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seem to be the ones who represent the strata of people who bear the difficulties and challenges of integrating the modern and the traditional through the exercise of cultural agency. They also represent the hopes and anxieties of new Indian women for creating their own space.

Conclusion

We have seen how urban women are negotiating new cultural spaces by enacting smartness according to a new aesthetics of the self. This involves the creation and embodiment of practices that enable a woman to adjust freely to situations which involve interaction with new people and different contexts, and at the same time to conduct herself in such a way that she is not criticized by the people around her.

They have developed an objectified gaze upon themselves through internalizing relationships with others. They are not individuals whose own thinking and desires matter most, but see themselves always in relation to their social surroundings and have internalized the gaze of others as their own. Neither, are they a mere part of a whole whose presence is determined in the structure. Contemporary urban women value their own thinking and their own appearance, and place importance on the capacity to do business alone, without failing to satisfy cultural aesthetics and ethics as proper and smart women. They exercise agency in creating a new kind of aesthetic standard for urban middle-class women.

The kind of embodied agency that contemporary urban women are developing suggests the creation of a new sphere which evades the substantialization of the colonial dichotomy tradition:modern mapped on to other dichotomies such as feminine:masculine, village:town, Indian:Western and inner:outer. They are in the process of creating a new culture of embodied aesthetics based on a new sensibility that goes beyond the logic of substantialized dichotomies. It is premature yet to make predictions about future developments. The logics of power politics and commercialism are attempting to submerge the new space of embodied aesthetics and implicate women totally into their logic. However, as far as I can see, the sensitivity and sensibility urban women are developing in their new embodied aesthetics seem sound and secure. There certainly seems to be a new wind for the post-colonial agency of urban women.

8
Constructing Male Aesthetics in Rock and Makeup: Gender Strategies by Musicians and Fans of Visual Rock in Japan

Takako Inoue

Introduction

Visual rock[1] became very prominent in the Japanese popular music scene during the 1990s. The purpose of this article is to explain this phenomenon, with particular focus on its gender strategies. The study of popular music and gender in Japan has been, to date, largely neglected by academic researchers. The gender aspects of music only began to be studied seriously in the late 1990s (Inoue 1997, 1999, 2001; Kitagawa 1999). In the US, however, this subject has been discussed in articles and books since the early 1990s.

Before analyzing visual rock in Japan, I will outline some of the general arguments about rock, gender, and modernity developed in previous studies, mainly by scholars in the US. I will then proceed to analyze the growing popularity and specific features of visual rock, using the band X, recognized as a founder of visual rock, as my primary example. Finally, I will analyze fans who also strategically challenge gender categories. Through these analyses I will explore how visual rock could break the conventional masculine aesthetics through appropriating modes of bodily representation which, in recent tradition, have been restricted to the women's sphere. A visual rock band can be regarded as a type of homo-social community constructed by sharing a newly extended male aesthetics which primarily includes the exclusion of women from the band/ community. We will see that although its apparent 'deviation' seems to be

against the patriarchal society, visual rock rearticulates existing gender dichotomies.

Rock, gender and modernity: General arguments

Gender bias in rock

Rock music, particularly hard rock and heavy metal, is primarily macho music for rebels or outlaws, not only in Japan but worldwide. Female rock musicians are generally still very few in number. The music can be characterized as aggressive and powerful, played at full volume and exaggerated by the doubling-up of musical instruments and equipment such as twin guitars, double bass-drums, etc. Rock bands typically employ a lot of Marshall speakers, famous for their powerful sound. Live performance is very important for rock bands. Usually excluding women from the stage, typical metal musicians have either long hair or skinheads, wear motor-biker-style fashion, a black leather jacket or T-shirt and boots with metal studs and chains. They excite their audience by aggressive shouting and rough behavior including high energy jumping and running about on stage.

Thus, characteristics typical of conventional masculinity are emphasized in rock performances. Judas Priest and AC/DC are prime examples of this type of rock group. The titles of their songs and albums also suggest these characteristics, for example: *Killing Machine* (1978), *Screaming for Vengeance* (1982) and *Painkiller* (1990) by Judas Priest, or *If You Want Blood* (1978), *Highway to Hell* (1979) and *The Razors Edge* (1990) by AC/DC. Other evidence can be found in the personal behavior of particular band members; for example, David Lee Roth, the ex-vocalist of Van Halen was perceived to be so feminine in his looks and performance that he took up bodybuilding in an effort to create a more masculine body.

The misogyny and sexism of the rock scene have been increasingly discussed in the 1990s. Female scholars have often criticized the rock scene for its misogyny (Gaar and Ono 1992, O'Brien 1996, O'Dair 1997), while many female musicians have spoken in interviews of their struggle with sexism in the society and complained about the exclusion of women from the rock business (Juno and Vale 1996, Post and Williams 1997). In response, some male scholars have criticized these stereotypical statements and tried to find another approach, often beginning by rethinking the question of why men want to forge their masculine identity through rock music (Walser 1993, Reynolds and Press 1995). Both female and male

scholars, however, ultimately share the perception that rock music is deeply connected with masculinity. I completely agree with their perceptions, and rock in Japan is not an exception. The following analysis is conducted from this perspective.

Rock, technology, and modernity

Rock music is one of the typical productions of modernity. There is no rock without modernization. First, the sound production itself is totally dependent on electric amplifiers whose volume escalates with technological development. Second, rock is produced by recording industries and consumed as a commodity in the capitalist market economy. The global rock market has been clearly led by the US, which has also been regarded as a leading promoter of modern values. Rock was born and raised in the UK and the US, which still remain the dominant centers of production in the global rock business. Although Japan remains a good consumer of UK and US bands, Japanese rock bands have never had success there.

Technological development could have broken the borders for women by negating their physical disadvantage. Powerful rock sound does not depend on the physical power of performers but on the performance of amplifiers, hence it is easy for women to get powerful sounds. Nevertheless women have been discouraged from accessing technology, while men have been encouraged to do so,[2] as a result, technology has been regarded as the male sphere. Gender bias can be found in the various parts of a band; men can be guitarists, bassists and drummers, while only vocal and keyboard parts are widely allowed for women.[3] This type of perception reminds us how deeply rock and masculinity are related to each other. But we should not forget that masculinity reinforced by producing powerful sound is arbitrarily constructed.

Rock musicians have often appropriated 'anti-modernist' discourses in both their lyrics and performances, despite their deep dependence on modern technology. This anti-modernism can be regarded as the repossession of the body and emotion, which have been subjugated by Western conceptions of reason and relegated to the women's sphere in the dominant discourses of modernity. Typical examples of anti-modernism can be found in so called 'goth culture': gothic/death/doom metal or positive punk. Their music, lyrics, and fashion are inspired by stories like Dracula and Frankenstein that were popular in Nineteenth Century London. Their music is characterized by dark lyrics influenced by horror stories, superstitions, or medieval legends, and by heavy and creepy sounds overlaid with screaming. Their bodily representations are

characterized by black costumes and grotesque makeup, props through which the musicians construct a ferocious appearance.[4]

They also appropriate science fiction,[5] which is apparently intended as something like a representation of modern science. But it is merely a fantasy inspired by modern science, not based on it, and generally depicts something surpassing or contradicting any genuine scientific basis.[6] Hence, the images of science fiction are employed to demonstrate the limitations of Western reason, which regards science and technology as belonging to the male domain. In other words, these sci-fi depictions represent the limitations and self-contradictions of the male sphere as constructed by the dominant discourses of modernity.

