Clearly there are a myriad of problems inherent in defining the concept of popular music. However, the term is widely used in many different cultures, and some points of agreement do seem to exist between the various ways in which it is used. This essay will explore specific genres of Japanese music that the Japanese themselves label "popular music." In the course of reading about these genres, those familiar with popular music of other cultures may find points of confluence between the Japanese definition of popular music and those of other cultures.

In the Japanese case, both the terms *minshu ongaku* and *taishu ongaku* can be translated as "popular music" or "music of the masses." More recently, the term *popyura ongaku* (the English "popular" plus the Japanese for "music") has also come into use.[5] Idiomatically, the term *kayokyoku*, which refers to the whole range of popular song, is probably used most often to refer to Japanese popular music in general.[6]

It is important to note here that any discussion of popular music in Japan must concentrate primarily on vocal music. The major categories of *kayokyoku—enka*, Japanese pops, and "new music"—all consist of vocal music, mostly solo songs. In addition, this essay will deal almost exclusively with the popular music performed by—and, in most cases, composed by—Japanese.[7] While Western popular music in the broadest sense (including jazz, country-western, soul, and rock) makes up an important element of the current music scene in Japan, this discussion will limit itself to music produced in its original form by the Japanese record industry.

There are several characteristics of *kayokyoku* that it has in common with much of the music identified as popular elsewhere; these differentiate such music from folk and art music. These characteristics include the facts that (1) the composer and lyricist are known; (2) the music is promulgated mainly through the mass media capable of sound reproduction—television (both live and video), radio, recordings; and (3) the average "lifespan" of a piece—the period when it is frequently heard over the mass media and sells the most records—is relatively short, generally a few weeks. Musically, typical *kayokyoku* songs have in common with Western popular songs a relatively short length (on the average, about

Figure 1
Major Types of *kayokyoku*



three to five minutes) and a structure consisting of simple strophic form with refrain. The vocal part or parts are generally set off by an instrumental introduction and the insertion of an instrumental interlude between strophes.

Some of the categories used in Japanese popular music are shown in Figure 1. A major problem with the terms used to subdivide the general category of "popular song" is that record companies, the general public, and scholars alike use them with little consistency and have applied them to different music at different times. An informal telephone survey of major record companies conducted in February 1985 indicated that the companies themselves have no clear-cut policy as to how they classify different types of *kayokyoku*. Rather, songs are placed into categories of *kayokyoku* according to who sings them; a certain singer is pegged by a record company as a singer of "new music," for example, and almost anything he produces will be classified as "new music," even if the style of the song is similar to another kind of popular song.[8]

Ryukoka is a term that originally was associated with popular song spread by means of the mass media, but that has generally been replaced with the term *kayokyoku*, which refers to the all-encompassing category of popular song.[9] *Enka*, one of the major types of popular song, is a song, written by a known composer and lyricist, that generally uses pentatonic scales (as opposed to Western heptatonic scales) and whose sentimental lyrics concern love and nostalgia. The other categories of popular song listed in Figure 1 will be defined and discussed later in the course of this essay.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Before surveying the historical background of popular music in Japan, it will be useful to review the general characteristics of traditional music in that country. Some knowledge of the indigenous musical culture of the Japanese can enable one to discern ways in which popular music has drawn from, or strayed away from, traditional Japanese music.

A warning must first be made, however, that formulating theoretical gener-

alizations that apply to all genres of Japanese music is a difficult task. This is because a comprehensive body of musical theory does not exist in the Japanese tradition. Musical concepts that apply to specific genres have been developed but widely applicable concepts are rare.

The method of vocal production, for example, differs with each genre of vocal music. Small differences in timbre, created by the method of vocal production, have traditionally set off different genres of song. Thus, *kiyomoto*, or song that is used to accompany *kabuki* dance, is sung with a different method of vocal production than *nagauta*, the general music of the *kabuki*. This differentiation holds true to some degree for popular music as well; the style of vocal production differs from one type of popular music to another, and this, in turn, partly determines how that music is categorized.

Vocal production in Japanese music is usually of the *uragoe* (falsetto) or *jigoe* (natural voice) variety. Koizumi defines *uragoe* as "made by producing a soft utterance while controlling a part of the vocal band to achieve uniform pitch," while *jigoe* is "made by producing a strong utterance at a relatively high pitch while keeping the vocal band and surrounding area tense."[10] Most Japanese vocal music is produced by the *jigoe* technique; *hanagoe* (nasal voice), a type of *jigoe*, is often used in *naniwabushi*, a narrative form of music that strongly influenced some forms of popular song. All of these varieties of vocal production differ from the *bel canto* style of singing in the West, which strives for a more brilliant tone color, and from the common vocal styles of Western popular music.

One specific vocal ornamental technique used in different vocal genres is also important to some forms of popular song. *Yuri*, a "swinging" of the voice to slightly alter a pitch, somewhat resembles the Western ornamentation technique of vibrato. The technique involves "going to the next tone of a melody while causing the melody to spin a bit," and its purpose is to "add luster to the melody line."[11] The exact width, pitch-wise, of the "vibrato" and its speed vary according to the genre of music in which *yuri* is used. The *yuri* heard in most popular songs is similar to the kind of *yuri* found in *shamisen*[12] vocal music and some types of folk song.

Most Japanese music has rhythm of a uniform beat structure; the main exception is the folk song of the *oiwakebushi* type, named after packhorse driver songs. These are lacking in a regular beat and contain melismatic treatment of the melody line. Music with a uniform beat structure is usually in duple meter, such as music for the *shamisen*. Some music for the *koto*, a thirteen-stringed zither, is in quadruple time and *noh* music is generally in units of eight beats, though not necessarily using a continuous, uniform beat. Triple meter in Japanese music is very rare.

It is not easy to make general statements concerning the structure of traditional vocal music, as this is highly flexible even within particular genres. In the various genres of vocal music accompanied by *shamisen*, for example, the music is highly susceptible to the influence of the structure of the lyrics, especially in the case of accompanied drama. The most basic elements of the structure of any

given song consist of purely instrumental sections and vocal sections with instrumental accompaniment (though in the case of *gidayubushi*,[13] spoken narrative also enters in as a third element), and how these are alternated differs widely.

