

Notes

Prologue

1. In giving Japanese names, I follow the standard Japanese practice of surname first, then personal name. When I give someone's age, it is at the time of the events described. In addition, all translations in the text are my own.
2. These figures are based on an exchange rate of ¥110 to U.S. \$1, the average rate during most of my stay in Japan, from 1991 to 1993. Dollar figures are rounded to the nearest dollar.
3. The Diet approves the budget and the administration of NHK and appoints its steering committee.
4. Yoshino cites a near-carbon-copy explanation given by Shōichi Waranabe, who wrote in a 1974 publication, *Nihongo no Kokoro* (The soul of the Japanese language), that many non-Japanese may read, write, and speak Japanese fluently, but only those who are ethnically/racially Japanese can compose or fully appreciate good *waka* (31-syllable Japanese poetry) (1998: 21–22).
5. Ten's tragic death in 1995 was greatly mourned in Japan. Tributes to her after her death attend to some of the issues of enka's foreign Asian singers. One article called Ten the "Singing Princess of Asia," who "captivated many Japanese fans as a foreigner who sang about the Japanese soul" (Anonymous 1995: 13).
6. My information has been gathered from the following sources: 1) background readings; 2) interviews with fans, producers, composers, lyricists, and singers; 3) participant-observation as a student of enka with three teachers, Mr. Noda Hisashi and Mr. Ueno Naoki in Japan and Mr. Harry Ufara in Hawaii, totaling over two years; as a singer at karaoke gatherings, recitals, public performances, and a contest; and as a member of two different enka fan clubs (Mori Shin'ichi, Yashiro Aki);

4) attendance at 38 live professional enka performances during the primary fieldwork period, as well as at several others in Japan and Hawai'i; 5) analysis of the enka fan magazine *Enka Jinaru* from March 1989 to March 1999 and of other selected magazines, such as *Karaoke Taisiô* and *Karaoke Fan*; and 6) analysis of over 200 hours of televised enka performances.

7. Local teachers include Japanese nationals, *kibei-nisei* (Japanese-Americans born outside Japan but raised in Japan, who have returned as adults to live in their place of birth), and other Japanese-Americans. Some, but not all, have had training in singing in Japan.

Chapter 1: The Cultural Logic of Enka's Imaginary

1. Nativism and nostalgia are not the sole purview of Japan's modern period. Earlier nativistic movements include the eighteenth-century *kokugaku* (national learning) movement, which Nosco has analyzed as having clear seventeenth-century antecedents (1990).

2. These dichotomizations persist in spite of constant blurring, as in *tarabko* (cod roe) spaghetti and rice burgers. The point is not so much that different cultural strands are kept distinct and separate in practice (in some instances they are; in others they are not), but that distinctiveness and separateness are conceptual categories maintained through labels that say little about the actual Japaneseness or Westernness of the objects themselves. A toilet labeled "Western," for example, is not necessarily like any found in "the West" (unless imported from Japan), not with its heated seat, variety of automatic washers and dryers, bidets, and faux flushing sound. Moreover, an object or practice can have different degrees of Japaneseness and Westernness, so that *wa-* and *yô-* are discrete categories as well as points along a continuum.

A sense of distinction between Japan and the West arises even when *wa-* and *yô-* are not specifically applied as labels. For example, Dalby points out that the kimono did not arise as native Japanese clothing until the Meiji era (1868-1912), when people in Japan felt a need to articulate what they themselves wore; *kimono* (literally, "object of wearing") then took on the sense of "what Japanese wear" in opposition to "what foreigners/Westerners wear" (1993: 59).

3. When people in Japan meet me, a Japanese-American, they sometimes ask me what I have for breakfast, rice or bread, making the food I choose a way of understanding who I am in relation to my hyphenated identity. Likewise, a middle-aged Japanese housewife in Aomori characterized her husband for me as one who will only eat rice for breakfast and adamantly refuses bread. By this she means that her husband is stubbornly Japanese.