Other typical features of rock include the expressed desires for physical and sexual violence, which have been controlled by Western reason. Rock was basically born out of the encounter between Western harmony – considered to be a rational system (Weber 1967) – and African rhythm – considered to be an expression of bodily rhythms. Thus it is possible to say that rock is the Western, masculine, and modern representation of anti-modernism in its own modernist project, challenging the modern dichotomies mind:body and reason:emotion by emphasizing the masculine body. Hence the strategy of rock appears to subvert some modern dichotomies, but not the gender dichotomy. In fact, rock reproduces conventional gender differences.

The reception of rock in Japan

The reception of rock in Japan might be read as a historical struggle to 'keep up' with the US, which has been regarded as a trendsetter in the continuous production of new values. The Japanese only began to accept rock when economic modernization had produced widespread affluence. Rock as the symbol of a new counterculture, a new value imported from the US, attracted a generation of young Japanese who came to see rock as 'cool' and 'trendy'. Almost all Japanese rock musicians began their musical career 'covering' hit numbers from the UK and the US charts. The original musicians became teen-idols alongside male Japanese pop stars. The recording industry did not take the Japanese rock scene seriously until the band boom of the late 1980s.[7] Even today, Japanese rock bands dream of recording at studios in London, New York or Los Angeles with Western musicians, and entering the global rock market. Although rock in the West is a modern representation of anti-modernity, in Japan rock was understood to be part of the project of modernity, reflecting an unequal dichotomy:

rock as a symbol of the 'smart' West and Japanese song as symbolic of the 'clumsy' East.

Two typical cases reflect a dilemma of the modernist project in Japanese rock. First, in the early 1970s there was a debate about the language used in the lyrics of rock songs. Some musicians argued that rock should be sung in Japanese, insisting that the meaning of a song should be understood by the audience. Others argued that rock should be sung in English, insisting that Japanese accents were not suitable for rock beats.[8] But this debate soon flickered out when the rock style Japanese pop (*kayokyoku*) created by the advocates of Japanese language gained popularity with mainstream audiences.[9] Consequently the latter remained underground. Second, the more natural it became for musicians to adopt the Japanese pop style, the more multifaceted the audience's perception of rock became. Japanese rock had never had a big hit until the band boom in the late 1980s.[10] Japanese recording industries believed that it was simply impossible for Japanese rock bands to achieve good sales, because while Westerners could play 'authentic' rock, the Japanese could only imitate it. The band boom, caused by amateur bands which started creating music without sticking to conventional 'authenticity', exploded this perception. Developing popularity underground has subsequently become a common gateway for amateur bands to become professional. Visual rock, then, created a new popular music scene and amateur bands began copying Japanese bands; foreign rock musicians are no longer being idolized.

These cases suggest that with modernization perceived as coincident with Westernization the project of modernity in Japan incorporated the anti-modern values of Western rock music. It was not until Japan achieved the status and lifestyle of a high-consumption society in the 1980s that the West ceased to be the model to aspire towards. Only then did the Japanese begin to face the problems of their own modernity. The high-consumption society constructs the 'self' in accordance with what the 'self' consumes, and 'individuality' is regarded as a crucial concern. Trivial superficial differences produced by consumerism tend to define how 'individuality' should be performed. The process of constructing the 'self' by performing 'individuality' is embedded in the existing social system where the flip-side of this individualism as mere consumer reveals the modern self to be manipulated and controlled by the market economy. Consequently, the youth no longer identify themselves with the values of existing communities, values still woven into the fabric of schools, families and other regional communities institutionalized by the state. Nor

do they get satisfaction from readymade consumable 'individuality'. With no value frameworks to identify themselves, identity crises arise.

Thus when the Japanese began to concern themselves with their own project of modernity, visual rock bands appearing in the mainstream offered the youth an alternative to the established value system. It became something like an embodiment of new values in opposition to – or just different to – the existing communities'. Thus visual rock bands were welcomed for being outside of the readymade communities, for representing a sort of self-choosing or self-constructing community where people could reflexively reconstruct the 'self'.

Visual rock and wearing makeup: Creating a new male aesthetic

Rock and wearing makeup

The term 'visual rock' or 'visual-kei'[11] originated in the catch phrase of a famous rock band X:[12] '*Psychedelic violence/Crime of visual shock*'. X and its followers are usually characterized by the makeup and costumes they wear, but we must also consider their powerful rock sound and male-only band membership typical of 'authentic' (Western) hard rock/heavy metal bands.[13] The Japanese popular music scene has undergone dramatic changes since X entered the mainstream in 1989. Visual rock bands became a regular presence in the hit charts in the 1990s. Today the term 'visual-kei' has general acceptance and is being used in an extended sense, ranging from the narrow sense of rock bands wearing makeup to a broader sense that refers to men with good looks highlighting them by trimming their eyebrows or dyeing their hair. I therefore prefer the term 'visual rock' to denote a more restricted usage referring specifically to rock bands and the associated culture.

As the word 'visual' suggests, the most important aspect of visual rock is the musicians' visual image, specifically, the bodily representation constructed primarily by makeup and costumes. It is very difficult to characterize the music, which ranges from hard rock and heavy metal to soft or pop rock. Thus wearing makeup is the most important characteristic for the analysis of visual rock.

Some may question why rock musicians who are supposedly forging masculinity wear makeup.[14] But this problematic itself must be questioned. The counter question should be: why is wearing makeup regarded as only a woman's prerogative? (Walser 1993). It is worth pointing out that during the Baroque and Rococo Ages in Europe upper-

class men commonly wore makeup. On this issue, suffice to say that while the rigid framework of the patriarchal society was gradually being constructed, male costumes became simpler and men stopped wearing makeup. It is also worth noting that wearing makeup is also very common for performing artists, both men and women, from Opera to Kabuki. In Opera and Kabuki, performers usually perform the role of someone different from themselves, or the roles performed by them are not exactly themselves. Rock musicians, in contrast, usually express themselves, or rather, their 'alternative self', through their performance.[15]

If rock can be regarded as a self-expression, the use of makeup should reflect something deep within the musicians' own identity. For example, the feminized makeup worn by David Bowie and other glam/glitter rock musicians who expressed themselves through trans-gendered perform-ances have been interpreted as coinciding with their sexuality.[16] But rock musicians do not always wear makeup to represent their own sexuality. For example, the demoniacal makeup worn by Kiss and Alice Cooper seems to be rather similar to Opera and Kabuki performers, which has nothing to do with their own sexual identity. They seem to perform unusual characters through the representation of non-human or super-natural beings. Poison, Mötley Crüe and some other LA metal/glam metal musicians seem to appropriate the opposite gender representations: e.g., wearing prostitute-like makeup with bright red lips and heavy black eyeliners while producing a typical heavy metal sound. The makeup worn by rock musicians is not always feminine but varies according to their intention of how they want to express themselves. Thus this performance seems to be a rather effective expression of 'deviation' from common masculine norms.

Japanese rock musicians were wearing makeup before visual rock made it extremely popular. The makeup worn by rock musicians in Japan can generally be divided into two different types: Oni-meiku (demoniacal makeup) and Bikei-meiku (beautiful makeup). Oni-meiku includes the makeup worn by Kiss and other similar bands. Seikimatsu and Kabuki Rocks are typical examples in Japan. Bikei-meiku refers to the type of makeup worn by glam/glitter rock, new romantics and LA metal/glam metal musicians. This style was used by Japanese musicians as early as the late 1970s-early 1980s, when new wave/techno pop flourished. The makeup worn by visual rock bands is also usually categorized under Bikei-meiku. However, most Japanese rock bands in the visual rock scene have been more directly influenced by LA metal/glam metal/thrash metal than by glam/glitter rock, from listening to the 1980s US rock. In fact, the

members of X listed rock bands such as Kiss and Metallica as their favorite bands.