Traditional music with both instrumental and vocal parts displays an important aspect of the relationship between voice and instrument in Japanese music: what Malm describes as "an example of heterophony, for both parts seem to be performing the same melody with simultaneous variations." He further explains that "the reason behind this style in Japanese vocal music acccompanied by the *shamisen* seems to be that since both parts tend to perform the same melodic line, it is necessary for the singer to delay or anticipate the sound of a given tone on the *shamisen* in order that the text can be clearly heard."[14] This same effect can be found in some popular songs, a heterophonic interplay between the vocal line and some instrument simultaneously playing the melodic line, often a guitar instead of a *shamisen*.

The scales used in Japanese music differ according to the genre and instrument used, but a few that affect popular music will be presented here. The so-called *minyo* scale, used often in folk music, is equivalent to the natural minor scale with the second and sixth steps omitted: LA–DO–RE–MI–SOL–LA (or A–C–D–E–G–A). Another common scale is the *miyakobushi* scale: MI–FA –LA–SI–DO–MI (E–F–A–B–C–E).

The *shoka* school songs composed in the Meiji period used a new set of scales that later affected military songs and *kayokyoku* in general. They are labeled the *yonanuki* scales because the fourth (*yo*) and seventh (*na*) degrees of the Western major and minor scales are omitted. Thus, the *yonanuki* major scale contains DO–RE–MI–SOL–LA–DO (C–D–E–G–A–C); the *yonanuki* minor scale proceeds LA–SI–DO–MI–FA–LA (A–B–C–E–F–A). These two types of pentatonic scales are particularly important to the development of many popular forms of song in Japan.

A brief survey of the main genres of Japanese music should begin with one of the oldest surviving Japanese music forms, *gagaku*. Known as the court orchestral music of Japan, *gagaku* can be traced to China, India, and Korea, and it is said to have been first introduced to Japan in the seventh century. *Gagaku* ensembles utilize a combination of percussion, wind, and string instruments and can still be heard today in the Imperial Palace, as well as at many shrines and temples throughout the country.

Noh drama derived from popular forms of entertainment that were transformed and codified in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Kannami Kiyotsugu and his son, Zeami Motokiyo. The accompanying instrumental ensemble is called *hayashi*, and consists of the *nohkan*, a transverse bamboo flute, and three kinds of drums, the *kotsuzumi*, the *tsuzumi*, and the *taiko*. A chorus, called *ji*, sings *yokyoku* (the vocal genre of *noh*), also called *utai*. This kind of singing-chanting is based on *shomyo*, or Buddhist chanting, which also has had an important impact on the Japanese music tradition.

The music of the Edo period (1615–1867) best reflects the tastes of urban

common people in the premodern period. The *koto* was used for both solo and ensemble compositions, most of which were composed during the Edo period. One important form written for the *koto* is the *jiuta*, which alternates vocal sections with instrumental interludes. Strictly instrumental pieces exist as well, such as *shirabemono*, in which a basic theme is presented, followed by sections of variation with new melodies inserted. The popular instrumental ensemble of the time consisted of *koto*, *shamisen*, and *shakuhachi* (an end-blown flute) or *kokyu* (a bowed fiddle), and these ensembles were known as *sankyoku*.

The literature for solo *shakuhachi* developed mainly during the Edo period, when men known as *komuso* played in the streets wearing large baskets over their heads and sometimes acted as spies. The *shakuhachi* can be heard both in ensembles (as the *sankyoku*) as well as in solo pieces.

The *shamisen* played an important role in Edo period music, particularly in narrative traditions. The genre created by and named after Takemoto Gidayu, *gidayubushi*, utilizes the *shamisen* to accompany the drama of the puppet theater. The narrator-singer and the *shamisen* player sit next to one another to one side of the stage. The narrator speaks the lines of the puppet-characters and sings commentary as well, while the *shamisen* accompanies him and adds instrumental interludes.

Another genre of *shamisen* music popular during the Edo period was the *kouta*, literally "short song." The *kouta* was usually based on a romantic or descriptive text and was sung with *shamisen* accompaniment at small gatherings. *Kouta*, which influenced some early forms of popular song, utilizes the *hanagoe*, or nasal, form of vocal production.

Another important genre using the *shamisen* instrument is *nagauta*, the music of the *kabuki*. The voice and *shamisen* perform the same basic melody in a *nagauta* ensemble, which also includes drums and flutes. *Nagauta* can also be performed independently of the theater; *ozashiki nagauta* is for concert performance only.

Finally, Japan has a long, rich folk song (*minyo*) tradition. Many types of folk songs exist—work songs, game songs, love songs, etc. The voice is often accompanied by drums, *shimisen*, *shakuhachi*, and/or bamboo flutes. *Minyo* is often associated with a particular region, and part of its popularity in the cities derives from the nostalgia felt by those reminded of their home towns as they listen to these folk songs. Surveys have shown that *minyo* is the most popular form of traditional music in Japan, and it has continued to gain popularity in recent years.[15]

The history of *kayokyoku*—popular song with a known composer, primarily disseminated by means of the mass media—can be traced to a period when songs in theatrical plays were made into recordings and then used in movies. One of the first songs to undergo this process was "Kachusha no uta" [The song of Katiusha (the Russian diminutive for Katherine)], which first appeared as a song in a Japanese production of Tolstoy's "Resurrection." As the song gained widespread popularity in Tokyo, the Orient Record Company decided to release a

recording of it by singer Matsui Sumako in 1915; this sold about 20,000 copies, a large amount for that time.[16] After this experience, recording and movie companies became involved with the promotion of well-received songs from the stage. In this period, a prospective song had to first prove its popularity with the theater public before being issued on a record or made into the theme song of a movie.[17] "Sendo kouta" [Boatman's *kouta*] was another song that followed this pattern.

The composer of "Kachusha no uta" and "Sendo kouta" was Nakayama Shimpei, who became a major figure in the development of popular song in Japan. Trained at the Tokyo Music School, Nakayama wrote songs that mixed Western and Japanese musical elements in a way that pleased the general public. "Kachusha no uta," for example, uses the Japanese *yonanuki* pentatonic scale for the melody and Western instruments for the background accompaniment. This combination of a melody using a pentatonic scale with Western instrumental accompaniment remains a popular combination among *kayokyoku* to the present day.

The musical beginnings of popular songs such as those mentioned above are said to belong primarily to two types of short song often heard in the Meiji period, the *shoka* and the *gunka*. *Shoka* are songs that were composed in the late nineteenth century to introduce Western-style music and singing to schoolchildren. These songs, as well as the *gunka*, or military songs, which were popular from the time of the Sino-Japanese War through World War II, also incorporated Japanese musical elements, specifically the use of *yonanuki* pentatonic scales.