4. These boundaries and meanings are shifting. In terms of their ubiquity, McDonald's and the 7-Eleven convenience store may be considered local Japanese

institutions. Indeed, there is an oft-told story of the Japanese child who, upon visiting the United States and seeing a McDonald's, exclaims excitedly, "Look! There's a McDonald's here, too!" The contrast between this story and the early promotion of McDonald's in Japan as a particularly American institution, in spite of founder Den Fujita's claim to the contrary (Ohnuki-Tierney 1997: 172-73), suggests that boundaries and meanings change with familiarity: McDonald's has by now been in Japan long enough (since 1971) to feed generations of Japanese, and thus the context has changed. It's not so much that the child was unaware of the American origins of McDonald's but that McDonald's is now only one of many fast-food shops that sell hamburgers and a frankly Japanese fabrication of "America." See Tobin 1992 for further discussions of Japan and its shifting relationship with things from Euro-America.

5. Japanese words meaning nostalgia include *kyôshû* (incl. homesickness), *kaiko no jô* (yearning for the old days), and the English-derived *nosutarujia* ("nostalgia").

6. The category "internal exotic" stands in contrast to the tripartite construction put forth by Ohnuki-Tierney: 1) internal others (minorities); 2) external others (foreigners); and 3) self (dominant social group) (1998: 31). Here, I look at "others" within the "self"/dominant social group in Japan, or, as Ohnuki-Tierney phrases it, the "unmarked majority" (*ibid.*).

7. In 1984, when the "Discover Japan" campaign was supplanted by an "Exotic Japan" campaign encouraging travel to non-Japanese, Asian-influenced areas within the country, Japan became the site of its own originary spaces and the repository of non-Japanese Asian ones (Ivy 1995). Here "Japan" stretched its borders to encompass the premodern Silk Road Asia (Samarkand, Kashmir, Tang China, Korea), using the traces of that Asia found within its own national borders.

8. Robertson notes that the concept *furusato* invokes both time and space: the first half, *furu(i)* (old), signifies pastness, and the second half, *sato*, signifies natal, rural place (1991: 4).

9. The concept of a separate genre of music called *min'yô* was a modern invention borrowed from the German *volkslied* (folk song) (Hughes 1985: 12).

10. I am grateful to Merry White for pointing out that even the public mailboxes in Tokyo express this split: separate boxes are labeled Tokyo or *chihô* (provinces).

11. This process is not unique to Japan, as demonstrated in several examples, including that of American country and western music, that are collected in Gerald Creed and Barbara Ching's (1997) edited volume on rural identity and cultural/national hierarchies.

12. For more on *nihonjinron*, including an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary materials in Japanese and English, see Mouer and Sugimoto 1986; Yoshino 1992.

13. One often-invoked example of Japanese spirit is *yamato damashii* (the spiritual strength of the Yamato clan, the “original” Japanese). During World War II, the rationale for Japan’s fortitude against all odds was said to be attributable to *yamato damashii*, which gave Japanese soldiers the edge against all others (Lebra 1976: 163).
14. Joy Hendry (1993) generalizes this public performativity as “wrapping culture,” which is how she refers to not only the ubiquitous, obligatory gift-giving in Japan but, more to the point for our purposes, the critical coding given social interaction through wrapping itself.
15. A closely related concept is *katachi* (shape, form). The Nô performer and theater specialist Komparu Kuno theorizes that *kata* derives from *kami* (god) and *ta* (paddy or hand); the *-chi* (spirit) of *katachi* indicates mystical powers: “The character takes shape (*katachi*) . . . when the outer forms (*katachi*) indicating the inner soul (*chi*) are added to the standard patterns (*kata*)” (1983: 221).