The visual rock scene, however, seems to be quite different from the UK or the US scene, where glam/glitter rock and new romantics were popular only for a short time and the US metal scene was soon subdivided. Most metal bands stopped wearing makeup as soon as LA metal/glam metal declined. However, demoniacal makeup is continuously worn by gothic/doom metal bands, which, with few exceptions, remained underground.[17]

In Japan, the men's makeup industry boomed when visual rock swept over the Japanese popular music scene. This strongly influenced boys' culture itself; boys who were not members of rock bands began trimming their eyebrows, dyeing their hair, and purchasing cosmetics. Magazines aimed at boys and devoting pages to how to be beautiful sprang up then and continue still.[18] A few Japanese scholars have tried to explain why wearing makeup attained such popularity in Japan. Some pointed to the influences of Kabuki tradition and girls' comics where feminized male characters are essential (Igarashi 1998). Others say that visual rock symbolizes the collapse of male dominance (Inamasu 1998). Both explanations are too simple and fail to account properly for the scene as a whole: the former ignores that men can be seen wearing makeup in the West, and the latter forgets that female rock musicians are still very few in number.

X: the legendary visual rock band

X is generally regarded as a founder of visual rock; as having changed the Japanese rock market; as a charismatic band of the 1990s; and finally, to have become a legend after the death of Hide, one of X's two guitarists, on 2 May 1998. X is therefore an appropriate group to focus on for a detailed study to explain how visual rock gained popularity.

Rock bands wearing makeup were appearing underground in the 1980s, even before X became popular. Music journalists, recording industries and senior musicians were intially quite critical of them. They were called 'Okesho-band' (Makeup-band), 'Kamitate-kei' (Groups of standing hair), 'Kurofuku-kei' (Groups of black suits), or 'Iromono' (Variety-show-likeness). Their makeup immediately reminded people of glam/glitter rock, whose musicians not only wore makeup but were often openly homosexual or bisexual. The trans-gendered image of visual rock created by the use of makeup is, however, not an expression of their sexuality, in contrast to, say, the sub-culture of Okama, Mr. Lady, or New half: all of which denote Japanese drag queens or gays-cum-transvestites. Some journalists maintain

the opinion that the roots of visual rock are to be found in glam/glitter rock, but as mentioned above, X and its followers – the main actors in the visual rock scene – were primarily influenced by 1980s LA metal and thrash metal. Rock bands such as Buck-Tick and The Yellow Monkey are not expressing their sexuality through the use of makeup, although their music and performances do seem to be influenced by glam/glitter rock.

X was certainly not an exception to this criticism. Neither journalists nor fellow rock musicians supported their behavior when X was underground. Members of X were famous not only for extremely exaggerated makeup and costumes, but also for their rudeness: blowing fire on the stage, breaking their own instruments, telephone boxes, the equipment of live music venues and the furniture in taverns. It became commonplace to read, 'X no tootta ato niwa penpengusa mo nokoranai' (Even the shepherd's purse does not remain after X passes through).[19] Moreover, their frequent appearance on TV programs provoked fellow musicians' antipathy when most rock musicians still rejected TV appearances, as the commercialism TV symbolized was arguably counter to the 'authentic rock spirit'.[20] But, the number of fans gradually increased until the recording industry could no longer ignore this extremely conspicuous rock band. A few rock critics and producers began to recognize that the rock sound produced by X was highly artistic, supported by reliable playing techniques and deep knowledge of musical theory.

Yoshiki, the leader of X, repeatedly announced that 'X will change the major' even before the band's major breakthrough. Refusing to compromise on his musical production with the commercialism of the recording companies, Yoshiki dared to establish an independent label called Extasy Records and released the band's first album titled *Vanishing Vision* in 1988. This album immediately went to first place in the independent chart. X then signed a contract with Sony Records and released their major debut album *Blue Blood* in 1989, which sent X to the top of the rock bands. Yoshiki soon began to promote other amateur bands through Extasy Records, giving them the chance to make their major debut recordings. Thus X and its followers were called Extasy-gundan (troop), a term which still refers to major rock bands in today's scene, such as Glay and Luna Sea.[21]

Having broken into the mainstream, X continued its typical underground behavior, breaking all of the common sense conventions of the Japanese rock industry. X became a regular in the Top 10, made million selling albums, and received several music awards. It was epoch-making when X participated in *Kohaku-utagassen* (a song contest on the national

Photo 8-1: From left; Pata, Taiji Toshi, Yoshiki and Hide (*Blue Blood*, 1989).

broadcasting station NHK between two groups, the red team for female singers and the white team for male singers) broadcast live on the last day of the year, and considered to be a national event. Ever since X successfully held a three-day live concert in the Tokyo Dome, as the first among Japanese rock bands, large-scale rock concerts have become very common.[22] Thus no-one can deny X is an important figure in the Japanese popular music scene.

X was regarded as a 'cho (ultra) my pace band', since X was not constantly active and often suspended schedules, mainly because of Yoshiki's health problems.[23] They also took a very long time to record each new album. They released two singles and one album from independent labels, 14 singles, 2 maxi singles, three albums, one mini album, and some best-of or live albums from major labels before they disbanded.[24] This is extremely few in number, but fans have supported X more and more enthusiastically. X disbanded in 1997 following the withdrawal of Toshi, a vocalist. Finally the death of Hide created a major sensation with several thousand fans attending his funeral. By then Yoshiki had completely lost the intention to re-group. Thereafter, X has been regarded as 'the legendary visual rock band'. Nowadays, many Japanese rock bands more or less follow the example created by X.

A new category of male aesthetics

Whether it forges new modes of masculinity or not, a rock band is a kind of male homo-social community formed in order to realize male aesthetics.

The aesthetics expressed by Yoshiki through X have been characterized as 'Shunkan no bigaku' (the aesthetics of the moment) or 'Hametsu no bigaku' (the aesthetics of destruction).[25]

In a typical modern family comprising a father who is a salaried worker, a mother who is a full-time housewife, and children, the father is devoted to his *kaisha* (company) and does nothing at home, while the mother finds her self-worth in bringing up her children. When boys reject identifying themselves with the corporate world that their fathers belong to, and struggle to escape from their mothers' domestic world; when boys cannot find a place in the existing society of domesticated men and women, they may find or form a rock band as a self-chosen/self-constructed community where they can construct an identity for themselves. Otherwise they may suffer an identity crisis. A rock band is an alternative male homo-social community for realizing male aesthetics. It is different from a *kaisha* community and women are not allowed to join. X appeared as a role model for boys who are not satisfied with identifying themselves with existing social values; X could succeed to construct the ideal 'self' as a band with an extremely strong will. That is why X was accepted first among boys (Miyatai et al. 1993). Girls and older fan numbers have increased since the ballads composed by X were recognized as especially beautifully tuned pop songs despite their conspicuous visual image.