Here the confusing etymology and use of Japanese popular music terms again come to the foreground. Nakayama is generally considered the first composer of *ryukoka*, though that particular term derived from a different reading of three Chinese characters that could also be read *hayariuta*. (The meaning of the characters themselves is "popular song.") The earlier term *hayariuta* was applied in the early Meiji period to short songs that were sung in the streets to relate the latest news events.

In its earliest use from the Meiji period through the Taisho period, the term *kayokyoku* referred to the lied, or art song, of Western classical music. However, toward the end of the 1920s, the newly formed Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), or Japan Broadcasting Corporation, began to question the use of the term *ryukoka* for the popular songs they broadcast. Their concern derived from the fact that the literal meaning of *ryukoka*—"songs that are popular"—may not have applied to all the songs they broadcast that were in the popular style but not necessarily "popular." In the end, NHK decided to call all new popular music *kayokyoku*, and this usage gradually spread to the general populace.[18] However, the term *ryukoka* was still used for many years and is still sometimes used to refer to popular song in general.

As recording technology became more sophisticated from the 1920s to the 1930s, the quality of music recordings improved and phonographs became

cheaper and more widely available to the general public in Japan. During this same period, the influence of record companies grew to the point that they decided almost exclusively which singers and songs would become popular nationwide. With the growth of the record industry, a system developed whereby record companies and movie companies cooperated to simultaneously release the recording of a song and a movie that featured that song. This system gave immediate maximum exposure to a song, making it possible for *kayokyoku* to become popular all over the country at the same time. Examples of this trend can be found in the songs of Sato Chiyako. Her songs, such as "Habu no minato" [The port of Habu], composed by Nakayama Shimpei and released in 1928, are representative of the darkly dramatic *kayokyoku* of this period.[19]

The relationship between popular song and traditional Japanese music was further strengthened in the 1930s, when *geisha* emerged as *kayokyoku* singers with songs that resembled *kouta*, the short-song genre mentioned earlier. One such song is "Gion kouta," composed by Sasa Koka and issued in 1930. In addition, popular songs written in traditional folk song style also became hits during this period. Songs such as "Tokyo ondo" (composed by Nakayama Shimpei and issued in 1933) were considered popular songs when they were released, but today are played at *bon odori* and similar folk events. Given their folk song style and the context in which they are played, many younger Japanese think that such songs are "pure" folk songs. Songs of this style often use scales common to folk songs and intersperse the vocal part with cries known as *kakegoe*, which are used in some varieties of folk song performance.

From the early 1930s, the composer Koga Masao became an important influence in prewar Japanese popular song, and he also reflected the closer relationship with traditional music. Koga's songs, most of which were sung by Fujiyama Ichiro, tended to include melodic lines that used *yuri* ornamentation from traditional music. His songs, such as "Sake wa namida ka tameiki ka?" [Sake is my tears or my sighs?] (issued in 1931), often used the *yonanuki* pentatonic scale.

The song "Wakare no buruzu" [The blues of separation], composed by Hattori Ryoichi in 1937, obviously borrowed the song type named in the title from the American song form, but was actually written in a Japanese "blues" style, which meant using a *yonanuki* minor scale in a slow, 4/4 rhythmic structure. The singer who made this particular song popular, Awaya Noriko, made many hit records of Japanese-style blues and became known as the "Queen of the Blues."

Gunka, the military songs that grew out of the Meiji period, have already been mentioned in connection with their influence on the beginnings of *kayokyoku*. In the midst of events that led up to World War II, such as the Manchurian Incident and the outbreak of hostilities with the Chinese, military songs regained popularity. They often resembled Western marches, with brisk tempos and heavily accented beats within a 4/4 meter. Usually using the *yonanuki* major or minor

scales, the *gunka* often had an orchestral accompaniment, with drums and brass particularly highlighted and trumpet fanfares common. One highly popular *gunka* composed by Koseki Yuji and recorded in 1937 was called "Roei no uta" [The song of the bivouac], which firmly established him as the foremost composer of *gunka*.

In the prewar period, radio stations gained a major role in disseminating and influencing the popularity of *kayokyoku*. Because of the relatively poor quality of recording equipment, most music was performed live on the air.[20] This situation changed only after the war, with the proliferation of commercial radio stations and the increased use of better-quality recording equipment.

The end of World War II brought many new changes to popular song in Japan, both in the product itself and in the way in which it was produced. Western influences, from American popular songs to French *chansons*, strongly affected much *kayokyoku* written in this postwar period. In contrast to songs that displayed many elements of traditional Japanese music, such as the *yonanuki* scales and *yuri*, the postwar songs tended to use natural minor scales and melodies uninfluenced by *yuri*. One of the first hits after the war with this new Western-oriented sound was "Ringo no uta" [Apple song], sung by Namiki Michiko and released in 1945. Another such song, whose title reveals its American ties, is "Tokyo Boogie Woogie" (composed by Hattori Ryoichi and released in 1947), which uses a dotted dance rhythm and a major scale.

Even as Western-influenced songs flooded the market, a few hit songs still had musical links with the more Japanese-influenced, prewar *kayokyoku*. One was "Yu no machi ereji" [Hot springs elegy], composed by Koga Masao and sung by Omi Toshiro in 1948. The melody of this song was in a *yonanuki* scale, and the instrumental accompaniment consisted of not a full orchestra but a guitar, which lent a plaintive air reminiscent of the *shamisen*. The trend of using a guitar accompaniment in the background, popular from the 1950s on, was stimulated by this song.

Dramatic changes in how singers and songs were marketed affected almost every aspect of the popular music world in the 1950s. The creation of private broadcasting companies in 1951 and the development of television in 1953 stimulated the growth of so-called *geino* (artistic) production companies. Whereas record companies, sometimes in cooperation with movie companies, had previously coordinated the songwriter, lyricist, and singer in the production of a song, these production companies became involved with every step of the production of *kayokyoku*. They performed all the tasks from planning and selecting the song to negotiating with the record companies and the television and radio stations on behalf of the singer.

As they grew in power, some production companies had seemingly total control over all production aspects of a song and over all who were involved in its creation. The most powerful of these, Watanabe Productions, for example, not only had control over the contracts of a stable of singers, composers, and mu-

sicians, but also held the copyrights of all songs produced by their employees. Having acquired their own sheet music-publishing company, Watanabe Productions also had a monopoly on the publication of the songs in their possession.