Chapter 2: Inventing Enka

1. This chapter is not intended to be a detailed history of popular music in Japan but to provide an account of those aspects most relevant to the invention of enka.
2. The categories listed were, in order given: 1) enka; 2) *poppusu* (“pops”); 3) *miúdo kayô*; 4) *miúdo kôrasu gurûpu* (mood chorus group); 5) *seishun kayô* (adolescent popular song); 6) *fôku kayô* (“folk”; urban folk); 7) *gurûpu saunzu* (“group sounds”; pop group); and 8) *saike kayô* (“psychedelic” pop songs).
3. In the Japanese language, different readings of characters derive from two basic sources, the Chinese reading and the Japanese reading. Even within these two, however, different readings of the same character are possible, especially for native Japanese readings. Moreover, individuals may choose to read characters “creatively,” giving a character an unusual, archaic, or fanciful reading within certain bounds, which allows for the structural character/word-play found in literature and various naming practices. The different characters used to write enka are one small example.
- It is not uncommon for a historical discussion of enka to separate the term from the genre. For example, one Japanese newspaper article on enka begins its historical section with “*Enka to iu kotoba no rûtsu o tadoreba . . .*” (“If we are to trace the roots of the word enka . . .”) (Anonymous 1987: 14).
4. There are, of course, exceptions, most notably Misora Hibari, discussed below. Moreover, such typing of a singer and his or her songs may be a function of the “genre-making” (or “genre-izing”) that took place primarily in the 1970s.
5. The following description of enka in various historical periods is based largely on Okada 1982 and Nakamura 1991, except where otherwise noted.
6. The *en-* (presentation; speech) is taken from *enzetsu* (oration, public speech); the *-ka* is another reading (Chinese) of the character for *uta* (song).

7. For more on the history of Western music in Meiji Japan, see Malm 1971.
8. Although Sakurai credits Kaminaga Ryôgetsu for first adding violin to enka performances, I have not been able to confirm or refute this claim. Sakurai sees little relation between the enka he sang in the 1920s and the enka of today.
- In 1993 I saw Sakurai perform at Ueno Shitamachi Fuzoku Shiriyokan (Ueno Shitamachi Popular Historical Museum) in a 1920s bar setting specially constructed for his performance. When I interviewed him in February 1993, 83-year-old Sakurai was lively, energetic, and very much a showman. His eyes twinkled when he launched into a story, and he interspersed bits of song to illustrate his points. He stood straight, walking with a bounce to his step that made his neatly combed, ear-lobe-length gray hair shake ever so slightly. He strikes me as a survivor: he survived the Great Kantô Earthquake of 1923, he survived World War II (one of only four survivors in his military unit in the Philippines), he outlived his wife and raised four children by himself, and he has survived all other enkashii. See Yano 1998: 249–50 for more on the interview with Sakurai.
9. In general, however, these performers were regarded, according to one music teacher, as nothing more than *kawara-kojiki* or *kawara-mono* (“people of the river bank”; beggar; outcast). See Ohnuki-Tierney for a general analysis of the close historical relationship between entertainers, wanderers, and outcasts, and for an explanation of *kawara-mono* (1987: 85–86).
10. However, some enka songs adhere to a 7-5 syllabic meter, adding rests to accommodate a 4/4 musical meter (Anonymous 1990: 11).
11. According to Nakamura, “*Kachûsha no uta*” (Kachusha’s Song) may be considered “firmly in the spirit of the modern popular song production” in its “conscious attention to audience susceptibilities by both composer and lyricist, and in their estimate of audience impact” (1991: 264–65).
12. Silverberg (1998) points out that café waitresses of the 1920s and 1930s became a focal point of gendered modernity in Japanese urban life.
13. For a discussion of “*Kôga merôdii*,” including its appeal and its influence on subsequent Japanese popular song, see Minami 1987: 486–91.
14. For example, *besûbôro* (loan word for “baseball”) thus became *yakyû* (literally, “field ball”), an invented word meaning baseball.
15. One example is that of Dick Mine, a Japanese singer, who began his career singing jazz. During this period, he switched to songs that would today be called enka.
16. In Japan, World War II is encompassed within and better known as the Pacific War (*Taiheiyô Sensô*) and overlaps with the Sino-Japanese War (*Nitchû Sensô*), both of which extended from 1937 to 1945.
17. Atkins points out that rather than simply banning jazz, military and police authorities suggested ways to control and incorporate certain elements of jazz in creating music that would serve the purposes of the state (1998: 363).