The main reason why wearing makeup became much more popular among Japanese rock musicians than in other countries is, needless to say, because X created the visual rock boom. Thanks to X, Japanese rock bands got the chance to record major hits, the number of amateur bands increased tremendously, and wearing makeup became popular not only among rock bands but also among ordinary boys. Several men's magazines devoted to fashion, hairstyle, cosmetics etc. commenced publication in rapid succession, and men's aesthetic (beauty) salons have opened. In other words, boys can now have both the powerful rock sound conventionally associated with masculinity and the beauty industry, which was previously regarded as belonging solely to the women's sphere. Thus the gender categories have changed; now the symbols of the beauty industry have become symbolic of a 'beautiful man' in an appropriated trans-gendered image, thus creating a newly extended male aesthetics. In other words, this new male aesthetics created by visual rock was achieved through the re-possession of modes of bodily representation that had long been confined to the women's sphere combined with a macho body with physical power. Hence a visual rock band can be regarded as a male homo-social community for realizing a new category of male aesthetics based on the appropriation
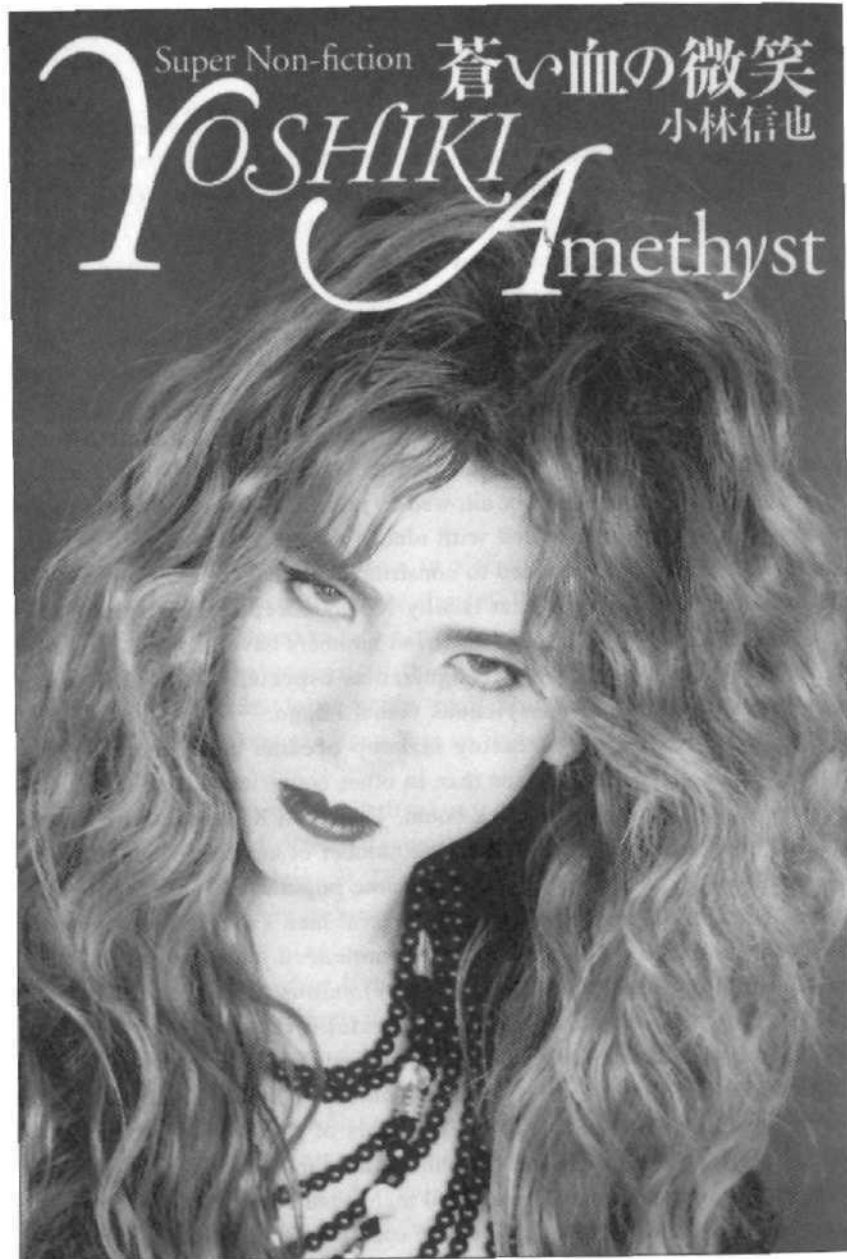
Photo 8-2: Yoshiki (Kobayashi 1993).

of trans-gendered images even whilst producing the music of the existing masculine aesthetics.

Though boys can form visual rock bands and can share the new male aesthetics, girls remain merely fans and are excluded from the musicians' communities called 'rock bands' and their networks. Thus the trans-gendered image of visual rock does not break through the dichotomy men's sphere:women's sphere in the existing society, but reproduces it by creating a new male aesthetics as one of the characteristics of all-male rock bands. In this alternative male community, the only acceptable role for women is to fall in love with the men who embrace the new aesthetics.

The new male aesthetics created by visual rock has broadened the male domain, in part by appropriating the practices and values of wearing makeup that had been denied to men for so long. Thus we can say that the impact of visual rock has been much more advantageous for men than for women. In fact, as we will see when we consider its impact on fans, we can safely say that the visual rock boom has re-articulated the man:woman dichotomy.[26]

Performance: articulating masculinity with feminine symbols

The makeup and costumes of X

Although no women are allowed on stage and the masculinity articulated by 'authentic' rock musicians is reproduced in a conventional performance of visual rock, visual rock appropriates feminine symbols. Continuing with X as our case study, I will now analyze their performance in detail. The members of X are: Yoshiki, the leader and drummer-cum–pianist; Toshi, the vocalist; Hide and Pata, the guitarists; and Taiji (until January 1992) then Heath on bass. In their underground days, their makeup and costume were not very feminine; they were more similar to Kiss and other Oni-meiku bands. They fashioned themselves on the mechanical human-oids appearing in boys' animations, wearing black leather with metallic ornaments, heavy makeup and standing blond hair. Although wearing makeup and long dyed hair can already be regarded as feminine behavior, they only began to appropriate actual feminine symbols after their major debut.

Toshi continued to express his masculinity by wearing sharp eyeliners, standing hair, a black leather jacket and pants with metal studs, following typical Oni-meiku fashion, and shouting 'Temeera kiai irero!' (male slang,

meaning 'Hey you, show fighting spirit') while running and jumping about on stage. Yoshiki, wearing feminine makeup and wavy blond hair, performed masculinity, femininity and androgyny in turn. When he played the drums (considered a more masculine instrument because of the physical power necessary) on powerful heavy metal rock, he would strip to the waist, furiously playing the drums at full-speed and bang his head, finally destroying the drum-set. When he played the piano (considered a more feminine instrument because of the delicate finger work) on ballads, he would wear a gorgeous dress with flowers or lace work as if he was some noble pianist from a European palace. Hide was the most conscious of his visual image, changing his dresses frequently, ranging from the ethnic (saree and bindi) to the witch (black hat and coat), and wearing makeup with heavy eye-shadows continuously till his death. Pata had a Mohican haircut initially, then changed to a more orthodox rock fashion with a black T-shirt or jacket and pants, long wavy hair and little makeup. Taiji wore not only red lipstick, a colorful feather shawl and many accessories similar to glam fashion, but also tattoos, and loved to ride his bike. Heath, who joined X comparatively late, was also quite orthodox, wearing black leathers with long hair and little makeup. But he had quite noble looks even without makeup. Their visual image, of course, changed from time to time, so this description must be treated as a portrayal of their 'typical' makeup and costume.