The careers of singers were completely at the mercy of these production companies, who could decide to hard sell singers one year or ignore them the next. As a result of this complete control, new singers who joined the company could gain immediate, solid backing and assured record issues, but established singers who wanted to become independent had a difficult time. Since the production company had the copyrights to all their hit songs, they had to start out on their own with a whole new repertoire, obviously a great drawback to an established artist. This situation lasted until the 1970s, when television companies took over some of the former duties of the production companies.

Another side effect of this method of production was that a particular song came to be so closely associated with a particular singer that the producers, as well as the public, came to perceive their relationship as a symbiotic one. This perception was related to the way particular singers and songs were sold as a package to record companies and television stations.

One female singer who debuted in 1949 and sang in the Japanese style came to enjoy continued popularity for many years after the end of the war—Misora Hibari. Misora's singing was marked by the use of Japanese-style vocal production, which made a particularly strong impact in the postwar period when so many singers were imitating the West. She was skilled in singing in the *jigoe*, or natural voice, style and in the use of *yuri*. The tune "Ringo oiwake" was sung with a free rhythm, in folk song style, and "Tonko-bushi" [Coalminer's song] used the *minyo* scale. Another popular female singer of the time who used Japanese elements in her singing was Shimakura Chiyoko. Well-known male singers of this period include Kasuga Hachiro, Mihashi Michiya, and Minami Haruo. These artists also performed many songs that used the *yonanuki* scale, *yuri* techniques, and dotted rhythms and long melismatic sections reminiscent of folk song.

Running parallel with this 1950s trend of incorporating Japanese elements into popular song, American popular songs and jazz spread also throughout Japan, particularly aided by the presence of American military bases. Some American hits were translated into Japanese and became hits in versions sung by Japanese. Eri Chiemi made the Japanese version of "Tennessee Waltz" famous in 1952, and Yukimura Izumi recorded the Japanese translation of "The Last Waltz" [Omoide no warutsu], popular in 1953. This move to record American popular hits in Japanese developed into the so-called "Rockabilly" movement, a representative of which was Kosaka Kazuya's 1956 version of "Heartbreak Hotel," the Elvis Presley hit.

In the late 1950s, two rather incongruent styles of music simultaneously garnered popularity popularity in the record market—American pop songs and sentimental songs that used Japanese-style vocal production and melodic minor scales. An example of the latter is Frank Nagai's "Yurakucho de aimasho"

[Let's meet at Yurakucho], composed by Yoshida Tadashi. Singing in a similar style, male singing groups with a featured singer also appeared, such as Wada Hiroshi and the Minor Stars. Such groups were known as "mood chorus groups."

As Japan began its tremendous economic growth after the war, the middle class grew at a correspondingly fast pace. As a result, more songs appeared that were meant to appeal to the urban, white-collar class. Younger singers emerged, many in their twenties or late teens, and the songs they sang extolled youth and platonic love. More groups also were formed, in contrast to the overwhelming number of soloists who dominated the popular music scene.

The predilection the Japanese have for absorbing foreign music, imitating it, and then producing their own unique musical culture based on this experience is a recurring cycle in Japanese music history. Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that following the influx of Western popular music after the war, the 1960s saw the rise of so-called "Japanese pops." One highly popular example of this is the song "Ue o muite aruko," composed by Nakamura Hachidai and sung by Sakamoto Kyu, which was one of the few Japanese popular songs to become a big hit in its original form in the United States, there under the title "Sukiyaki."[21] Songs composed by Nakamura tended to have melodies set syllabically, used minor scales, and included such devices of Western harmony as modulations and borrowed chords.[22] Another well-known composer of the 1960s, Izumi Taku, also wrote in this Japanese pops style.

Kayokyoku, which incorporated the traditional scales, made another comeback in the latter half of the 1960s with female singers like Miyako Harumi and Suizenji Kiyoko. From this period it became common to call those songs that used the *yonanuki* scales and *yuri* techniques "*enka*," as opposed to "Japanese pops."[23]

The word *enka* and the music to which it has referred has its own historical background. The beginnings of *enka* can be traced to the 1880s, when the popular rights movement (*jiyu minken undo*) arose to demand less centralization of political, authority and a constitutional form of government. The participants of this movement began a campaign of informing the populace of their goals by composing songs about their movement that they felt would appeal to the public. The lyric sheets of these songs were then sold for profit.[24] The melodies were apparently influenced by traditional folk songs. Some songs had a strong, military-like style, such as "Oppekepe-bushi," composed by Kawakami Otojiro. With the establishment of the National Diet in 1890 and victory in the Russo-Japanese War, people lost interest in the political content of these songs, and the associations that promoted them were disbanded.

After the turn of the century, *enka* received another boost in popularity with the songs performed by Soeda Azembo. His songs, such as "Rappa-bushi," had a touch of social irony, and in general the lyrics of *enka* of this period tended to concern historical or current events. As opposed to the strong influence of traditional folk songs on earlier *enka*, the melodies of Soeda's songs tended to show the influence of *shoka* school songs and *gunka* military songs. From around

1907, the Western violin was used as an accompanying instrument in many of these songs.

During the Taisho period (1912–1926), professional *enka* singers grew in numbers, and these *enkashi* sang songs that often dealt with themes of male-female relationships. Some *enkashi* worked as minstrels, carrying a guitar or accordian from one bar to another and singing the requested songs of customers or accompanying the customers themselves as they sang. In the 1930s, *enka* could be heard both over the radio and on records, though maintaining the sentimental, sometimes teary atmosphere of the *sakaba*, or drinking place. After World War II, many famous *enka* composers and performers came out of the ranks of the old *enkashi*.

Enka underwent a stylistic change after the late 1960s, when singers like Mori Shinichi and Aoe Mina sang songs with a looser beat and in a heterophonic manner. This influenced the singing style of other *enka* singers into the 1970s, a decade during which *enka* underwent another boom in popularity.

Returning to the history of *kayokyoku* in general from the 1960s, the influence of television grew stronger as more households purchased the sets. This medium, in addition to the movies, brought many new singers to prominence.

In the early 1960s, Western musical groups and musicians such as the Beatles, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez became popular and exerted a strong influence on two Japanese popular music movements: the "folk" movement and the "group sounds" movement. Under the influence of these movements, amateur students began to participate in their own music making by buying instruments, performing, and singing. Folk singers of the late 1960s include Mike Maki, Moriyama Yoko, and Jackie Yoshikawa and the Blue Comets.