18. Yasukuni Shrine was built in 1869 and dedicated to the souls of those who have died since 1853 in defense of the country. Since its inception it has had a close and important relationship to the Japanese government and imperial institution. Because it enshrines war dead and promoted zealous nationalism during World War II, it came under intense scrutiny at the end of the war, particularly by those who sought to police nascent militarism in Japan and preserve the separation of church and state.

19. In 1994, the lavish, multilevel, technologically elaborate Misora Hibari-kan museum, which traces her life in song and film, was built in Arashiyama, Kyoto. At Iwaki city in Fukushima prefecture, a theme park, to be called Hibari Memorial Park, is planned. Another museum, Hibari Memorial Pavilion, is planned in Isogaward, Yokohama, her birthplace (Anonymous 1993f: 38; Anonymous 1994f: 39). As of 2000, however, only the Kyoto museum had been built and opened.

20. The Broadcasting Law mandates the following duties for NHK (Japan Public Broadcasting): "1) to broadcast high-quality programs that will both satisfy the demands of the public and elevate the country's cultural level; 2) to broadcast local as well as national programs; and 3) to contribute to the preservation of traditional culture and foster and publicize modern cultural events" (Takagi 1983: 172).

21. Unlike radio, whose early history predated the opening of commercial radio stations, television developed both public and private broadcast stations almost from its outset. In fact, NHK entered the television broadcasting scene in 1957, four years after Nippon Television Network Corporation (NTV) had begun commercial broadcasting.

22. According to Kawabata, the distinction between *hō-ban* and *yō-ban* is threefold, based on: 1) the nationality of the original record; 2) the performer's nationality; and 3) the language of the song's lyrics (1991: 335). Using these criteria, Kawabata lists the following types of music as *hō-ban*: enka, pop-oriented *kayōkyōku*, "new music," "light music" *kayōkyōku*, folk songs and traditional music, educational and children's songs, music for animation, light semiclassical music composed by Japanese composers, and karaoke; and the following as *yō-ban*: rock and disco, jazz and fusion, popular vocals, movie music, and Western classical music (1991: 331, Table 4).

23. For example, a brief survey of record labels at a Honolulu, Hawaii, store specializing in Japanese popular music reveals that until about 1973, Nippon Columbia, the major enka-producing company, categorized what are now considered enka as *ryūkyōka*; since 1973, record labels have designated certain newly released songs as enka.

Chapter 3: Producing Enka

1. In June 2000, a record producer for Kirajima Productions indicated to me in conversation that a number of these subdivisions have since closed.

2. The genre divisions in Table 3.1 are those of the music industry, as noted by Oricon. Although Oricon lists four genres, record producers and fans generally compare enka with "pops."

3. Price does not explain differences in buying habits: in the United States, CDs tend to be more expensive than cassettes, but in Japan, the price of CDs is equal to or lower than that of cassettes.

4. Different people offer different numbers. One producer at Crown Records, for example, defines an enka hit as one that has sold more than 100,000 copies; a "pops" recording, however, is not a hit unless it has sold 300,000 to 500,000 copies. A producer at Century Records considers any enka recording that has sold 50,000 copies to be a hit.

5. I use the word "record" here and "album" elsewhere to mean all forms of audio recordings, whether audiocassette, audiocassette, or audio compact disc (CD). The proliferation of new forms makes any collective reference to audio recordings awkward, so I have chosen to fall back on these dated but useful terms.

6. One record producer told me about a new male singer who debuted in May 1991. His debut song was about winter, and it did not sell well until the autumn of that year. In April 1993, nearly two years after the song's release, a news media party was held at a posh hotel in Tokyo to celebrate its sales, which had by then topped 200,000, thus making it a hit.

7. In fact, I spoke with several singers, composers, and lyricists who told me that they would not necessarily choose to perform enka were it not for the money. One veteran composer, Yoshioka Osamu, began his career writing children's songs; another, Sone Yoshiaki, wrote and performed rockabilly (early rock and roll) before settling on enka. Both men currently compose enka at least in part because of its profitability.