As we can see then, not every member of X appropriated feminine symbols. Yoshiki was the primary appropriator of the feminine/androgynous visual image, with Hide also somewhat involved. These two were actually leading the band, both musically and visually, and had more personal fans than the other members. Thus, their visual creations were strong enough to define the band's image. After about two years of success, about the time of the album *Jealousy* (1991), Yoshiki escalated his androgynous image. For example, he played the role of Cinderella in the video clip of their song 'Celebration', displayed his nude body on the album jacket, wore sexy dresses and was photographed in a homo-sexual entanglement with another male musician wearing military suits (*Rockin' on Japan* Nov. Vol. 54 1991). In those days, Toshi often said, 'Yoshiki is beautiful enough that it is not necessary to look at women.'

Usually, the more popular visual rock bands become, the thinner and lighter their makeup becomes. This tendency is also apparent amongst the members of X except for Hide who dyed his hair pink as a statement in his later days and continued wearing makeup until his death. Toshi stopped standing his hair up in 1993 and cut it soon after. Yoshiki also cut his hair
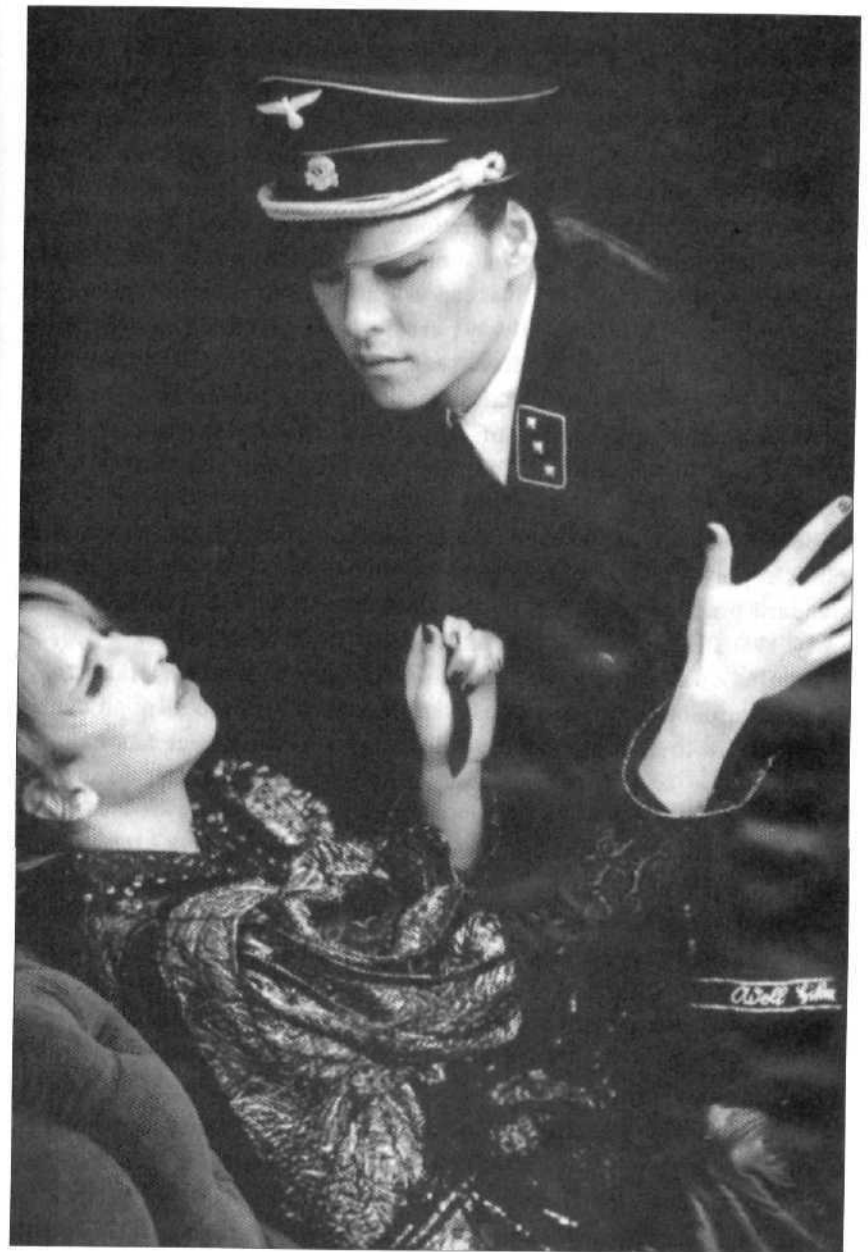
Photo 8-3: Yoshiki (*Rockin' on Japan*, 1991 Nov. Vol. 54).

before the album *Dahlia* (1996) was released. Yoshiki said in his underground days, 'Whatever good music we play, there is no sense if nobody listens to our music. So we should do our best to make somebody listen. If the size of the audience increases to some extent by surprising them with conspicuous fashion and behavior on the stage, we will do whatever it takes.' In other words, they wore makeup to differentiate themselves from others and to articulate their individual identity in the existing conformist society in such a way as to attract the public's attention; in short, they wore makeup as a strategy to attract attention. But the members of X did not always create trans-gendered images when wearing makeup, and, as we have seen, their makeup differed from each others'. As the image of Yoshiki, a charismatic leader, became more distinguished, the total image of X could be generally characterized as a combination of masculinity and femininity, opposed discourses in the extreme.

Because of the importance of visual images, promotional video clips came to play a major role for pursuing this strategy, which was already standard practice in the US by the time that MTV was launched in the early 1980s. X produced CDs and videos titled *Visual Shock: Shigeki!* (Stimulus). In addition to recording live performances, elaborately planned promotional video clips were produced.[27] Since then, producing a video clip to accompany the release of a new number has become established as one of the principle means of promoting rock bands and pop singers.

It is also important to mention that in the second half of the 1990s many of the visual rock bands that have come to prominence in the wake of X have *not* traded on a conspicuous visual image. These bands can be divided into two types: bands thoroughly devoted to creating their visual image – called 'theatrical' and including Malice Mizer and Dir en grey – and bands who wear only light 'stage' makeup such as Glay and Luna Sea.

Music and lyrics of X

Both masculine and feminine discourses were adopted for tunes and lyrics by X. In other words, we can observe several dichotomous characteristics from the musical and literary point of view. In contrast to the general production of popular music, where the performer, composer, lyricist, producer and manager are all different people, X self-produced and self-managed, as does any underground band. This explains why X always took a long time to release albums and had many followers who never regarded X as being corrupted by commercialism, even after the band became

popularly successful and frequently appeared on TV. Since the tunes, lyrics and sound are totally of its own making, we can analyze them as representative of the band's intentions.

Each album was given a conceptual title around which its entire image was created. The arrangement of musical tracks on an album follows the structure of a usual live performance. That is, it begins with sound effects, proceeds to the title track which 'sets the scene', then a few rock numbers in fast tempo, followed by a ballad – experimental or solo – a few more rock numbers, and concludes with another ballad. The release of each album was promoted by a live tour of the same name.