The Tigers, the Tempters, and the Wild Ones were all groups formed in these years that came to represent the group sounds movement. The performance style of these groups tended to be affected by the more overtly expressive Western musicians, such as swaying back and forth while singing. The vocal quality of these groups imitated that of Western popular singing. In this period, more groups began to write their own music, in contrast to the former situation in which composer and performer were almost always different. Instruments used in the group sounds were those common to British and American rock groups of the 1960s, including electric guitar and percussion sets. Later, in the 1970s, some singers of the group sounds movement (like Sawada Kenji of the Tigers) left their groups and went solo.

This period also saw the rise of protest songs related to American conduct in the Vietnam War and the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, an issue that also became a focus of intense anti-war activity. Tied to this brand of song was a growing feeling on the part of some musicians that the mass media and recording companies treated singers as commercial objects and neglected the close relationship between singer, song, and listening public. Like the group sounds musicians, folk and rock singers wrote more of their own music in a move to close the gap between singer and song.

In the 1970s, the folk and rock movements drew together to form what was branded "a new kind of sound," represented by Yoshida Takuro and Minami Kosetsu. Their songs—the majority of which were written by themselves—generally use the natural minor scale, short phrases, and long rests between those phrases. The lyrics, which tend to have a more "personal" point of view, are often set syllabically.

By the late 1970s, this new development in the folk movement came to be considered sufficiently different from the previous folk style—particularly in the self-expressive nature of the lyrics—that the word "folk" was thought to be inappropriate. From this time, the label "new music" came into being. In the year 1978, albums of music considered new music sold 40 percent of the total sales of the year, and several of these songs were used in television.[25]

It is difficult to define the musical characteristics specific to new music, which is said to draw not only from the folk movement but also rock, group sounds, and pops. For instance, while folk, rock, and pops can be differentiated to some degree by instrumentation,[26] so-called new music does not have one specific kind of instrumentation. Typically, new music instrumental accompaniment contains different combinations of the common popular music instruments. The songs tend to stress melodic content over the presence of a strong beat, as found in rock music and some group sounds music. While considered, on the one hand, an urban, sophisticated brand of popular song, new music also sometimes incorporates elements of traditional music, such as the background use of Japanese instruments.

Many early new music performers wrote their own music and lyrics (to the point where the designation singer-songwriter became common), but more recent performers also use separate lyricists and songwriters. Texts of new music songs are more prose-like than the more poetic texts of some forms of *enka*, for example, and generally are written from an introspective, self-absorbed point of view.[27] In the themes of their lyrics as well as in musical style, this new music seems to reflect the thoughts and lifestyle of the young generation of Japanese who never experienced the Second World War and have generally grown up amid a standard of living unparalleled in the history of Japan.

Like the folk performers before them, many new music singers perform frequently in live concerts in locations outside of Tokyo like Hokkaido, Tohoku, and Kyushu, and do not appear often on television.

A different but highly visible phenomenon is the emergence of *kawaiko-chan*—the "cute," mostly female singers in their teens who appeal to young teenagers. These singers are packaged (discovered and given an image, attendant musical repertoire, and performing style) and promoted by production companies. *Kawaiko-chan* frequently appear on musical variety television shows, performing in costumes that accentuate an image of youth and innocence. Girls' costumes are often miniskirts or sometimes more elaborate costumes, and boys generally sport casual clothes. Their singing is accompanied by hand gestures and body movements that are especially designed for each song by a choreographer.

Typically, singers in this group maintain their popularity for two or three years before declining. Those who do last longer begin to sing more sophisticated *kayokyoku* as they outgrow the age limit for *kawaiko-chan*. Artist production companies are therefore constantly searching for new talent to replace aging *kawaiko-chan*. Sometimes singers in this category also debut as a group that later breaks up, each member becoming a soloist. This was the case, for example, with Kondo Masahiko, who was originally a member of the Tanokin Trio.

The lyrics of the songs sung by *kawaiko-chan* frequently include a few English words, which are often used in ways that seem out of context to a native speaker. Even the Japanese language is sometimes used incorrectly. For example, a song by the male singer Kondo Masahiko called "Kejimenasai" should actually be *kejime o tsukenasai* in grammatically correct Japanese.[28] There are several instances of grammatically incorrect Japanese phrases entering the language as slang after being used in popular songs.

Under the rubric of *kayokyoku*, or popular song in Japan, numerous categories of song exist, many of which have been already mentioned. The large categories of *kayokyoku* are *enka* and Japanese pops. Within each category, it is possible to distinguish several subtypes. The following is one possible way of subdividing the category of *enka*. Obviously, the boundary lines between these subtypes are flexible and singers may cross over from one kind of *enka* to another.

1. The type of *enka* that has been influenced by *naniwabushi*.[29] Singers of this kind of *enka* are expected to have a strong, thick voice. The singers' costumes are Japanese kimono, often rather bright and gaudy. The singers themselves tend to be in their late thirties to fifties and some were originally *naniwabushi* (also known as *rokyoku*) singers. Representative of this category are the singers Murata Hideo, Minami Haruo, and Futaba Yuriko.
2. Songs that concern life in general. These songs resemble the *naniwabushi* type of *enka* to some degree in the kind of costumes worn, style of vocal production, and voice color. Themes of this kind of *enka* often concern *giri* and *ninjo* (the Japanese values of obligation and humaneness), the love between brother and sister, and the ties between parent and child. The titles of these songs frequently end in–*jingi* (which can be translated as either "moral duty" or "humanity") or–*minato* (port), and masculine names are common in the lyrics. Male and female singers usually wear Japanese clothing and range in age from the middle twenties to the forties. Singers such as Miyako Harumi and Kitajima Saburo often sing songs of this type.
3. *Enka* that has been influenced by *minyo*, or traditional folk song, of the countryside. The singers of this type of *enka* are generally in their late twenties to late thirties; the women wear Japanese kimono (though not as brightly colored as those of the above group), and the men wear business suits. Many of the titles of the songs in this category contain names of rural areas. Singers who generally fit into this category include Mihashi Michiya and Kanazawa Akiko.
4. Songs that concern love and loss of love. This is the largest category of *enka*. The singers of these *enka* usually begin their careers as *enka* singers and are of various ages, from the late twenties and older. In performance, the female singers often wear

long dresses and the male singers wear suits. The titles of the songs themselves can contain the names of large cities like Tokyo and Osaka, being more oriented toward the city than the *enka* in the above category. The lyrics are often about an impossible or a lost love, and the use of images that allude to the emotions of sadness and loneliness is important. Male singers often sing about the feelings of a woman. Typical singers of this kind of *enka* are Mori Shinichi and Yashiro Aki.