8. Some examples from a Euro-American context might include rereading certain novels, watching reruns of television shows, attending an opera (when one knows the music, libretto, and plot), listening to Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, watching a Shakespeare play. "Newness" is relative: one may attend a performance of a familiar Shakespeare play, for example, to appreciate an avant-garde staging.

9. Within a span of five months, from December 1992 through April 1993, Toshiba-EMI record company put no less than five collections of enka rereleases on the market. The five: *Yūsen Enka Hittō 20* (20 Cable Enka Hits; TOCT-6865; 12/16/92), *Saikin Enka Bessuto 16* (16 Best of the Latest Enka; TOCT-6899; 1/20/93), *Nihon Retō Enka Tabi—Hatai Enka* (Travels through Enka of the Japanese Archipelago—Highway Enka; TOCT-6916; 3/24/93), *Onna no Enka—Bessuto 16* (Women's Enka—Best 16; TOCT-8005; 4/28/93), and *Otoko no Enka—Bessuto 16* (Men's Enka—Best 16; TOCT-8006; 4/28/93). A note of interest: on the last two albums the word enka is written using different ideographs (see Chapter 2). The

ideographs on the women's album mean "love song" and have strong sexual connotations; the more neutral ideograph on the men's album means simply "performed songs."

10. The enka audience's appetite for things familiar also extends to concerts. The manager of one very popular enka star reports that the singer limits himself to two relatively new songs per concert and dedicates the rest of his performance to older hits.

11. This difference may be more of degree than of kind. I am not suggesting that no credit is given to the arranger of a song in Euro-America. In certain contexts in Euro-American music publications, arrangers are duly noted, especially when the arrangement itself is significant (for example, different arrangements of standard songs in a medley, or a band or choral arrangement of pieces). In Japan, however, the arranger is consistently given prominent separate billing on a nearly equal footing with the lyricist and the composer. If the order of names indicates any kind of hierarchy, "lyricist, composer, and arranger" is standard.

12. This practice finds a parallel in karaoke machines, which rate a singer's performance according to its closeness to the original.

13. The Oricon yearbooks are a compendium of lists that may be considered at least partial determinants of rank in the Japanese music industry. Among the lists in 1993 are the following: 1) year's top 100 single releases; 2) year's top 100 CDs; 3) year's top 100 cassettes; 4) year's top 100 albums; 5) artist sales rankings for past three years; 6) record company sales rankings for past three years; 7) top-selling lyricists; 8) top-selling composers; 9) top-selling music arrangers; 10) top-selling new singers; 11) top-requested songs on radio and cable broadcasting; 12) top-selling *yōgaku*; 13) production company and publishing company sales rankings; 14) top-selling videos; and 15) weekly top 100 sales lists. In addition, numerous yearly music awards also determine and express rank; the oldest of these is the Nihon Rekōdo Taishō (Japanese Record Awards; since 1959).

14. *Gambaru* is invoked in enka in various contexts, for example, during a concert, when a singer says she will persevere to the end of the performance; in an interview, when a singer says he will persevere to be chosen for the NHK *Kōhaku Uta Gassen*; in an exhortation to fans to promote a singer's new release. Singers of all ranks also invariably express the need to *gambaru*.

15. *Tarento* are a ubiquitous part of radio and television talk shows, game shows, and commercials (Miller 1995). In many cases, they have no particular talent—except that of promoting their image.

16. The reformulation of this song is somewhat unusual. In this case, its arrangement is being changed "to appeal more to a female audience," and even a few of its lyrics have been altered (Anonymous 1994b: 28).

17. One indication of the comparative activity level of record companies is the number of new single enka releases. During the period from June 1992 to June 1993, the following companies released new enka recordings: Nippon Crown Records (91), Nippon Columbia (65), Teichiku Records (48), King Records (38), Toshiba-EMI (30), Victor Entertainment Corp. (30), Tokuma Japan Communications (21), Taurus Records (16), Sony Music Entertainment (15), Pony Canyon (11), BMG Victor (11), Polydor (8), Century Records (7), Vap Records (6), Polystar (5), Warner Music Japan, Inc. (4), Apollon (3), Nihon Enka-phone (3), NEC Avenue (1), Ubaaru (1) (compiled from *Enka Jānaru*, nos. 43-49, July 25, 1992-July 25, 1993).