Most of the music and lyrics were composed by Yoshiki whose music can be roughly divided into two types: heavy metal and ballad. His heavy metal can also be roughly divided into two types, long numbers drawing on the complex musical forms of the Western classical tradition and shorter tracks that display his virtuoso drum technique. The albums' title tracks usually belong to the former category (e.g., 'Vanishing Love', 'Blue Blood', 'Silent Jealousy' and 'Dahlia'). Most of their albums include at least one track belonging to the latter category (e.g., 'I'll Kill You', 'Orgasm', 'Stab Me In The Back'), and a few ballads (e.g., 'Endless Rain', 'Say Anything', 'Tears'). On the hard rock/heavy metal numbers, Yoshiki plays the drums. On the ballads, though, he plays the piano. As already discussed, the drums are generally considered to symbolize masculinity, while the piano symbolizes femininity.[28] X is famous not only for a powerful heavy metal sound and Yoshiki's drum technique, but also for the beautiful ballads so beloved by fans that the band released a 'best-of' album entitled *Ballad Collection*. As mentioned, his music is also characterized by Western classical influences. He sometimes arranges tunes by orchestration (e.g., 'Amethyst' and 'Forever Love'), and samples famous classical compositions on the heavy metal base (e.g., 'Rose of Pain' and 'Alive'). This effectively forges a fantastic fusion of the culture of European aristocrats and the dark Gothic Age often found in horror movies, which works on another dichotomy: elegance and cruelty.

Now we will examine the characteristics of three different tracks composed by Yoshiki from the major debut album *Blue Blood*.[29] The first, 'Blue Blood', is the title track; the second, 'Endless Rain', is a ballad; and the third, 'Rose of Pain', features Western classical music. The following analysis shows how their musical structure is different from and more complex than J-pop, which is usually produced using strophic patterns.

'Blue Blood' is heavy metal, distorted sound with shouted vocals. The vocal melody is roughly structured into A-A-BC-BC-Coda, with an intro

and interludes between each division. It includes a shouting chorus and a guitar solo. The key and the mode of each melody change often, with the keys moving through E, A, D, C, B and F-sharp, while the modes change from Phrygian, Aeorian, Minor and Major. The drum patterns are either beat or back beat, show-casing Yoshiki's virtuosity, especially when the two bass drums are heard in the intro and interludes. Although furious drums, distorted sound and shouting characterize the music, the vocals are clear and melodious. Vocal melodies A, B and C are dominated by the Minor 3rd, but the tune itself is dominated by major chords. The final chord is the impressive F-sharp Major. The song is a story of tragic love describing self-inflicted physical violence such as, 'I'll slice my face covered with blue blood,' after satisfying his pleasure.

The ballad 'Endless Rain' was released as a single and became X's second big hit as they gained general popularity. It features Yoshiki playing a lyrical piano. It is roughly structured AAB-AAB-C-AB with intro and interludes between each division, and includes a narration and guitar solo which are not as complex as the previous example. The basic mode and key is C Major, and the descending base line C-B-A-G-F-E-D – a typical progression in Baroque music – is used for melody B, where vocal melody is ascending. Melody C is composed on another key, E-flat, constructing a very impressive hook. The vocals are by Toshi, whose vocal range is over one and half octaves, reaching upper E-flat. This is not easy for ordinary J-pop singers. 'Endless Rain' is a song about a lost love. The narrator is depressed after being hurt by his lover; he broods over his lost love, singing, 'It's a dream, I'm in love with you – I awake from my dream, I can't find my way without you.'

'Rose of Pain' is a long composition that samples J. S. Bach's 'Fugue in G Minor'. The tune begins with a Baroque Intro with an organ-like sound, proceeding to the Fugue sample on the guitar. It is roughly structured into three parts in different tempos and rhythms: the first part is a slow ballad in a sextuplet arpeggio on the guitar; the second is a profound sextuplet played by all; and the third is high speed heavy metal followed by Coda. Each part includes complex interludes with guitar solos and orchestra sounds, piano solo in the interlude between the second and third parts, and narratives in the third part, with the Bach sample sometimes repeated. Though the basic key is either A or E and the mode is either Aeorian or Minor, other keys such as G, B and D, and modes such as Major and Phrygian are also used. This structure resembles a Sonata in three movements. The song is about a cruel episode in the medieval period: a mad lady seeks her beauty by killing numerous virgin girls so that she can

drink and bathe in their blood.[30] The narrator is the eyewitness of this cruel scene in the castle. In the first part, he asks one of the victims ('the rose with its petals of blood'), 'Why are you scared? What have you seen?' and answers himself with, 'But the rose of blood can't answer me till the end.' In the second part, he describes the mad lady: '*Ai o nakushita kokoro, satsuriku no yorokobi ni moeru* (Her heart deprived of love is burning with the pleasure of massacre). She will kill to make herself more beautiful.' In the third part, he describes how she kills roses (virgin girls) singing, 'Slice them! Slice them till they're running in blood. Tear up! Tear up till their red blood runs dry.' Finally in Coda, he states his impression and says, 'In eternal madness we live. Even if it was just a dream, now pain, nothing but PAIN!' This statement seems to be not only calm and cool but also philosophical or even spiritual.

The English and Japanese languages are both used in the lyrics. Some songs are written only in English (e.g., 'Alive', 'Stab Me In The Back'), and others are written in both languages (e.g., 'Blue Blood', 'Endless Rain'). No song is written solely in Japanese, although Japanese is dominant in some (e.g., 'Week End', 'Rusty Nail'). In J-pop, English is conventionally used for hooks, first lines and other distinguished places and the strophic rule is kept: the English words in the first strophe are repeated in the second strophe. English used in J-pop can be analyzed as a mainstream approach to modernity in Japan, where adopting English words symbolizes something cool.[31] While it is difficult to find any rule in the way he chooses English or Japanese, which varies from line to line and from song to song, he seems to choose the language according to the tune. As there are usually fewer syllables in an English word than in Japanese, tunes of J-pop are often divided into several short notes. When there are not enough notes in the tune, he may choose English so that he can say more with fewer notes and thereby avoid destroying the tune by dividing a long note into fragments.

Yoshiki's attitude towards love is ambivalent: sometimes vulnerable and fragile, sometimes mad and macabre. Compare 'Let me stay evermore in your heart, Let my heart take in your tears, take in your memory' ('Endless Rain'), to 'Give me some more pain, Give me the throes of death' ('Blue Blood'). He seems to find satisfaction from both sadistic and masochistic desire, the two extremes. He calmly witnesses the cruel episode in 'Rose of Pain', describing the massacre with: 'The castle became a violent sea of blood. The blood covers the flower, dyeing it deep red.' Words such as 'rose', 'tears' and 'dream' appear frequently, and others, such as 'kill', 'blood' and 'pain' often appear in the same song. Dichotomous

characteristics are also found in his lyrics. His songs never have a happy ending. Either he, his lover or someone else is hurt, both physically and emotionally. Thus, his lyrics consistently run against the conventional romantic love of the heteronormative system.

Yoshiki creates his aesthetics by synthesizing dichotomous discourses – masculine:feminine, sadistic:masochistic, physical-emotional:spiritual-romantic – into one. This can only work by the exclusion of women from the band. In other words, his aesthetics are only effective inside a male homo-social community. Although his aesthetics apparently represent 'deviations' from the established social system, it does not explode the unequal status between men and women, but rather re-articulates it by demonstrating that a male homo-social community can fulfill the praxis of both the men's and the women's domains.

A new fandom: 'Cos-play' and 'Ban-yaro' as wannabes

Cos-play and Ban-yaro

Many new visual rock fan magazines sprang up after X entered the mainstream. Their numbers are still growing and they have become more diverse as they become more specifically targeted to the fans' concerns. There are several types of fans, for example: members of fan clubs, those who collect an artist's goods, those who want to know all of the details of their favorite musician's life, etc. The fans might be roughly divided into four different types. First is the ordinary fan who may be a member of a fan club, but otherwise is active only in consuming an artist's goods and music, attending concerts, and so on. Second is a fan addicted to quasi-romantic love, who regards their favorite musician of the opposite sex as a quasi-lover. This type includes groupies and *Okkake* (those who run after their idol). Third is a 'wannabe' who satisfies him/herself by imitating their favorite musician (Schwichtenberg 1994; Fiske 1994). The final type is a kind of *Otaku* (addict or fanatic) who is not able to or dares not to be a wannabe, but has a desire to know everything about a favorite musician including their private life, secret information, etc. These types are of course not mutually exclusive; the fans described by the second, third and fourth types are also described by the first category, but they go further with their fanaticism.