The lyrics of the *enka* in this category typically contain the following themes, evoked by certain key words: *sake* and drinking (e.g., drinking, drinking alone, bar, getting drunk), cold and the north (northern Japan, winter, winter wind), rain (drizzle, clouded windows, blowing rain), and sadness (tears, crying). The sentimentality of these songs is not limited to the lyrics, but is also expressed in the vocal production of the singers, who often use a wide vibrato, and in their facial expressions as they sing.

In an attempt to discern the ideals by which the Japanese public judge their favorite singers, Koizumi has focused on the performer Mori Shinichi, who is mentioned above as a singer of the "romantic" type of *enka*. He lists the reasons for Mori's popularity as follows:

1. Mori sings about women's feelings, particularly their feelings about love, which endears him to that segment of the audience.
2. He sings in the style of *shinnaibushi*,[30] which Koizumi believes is a genre of traditional music still close to the hearts of the Japanese.
3. Mori's songs use the *yonanuki* scales in a "blues" style (meaning a slow, 4/4 beat structure), thus maintaining a "Japanese" atmosphere.
4. Mori is handsome and yet looks "like he could be easily hurt."[31] Koizumi claims that, from the viewpoint of the Japanese female in particular, this characteristic is important for the male singer who sings about the feelings of women. Koizumi summarizes: "A small-framed 'handsome boy'-type, always dressed properly in Western suit, singing songs in the style of *shinnaibushi*, knitting his brows and looking somehow in pain, to the background of Western instruments—this could be called the epitome in which is concentrated all the elements of contemporary *kayokyoku*."[32] By this last statement, we may surmise that Koiumzi was generalizing particularly about *enka*, as other forms of *kayokyoku* can have rather different standards.

The general category of Japanese pops can be subdivided into the following types of songs:

1. Songs concerning adult love. Singers of this type usually sing in a clear, Western-style voice and are in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties. The music often uses the Western minor scale, sometimes modulating to the major scale midway. Singers wear costumes that represent the latest urban, adult fashions. Koyanagi Rumiko, Fuse Akira and Sawada Kenji could be placed in this category.
2. Songs appealing to teenagers, sung by *kawaiko-chan* singers. This type of song has been described above.

3. Songs performed by groups. Pop songs that fall into the first two categories are often sung by soloists. Musically, the songs in this group are influenced by the group sounds movement of the 1960s, which has also been described above.

More Japanese listen to the type of music described here as *kayokyoku* than to any other kind of music. A 1982 survey conducted by NHK shows that *kayokyoku* was at the top of the list of "styles of music people most enjoy listening to." Of the various types of *kayokyoku* mentioned in this essay, *enka* appears to be particularly popular at the present time, but audience age is also an important factor in this determination.[33]

In attempting to evaluate the current state of popular music in Japan, it must first be noted that the highly developed electronic technology of Japan has made a strong impact on the music-listening habits of the Japanese, as it has on the rest of the world as well. A survey finds that an average of 40 percent of Japanese listen to records during their leisure hours, and the percentage goes up to 86.5 percent among male teenagers. In the ten-year period from 1969 to 1979, record sales jumped from 60.4 billion to 171.4 billion yen annually; cassette tape sales also nearly tripled in the same period.[34] Recordings—both LPs and tapes—are played in public places such as coffee shops and *pachinko* parlors, as well as in private homes. The popularity of walk-around stereos has meant that people do not even have to remain stationary to listen to their favorite music.

Music programs are frequently broadcast over radio and television. On television, musical variety shows, countdowns of the most popular songs of the week, and song contests for either new or established artists appear almost nightly. A survey of one week of television programs broadcast in Tokyo in January 1985 showed a total of seven daytime shows and ten evening shows more or less exclusively devoted to the presentation of *kayokyoku* of one kind or another.[35] More people listen to music performed over television than over any other media form.[36] One result of this close tie between popular song and television is that visual expression of a song—that is, the singer's facial expression and gestures, as well as the set and costumes—becomes closely tied to the communication of the emotional content of the song. In other words, the aural and the visual elements have become inseparable in the perception of much popular music in Japan today.

Another aspect of the close relationship between popular music and television lies in the use of popular songs for television show themes and for commercials. It is not uncommon for popular songs to become hits as a result of appearing in these television contexts.

One important mass media and cultural event of the year in Japan is the Kohaku Utagassen, the "Red-White Song Competition." This show, broadcast every year on New Year's Eve until almost midnight, features the most popular male and female singers of the year—though the process by which these are chosen is certainly subject to various pressures. Females on the "red" team compete against males on the "white" team, with a final decision rendered at

the end of the evening by a panel of judges as to which team as a whole won. Watching this show, which is performed before a live audience in Tokyo and broadcast nationally, listening to favorite singers, and waiting to see which team will win has become a modern ritual of the New Year's season in Japan.

Radio remains a common means for listening to popular music, particularly FM radio. Statistics show that over 80 percent of the programing on FM radio consists of *kayokyoku*.[37] Detailed program schedules listed in popular magazines allow people to plan their listening schedule, should they choose to do so.

A technological development that has had a major impact on the popular music world was the invention of *karaoke*, sometimes called "music minus one." Literally meaning "empty orchestra," *karaoke* involves a singer singing into a microphone to a prerecorded tape that contains the background music for that song. The equipment used can be anything from a simple tape recorder–microphone device to an elaborate apparatus that can measure how far off tune the singer is singing. *Karaoke* gained enormous popularity in the mid–1970s and is still doing well in bars, where it can stimulate business, as well as in individual homes across Japan. Sales of home equipment in 1982 went as high as 625 million dollars.[38] The latest technological development has been the *karaoke* video, by which a singer can tape himself against a videotaped landscape, specially designed for a particular song, and later watch himself on television.[39]

Music video tapes are being created in greater numbers in Japan today, partly spurred on by the popular American videos that are frequently shown on Japanese television. Some are short "promo" videos, but others are lengthier video tapings of concerts that are sold in stores.[40]

An interesting phenomenon in the world of Japanese *kayokyoku* has been the rise of some foreign singers, particularly from other Asian countries. Singers such as Agnes Chan from Hong Kong and Judy Ong from Taiwan gained popularity in the 1970s singing in the Japanese language. A recent television song contest featured singers from several Asian countries competing in the performance of *enka*.[41] Some popular Japanese singers have returned the favor by gaining large audiences in several parts of Southeast Asia.