Comparing the number of these new releases with the capital-based size of these companies (see Appendix A) gives some indication of the place of enka in each company. For example, Nippon Columbia, by far the largest record company, puts out a large number of enka records, but this number is not necessarily so large in proportion to its size. By comparison, Nippon Crown Records, a medium-sized record company, puts out the greatest number of enka records, making enka a proportionately large part of company operations. At Teichiku Records, too, the proportion of enka to other releases within the entire company is very large, comparable to that at Nippon Crown Records.

18. In 1992-93, Teichiku and Nippon Crown Records put out enka releases at a rate of 48.0 : 1 (number of releases : capital) and 36.4 : 1, respectively. The following are the rates, in descending order, for other record companies during the same period: Taurus Records (16.0 : 1), Century Records (13.2 : 1), Tokuma Japan Communications (7.8 : 1), Pony Canyon (5.5 : 1), Polystar (5.6 : 1), King Records (4.8 : 1), Warner Music Japan, Inc. (4.0 : 1), BMG Victor (3.8 : 1), Victor Music Industries (3.0 : 1), Apollon (2.0 : 1), Toshiba-EMI (1.8 : 1), Polydor (1.7 : 1), Vap (1.2 : 1), Nippon Columbia (1.0 : 1), Sony Music Entertainment (33.1 : 1).

According to an article in *Enka Jānaru*, the following companies debuted enka shinjin in the nine-month period from October 1992 to June 1993: Nippon Crown Records (6), Teichiku (5), Victor Entertainment Corporation (4), Century Records (2), Nippon Columbia (2), King Records (2), Sony Music Entertainment (2), Tokuma Japan Communications (1), Taurus Records (1), Vap (1), Pony Canyon (1), Apollon (1), and Toshiba-EMI (1). The article also lists one shinjin for Ubaaru, but I have no further data on that company (Anonymous 1993a: 52-53).

19. Because enka is primarily a solo genre, there are very few groups. Although duets (male and female) are a significant part of the repertoire, singers who record duets together do not necessarily form any kind of group; in fact, these singers are sometimes under contract to entirely different record and production companies.

20. Additional information includes place of birth, a list of previous show business activities, and blood type. In Japan, blood type is considered an important part

of one's vital statistics, and a whole pseudo-scientific folklore is built around it. Although ostensibly cited as important information in case of an accident or emergency, blood type also becomes one of a person's, and even a group of people's (e.g., Japanese), character attributes. For more on blood ideology in Japan, see Hayashida 1976.

21. Spring is not only the season of birth, it is also the beginning of the fiscal, academic, and employment year in Japan.

22. For more on the *iemoto* system in English language sources, see Hsu 1975; Ortolani 1969; Read and Locke 1983; Smith 1998, and Yano 1993. The standard work in Japanese is Nishiyama 1982.

23. *Aidoru* singer is a nickname given to the teenage female and male singers who emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s as the packaged product of talent agencies. Known for their looks and upbeat personalities more than for their singing ability, they were made-for-television creations whose extreme popularity faded by the decade's end. Only a handful of these former *aidoru* have been able to maintain careers in show business beyond their teen years. Nagayama's transformation into an *enka* singer may be seen as a reflection of her lack of success as an *aidoru* singer and of the passing of the *aidoru* era. For more on Japanese pop *aidoru* and their popularity in other Asian countries, see Aoyagi 2000.

24. A biography of Nagayama calls her transformation "*enka tenshin*" (switching occupations to *enka*), noting that the promotional advertisements for her first *enka* single, "Figurashi" (Cicada), used the catch-phrase "*enka gannin*" (first year of *enka*) (Anonymous 1999: 16); see also Nagayama's home page <http://www.jvc-victor.co.jp/studio/yoko/index.html>.

25. This kind of information becomes a standard component of a singer's "*purōfiru*" ("profile"), a brief one-sheet reference used for publicity purposes.