There are two types of core fan cultures of visual rock that are striking and special: 'Cos-play' (costume play) for girls and 'Ban-yaro' (let's play the band) for boys. Cos-play first became popular in the Comic Market (an exhibition and sale of comic magazines) in the early 1980s, where boys

Photo 8-4: Cos-players of Malice Mizer (V-visage, 1999).

and girls gathered dressed as characters from comic books and animation. Although fans going to concerts wearing the same dress and makeup as the musicians appeared even earlier, the enthusiasm of costume wearing X fans, particularly the girls, made Cos-play an established part of visual rock fan culture. Today Cos-play girls can be seen at every visual rock concert and the photo pages devoted to Cos-play girls have become an important part of fan magazines.[32]

Ban-yaro, so called after *Band Yaroze*, a magazine for amateur bands that was first published in 1988, has been popular since *Ikasu band tengoku* (the heaven of nice bands, Ikaten in short), an amateur band contest on TV from 1989 until 1991. Membo, (short for Member Boshu: members wanted) is the most characteristic part of this magazine. Many amateur bands were formed through Membo, and then entered Ikaten, dreaming of their big break. Reportedly, there were about 800 amateur bands who took part in Ikaten over this two year period (Showbiz Research Club 1991). Before X, amateur bands generally started off by copying hit numbers by UK and US rock groups, but today they more often begin by covering the visual rock of X and its followers. Thus the musical scores of visual rock hits have become an important part of magazines that target amateur bands.

Both Cos-play and Ban-yaro fans can be regarded as wannabes. They try to identify themselves with favorite members of visual rock bands: girls mainly through the visual discourse of costume and makeup, and boys by emulating the music. It is notable that the strategies of girls and boys are totally different. Although visual rock uses both of the gendered discourses, female fans primarily emulate the feminine discourse – wearing makeup and costume – while males generally adopt the masculine discourse – producing hard rock/heavy metal music. In other words, wannabe fans neither perform any trans-gendered identities nor forge masculinity using feminine symbols, but instead choose their own gender characteristics as articulated by visual rock groups to identify themselves inside the fan community with particular musicians. However, while wannabe fans rarely struggle with the man:woman dichotomy, their community formations appear to be a rejection of the established values of society. By creating a different community, they are reconstructing their own identity. In this sense, they are rebels practicing deviant behavior. But although their apparently anti-establishment behavior might have initially been disdained by mainstream men and women, their praxis soon merged into the mainstream as a typical youth culture. Their strategies are deeply gendered and re-articulate the existing man:woman dichotomy.

Both Cos-play girls and Ban-yaro boys form small coteries or fan communities by imitating a particular band or a bands' network resembling Extacy-gundan. They try to attract other fans' attention to confirm each other as a member of a particular fan community and compete with similar fan communities by differentiating this community from others'. At the same time, the identity of a particular fan community may merge into a collective fan identity that differentiates fans from everyone else. A collective fan identity that emerges from the existing society preconditioned by consumerism may quickly become a good target for the market economy. Thus, even though being wannabes seems to be performing a self-chosen 'individuality', it again remains in the curious youth culture harmless to the existing social system.

Ban-yaro wannabes

A detailed analysis of a sample of fan magazines will show how Ban-yaro wannabes articulate and endorse gender differences. In the magazine *Band Yaroze*, Band Kokuchi-ban (Band Notice Board) or Fanbo (Fan boshu: Fan wanted) and Membo are the important pages for Ban-yaro wannabes. I have analyzed these pages by drawing comparisons between 1994 and 1999 (i.e., both before and after the words 'visual rock' became established) based on the senders' sex, members and wanted members, the names of senders' favorite bands, whether the band wears makeup, and whether they use the word 'visual'.[33]

In the May 1994 issue, one third of the bands appearing in Fanbo wear makeup and the most frequently mentioned bands in Membo are categorized as visual rock (Luna Sea, X, Buck-Tick, Derange and Ziggy) but the word 'visual' has not yet become popular (1.1%). In 1999 the word 'visual' is already well established and used quite often (22.1%). But even when the word is not used, with one exception (Judy and Mary[34]), the most frequently mentioned bands are all categorized as visual rock. Furthermore, two fifths of bands appearing in Band Kokuchi-ban wear makeup. Thus it is apparent how widely accepted visual rock has become.

The sex of senders, members and wanted members is dominated by men in 1994 and in 1999. However, more than one third of senders in Membo 1994 are female, but less than one fourth in 1999. Thus the share of female senders has decreased. Female senders always refer to the sex of wanted members, mostly to say that they don't mind the sexual composition of a band (about 70% in 1994 and increasing to 90% in 1999 didn't mind, except for the partly specified cases[35]). In contrast, male senders are either

overly sex conscious or else apparently ignorant about the sex composition. In both 1994 and 1999, about half of wanted members are not sex specified by male senders. The share of male only bands mentioned increases from 12.4% in 1994 to 19.8% in 1999, while the share of both sexes decreases from 43.5% in 1994 to 30.5% in 1999 and except for the partly specified cases, radically decreases from 27.7% in 1994 to 12.1% in 1999. In short, most girls do not mind the sexual composition of a band, while more boys reject girls as band members. When male senders do not refer to the sex of wanted members, it is safe to assume that girls need not apply, or can expect a refusal. Although the number of female senders is increasing, it appears that boys are not ready to accept them.

This analysis shows that the increasing popularity of visual rock not only does not break the gender dichotomy, but reproduces and reinforces the view that rock belongs to the men's sphere.[36]

Cos-play wannabes

Although Cos-play culture among fans of games, animations and comics is common amongst both boys and girls, it is almost exclusively girls that enjoy visual rock Cos-play. At Jingubashi, Harajuku on Sundays, one of the centers of youth culture, one will encounter many visual rock Cos-play wannabes. They get together just to enjoy Cos-play, doing nothing else. Each Cos-play wannabe has her own Cos-play name and often forms a Cos-play team or group whose members play the roles of their respective favorite band members. Occasionally at a Cos-play party, the teams compete with each other to decide which team best resembles the original band.

Cos-play costumes can be purchased in some specialty stores, but handmade costumes are both cheaper than store-bought and are preferred. Magazines and books are rife with photo pages of Cos-play wannabes as well as pages on how to wear makeup, where to buy materials and how to make costumes. Cos-play wannabes often have personal internet homepages, where they post pictures taken of themselves at Cos-play parties and live concerts. There are many photographers who are not Cos-players themselves, whose hobby is taking pictures of game, animation and comic Cos-players at various events and gatherings and posting the photos on the internet. In contrast, visual rock Cos-players tend to open their own homepages as unofficial fan sites.[37]

The bands imitated by Cos-play wannabes tend to differ slightly from those copied by Ban-yaro wannabes. The latter generally prefer the more mainstream bands who wear only light makeup. The more popular bands

among the Cos-players are Malice Mizer, Dir en grey, La'Mule, Lariene and so on. These bands are generally categorized as theatrical as their makeup and costumes are more exaggerated than the mainstream bands. This reading is supported by my analysis of the minor magazine, *Band×Artists* devoted to the female collectors and Cos-play wannabes.[38] The ranking of their favorite bands includes not only the mainstream bands frequently preferred by Ban-yaro wannabes but also the minor theatrical bands that are not very well received in *Band Yaroze*. It is therefore safe to say that the underground theatrical bands are mainly supported by Cos-play wannabes. Every issue of a magazine such as *Shoxx* includes a lot of color photos and a big poster of a visual rock band[39] inspiring Cos-play wannabes by providing them with makeup and costume ideas for their favorite bands. Malice Mizer's homepages are the most popular among Cos-play wannabes. The results of my analysis show that Cos-play wannabes only consider bands with elaborate makeup and costumes to be worthy of imitation. Since the makeup and costumes of theatrical bands are far too complex and difficult to create alone, these fan sites function to exchange ideas and information about Cos-play.