The exchange of popular singers with the West has been mainly a one-sided affair, from the West to Japan.[42] Exceptions to this rule have included the aforementioned hit song "Sukiyaki," the group Yellow Magic Orchestra, and—for a short time—the female duo Pink Lady, who for a brief period, had their own television show in America. Some singers, such as Itsuki Hiroshi, make a substantial income from performances abroad in such locations as Las Vegas, but their audiences are almost exclusively Japanese nationals or Japanese Americans.

REFERENCE WORKS

Virtually no bibliographical sources dealing with Japanese popular music exist in the English language. The best source for lists of the best-selling Japanese

songs, for example, would be English-language newspapers, such as *The Japan Times*, which publish such lists periodically. Otherwide, comprehensive lists of titles would have to be procured from record catalogs from various companies, which are all in Japanese.

In the Japanese language, the *Original Confidence Annual Report* and the monthly magazine *Original Confidence* give thorough listings of current records, as well as commentary aimed at the business side of popular music promotion. Several other popular magazines also give schedules and background for *kayokyoku* of various kinds. Dealing with all different genres of *kayokyoku*, but specifically with regard to FM radio, there are magazines such as *Shukan FM* and *FM Fan*, which contain detailed sales charts, schedules, and notices of newly released records. Also of general interest is the monthly magazine *Music Magazine*, as well as other popular titles such as *Kayokyoku*, *Music Steady*, *Music Life*, and *Takarajima*. *Enka* is featured in the quarterly magazine *Enka Journal*. For listings of current popular music activity in Tokyo, the bi-weekly magazine *Pia* gives information on live concerts, newly issued recordings, and music schedules on FM radio and television.

While recently issued recordings are readily available in stores throughout Japan, obtaining copies of rare, older issues may be a problem even in that country. The best method of obtaining these is to contact the issuing company directly or to locate individuals with comprehensive popular music collections. One source of aid in such a search is the Association of Record Companies in Japan.

Outside Japan, it may be possible to obtain Japanese popular records, particularly in areas with large settlements of Japanese. In the United States, for example, cities such as San Francisco and New York have several bookstores for Japanese nationals that maintain a small stock of records and tapes. Even *karaoke* recordings are generally available at such locations. Some major American cities also carry Japanese television programing, and this, too, can be a source for gathering popular music materials, as popular music shows are often included in this programing.

For scores of popular music, a comprehensive collection is contained within the *Kayokyoku Zen-on Dai-zenshu*, which includes popular songs from the *Kayokyoku Zen-on Dai-zenshu*, which includes popular songs from 1884 to 1981 in five volumes. One major publisher of popular music scores is Shinko Shuppan.

While several books and articles in the English language are concerned with traditional Japanese music, very few deal specifically with popular music. *Japanese Music and Musical Instruments* by William Malm is an important work that surveys the various major genres and instruments. Eta Harich-Schneider's *A History of Japanese Music* provides a comprehensive historical account of the development of Japanese music, particularly in regard to pre-Tokugawa musical life. The late musicologist Koizumi Fumio's Japanese essay on the elements of Japanese music, "Theory," has been published in English in an abridged form in *East Magazine*.

In addition to receiving passing treatment in the above survey works, popular music has lately been the topic of a few articles in English, such as those by Judith Ann Herd and Mitsui Toru. Their articles deal with specific topics in the field of popular music; the former deals with trends in popular music as perceived through a popular music contest and the latter investigates a unique aspect of the recording industry in Japan.

There is relatively little scholarly research on popular music in the Japanese language. The book by Sonobe, Yazawa, and Shigeshita entitled *Nihon no Ryukoka* [Japanese popular song] has chapters dealing with specific types of popular song and issues in the popular music world. Okada's articles in *Ongaku Daijiten* provide a historical survey of *kayokyoku* in general and *enka* in particular.

Koizumi's book, *Kayokyoku no Kozo* [The structure of *kayokyoku*] is a collection of essays that analyzes various types of *kayokyoku* from the musical point of view. Koizumi identifies the various scale types used in Japanese popular song and traces the musical relationships these songs have with other forms of Japanese music. The book also has a valuable chronological table of postwar popular music edited by Okada.

For survey statistics on contemporary attitudes toward music in Japan, see the NHK publication, *Gendaijin to ongaku* [Contemporary man and music], which presents detailed public opinion surveys on the subject of music.

RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

There are, unfortunately, no research collections specifically devoted to the subject of popular music or recordings of popular music in Japan, according to the Association of Record Companies. Perhaps the most comprehensive collection of records of all kinds issued in Japan is contained in the National Diet Library in Tokyo. However, users are warned that the collection is far from complete with regard to popular music, and recordings of popular music are not cataloged by subject, making it necessary to look up each specific recording by each specific artist.

In the United States, several archives, particularly those specializing in ethnomusicology, contain a wealth of examples of traditional Japanese music (which are also readily available on records), but, to my knowledge, there are none that include representative examples of popular music.

The libraries of music colleges in Japan are probably the best source for secondary sources concerning Japanese popular music. Since these colleges specialize in Western music and musical performance, materials dealing with Japanese music account for only a small part of their collections. However, these libraries can be expected to have major Japanese popular music titles. The National Diet Library would also have such titles.

NOTES

1. John Blacking, "Making Artistic Popular Music: The Goal of True Folk," *Popular Music* 1 (1982), 13.

2. Richard Middleton, "Editor's Introduction to Volume I," *Popular Music* 1 (1982), 3–7.

3. Peter Gammond, "Popular Music," *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, vol. 2, ed. Denis Arnod (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 1467–77.

4. On this topic, Blacking notes that "popular music was generally thought to include folk songs" until elitists among folk music performers and scholars emerged who disdained popular music as "contaminated" and "commercial," as opposed to "pure" or "authentic" folk music (Blacking, p. 11).

5. Entries of subjects classified as "popular music" in a recently issued major music encyclopedia, *Ongaku Daijiten*, appear under the titles "Kayokyoku," "Enka," and "Popyura Ongaku" [Popular music]. The first two categories refer specifically to Japanese musical genres. The article on popular music presents a summary of popular music in the West.