26. In certain cases, any deviation from the ideal form becomes the subject of good-natured ribbing. One particularly tall, large-framed female singer overcomes her nonideal body by smiling tirelessly and giggling with her mouth covered, projecting a stage persona that is unfailingly nonaggressive and girlish. As if in compensation for her size, she tends to diminish her body through inwardly focused gestures and demure movements.

This definition of the ideal body for a female *enka* singer contrasts with the other female bodies glorified in the Japanese media, which emphasize a more Western-derived look: large breasts, long legs, full hips.

27. Unlike customs of dress in Western societies, kimono wearing is an art and an etiquette taught by certified teachers as one of the traditional arts of Japan. For more on kimono in English, see Dalby 1993.

28. Itsuki had one of his stage names for only a day, and even before his debut, while he was a high school student, he performed under yet another name.

29. "Kokoro-zake" (*Sake of the Heart*), with lyrics by Miura Yasuteru, music by Yamaguchi Hiroshi; recorded by the female singer Fuji Ayako (Sony Records SRDL-3533). The four teachers and their lessons: 1) anonymous, mini-lesson, *Karaoke Fan* II (119): 162; 2) anonymous, mini-lesson, *Enka Jānaru*, 43: 75; 3) composer Miki Takashi, full lesson, *Karaoke Fan* II (122): 162-63; 4a) composer Ichikawa Shōsuke, full lesson, *Karaoke Enka Kashō-hō* III, 28-31; 4b) composer Ichikawa Shōsuke, full lesson, April 19, 1993, television broadcast of NHK *Karaoke Enka Kashō-hō* III.

30. A number of songs might be written for a debuting singer and recorded on demonstration tapes. From these tapes, two songs are selected as side-A and side-B of a single release. According to a seasoned *enka* composer, one must strategize carefully in making these selections. For the debut release of a young female *shinjin*, for example, he composed a rhythmic, energetic, *akarui* (light) song for side-A, chosen because of her youth, and a slower, more typically *enka* one for side-B. The contrast, he felt, would show off the new singer's versatility.

31. The *Oricon* Yearbook lists the following information in given order: stage name, given name, birthdate, record and/or production companies (with contact phone number), debut song, debut date.

32. One indication of their success is that they issue a second record. This is not to say that their debut record was a big hit, but only that it sold well enough to warrant a second record.

33. Ivy interprets the giving of "naked" money to performers of *taishū engeki*, a genre with which *enka* is closely connected, as a kind of social transgression (1995: 234).

34. Singing a duet with someone is a highly valued form of intimacy akin to sharing a part of oneself. From the reaction of participants I witnessed here and on other occasions, I would surmise that when the duet partner is a professional singer or someone prestigious, the singing bestows some of the professional's status on the participant. Moreover, many feel a sensual thrill in comingling their voice with that of a professional singer.

35. These estimates were given to me by Japanese acquaintances, who suggest that guests would probably have treated the debut party much like a wedding and given gifts accordingly.

36. My bouquet of a dozen red roses cost ¥5,000 (\$45).

37. It is in the lyrics that *enka* finds some of its most tangible ties with the past (see Chapter 5).

38. This is not unlike the advanced publicity given to movies in the United States and elsewhere.

39. The only ostensible connection I could see between the singer and the festival was that the festival was celebrating the blossoming of *fujii* (*wisteria*) and the singer's stage name had the word "*fujii*" in it.

40. In general, these songs tend to be non-enka songs, although this process has also generated some enka hits.

41. Sometimes a product may have some connection to singing: in 1993, the handsome young male singer Koganezawa Shūji could be seen in advertisements for a throat spray. But most products—antacids, futon, or cosmetics, for example—do not.

Chapter 4: Enka on Stage

1. Fox is theorizing from his analysis of American country and western music, a genre that has many parallels with enka. The “re-naturalizing” conventions of country music are also common to enka.