Concluding remarks: Visual rock boom and the aftermath

The identificatory strategies taken by visual rock musicians and fans do not revolutionize established gender roles even if they do reject the existing patriarchal society. Undoubtedly, it is both easy and natural to appropriate negative gender categories (e.g., outlaws, prostitutes, bitches, drag queens, etc.) as strategies for rebellion. Through these negative categories, 'deviation' from the patriarchal society can be displayed. If these signs do not signify negative meanings, there is no sense in appropriating them. Similarly, pre-modern signs (e.g., the medieval legend, superstitions, horror stories, etc.) and those of excessive modernity (e.g., space travel, cyborgs, aliens, etc.) readily represent the contradictions and margins of modernity.

Thus musicians and fans both strategically use various signs to express their rejection of and rebellion against the modern patriarchal order. But as we have seen the extended aesthetics created by gender-category violations do not challenge and in fact, reinforce, the existing unequal dichotomy man:woman as they are practiced in the male homo-social community of a visual rock band. It seems as though visual rock aesthetics involve men in the praxis of both the traditional men's and women's

spheres. Thus the visual rock boom is more advantageous for men than for women. In the heteronormative sexual order, visual rock only offers women the opportunity to have 'a beautiful man' as her lover. The reproduction of existing gender inequalities is evidenced by the fact that boy fans continue to take rock bands, traditional masculinity, as their wannabe objects, while girl fans focus on the feminine visual. The boy and girl wannabes almost never get together but, instead, separately form either male or female communities and their networks, thereby sharply articulating gender differences.

The 1990s saw increasing demands for women's empowerment in Japan, which has begun to be promoted more widely and officially. The visual rock boom might be seen, at least in part, as a response to this movement, a response driven by the fear of women gradually encroaching into the male domain of established society. In other words, visual rock's appropriation of female symbols might be interpreted as a 'reverse foray' by men into the women's sphere against this new social force. But, in fact and on the contrary, in recent times it seems that men have been more critical of visual rock than women.

For example, L'Arc-en-ciel, which officially rejected claims that it is a visual rock band, got angry with the master of ceremonies on the NHK TV program *Pop Jam in* 1999 when he introduced the band as 'visual-kei'. They performed only one song and left the stage, despite having agreed in advance to perform two songs. In my own experience men appear to be far more critical. For example, when I gave a lecture on visual rock, I asked students to write down their opinions about visual rock.[40] The results were that male students criticized it more bitterly than female students, generally saying that music was more important than visual effects though they might never have criticized female singers' makeup. When I gave oral presentations on visual rock and gender in a few academic meetings, without closely examining the merits of my argument some male scholars seemed upset by my claim that visual rock offered far more advantages to men than to women because it extended the men's sphere.[41]

Visual rock musicians and fans from the lower strata of society challenged and changed the established masculine value that decreed 'real men don't wear makeup' (Walsen 1993: 128). Appropriating modes of bodily rep-resentation previously restricted to the women's sphere extended masculine aesthetics. Trimming eyebrows and dyeing hair, so common amongst young boys now but not seen in the 1980s, can be primarily attributed to the visual rock boom.

Nevertheless, we must ask: why are men so reluctant to support visual rock? Is this an obstinate defense of conventional masculinity? Are men

afraid that those who constructed new male aesthetics threaten established masculinity? Do men believe that those who ingratiated themselves with women constructed visual rock? Do men prefer to pretend to be losers in a society of increasing women's power? Are men reminded of gay culture when they watch visual rock and hate it because of an unconscious homophobia? Do men want to keep away from anything considered to belong to the women's sphere because of their unconscious misogyny? Or are all human beings bitter towards those of the same sex? At any rate, it makes us reaffirm how deeply rock is connected with masculinity.

Appendix 1
Ban-yaro wannabes (*Band Yaroze*, Takarajima-sha)

*Total samples
  • May 1994: Fanbo (pp.146–148) 34; Membo (pp.115–145) 1136
  • May 1999: Band Notice Board (pp.150–162) 150; Membo (pp.163–205) 1950
*Figures in percentages.
*M: Male, F: Female, B: Both male and female, U: Unidentified, N: Not mentioned.
*4 unidentified senders in Membo, May 1999.

Table 8-1
Sex etc.

Issue	With Makeup	Sent from (Members) M	F	B	U	With the word 'Visual'	Sent from Wanted Members (Vo. or Key : Female only) M	B	N	F	B
May 1994	32.4	94.0 (91.0)	3.0		3.0	1.1	From M: 56.3 / 12.4 43.5 44.1 (15.8)			From F: 34.7 / 14.5 85.5 (15.1)	
May 1999	38.0	81.3	5.3	6.7	6.7	22.1	From M: 75.6 / 19.8 30.5 49.8 (18.4)			From F: 24.2 / 7.7 92.3 (2.5)	

The eight most frequently referred to bands:

- 1994: Luna Sea, Boowy, X, Buck-Tick, Lindberg, Derange, Baku, Ziggy.
- 1999: L'Arc-en-ciel, Glay, Luna Sea, X Japan, Judy And Mary, Hide, Kuroyume, Pierrot.

Appendix 2
Cos-play wannabes (*Band×Artist*, 1999, Vol.1, Vol.4)

Part betsu Ranking (Popularity vote for each part)

(No. 1: 5 points – No. 5: 1 point for each part ranked by total points)

1. L'arc-en-ciel:	30 points
2. X Japan:	29 points
3. Glay:	16 points
4. L'acryma Christi:	10 points
5. Penicillin:	5 points
6. Malice Mizer and Dir en grey:	4 points

Appendix 3
Opinions from Students

(Based on reports submitted by students (age: 18–22) after my lecture on visual rock held on 1 Dec. 1999 at Tokyo Keizai Daigaku.)

Q: Do you think visual rock is just a blossom of the 1990s that bears no fruit?

Total Answer: 50 (male: 29, female: 21)

	MALE		FEMALE	
Yes	12	(24%)	5	(10%)
No	13	(26%)	13	(26%)
Other	4	(8%)	3	(6%)

Reasons

- Yes:
  - Substantial music is more important than visual image.
  - Visual image makes audience suspend the proper judgment of substantial music.
  - They are victims of commercialism.
  - Visual image is deceptive.
- No:
  - Freedom and diversity of expression should be supported.
  - Every musician even in punk rock sticks to his/her own looks.
  - Fans of visual rock: If we love them, why should we feel ashamed?
  - Some of them have both visual image and good music.
- Other:
  - Some of them will disappear because of their visual image only.
  - When X was on the scene, the quality of visual bands was high.
  - After the boom is over, their real talent will be sought for.
- Comments:
  - X is highly evaluated.
  - Increasing the number of bands has made the musical quality lower since the late 1990s.

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