6. "*Kayokyoku*" is also used to describe the category of so-called "Japanese pops"—that is, popular songs strongly influenced by Western, particularly American, popular songs in instrumentation, scale, vocal style, and arrangement. To avoid the confusion that this double usage can create, the term *kayokyoku* will be used in this essay only to refer to the broad category of popular music.

7. Koizumi includes in the category of *kayokyoku* foreign popular songs that have been translated into Japanese and (presumably) are sung by Japanese singers: "[*Kayokyoku*] includes not only Japanese-manufactured pops but also foreign pop and ['new'] folk songs which are familiar to us translated into Japanese" Koizumi. Fumio *Kayokyoku no Kozo* [The structure of *Kayokyoku* (Tokyo: Tojusha, 1984), p. 190.

小泉文夫 『歌謡曲の構造』 東京 冬樹社 1984 p. 190

8. Personal communication with Naito Hisako, February 13, 1985.

9. The broadest definition of *ryukoka* is that of Koizumi, who equates *ryukoka* with *kayokyoku* in his writing: "Usually included in the category of contemporary Japanese '*ryukoka*' are, besides *kayokyoku*, pops, folk, television show themes, commercial songs, camp songs, recreation songs, student songs, group association songs and folk songs of olden times—really, every kind of song." Koizumi Fumio, *Kayokyoku no Kozo* p. 189.

10. Koizumi Fumio, "The Theoretical Elements of Japanese Music," *East Magazine* 18 (1983), 30.

11. Shigeshita Kazuo, "Enka—Sono Oto to Utaikata" [Enka—Its sound and way of singing], in S. Sonobe, T. Yazawa, and K. Shigeshita, eds. *Nihon no Ryukoka* [The *ryukoka* of Japan] (Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 1980), p. 44.

繁下和雄 「演歌――その音とうたいかた」 園部、矢沢、繁下編『日本の流行歌』 大月書店 1980 p. 44

12. The *shamisen* is a three-stringed instrument that is plucked with a large plectrum.

13. The musical accompaniment to the *bunraku* puppet theater.

14. William Malm, "Some of Japan's Musics and Musical Principles," in Elizabeth May, ed., *Musics of Many Cultures: An Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 57.

15. Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO, *Traditional Forms of Culture in Japan* (Tokyo: Asian Cultural Centre for UNESCO, 1975), p. 40.

16. Shigeshita, p. 36.

17. Okada Maki, "Kayokyoku," in *Ongaku Daijiten* [Encyclopaedia musica], Vol. 2 (1982), p. 622.
岡田真紀 「歌謡曲」『音楽大事典』 第2 1982 p. 622

18. Tokumaru Yoshihiko, "Kayokyoku no Shomondai" [Minor issues concerning Japanese popular songs], *Ongaku Geijutsu* 27 (1969), 23.
徳丸吉彦 「歌謡曲の諸問題」 音楽芸術27(7) 1969 p. 23

19. Okada, "Kayokyoku," p. 622.

20. Yazawa Tamotsu, "Hayarase no Shikakenintachi" [Those who make the songs popular], in Sonobe, Yazawa, and Shigeshita, p. 139.
矢沢保 「流行せの仕掛人たち」『日本の流行歌』 1980 p. 139.

21. This song was re-released in the United States in 1980 under the same title but set to English lyrics and sung by an American female duo called Taste of Honey. Figuring prominently among the background instruments was a *koto*, and their performance on music videos showed them clothed in kimono.

22. Okada, "Kayokyoku," p. 623.

23. As noted earlier, this kind of song is more commonly known as *kayokyoku* in the narrow sense of songs influenced by the scales, vocal techniques, and harmonies of Western popular music. In order to avoid confusion, however, the term "Japanese pops" is used here to refer to this category.

24. Okada Maki, "Enka," in *Ongaku Daijiten* [Encyclopaedia musica], Vol. 1 (1982), p. 252. 岡田真紀 「演歌」『音楽大事典』 第1 1982 p. 252

25. Yazawa Tamotsu, "Nyu Myujikku to Wakamonotachi" [New music and young people], in Sonobe, Yazawa, and Shigeshita, p. 60.
矢沢保 「ニューミュージックと若者たち」 園部、矢沢、繁下編『日本の流行歌』 東京 大月書店 1980 p. 60

26. Typically, "folk" music is accompanied by acoustical guitar, "rock" uses electric guitar, electric organ, and percussion set; and "pops" has an orchestra, with heavy use of strings and woodwinds, in the background. These descriptions, of course, represent only broad generalizations; many overlapping cases exist.

27. Yazawa, "Nyu Myujikku to Wakamonotachi," pp. 69, 77–78.

28. This phrase is difficult to translate into English, but is one that might be used by a parent to a child to remind him of what behavior is expected of him. It is used by persons of higher status to those of lower status in requesting that they adhere to expected duties and obligations.

29. *Naniwabushi* is a dramatic, narrative form of music that is accompanied by *shamisen*. It has been previously mentioned as a case in which *hanagoe*, or nasal vocal style, is used.

30. This is another form of traditional narrative music, also accompanied by *shamisen*, which tends to be less overtly dramatic than *naniwabushi*.

31. Koizumi, *Kayokyoku no Kozo*, pp. 32–38.

32. Ibid., p. 38.

33. NHK Hoso Seron Chosa Shohen, *Gendaijin to Ongaku* [Contemporary man and music] (Tokyo: Nippon Hoso Kyokai Shuppansha, 1982), p. 629.
NHK放送世論調査所編『現代人と音楽』 東京 日本放送協会出版社 1982

34. Yazawa, "Hayarase no Shikakenintachi,"pp. 132, 134.
35. Personal communication with Motegi Kiyoko, February 2, 1985.
36. NHK, p. 38.
36. Yazawa, "Nyu Myujikku to Wakamonotachi," p. 75.
38. "Closet Carusos: Japan Reinvents the Sing-along," *Time Magazine*, February 28, 1983, p. 47.
39. Judith Ann Herd, "Trends and Taste in Japanese Popular Music: A Case-Study of the 1982 Yamaha World Popular Music Festival," *Popular Music* 4 (1985), 83.
40. Ibid.
41. Personal communication with Motegi Kiyoko, February 2, 1985.
42. The enormous influence of European and American popular music on Japanese popular music has not been treated in this essay, but it continues, particularly since the end of World War II, to maintain a large share of the Japanese audience.

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