2. Certain practical features of live enka concerts are noteworthy. They can take place on any day of the week, not only on weekends. Evening performances are early, usually at 6:30 P.M., due both to the age of the enka audience and to the heavy use of public transportation, which tends to shut down around midnight. Ticket prices for regular concerts in 1991-93 ranged from ¥1,900 (\$17) for the cheapest seat at a lower-ranked singer’s concert to ¥11,000 (\$100) for the most expensive seat at a higher-ranked singer’s concert. The median price was ¥3,000 (\$27) for the lowest-priced seats and ¥8,000 (\$73) for the most expensive. In addition to these regular concerts and recitals, enka singers also perform at *shōtai* (private) concerts, at which the host companies entertain their clients. These fully paid up concerts are a boon to promoters, who have seen sales of enka concert tickets drop steadily in recent years. As a result of these *shōtai* performances, which take singers out of the normal concert circuit, however, regular fans do not get to see their favorite stars in concert as often as before.

3. The printed program often identifies not only the order in which the songs will be performed but also those moments set aside for interactions with fans—for example, the aforementioned *Juan purezento kōnā* (fan present corner), the *duetto kōnā* (duet corner; singing duets with individual fans on stage), or the *tōku kōnā* (talk corner), during which the singer is expected to fill in with stage patter and sometimes encores.

4. This format is similar to *taishū engeki*, with which enka is closely associated.

5. One of the most skilled at this sort of chatting is the veteran singer Kitajima Saburō, whose performance I describe in the Prologue. His stories, which combine hardship with humor, range from reminiscences of his early career struggles to the minor difficulties he encountered in getting to the concert hall amid heavy traffic. His patter is warm, chatty, and familiar, not unlike the conversation of a beloved uncle.

6. At one of the enka concerts I attended, the “duet corner” became an opportunity to poke fun at the non-enka crowd. Instead of asking for volunteers from the

audience to sing a duet with the star, concert staff had selected a passer-by at random beforehand, a scruffy-looking twenty-one-year-old male with long, peroxidized hair in the style of a rock-and-roll singer, not at all the type of person likely to know or admire enka. The announcer brought out a gold lamé blazer for the man to wear while singing with the star, who was dressed in a dazzling gown. The announcer also revealed that the song lyrics had been written out for the amateur in simple *hiragana* syllabary (easily read by even a seven-year-old child). Following comments about how well the two looked together, they began their duet, one of the singer’s enka hits. To my surprise, the amateur did seem to know at least some of the song, perhaps because of preshow coaching. The singer’s reaction, however, was one of mock horror. During an orchestral interlude, she turned her head to the audience, her eyes wide, her hand covering a staged laugh, as if to say, “My god, where did they get this guy?” When he made the occasional mistake, the singer helped him along as one would a child, with infinite patience. At the end, the amateur, who had responded throughout with good humor, was presented with an autographed photo of the star and a tape of their duet. What seemed especially ironic to me about this display of gawking and finger-pointing was its target. Members of the enka world may be mocked by detractors among the young and intellectual sectors of Japanese society for being out of step with the times, but here, in the delimited world of the enka concert, enka fans took great delight in playing insiders able to mock an outsider.

7. See Appendix B for a list of regular mass media enka programs in the Tokyo area in 1992.

8. An Osaka radio station owner told me that no station in the Kansai area (Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, and surroundings) broadcasts a program devoted exclusively to enka; instead, enka is included on more general, popular music programs.

9. NHK is a prime producer of enka shows on television, as on radio. Among the five commercial television stations in the Kantō area, Terebi Tokyo (TV Tokyo) produces the majority of enka broadcasts, including both regular shows and specials. Some of the latter, for example, special spring or summer shows, are seasonal. Others consist of the televised concerts of top stars or their biographies. Still others are nostalgic retrospectives of popular music, in particular, that of the Showa era.

10. *Hanamichi* refers to a special elevated passageway used on the kabuki and the *nō* stage. *Hana* (flower, gift) suggests its possible origin as a platform on which gifts from fans, attached to a flowering branch, were laid for the actors (Shively 1978: 16). Since *hanamichi* designates a special runway for dramatic entrances and exits, a symbolic transition between the world in front of the curtain and the world behind it, I take *Enka no Hanamichi* (the *hanamichi* of enka), the title of the show, as an evocation of a theatrical pathway to the imaginary of enka.